

**The Impact of Male Migration on Women's Lives:
A Study of Two Hill Districts of Uttarakhand**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
for award of the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

SAKSHI BAHUGUNA



**CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI 110067**

2021

Dedicated

to

'My Family'

For their love, sacrifices and struggles



JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
 CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
 SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
 New Delhi-110067
 Telephone No : 011-26704413 Fax : 011-26741504
 email : cpsjnu09@gmail.com

Date: July 08, 2021

DECLARATION

I, Sakshi Bahuguna, declare that the thesis entitled “**The Impact of Male Migration on Women’s Lives: A Study of Two Hill Districts of Uttarakhand**” submitted by me to the Centre for Political Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for the award of the Degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY is my original work. It has not been submitted in parts or in full for any other degree or diploma of this university or in any other university/institution.

Sakshi Bahuguna

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before examiners for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in this university.

13.7.21
 श्री. नरिंदर कौर / Prof. Narinder Kaur
 Chairperson
 पारमार्थिक अध्ययन केंद्र / Centre for Political Studies
 सामाजिक विज्ञान विभाग / School of Social Sciences
 जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय
 New Delhi - 110067

Prof. Shefali Jha

Supervisor

Supervisor
 Centre for Political Studies
 School of Social Sciences
 Jawaharlal Nehru University
 New Delhi - 110067

List of Maps

Map 1.1: Uttarakhand as a part of Uttar Pradesh.....	6
Map 1.2: Uttarakhand.....	7
Map 1.3: Administrative Divisions of Uttarakhand: Garhwal and Kumaon.....	29

List of Tables

Table 1.1: Areas, Population and Work Participation Rate in Uttarakhand and India (2011).....	14
Table 1.2: Factors for the selection of Districts.....	30
Table 1.3: Population and Sex Ratio of Districts in Uttarakhand.....	32
Table 3.1: Outmigration (% Share).....	82
Table 3.2: Reasons for Migration: District Level Aggregate Data.....	83
Table 3.3: District Wise Decadal Change of Population.....	84
Table 5.1: Age of the Respondents (Almora).....	126
Table 5.2: Age of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal).....	127
Table 5.3: Marital Status of the Respondents (Almora).....	128
Table 5.4: Marital Status of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal).....	130
Table 5.5: Level of Education of Respondents (Almora).....	131
Table 5.6: Level of Education of Respondents (Pauri Garhwal).....	133
Table 5.7: Occupation of the Respondents (Almora).....	137
Table 5.8: Occupation of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal).....	139
Table 5.9: Caste of the Respondents (Almora).....	141
Table 5.10: Caste of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal).....	143
Table 5.11: Gross District Domestic Product.....	145
Table 5.12: Status of Decision-Making in two Districts.....	147
Table 5.13: Remittances Received (Almora).....	156
Table 5.14: Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal).....	157
Table 5.15: Remittances Received in Different Age Groups (Almora).....	158
Table 5.16: Remittances Received in Different Age Groups (Pauri Garhwal).....	159
Table 5.17: Channels of Remittances (Almora).....	160
Table 5.18: Channels of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal).....	161

Table 5.19: Average Frequency of Remittances (Almora).....	163
Table 5.20: Average Frequency of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal).....	164
Table 5.21: Fixed Amount of Remittances Received (Almora).....	165
Table 5.22: Fixed Amount of Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal).....	166
Table 5.23: Expenditure of Remittances (Almora).....	167
Table 5.24: Expenditure of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal).....	168
Table 5.25: Average Amount of Remittances Received (Almora).....	169
Table 5.26: Average Amount of Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal).....	170

List of Bar Graphs

Bar Graph 3.1: Agriculture Growth: Uttarakhand vs. Himachal Pradesh, 2010-15.....	90
Bar Graph 3.2: Uttarakhand vs. Himachal Pradesh: Health Facilities.....	90
Bar Graph 5.1: Age of the Respondents (Almora).....	126
Bar Graph 5.2: Age of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal).....	127
Bar Graph 5.3: Level of Education of Respondents (Almora).....	132
Bar Graph 5.4: Level of Education of Respondents (Pauri Garhwal).....	134
Bar Graph 5.5: Occupation of the Respondents (Almora).....	137
Bar Graph 5.6: Occupation of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal).....	139
Bar Graph 5.7: Status of Decision-Making in two Districts.....	148
Bar Graph 5.8: Remittances Received (Almora).....	156
Bar Graph 5.9: Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal).....	157
Bar Graph 5.10: Remittances Received in Different Age Groups (Almora).....	159
Bar Graph 5.11: Remittances Received in Different Age Groups (Pauri Garhwal).....	160
Bar Graph 5.12: Channels of Remittances (Almora).....	161
Bar Graph 5.13: Channels of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal).....	162
Bar Graph 5.14: Average Frequency of Remittances (Almora).....	163
Bar Graph 5.15: Average Frequency of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal).....	164
Bar Graph 5.16: Fixed Amount of Remittances Received (Almora).....	165
Bar Graph 5.17: Fixed Amount of Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal).....	166
Bar Graph 5.18: Expenditure of Remittances (Almora).....	167
Bar Graph 5.19: Expenditure of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal).....	168
Bar Graph 5.20: Average Amount of Remittances Received (Almora).....	169
Bar Graph 5.21: Average Amount of Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal).....	170

List of Pie Charts

Pie Chart 5.1: Marital Status of the Respondents (Almora): Males and Females.....	129
Pie Chart 5.2: Marital Status of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal): Males and Females.....	130
Pie Chart 5.3: Level of Education of the Respondents (Almora): Males and Females.....	132-133
Pie Chart 5.4: Level of Education of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal): Males and Females.....	134-135
Pie Chart 5.5: Occupation of the Respondents (Almora): Males and Females.....	138
Pie Chart 5.6: Occupation of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal): Males and Females.....	140
Pie Chart 5.7: Caste of the Respondents (Almora).....	142
Pie Chart 5.8: Caste of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal).....	143-144
Pie Chart 5.9: Status of Decision-Making in two Districts.....	148-149

List of Abbreviations

BJP	: Bharatiya Janata Party
BSNL	: Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited
BSP	: Bahujan Samaj Party
CM	: Chief Minister
CPI	: Communist Party of India
CPI-M	: Communist Party of India (Marxists)
CPI-ML	: Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)
CSS	: Central Sponsored Schemes
DGSS	: Dashauli Gram Swarajya Sangh
DSP	: Deputy Superintendent of Police
EIA	: Environmental Impact Assessment
FPOs	: Farmer's Produce Organizations
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
GNP	: Gross National Product
GSDP	: Gross State Domestic Product
HADP	: Hill Area Development Programme
HRIDAY	: Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana
HYV	: High Yielding Variety
IHDS	: India Human Development Survey
INC	: Indian National Congress
JFM	: Joint Forest Management
JRY	: Jawahar Rozgar Yojana
MGNREGA	: Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MLAs	: Members of Legislative Assembly
MSME	: Medium, Small and Micro Enterprises
NDA	: National Democratic Alliance
NFHS	: National Family Health Survey

NGOs	: Non-Governmental Organizations
NREGS	: National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme
NSSO	: National Sample Survey Office
OBCs	: Other Backward Classes
PMGSY	: Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana
PPP	: Public-Private Partnership
PRASAD	: Pilgrimage Rejuvenation and Spirituality Augmentation Drive
SCS	: Special Category States
SCs	: Scheduled Castes
SDM	: Sub- Divisional Magistrate
SHGs	: Self Help Groups
SP	: Samajwadi Party
STPI	: Software Technology Parks of India
TRPM	: Tehri Rajya Praja Mandal
U-DISE	: Union District Information System for Education
UKD	: Uttarakhand Kranti Dal
UN	: United Nations
UP	: Uttar Pradesh
URDMC	: Uttarakhand Rural Development and Migration Commission
USV	: Uttarakhand Sangharsh Vahini
VC	: Vice Chancellor

Acknowledgments

This work shares a crucial journey of my life. To begin with, I am extremely grateful to my supervisor Prof. Shefali Jha and would like to express my sincere gratitude to her. I will always be indebted for her patience, tolerance, motivation, love, guidance and support. She not only guided and supervised me in this research work but always supported and motivated me during thick and thin. Without her, this would have been an impossible journey but her love, care and presence in my life made everything soothing. I feel fortunate to have Prof. Jha as my supervisor. Even though, it is next to impossible to bring here what I feel for her, but still tried to mention some of it in few lines. I was, am and will always be indebted to her.

This work is a token of love, respect and appreciation to my family for always believing in me. The achievements that we celebrate today are only due to their sacrifices and struggles. Special thanks to Mukku, Aditya, Appu, Pragya and Kinu for always standing by my side.

I very much appreciate and would like to extend my sincere thanks to all those, who directly or indirectly, have contributed in this endeavour.

I would like to mention that I will always cherish the memories that I had with Late Prof. C.P. Bhambhri. I will always be thankful for his innumerable blessings and for sharing his experiences and preparing me for the world outside. Your blessings were miracles!

I would further like to acknowledge the efforts and assistance of various institutions and persons in the completion of this thesis, in particular the staff of CPS office (SSS), SAP (SSS), JNU library and others who helped me during the field work.

Last but not the least, heartfelt thanks to JNU for making me part of your history and tradition. You are not just an institution; you are a life, only one can perceive and practice who became a part of you. I am proud to be one.

You were, are and will always be the best, no matter what!

Muchas Gracias!

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction.....1-34

- 1.1 Migration in India
- 1.2 Present Study: Rationale
- 1.3 Determinants of Migration in Uttarakhand
- 1.4 Feminization of Labour
- 1.5 'Left Behind' Women: Gap in Literature
- 1.6 'Left Behind' as used in Literature
- 1.7 Problem Area
- 1.8 Methodology and Design
- 1.9 Procedure of Data Collection
- 1.10 The Present Study: Research Goals
 - 1.10.1 Hypothesis
 - 1.10.2 Research Objectives
 - 1.10.3 Research Questions
- 1.11 Universe of Study
- 1.12 Limitations of the Study
- 1.13 Chapterization

Chapter 2: Formation of the state of Uttarakhand: Umbrella Solution for Migration?.....35-70

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Historical Understanding of the Region
- 2.3 Social Structures and Caste-Class Relationship
 - 2.3.1 Agrarian Relations
 - 2.3.2 Community Traditions
- 2.4 Causes that led to the Statehood Movement
 - 2.4.1 Environmental Degradation
 - 2.4.2 An Upsurge for Economic Development
 - 2.4.3 Anti-Reservation Movement
 - 2.4.4 Developmental Issues
 - 2.4.5 Migration as a Catalyst for Demand of Separate Statehood
- 2.5 Alienation of Hill People from Nature
- 2.6 Scientific Forestry vs. Sacred Groves
- 2.7 Political History
- 2.8 Post 2000: Different Regimes
- 2.9 Conclusion

Chapter 3: Male Migration and the Role of Remittances.....71-104

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Theoretical Understanding
- 3.3 Review of Literature
- 3.4 The Present Scenario
 - 3.4.1 Decadal Change of Population in Uttarakhand
 - 3.4.2 Rural-Urban Migration
- 3.5 Migration in the 21st Century
- 3.6 Remittances and its Impact on ‘Left Behind’ Families and Society
- 3.7 Remittances as Bases of Social Inequality
- 3.8 Conclusion

Chapter 4: Impact of Male Migration on Women’s Decision-Making.....105-123

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Impact of Out-Migration on Gender Distribution
- 4.3 Decision-Making Power: Gender and Empowerment
- 4.4 Two Lines of Thought
- 4.5 Changes in Traditional Gender Roles
- 4.6 Challenges of ‘Left Behind’ Women
- 4.7 Conclusion

Chapter 5: An Empirical Analysis of Women’s Decision-Making.....124-178

- 5.1 Background
- 5.2 Section - I: Demographic Details
 - 5.2.1 Socio-Economic Profile of the Respondents
- 5.3 Observations on the basis of Field Work
- 5.4 A Day in the Life of a Woman in the Hills
- 5.5 Some General Findings
- 5.6 Impact of Male Migration on Women’s Decision-Making
- 5.7 Limited Decision-Makers
- 5.8 Section II: Male Migration and Impact of Remittances on the basis of Field Work
 - 5.8.1 Impact of Male Migration on Families: Relatively Well-off and Poor Households
 - 5.8.2 Remittances as bases of Social Inequality on the basis of Field Work Impact on Women
 - 5.8.3 Impact on Women
- 5.9 Conclusion

Chapter 6: Conclusion and A Way Forward.....	179-195
Appendices.....	196-199
Bibliography	200-220

Chapter 1

Introduction

"Migration is an expression of the human aspiration for dignity, safety and a better future. It is part of the social fabric, part of our very make-up as a human family" ~ Ban Ki-moon

During the COVID-19 pandemic, a common sight in India was a long trail of movement of people who were trying to reach their hometown in this tough and challenging time. At this time, their lives were full of uncertainties owing to inadequate state support and lack of economic resources, etc. This created a deep soul crushing images in the minds of millions of Indians and empathized them towards the plight of migrating people. It raised several questions such as *Who are they? Why are they returning? Why did they leave native places in the first place?* For the first time, attention of masses was drawn towards migration as well as the issues related to it. Given the present context, the pandemic has foregrounded the issue of migration and migrants in India. Despite being the backbone of India's urban growth story, the stranded migrant workers were noticed only during the pandemic. Earlier, urban India never knew about such a large category of migrants in our population. This unseen aspect of the country's economy for much of its contemporary history was realized by urban India during the pandemic.

On part of migrants, the same people who left their hometowns for better livelihoods were returning to their native places for survival. This brings us to the question why did they leave the place of their birth in the first place. Rural distress such as unemployment, lack of livelihood opportunity, etc., were the reasons for moving out of the less industrialised states. Migration has happened for decades, and their condition was terrible even before the pandemic. In India, according to P. Sainath, migrant labour flows has mostly been from rural to urban areas due to attraction of better economic conditions. These include people who migrate permanently with no plan to return, seasonal or temporary migrants, and finally 'footloose migrants' hired by contractors from rural areas and moving from city to city having no final destination.¹

¹ P. Sainath, "The Migrant and the Moral Economy of the Elite," *India Today*, June 8, 2020, accessed on May 12, 2021, <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/cover-story/story/20200608-the-migrant-and-the-moral-economy-of-the-elite-1683242-2020-05-30>.

“This usual pattern of migration can be described as ‘mobility by default’. The reasons behind this include growing rural distress with agriculture and inadequate governmental policies to support the ailing rural economy. The unsustainable livelihoods have started a continuing stream of out-migration from the rural economy, both of seasonal and of ‘footloose’ nature.”² Migration was also facilitated by the prevailing familial links between the rural folks and the urban workmen. “Legislations like Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act (1979), the National Disaster Management Act (2005) and the Street Vendors Act (2014), indicate the sporadic initiatives of the State in this domain. These legislations provide an idea as to how these steps were of little relevance in addressing the current crisis faced by the migrants who were thrown out from the urban centres.”³

The current occurrence of reverse migration from urban to rural is problematic and doesn't fall into any of the categories mentioned above. Most of them still wish to return to their destination places in future to eke out their living. To what extent the home state will be able to cater their needs, and the strategy to retain them is something that needs genuine policy intervention. At the same time, the states where these labourers played a constructive role need to share the responsibility with the home states to ensure that they get adequate support and have enough opportunities during and post-pandemic. From a policy point of view, enhancing the livelihood opportunities and economic base by focusing on niche activities with improved provisioning of educational and health services can eventually help restrict unplanned out-migration.

Migration is the movement of people from their permanent place of residence to a different place of destination. It can either be within country (internal) or across countries (international). Between 2001 and 2011, the number of migrants increased by 45 percent, while the population grew by 18 percent. In 2011, out of total migration, 99 percent was internal and the rest 1 percent were international migrants.⁴

In depth analysis of the data reveals “there were around 3 crore urban-rural migrants (7 percent of classifiable internal migration). Intra-state and inter-state are other ways to classify

² Sunanda Sen, “Rethinking Migration and the Informal Indian Economy in the Time of Pandemic,” *The Wire*, June 1, 2020, accessed on January 17, 2021, <https://thewire.in/economy/rethinking-migration-and-the-informal-indian-economy-in-the-time-of-a-pandemic>.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Madhunika Iyer, “Migration in India and the Impact of the Lockdown on Migrants,” *PRS Legislative Research* (blog), June 10, 2020, accessed on June 12, 2021, <https://www.prsindia.org/theprsblog/migration-india-and-impact-lockdown-migrants>.

migration. In 2011, intra-state movement accounted for almost 88 percent of all internal migration. There is variation across states in terms of inter-state migration flows. There were 5.4 crore inter-state migrants. Uttar Pradesh (UP) and Bihar were the largest source of inter-state migrants while Maharashtra and Delhi were the largest receiver states.”⁵

The above data and the livelihood crisis never got noticed earlier. Such a large volume of data corroborates the plight of migrants as well as its impact on Indian society. The following section attempts to highlight the phenomenon of migration in India.

1.1 Migration in India

Migration is a process of movement of people from one region or country to another. The scholars worldwide have conceptualized migration differently and so far no unanimity over the meaning of migration is observed. According to United Nations (UN), migration is a form of geographical mobility from one geographical area to another, usually crossing administrative boundaries, involving a change of residence. Migration has also been defined as flows and counter-flows of people, goods, services and information between places that tend to facilitate further exchange. The people move from one location to another for a variety of reasons - natural and socio-economic.⁶

National Sample Survey Office (NSSO) report provides an interesting description of migration in India which is a highly localized phenomenon. “Almost 99 percent of the migration takes place within India, although, given the overall population size, India also contributes substantially to international migration.”⁷ “Almost, 27 percent of the Indian population is identified as ‘migrant’. An overwhelming majority of 77 percent are women who migrated owing to arranged marriages. Over 40 percent of the female population in rural as well as urban areas consists of migrants. The male migration is also sizeable. Nearly 7 percent of the rural and 27 percent of the urban male population consists of migrants. Of these, 30 percent of the rural male migrants and 53 percent of the urban male migrated for employment-related reasons.”⁸ “An increasing number of people migrate to urban areas for

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Vishwambhar Sati, “Patterns and Implications of Rural-Urban Migration in the Uttarakhand Himalaya, India,” *Annals of Natural Sciences* 2, no.1 (2016): 26-37.

⁷ “Migration in India, 2007-08,” Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India, accessed on August 26, 2016, http://mospi.nic.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/533_final.pdf.

⁸ Sonalde Desai and Banerji Manjistha, “Negotiated identities: Male migration and left-behind wives in India,” *Journal of Population Research* 25, no.3 (2008): 339.

studies. Most of this migration is relatively short-distance. Among rural male migrants, 57 percent come from the same district and 82 percent from the same state; among urban male migrants, 34 percent from the same district and 74 percent from the same state.”⁹

Internal migrants in India “constituted 30 percent of the total population of the country in 2001. The percentage of urban population in India which was only 17 percent of the total population in 1951 is expected to jump to around 42.5 percent of the total population by 2025. All this will happen because large numbers of people will leave rural areas for urban areas in search for better opportunities. In the last 50 years, the rural population has decreased from 82 percent to 68.9 percent.”¹⁰

India’s Human Development Survey (IHDS) 2005, “documents that among ever-married women aged 15-49, about 4.5 percent of the rural women and 1.5 percent of the urban women had husbands who lived elsewhere. Among migrant husbands, 26 percent are living in the same state, 62 percent in a different state and 12 percent in a different country.”¹¹ However, this phenomenon is “highly geographically clustered. In the case of Uttarakhand, micro level studies report that 42 percent to 57 percent households have at least one out-migrant. Yet another study finds that 48 percent of households reported out-migration, 34 percent reported long-term migration, 16 percent reported permanent migration and 4 percent reported short term migration.”¹²

In India, socio-economic changes that are taking place in the era of globalization have strong spatial implications. Various studies have reported lesser internal migration before 1990's as compared to post-1990's numbers. Conversely, the post-reform period confirms an increase in internal population movement. The NSSO report (2007-08) shows “internal migration in India has increased from 25 percent in 1993 to 29 percent in 2007-08. Poverty, increasing unemployment, population pressure, depletion of natural resources, environmental degradation, etc., force people to migrate. At the same time, better employment and educational opportunities, urbanization, improvement in educational level, changing occupational pattern, etc., are the new stimulus facilitating spatial movement.”¹³ Hence, critical investigation is needed to understand the trends and patterns of migration

⁹ Ibid., 339.

¹⁰ Shahin Razi, “Rural Distress and Rural Migration,” *Kurukshetra* 61, no. 11 (2014): 4.

¹¹ “Human Development Report of the State of Uttarakhand,” *Institute for Human Development*, December 31, 2018, accessed on January 17, 2019, https://des.uk.gov.in/files/HDR_Report_Uttarakhand.pdf.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Sandhya Rani Mahapatro, “The Changing Pattern of Internal Migration in India,” *European Population Conference*, Stockholm, Sweden, 2012, accessed on April 17, 2018, <https://epc2012.princeton.edu/papers/121017>.

especially after the 1991 post-reform period. The existing studies focusing on the changing pattern of migration are limited.

Due to changes in the economic structure, India is witnessing rural to urban migration. The new economic set up has created regular and remunerative wage work in urban centres and has resulted in high rate of spatial mobility.¹⁴ The other school of thought highlights the adverse impact of economic reforms especially in rural areas like poverty, low growth in agriculture and unemployment, environmental degradation etc., also lead to a growth in rural to urban migration.¹⁵ In addition to economic factors, non-economic dynamics like education, alterations in administrative boundaries also result in mobility outside the region. It can be said that neither push nor pull factors alone influence migration flow, rather both influence migration simultaneously.

Thus, migration is an important socio-political and cultural phenomenon in India. The northern states, particularly UP, Bihar and Uttarakhand, are places where out-migration is more prevalent. Among these, the presence of migration in Uttarakhand is, from the distant past, due to an amalgamation of various factors at different times in its history. The choice of Uttarakhand for internal domestic migration due to 'internal colonialism' would be a natural one. Some of the factors that pushed the study towards Uttarakhand is the profound culture of migration that Uttarakhand witnesses. Also, the long and domestic history of migration and its impact on the left behind society would be an important and interesting aspect that needs to be studied.

¹⁴ Priya Deshingkar and Sven Grimm, "Internal Migration and Development: A Global Perspective," *United Nations Publications*, 2005, accessed on February 22, 2017, <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/68.pdf>.

¹⁵ Arup Mitra and Mayumi Murayama, "Rural to Urban Migration: A District-Level Analysis for India," *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care* 5, no. 2 (2009): 35-52, <https://doi.org/10.1108/17479894200900011>.



Map 1.1: Uttarakhand as a part of Uttar Pradesh

Source: Bifurcation of Uttar Pradesh - proposals.svg



Map 1.2: Uttarakhand

Source: <http://upost.gov.in/>

1.2 Present Study: Rationale

The state of Uttarakhand, earlier a part of UP, has been characterized by high rates of migration for a long time. In 2000, with the bifurcation of UP, Uttarakhand became a separate state, but continued to have the problem of migration. As per Census 2011, 17 percent of hill population lives in the urban areas whereas 42 percent population of plain districts lives in urban areas.¹⁶ Therefore, this study focuses on the socio-economic aspect of the region that led to migration on such a high scale and its impact on the left behind people, particularly women. The present work tries to analyse the situation of the left behind women due to male migration in the state of Uttarakhand.

Migration is a process and parameter by which one can gaze at the varying social, economic and political condition at regional, national and international levels. Absence of opportunities and lack of resources are the main cause of migration, reflected in the socio-economic disparities that exist between the place of origin and destination. Underdevelopment which is a push factor at place of origin is a cause of migration, and prosperity which is a pull factor at place of destination also leads to migration. Migration becomes a natural outcome. As people struggle to survive, sustain, prosper, avoid insecurity and poverty, moving towards new opportunities could be seen as the trajectory of the process of migration. It is a dynamic process. The types of migration differ from temporary to permanent and seasonal to year-long.

Geographically speaking, migration from the Himalayan region is essentially a livelihood strategy. The region suffers from lack of access to basic amenities, low incomes, lack of infrastructure and employment opportunities that are necessary for the survival of the local population. In the absence of job opportunities, youth are migrating to the urban industrial centres in search of employment within or outside the state for economic development.¹⁷ Migration produces human and financial capital which, if leveraged, can decrease poverty. Apart from socio-economic factors, the environmental changes that include declining crop yields, scarce or unavailability of mountain products, increase in the extent and severity of natural disasters and reduction in the diversity of mountain agriculture; also contribute to migration from the region.

¹⁶ “Uttarakhand Human Development Report,” *Institute for Human Development*, 2018.

From a historical perspective, the migration process in Uttarakhand can be divided into pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial period. In pre-colonial times, when Chand rule¹⁸ was trying to expand its territory, “many communities/castes came to Uttarakhand region from different parts of India, Nepal and Tibet. During colonial period, it was started with Anglo-Nepalese war (1814-1816) resulting in ‘Treaty of Sugauli’ (1816) between Gorkha and East India Company. The rise and growth of some towns and cantonments in the region also opened gates for migration of able-bodied young people. When Nainital became the summer capital of the United Province, it led to the creation of different kinds of jobs in the hill station. This period also saw the beginning of migration outside the region with the recruitment of young men in the army. When the foothills of Kumaon were linked to the railway after 1890, they became the gateways of British Kumaon, Tehri state and Dehradun. These developments created jobs and opportunities for rural population even in the remote villages to move elsewhere for work. Also, First World War (1914-1918) accelerated out-migration as army started recruiting large number of people. They were taken to different cantonments for training and battlefields of Asia, Africa and Europe, and this trend of working in defence sector has continued till date. Lastly, the region witnessed war induced migration, during the post-colonial period. The wars of 1962 (Indo-China War), 1965 (Indo-Pakistan War) and 1971 (Bangladesh War)” furthered job opportunities in the defence sector, provided livelihood opportunities and destruction of traditional livelihoods.¹⁹

In Uttarakhand, for larger population, migration is seen as a prerequisite for survival. The government has not accorded much importance to the issue. The policies and programmes of government failed to address and curb the problem of migration. Thus, it can be said that the effective policies that could curtail the phenomenon of migration are simply not there. The following section talks about some of the determining factors that have contributed to the migration in the state of Uttarakhand.

¹⁸ In the period between 1300 to 1400 AD, after the disintegration of Katyuri kingdom of Uttarakhand, eastern region of Uttarakhand (Kumaon and Far-Western Region of Nepal which was a part of Uttarakhand then), was divided into eight different princely states i.e., Baijnath-Katyuri, Dwarhat, Doti, Baramandal, Askot, Sira, Sora, Sui (Kali kumaon). The Chand kingdom was established by Som Chand, who came here from Kannauj near Allahabad, sometime in the 10th century, and displaced the Katyuri Kings originally from Katyur valley near Joshimath, who had been ruling the area from the 7th century AD.

¹⁹ Shekhar Pathak, Lalit Pant and Amina Maharjan, “De-population Trends, Patterns and Effects in Uttarakhand, India - A Gateway to Kailash Mansarovar,” *ICIMOD Working Paper, 2017/22*, Kathmandu, Nepal, October 2017, accessed on July 12, 2017, http://lib.icimod.org/record/32787/files/icimodWP_22_017.pdf.

1.3 Determinants of Migration in Uttarakhand

Uttarakhand has witnessed a long history of migration. The migration usually starts with a single individual, engulfing the whole family subsequently; which results in the less number of inhabitants in rural areas. The patterns include migration of complete households (leaving behind ‘ghost villages’),²⁰ migration of a few members of a family, migration of a couple or migration of single male or female. According to the report issued by the Uttarakhand Rural Development and Migration Commission (URDMC) in September 2019, a total of 3.83 lakh people from 3,946 gram panchayats have never returned after migrating in the last decade. This report analyses various policies and programmes in the rural development sector to strengthen the socio-economy of the rural areas in order to mitigate out-migration.²¹

Some of the factors that have contributed to migration are as follows:

- **Decreasing Agricultural Productivity**

People from hilly areas of Uttarakhand have been migrating for a long time so that they can have a certain household income as mountain agriculture is predominantly of subsistence nature. Agriculture is a source of livelihood for 70 percent of the population in the state population. “Out of the total reported land area of 53.48 lakh hectares, only 14 percent is under cultivation, the rest of the area consists of forest and wasteland²². The majority of the population depends upon agricultural activities for their livelihood. Terraced slopes (85 percent of total agricultural land) are largely rain fed, while the valleys (15 percent of total area) are irrigated.”²³ Small land holdings are characterized by shallow soil, lack of irrigation, lack of mechanization and technology. Traditional hill agriculture is practiced on small and fragmented terraced fields. It results in low crop yields with limited options for cultivating cash crops and proves to be uneconomical. It has also hindered investment in the sector. The increase in the family size led to the subdivision of land holdings. Inhabitants claim not having sufficient food grain to support their family. The existing agricultural produce fulfils their food grain requirements for only 6-8 months. In some areas, it is sufficient for only 1-2

²⁰ Ghost Villages: A village whose inhabitants have all left.

²¹ “Rural Development and Migration Commission,” Uttarakhand Pauri Garhwal, accessed on September, 11, 2019, <https://spc.uk.gov.in/upload/contents/File-98.pdf>.

²² Wasteland Survey and Reclamation Committee, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India (1961) has defined wasteland as those lands which are either not available for cultivation or left out without being cultivated for some reason or the other.

²³ “Transforming Crisis into Opportunity,” Uttarakhand Action Plan on Climate Change, Government of Uttarakhand, 2014, accessed on February 24, 2018, http://www.forest.uk.gov.in/files/USAPCC/Uttarakhand_SAPCC.pdf.

months of the year. Earlier, they could fulfil the complete annual household demand. This has led to higher food insecurity in the region due to decreasing productivity because of inaccessibility, varied topography, extreme ecological conditions and the lack of proper policies. Agriculture in the mountains is becoming a less reliable livelihood strategy. The inaccessibility and remoteness hinders the access to agricultural inputs, access to markets and spread of extension services. This pushes the local poor to migrate to industrial areas in the plains. In the specific study districts, the majority of people observed that declining agricultural productivity is a foremost reason for migration.

- **Lack of Income Generating Opportunities**

Lack of job opportunities in villages emerged as the strongest cause of migration. A general exhaustion with the hardships, challenges and lack of facilities were observed as causes of attraction to cities. Inadequate industrial development in the hills and mountainous region has restricted alternative employment opportunities. Scarcity of opportunities, on one hand, and attractive prospects elsewhere on the other, are strong factors for large scale migration. Radio, television and education brought greater exposure and awareness about the prospects outside the region. They are increasingly inciting youngsters to migrate, as local investment, growth and development for the future seem limited. Further, the influence of migrated relatives and friends is another determining factor for migration. This works in combination with existing local factors like low agricultural productivity, lack of interest in agrarian activities, the shortage of basic facilities and infrastructure in villages, etc.

- **Educated Person's Aspirations**

Education is a significant push factor amongst those who are dissatisfied with agricultural work. Youth with intermediate education are reluctant to take up agricultural work. They feel opportunities for better livelihood are available for them outside their villages. There is a growing lack of interest in agricultural activities and look for alternative livelihood opportunities. There is also a strong feeling that agriculture is not meant for the literate and educated. Agriculture is treated as a socially demeaning occupation, pursued by illiterate and less educated people only. The existing societal values and education are responsible for the population shift from rural areas to plains and urban centres.

- **Environmental Changes**

This phenomenon resulted in decreased land productivity and becomes an indirect driver of migration. The Himalayan region comprises of highly vulnerable and fragile ecosystems. There is a natural connection and dependency between climatic conditions and agricultural development. “Agriculture is inherently vulnerable to climate variability and change. This vulnerability is exacerbated in Uttarakhand by a number of developmental issues which increase the exposure and sensitivity of the sector to climate impacts.”²⁴

- **Emerging Concept of ‘Ghost Villages’**

The factors cited above have resulted in the emergence of ‘ghost villages’. Sometimes and for some, migration involves movement of entire families from the hills to the plains, either within Uttarakhand or to other parts of the country. The plain areas recorded a decadal population growth of almost 32 percent. This is a definite indicator of large-scale migration from the hills. There are 1,048 villages in the state that are uninhabited, known as ‘ghost villages’, according to Census 2011.’²⁵

This trend of ghost villages is found largely in families that are relatively well-off, because these families can afford to stay in the host destination. But for the larger population, not that well-off economically, single male migration is more prevalent. In such cases, the left behind family members manage the home. Here, it can be asserted that male migration has resulted in transferring the agrarian activities to their female counterparts. It cannot be said that prior to migration women were never involved in agriculture but with migration the nature of their activities has shifted upside down. Thus, women seem to be more active in agriculture, a phenomenon that has been termed as ‘feminization of labour’.

1.4 Feminization of Labour

The process of migration has placed agriculture more than ever in the hands of women. Men have moved out of agriculture to other non-farm activities or to urban areas for other work, whereas women are deeply entrenched with the field labour. Krishnaraj and Kanchi

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ “Hills of Uttarakhand filled with ‘Ghost Villages’ as Growth Inequality Widens,” *Hindustan Times*, March 10, 2017, accessed on April 18, 2019, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/growth-inequality-is-emptying-out-entire-villages-in-uttarakhand/story-8WKFLavV900kqR1uQsIbWM.html>.

point that women are largely employed in agriculture and have a high participation rate due to large scale migration of men. This is necessarily the phenomenon of ‘feminization of labour’ or ‘feminization of agriculture’. Women’s participation is quite stable on the agricultural fields and is indicative of lack of options outside agriculture for women due to a variety of reasons. These could be lack of education and training, lack of geographical mobility, difficulty in combining work with household activities in non-agricultural sectors.²⁶

According to Census 2011, the workers constitute 38.4 percent of the population; males contribute 49.7 percent to it and females 26.7 percent.²⁷ Surprisingly, the “work participation rate of the population in the state is lower than the all India average. It could be attributed to relatively low work participation of male population which is 49.7 percent against 53.3 percent for all India.”²⁸ Historically, “male workers have been migrating to plains in search of employment opportunities and this feature has reduced the work participation rate of males in Uttarakhand. On the other hand, the work participation rate of females in Uttarakhand is above the national average. It could be due to the significant contribution of women in various economic activities, primarily in agriculture based activities.”²⁹

²⁶ Maithreyi Krishnaraj and Aruna Kanchi, *Women Farmers in India* (Delhi: National Book Trust, 2008).

²⁷ “Uttarakhand Population 2011-2021,” Census 2011, accessed on April 26, 2018, <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/uttarakhand.html>.

²⁸ Usha Tuteja, “Agriculture Profile of Uttarakhand,” *Agricultural Economics Research Centre*, University of Delhi (2013), 8.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

**Table 1.1: Area, Population and Work Participation Rate in Uttarakhand and India
(2011)**

Parameter	Uttarakhand	India
Total Area (Sq. km.)	53,483 (1.62%)	3,28,7590 (100.00%)
Total Population (lakh)	1,00,86,292 (0.83%)	1,21,08,54,977 (100.00%)
Sex Ratio (No.)	963	940
Rural Population (lakh)	70.26	833.7
% of Rural Population to Total Population	69.66	68.85
Literacy Rate (%)	79.63	74.04
Population Density (Per sq. km.)	189	382
Work Participation Rate (%)		
Male	49.7	53.3
Female	26.7	25.5
All	38.4	39.8
% of Main Workers to Total Workers	74.1	75.2
% of Marginal Workers to Total Workers	25.9	24.8

Source: Census of India, 2011

“The model of male migration has been the object of copious scholarship in demographics, sociology, anthropology and geography. These works focused on the forms of inclusion of migrant men into their place of destination rather than on the impact of their absence on the social and territorial transformation at their place of origin and on the places especially occupied by women in these spaces.”³⁰ The relative limitation of studies on women, staying back, is a factor that contributed towards the rationale for the study. The study focuses more precisely on processes through gender-based approaches and studying the consequences of male migration on the women staying behind, as such studies are relatively limited and recent.

³⁰ Geneviève Cortes, “Women and Migrations: Those Who Stay, Introduction,” *EchoGéo* 37 (2016): 3, <https://doi.org/10.4000/echogeo.14892>.

1.5 ‘Left Behind’ Women: Gap in Literature

Male out-migration “over extended periods greatly increases women’s work burdens and compounds their difficulties. The women in these de facto female-headed-households project themselves as the ‘behind the scenes’ decision-makers, while trying to live according to the expectations of the patriarchal ideology, conferring the role of major decision-maker on the absentee husband.”³¹ It is significant to note that studies on non-migrant women focuses on women as ‘head of household’ in the absence of men. In other words, literature on women who are left behind is relatively scant and blatantly lacking in the case of India in general, and Uttarakhand in particular. Similarly, the international institutions’ reports on migration “address the link between women and migration but deals with only migrant women. This is also explained by the fact that the “feminization of migration is not homogeneous and cannot be observed across all regions of the world. Within the same region, city or village or rural community, migration behaviours can be highly differentiated.”³² However, even within these regions of migration, a de facto selection occurs in cases where women do not migrate.

Male out migration will have consequences on the livelihood of households in the place of origin and on women left behind. Remittances may be used to pay for farm inputs including wage labourers to compensate for the absence of male family members. If remittances are not adequate, women's workload may increase. In the absence of men, women's decision-making authority may increase and their roles may shift from unpaid family helper to decision-maker. Hence, it is important to understand the needs and constraints of the women left behind to manage farms, to strengthen their abilities and remove the impediments that prevent them from meeting their full potential.

1.6 ‘Left Behind’ as used in Literature

One of the main objectives of this study is to investigate why these women who remain in the place of origin while their male counterparts out-migrate are called ‘left behind’ in the migration literature. Is it because of a lack of a better word? Or are these women termed ‘left behind’ as a logical consequence of male migration? Whatever the reasons, the term

³¹ Ibid., 3.

³² Ibid., 3.

‘left behind’ as used in the literature evokes two meanings: first, these women have no role in their husbands’ decision to out-migrate and in their decision to stay back in the origin community. It is as if the decision is taken solely by the husband or other male members in the family and the women have no option but to consent. Reference may be made to Hondagneu-Sotelo’s work where the author found that in all of the families where men had precedence over their wives, “patriarchal forms of authority prevailed, so migration decisions did not arise as part of a unified family or household strategy. Generally, husbands unilaterally decided to migrate with only a token, superficial regard for their wives’ concerns and opinions. Women were not active decision-making participants.”³³ Hardly ever a clear strategy evolves from the deliberation between the husband and wife, and the husband tends to justify his decision with generalized statements citing his responsibility for betterment of his family, family obligation and the like. In other cases, it is the ‘family stage migration’, when men go first with the expectation that wives and children may join at a later ‘stage’. However, in many of the cases, there is no later ‘stage’.

The second sense is that the term ‘left behind’ indicates that these women have been abandoned by their husbands in the sense that these out-migrating men find and secure a new relationship in the destination place and leave these women and their relationship behind. It is, however, necessary to mention here that the issue of “infidelity within the context of migration and abandonment of wives who stay behind is minimally addressed in the literature. A possible reason for this, as has been argued, is that survey methods often fail to record such behaviour because questions are restricted to formal legal categories.”³⁴ Contrary to the notion that women have no role in the decision of their husbands to migrate, women in these villages want their men to out-migrate in order to earn a livelihood. They believe that when their husbands are at home, they waste their time in unsocial activities, mainly gambling. So, it is better that they go out of the village and engage in income generating work.³⁵

From the above account, it can be argued that ‘left behind’ is not the appropriate term to describe the women whose husbands out-migrate. It also neglects the fact that many women themselves choose to stay back in the origin community. Arguments like gendered

³³ Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, "Overcoming patriarchal constraints: The reconstruction of gender relations among Mexican immigrant women and men," *Gender & Society* 6, no. 3 (1992): 394.

³⁴ Miranda Das, "Male Out-migration and Women in Rural Bihar: A Socio-legal Study," *Journal of Migration Affairs* 1, no. 1 (2018): 28.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

roles alone do not explain their staying back. Scholarly literature and census data suggest that there are places from where women also migrate, even singly, in large numbers. The familiarity with their community and the life-style are cited by them as a reason for not migrating. Apart from familiarity, their staying back is also seen as a cost-effective strategy and they also manage to generate employment for themselves with the help of a network of women that they have established over the years.

But for the purpose of the study, the term 'left behind' will only mean a wife of a migrated husband with no underlying meaning. Having said that, an overwhelming majority of migrants are men and their wives stay back to singly tend their home, children, husband's parents (in some cases) and the extended family. These women and children are often referred to as the left behind families of the migrants, and women as 'left behind' women. As mentioned above, some studies have attempted to assess the socio-economic impacts of male migration on the left behind families. One of the objectives of this study is to figure out the social profile of the so-called 'left behind' women in the study villages. The findings suggest that the women, particularly those in the villages under study, have certain common characteristics, apart from having an out-migrant male member in the family. The commonalities among these women include that most of these women are de facto head of their households. Defining 'head of the household' is difficult, particularly when it relates to a woman. The terms used in defining women head of households may carry different meanings, the most popular being "de jure and de facto women household heads. The de jure household head is considered to be the permanent head of a particular household; de facto household head refers to that head of a household who is temporarily taking care of the household, i.e. acting as a head in absence of the actual head of the household."³⁶

According to the Census, "the head of household is defined to be one who is recognized as such by the household. She or he is generally the person who is chiefly responsible for managing the affairs of the household and taking decisions on behalf of the household."³⁷ "The head of household need not necessarily be the oldest male member or an earning member, but may be a female or a younger member of either sex. In case of an absentee de jure 'Head', the person on whom the responsibility of managing the affairs of household

³⁶ Ibid., 24.

³⁷ "Introduction," Census of India, accessed on August 17, 2016, https://censusindia.gov.in/Data_Products/Data_Highlights/Data_Highlights_link/Datahighlights_HH567.pdf.

rests is regarded as the head irrespective of whether the person is male or female.”³⁸ For the purpose of the study, the same definition has been considered.

Thus, as far as the literature is concerned, the explanation that has been given about the impact of migration on women is different. There were different reasons given by women, like the husband does not earn much, so cannot afford to take family, land and elderly people at home, etc. Only those women migrate whose husbands were earning decently. The left behind women do not belong to well-off families. Also, one does participate in the decision of husband’s migration; and although one is not happy about it, it is required because of economic needs. The primary aim of the study is not the assessment of the migrant but understanding what the situation or context is for the left behind families, particularly women in terms of her decision-making, and the role that remittances play. Therefore, the focus is on analysing the impact of migration on women who are left behind and about analysing changes, if there are any, in the study area as a result of migration. The study aims to enhance our understanding about the impact of male migration on left behind women in the two districts of Uttarakhand, namely Almora and Pauri Garhwal.

1.7 Problem Area

The prolonged absence of men has many effects on community in general and family in particular. For example, traditionally the presence of an adult man is crucial to household decision-making, mobility and security. Changes are also visible to the women’s responsibility, challenges and status as they cope with long and frequent absence of men. But, the studies of the northern states or of the southern states cannot be generalised and applied to Uttarakhand, as this whole process varies from region to region and is context specific.

Often, the research on remittances is analysed from an economic perspective but studies on how they influence society in general and women in particular are relatively scarce. There has been little analysis of the impact of remittances, including not only remittances in the form of money but also social remittances. The gender perspective in remittances is something we know relatively little about. Thus, the aim is to fill the gap in the literature. There are relatively few studies analysing the impact of migration on women having

³⁸ Ibid.

migrated husbands. Therefore, the study attempts to analyse the social impact of migration on women in the selected villages of Uttarakhand.

The study seeks to explore contextually embedded and gendered experiences of managing, coping, adjusting and adapting to varied manifestations of migration by women. In the research and policy focusing on women, they are typically portrayed as overburdened, weak and vulnerable, rather than exercising agency in numerous different ways to overcome adversity, make a living and more importantly, contributing to meeting their future aspirations for their children. What brings to the fore is the need to understand not only the changing relationship between men and women, but also the intersecting nature of identities and how they play out in terms of enabling or preventing access to resources and services. According to Rao, resources are much more than material assets, they have social, symbolic and relational meaning as well and these are gendered.³⁹

1.8 Methodology and Design

To start off any research, one needs a pattern, structure and framework to begin with known as paradigm. A conceptual framework provides a model to examine problems and find solutions. According to Kuhn, “the term paradigm refers to a research culture with a set of beliefs, values and assumptions that a community of researchers has in common regarding the nature and conduct of research. The paradigm is a way of perceiving the world. It is the foundational insights and assumptions that guide one’s actions.”⁴⁰ Thus, it is important to lay down the skeletal framework of the researcher’s beliefs and perceptions to define the scope of the research. It is more important to dwell upon the ways of looking at research data than to discover new research techniques. The focus of the researcher should not be on the generation of the new theory but to judge or evaluate and refine interpretive theories. Social world is not independent of its social meanings that its people use to explain and hence to constitute it.

It treats social facts as constructions. This means that there is always a frame of reference within which facts exist and that there is nothing like ‘pure experience’. Theoretical

³⁹ Nitya Rao and Asha Hans, “Gender and Climate Change Emergent Issues for Research, Policy and Practice,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 53, no. 17 (2018): 35-37, <https://www.epw.in/journal/2018/17/review-womens-studies/gender-and-climate-change.html>.

⁴⁰ Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 66.

assumptions as bases of argument are never neutral and, therefore, there is always some interpretation involved behind stating facts. This implies understanding the bases of giving meaning and their ways of interpreting actions.

Hence, this research is based on understanding the position of women in the absence of their husbands. The existing notion of migration is used as a reference point to design the data collection instruments and draw data. The experiences and beliefs of the research participants are interpreted to reach a generalized observation about the variables. The subjective views of the participants are elicited to interpret and answer the research questions, and to draw inferences from the results.

It is an explorative study. It is thus seen to be naturalistic, ethnographic and participatory in its approach. It can be said that qualitative research seeks a subjective investigation of the research variable using multiple research methods and quantitative research is an inquiry into a social problem to determine whether the proposed theoretical generalizations hold true. Thus, the study is based on surveys and qualitative research to achieve the desired objectives.

Toulmin⁴¹ identifies the four tendencies adopted during a research:

- ❖ Return to the Oral (use of language, narrative and communication).
- ❖ Return to the Particular (concentrating on the specific problems in specific situations rather than concentrating on universal and abstract questions).
- ❖ Return to the Local (analysing the systems of knowledge, practices and experiences in their local context, instead of attempting to test their universal validity).
- ❖ Return to the Timely (identifying solutions to the located problems within context, instead testing their universal validity).

- **Observational Studies**

There are different kinds of observational studies like exploratory, descriptive, explanatory, cohort studies, case-control studies, evaluative studies, monitoring studies, historical studies and panel study. These studies are designed to help us understand the causation of social

⁴¹ Stephen E. Toulmin, *The Uses of Argument Updated Editions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

reality through tentative explanations, observations and the process of happening of social events or phenomena. Different explanations may be imagined to the evolving of a phenomenon but such studies provide the most apt one among them on a scientific basis. Therefore, tentative explanations are vital to research because they help in making better observations about causation of phenomena. Further, these tentative or preliminary explanations constitute theory. However, these must be studied in contact with pre-existing and scientifically well-established theories about a particular social phenomenon. These observational studies are characterized as studies based on non-experimental design.

For the present study, out of these, a mix of exploratory, descriptive and explanatory strategy was considered to be useful. These studies consist of the function of assessing the characteristics of a given situation about a social phenomenon. Descriptive research attempts to describe events, situations and phenomenon.

- **Data Collection Instruments**

There are different ways of collecting information. One of them is complete enumeration, which is a costlier and time-consuming exercise. The other method is a sample survey, through which information is collected from a limited number of persons, who represent the entire population. The term ‘sample’ refers to any group of people who have been chosen as representative members of the population under study. Sampling has been defined as a procedure by which the characteristics of a large number of people (called population or universe) are inferred on the basis of the information collected from only a few (a sample). Since only a few people represent the views of many, it is important in survey research to select the sample population in a scientific manner and obtain unbiased estimates.⁴²

Sample surveys are techniques for gathering data on knowledge, behaviour, attitudes, values and opinion. This technique is suitable when differentiated categories of respondents are involved. It provides data in a systematic, uniform and potentially quantifiable form. A survey is an orderly and formal procedure of collecting information specifying clearly what is to be obtained, from whom and how. Backstrom and Harsh-Cesar describe survey research as a systematic, impartial, theory-based representation, which is self-monitoring, contemporary and replicable.⁴³

⁴² Charles. H Backstrom and Gerald Hursh-Cesar, *Survey Research* (New York: Wiley, 1981).

⁴³ Ibid.

- **Stages of Sample Survey**

Sample Design gives us both the theory and procedure for drawing the sample. There are two types of sampling method - 'Probability' and 'Non-probability'. In a probability sample, each person from the population has an equal and equivalent chance of getting selected in the sample. Such samples are free from human biases and personal judgements. They can be used for generalization of results. For example, stratified, cluster, etc., are included under probability sampling method. The non-probability samples are purposive and selective, where people are chosen deliberately for certain characteristics considered to be relevant to the study. The information collected can be used for describing the trend of the opinion expressed by the people on topical issues. This method of sample design is generally used in qualitative research methods where there is no statistical parameter involved to be estimated. It includes purposive, quota, snowball, etc.

For the purpose of the study, method for choosing the sample was snowball sampling. The size of the sample depends upon the following parameters:

1. Homogeneity and heterogeneity in the population (the greater the heterogeneity in the population, the larger would be the required sample size)
2. Information about the population characteristics
3. Sampling procedure
4. Sample evaluation

There are four types of survey methods: self-administered questionnaires, mail surveys, telephone interviews and face-to-face interviews. Focus groups are often used where it is thought that one-to-one interviews would be too onerous or time-consuming. Within the research tradition that seeks to provide a window onto the subjective experience of respondents, it is uncommon to find researchers who have used focus groups to elicit narratives. According to Rosalina Barbour, one-to-one interviews are generally suited to eliciting detailed contextualized histories. Focus groups produce data that also varies in content than one-to-one interviews. The focus groups gravitate towards producing consensus that is sometimes irrelevant for the study.⁴⁴

For the study, face-to-face interviews have been used. In this, the respondent from the sample population was asked some open-ended questions. It was more like a conversation. In this

⁴⁴ Rosalina Barbour, *Doing Focus Group* (London: Sage Publication, 2007).

approach, the researcher has greater control over the respondent and in case of any confusion; the researcher reframes the question in an easier language, without distorting its meaning and intent.

1.9 Procedure of Data Collection

The following section talks about the factors on the basis of which section of area and household was made:

- (a) Selection of Area: On the basis of different parameters like topography, data on out-migration, etc., a number of villages from Garhwal and Kumaon, the two administrative divisions, were selected keeping in mind the feasibility and adequacy of population size.
- (b) Household: An in-depth and intensive study was done on households in order to get the perceptions of people from different generations for exploring the process of change and some case reports were prepared from this intensive study.
- (c) Tools Used: Based on surveys and qualitative research, various tools were used. Secondary sources were used to gather general information about the state, and district in particular. Additionally, the study also relied on primary source materials like government reports with secondary source materials such as books, articles from academic journals and relevant website materials.

In order to analyse the position of women in the absence of men some general and specific data were required for the study.

- **General Information**

General information pertaining to historical background, demographic patterns, area and its use, cropping pattern, occupational facilities, and infrastructure level were collected. Data about the district was gathered from statistical handbooks, district handbooks, census reports and from various government reports and records.

- **Specific Information**

Specific household information was gathered according to the following:

- a. Socio-economic Profile (Quantitative Data)

A household schedule was developed to collect information such as the family profile, living conditions, agriculture and allied activities, livestock, out-migration pattern, forest and water resources, social environment and health.

b. Qualitative Data

While collecting the socio-economic profile, a considerable amount of time was spent on informal discussions with every family to get information on people's perceptions about changes over time, nature of development in the area, implications of these changes for different categories of families and people's hopes and expectations. Interviews were conducted on the basis of information gathered during the pilot study, in view of the objectives of the study. This was the main tool, and both structured and unstructured questions were asked.

c. Observations

All through the study an effort was made to keenly observe people's interaction with one another, their behaviour pattern and other dimensions of social and physical environment.

d. Case Reports Developed

Apart from getting the perceptions of the family members, in a few families with members over sixty, the issue of changes over time was studied in much greater detail to understand the impact of the government policies on the migration pattern of the area and its implications for the people of this area.

▪ Structure of the Interview

The interview consisted of structured questionnaires to collect the background information. There are three types of questionnaires: Structured, Unstructured and Quasi-Structured. To prepare the socio-economic profile of a family, a set of fixed or structured questions were asked, e.g., name, number of family members, education, caste, etc. This section was designed to collect the background information within the limits of anonymity of the informants. The information gave a structured insight into the profile of the individual, family and the village. It intended to understand the participants' position in the societal ladder. This method helped in tracing a trajectory of the participants.

The interview design for the present research study included, the open-ended questions or unstructured questions were asked to understand the perception and to gather the

information from the respondents. These questions were mainly explanatory and descriptive. The interview was used as a method of data elicitation. Interview as a tool, allowed the researcher to gain access to the viewpoint of participants, thus it comprised of open-ended questions. It helped to gain a subjective insight into the perspectives and attitudes of the participants. The research questions of the study were largely exploratory in character as it was not obvious in advance what exactly the eventual product or yield of answering them would be. Hence, for answering such research questions, a qualitative research methodology was employed for this study.

1.10 The Present Study: Research Goals

The following section talks about the hypothesis, objective, research questions and research goals in detail. The onset of any research is marked by formalizing a hypothesis which is useful in questioning the nature and process of research. This enables the researcher to demarcate the theoretical basis of the research and explore the ideas and concepts embedded within the environment of the research.

1.10.1 Hypothesis

Male out-migration has a positive impact on women in terms of their increased decision-making power. The process of male migration directly or indirectly allows women to go beyond traditional gender roles and leads to a transformation in gender relations. As a result, women come into spaces and take on roles that they would not usually undertake.

1.10.2 Research Objectives

The objective of this study is to examine and analyse the impact of male migration on the local society in general and its impact on women, in particular. It also aims to study the experiences and concerns of women whose husbands have out-migrated, while they remain in the source place. The study also attempts to find out the differences, if any, vis a vis, of experience across regions. It has been largely done in terms of their autonomy and decision-making power. The aim of the study is to explore the objective and subjective component of

migration in the selected area. This broad objective is further split into the following sub-objectives:

- (a) To look at the process and pattern of male migration in the state of Uttarakhand.
- (b) To have a socio-economic profile of respondents.
- (c) To have an idea about the conditions of the families.
- (d) To study the extent of decision-making power of the women.
- (e) To analyse the role of social remittances in the lives of people in the home region.
- (f) To understand the impact of remittances in terms of finance-flow as well as through transfer of new skills and perceptions.

1.10.3 Research Questions

The attempt has been made to study the consequences of intensive migration for the local society in general, and its impact on women in particular in the state of Uttarakhand. The purpose of the research is to study how migration and remittances influence the lives and role of women in Uttarakhand by looking at the following questions:

- What were the causes that led to the problem of male migration in Uttarakhand?
- What impact male migration exercises on society in general and on their wives in particular?
- Does male migration lead to changes in traditional gender roles in society?
- Do remittances make women more active, or make them more dependent on men?
- What are the uses of remittances in terms of productive or consumption purposes?
- Does male migration increase women's decision-making power and their autonomy?
- What kind of development is required to tackle the ongoing question of development in the state?

1.11 Universe of the Study

The objective of this section is to describe the universe of study that presents an account of the methodology used during this research and the steps taken while collecting data and the instruments used during the study. It will also take into account the variables listed in the design of the data collection instruments. This will further explain the factors that were taken

into consideration for the selection of districts and the methods followed to collect information from selected respondents.

Uttarakhand is a rural centered state witnessing huge out-migration from the hill districts, evident from the population growth at district level between 2001 and 2011. The share of the population from hills has substantially declined, almost by 5 percent (53 percent in 2001 to 48 percent in 2011). Also, domestically (inter-state), there has been an increase in household remittance dependency in the area of Uttarakhand. Approximately 70 percent of its population resides in rural areas having the sex ratio of 1000 females per 1000 males. It shows the numerical prominence of females due to male out-migration.⁴⁵ Uttarakhand has been divided into two regions, Garhwal and Kumaon, for administrative purposes. The Garhwal region consists of seven districts: Chamoli, Dehradun, Haridwar, Pauri Garhwal, Rudrapur, Tehri-Garhwal and Uttarkashi. The Kumaon region consists of six districts: Almora, Bageshwar, Champawat, Nainital, Pithoragarh and Udham Singh Nagar.

Garhwal and Kumaon have a history of distinct socio-political systems - one was 'princely state of Garhwal' and the other was 'colonial territory of Kumaon'. Secondly, these two regions signify two dominant and distinct cultures of Uttarakhand. Thus, the aim was to look for the correlation in the responses of the people from different socio-political and cultural background.

The "data shows that at the state level about 19% of migrants go to nearby towns, 15% to district headquarters, 36% to other districts in the state, 29 % outside the state and less than one percent goes outside the country. In districts with relatively high urbanisation, e.g. Dehradun, Haridwar and Nainital, the townships attract the highest percentage of migrants. In the case of Almora and Pauri Garhwal, the largest percentage of migrants, 47 and 34 respectively, have gone outside the state. People have been venturing out to different places like Delhi and Mumbai. Consequently, networks of relatives, friends and acquaintances have been created in these places which are tapped to facilitate the entry of new migrants."⁴⁶

Around 700 villages in Uttarakhand have been uninhabited with approximately 3.8 lakh people have left their villages in last ten years turning into 'ghost villages'. According to the URDMC Report, a total of 3, 83,726 people have out-migrated from the hills in the last 10

⁴⁵ "Uttarakhand Population 2011-2021," Census 2011.

⁴⁶ B.K. Joshi, "Why are people migrating from Uttarakhand," *The National Herald*, June 10, 2018, accessed on December 26, 2020, <https://www.nationalheraldindia.com/opinion/why-are-people-migrating-from-uttarakhand>.

years.⁴⁷ In 2011, Pauri Garhwal had 122 villages (4 percent of total villages of the district) that were left with single digit population. Almora, Tehri and Pithoragarh have 49, 34 and 50 of such villages respectively.⁴⁸ “There has been a history of migration from hill regions, a large number of migrants returned to their villages but this process of return of migrants seems to have stopped of late.”⁴⁹ This is primarily due to the absence of opportunities back home.

It was intended to have one district from Kumaon and one from Garhwal so that it could be a comparative study too. For the purpose of the study, physical topography was the first parameter for selecting the districts for case study. As far as the topography is concerned the hill state of Uttarakhand can be divided into three categories, i.e. the upper hills, the middle hills and the foothills. The upper hills consist of Uttarkashi, Chamoli, Rudrprayag, Pithoragarh and Bageshwar. The middle hill consists of Tehri-Garhwal, Pauri Garhwal, Almora, Champawat, hilly regions of Nainital and Dehradun. The foothills consist of the remaining Dehradun, Haridwar, Nainital and Udham Singh Nagar. The foothills could not be part of the research, as it largely comprises plains and urban composition. The upper Himalayas could not be part because the region is sparsely populated. The middle Himalayas were taken into consideration since this region geographically represents the upper region and the foothills, leaving us with four districts. Thus, the selected districts belonged to the middle regions as it will have a mix of topography, i.e. hilly as well as foothills.

⁴⁷ “Over 700 Uttarakhand villages deserted in 10 years,” *The Economic Times*, May 6, 2018, accessed on November 16, 2019, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/over-700-uttarakhand-villages-deserted-in-10-years-report/articleshow/64044151.cms>.

⁴⁸ Rajendra P. Mamgain and D. Narasimha Reddy, “Out-Migration from the Hill Region of Uttarakhand: Magnitude, Challenges, and Policy Options,” in *Rural Labour Mobility in Times of Structural Transformation*, ed. D. Narasimha Reddy and Kailash Sarap (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 209-235.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 210.



Map 1.3: Administrative Divisions of Uttarakhand: Garhwal and Kumaon

Source: <https://www.nainital.info/devbhoomi-uttarakhand/>

Since Uttarakhand largely consists of rural areas and witnesses the relatively higher number of migrants, it was imperative to select the districts from rural areas only. Thus, out of the six districts from the middle hills, Nainital and Dehradun were not selected as they have plain regions with urban composition. The remaining four districts are Tehri-Garhwal, Pauri Garhwal, Almora and Champawat. Out of these four, two were selected on the basis of rural areas, sex ratio and population growth in last decade. Table 1.2 shows population growth in the district of Champawat. It is the second least urbanized district and stands second last in terms of positive decadal population growth. It is partly hilly and partly plain and bordered by Pithoragarh on the North, Nepal on the East, Udham Singh Nagar on the South, Nainital on the West and Almora on the North-west. Champawat witnesses high in-migration from the neighbouring districts in comparison to the rest three districts shortlisted for the study.

The next parameter that was taken into consideration was sex ratio and population growth in the last decade. On the basis of above parameters, Almora and Pauri Garhwal were the only two districts that witnessed negative population growth and have the largest number of females vis-a-vis males. Hence, Almora (Kumaon) and Pauri Garhwal (Garhwal) were selected for the purpose of this study. This can be understood by Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Factors for the selection of Districts

Districts	Sex Ratio	Rural Population	Population Growth
Almora	1139	89.99%	-1.28%
Champawat	980	85.23%	15.63%
Pauri-Garhwal	1103	83.60%	-1.41%
Tehri- Garhwal	1077	88.67%	2.35%

Source: Census of India 2011

As per 2011 Census of India, Almora district has a total population of 622,506 and ranks first in terms of sex ratio which is 1139 (rural 1177), higher than the state average. It has shown a negative decadal population growth rate (-1.65 percent). It has 2289 villages including 39 forest villages out of which 2184 villages are inhabited and remaining 105 villages are uninhabited. Almora is the least urbanized district in the state having one-tenth of the population in the urban areas. According to 2011 census, Pauri Garhwal district has total population of 687,271 and ranks third in terms of sex ratio which is 1103 (rural: 1144). It has shown a negative decadal population growth rate (-1.41 percent). It has 331 uninhabited villages out of the total 3473 villages in the district.⁵⁰

The strategy was to have some kind of similarity between the two districts. The villages were selected on the basis of average population size, generational migration trend, geographical locations, and connectivity to roads/highways. Caste consideration was another factor. The study proceeded from villages, such as Timali, Chandola Rain, Chopada, Pabo, Nail, Maso, Thapli, Bunga and Chorkandithat that come under Pauri Garhwal. From Almora, the villages that were picked for field work included Lamgarah, Lodhiya and Dugalkhola. The study was carried out in such a way that the data collected was repeatedly cross-checked with families, classes and individuals. This study attempts to answer the above questions by sample survey specifically undertaken in nine villages in Pauri-Garhwal and three villages in Almora.⁵¹ The sample size from Pauri Garhwal is 100 (82 females and 18 males) and from Almora is 70 (58 females and 12 males). Instead of fixing the number of households, the number of respondents has been fixed because a village consisted of a very less number of households. In Pauri Garhwal, the study villages consisted of approximately four to twelve households (no residents in the rest of the houses). In Almora, the villages were relatively densely populated, and women were responding collectively. Thus, for the purpose of data collection, single respondent response has been considered. Owing to the difficult terrain, it was not possible to have a big sample.

⁵⁰ "State Profile," Uttarakhand Health and Family Welfare Society, accessed on January 26, 2018, https://www.ukhfw.org/details.php?pgID=mi_15.

⁵¹ The variation in the number of villages between Pauri Garhwal and Almora is due to the difference in the number of households in both districts. Pauri Garhwal is thinly populated and Almora relatively densely populated.

Table 1.3: Population and Sex Ratio of Districts in Uttarakhand

Districts	Population	Sex Ratio
Almora	622,506	1139
Bageshwar	259,898	1090
Chamoli	391,605	1019
Champawat	259,648	980
Dehradun	1,696,694	902
Haridwar	1,890,422	880
Nainital	954,605	934
Pauri Garhwal	687,271	1103
Pithoragarh	483,439	1020
Rudraprayag	242,285	1114
Tehri Garhwal	618,931	1077
Udham Singh Nagar	1,648,902	920
Uttarkashi	330,086	958

Source: Census of India, 2011

Field work for this study was undertaken in December 2017, which was a pilot study of a span of eighteen days, and then for a month in December 2018. Observations and semi-structured interviews were used as tools of data collection. The intent was to make the interviews conversational. Therefore, the interviews ranged from an initial request for participants to describe their day-to-day lives and experiences to specific follow-up questions or probes. Not all questions were framed beforehand. In fact, a number of questions were

prepared during the course of fieldwork. Doing so was necessary in order to probe further or discuss specific issues at length. Semi-structured interviews were also useful because they allowed following relevant trajectories in the conversation that may stray from the set of questions to gather in-depth information. The semi-structured interviews were preceded by observations to develop understanding of the field required for relevant and necessary questions.

For the main study, the socio-economic profile of the households was collected and used along with informal discussions and interviews with other individuals and groups. Some case reports were also prepared side by side. The researcher stayed in the villages in Pauri Garhwal as well as in Almora in order to build a rapport and get the cooperation of the different groups. Some knowledge of Garhwali language was of aid in the field work.

1.12 Limitations of the Study

- (a) The first limitation is that it is a single-person study.
- (b) The difficult mountainous terrain was another challenge. This is the reason for the selection of villages and was done on the basis of accessibility.
- (c) The other limitation was the availability of few persons or families living in the villages that limited the number of responses.
- (d) Many out-migrants were not available for interviewing at the time of study. As it was difficult to follow them in cities or to wait for their return, therefore, the study lacks some details in this area.
- (e) This is a point study and is, therefore, largely a descriptive one which at best can suggest linkages between male migration and left behind women. It needs to be followed up by long term study where these linkages can be studied in detail.
- (f) The less number of the people in the villages was another challenge. Resulting in the small number of sample populations.

1.13 Chapterization

The first chapter discusses the rationale for the present study. It introduces the topic. It has also been deliberated that because of the paucity of the literature on the said topic, it

becomes the researcher's research area. Thus, it includes the problem area, universe of study, and briefly gives an idea about the subsequent chapters. The second chapter talks about the formation of the state of Uttarakhand and its inability to arrest migration. It begins to address the political event by examining the factors, migration being the most prominent one that led the spark for its creation. While discussing political history, issues of economic backwardness, control over resources, preserving the culture, language, etc., have also been dealt with. In addition to this, second chapter deals with post state formation and its inability to arrest migration. Chapter three talks about various theories of migration, push and pull factors as well as the role of remittances in the economy of origin at both microscopic and macroscopic levels. Remittances play an important role in social as well as environmental spheres which has been discussed in this chapter. Chapter four elaborates about the impact of male migration on social spheres particularly on the women left behind in place of origin. It has been argued that absence of male, leads to changes in traditional gender roles in terms of decision-making, autonomy and overall women empowerment. Chapter four discusses these aspects in great detail and highlights the various studies conducted in this regard. Fifth chapter applies the theoretical background formed under chapters two, three and four in the context of Uttarakhand and tries to summarize the findings by analysing and discussing the data collected. This chapter tries to establish the convergences between the theories and practice and also highlights the differences between them, and tries to find the reasons for the same. The sixth chapter has a general tone in terms of highlighting the role of the past governments, both at Union and State level, in curbing the problem of migration. It discusses the various policies formulated and implemented as well as its impacts. As a concluding remark, this chapter also suggests measures that could promote sustainable development in the end and thereby arrest the problem of migration.

Chapter 2

Formation of the state of Uttarakhand: Umbrella Solution for Migration?

2.1 Introduction

The movement for the formation of the state of Uttarakhand was based on the socio-cultural dynamics of the region. It comprised various factors ranging from geographical, historical, social, cultural, economic, and political to developmental experiences explaining the character and identity of the movement. These factors led to the process of internal colonialism of Uttarakhand by UP (post-independence). By internal colonialism, we mean diversion of resources, lack of developmental initiatives, poor grievance redressal, etc., which led to erosion of public trust among people of Uttarakhand region. This led to widening of the democracy deficit which further led to mobilisation of masses for shared common identity. It evolved on the basis of shared understanding, experiences, threats and opportunities. Such commonality of existence and perceptions gradually merged into a larger narrative defining and re-defining the Uttarakhand identity, which in turn explains the extent of movement and its claim over a territory for an autonomous political space.

The debate on the Uttarakhand movement needs to be located well within the domain of the polity and within the context of struggle for power. The major phenomenon of outward migration and its impact on left behind played an important role in formation of the state. The people of the region were made aspirational about statehood and were made to believe that their local conditions would improve upon state formation. The development linked with new state formation was seen as a panacea for stopping out-migration by the political class as well as the masses. In this chapter, we will study the role of the state, its policy instruments and its impact on the region, in view of its politically marginalised status, which is of crucial socio-economic importance while analysing the Uttarakhand movement. The clues for understanding the nature of the movement are to be found in the neglect of the region after independence.

The demand for separate statehood reflected the efforts on the part of the people to do away with its politically marginalized status, realizing it as one of the reasons for their under-

development. They directly demanded their due in the political power sharing arrangements. This was because they could see the insensitivity in policy packages at state level for the region. Thus, people were not demanding representation but rather region based decision-making mechanisms. Kothari characterizes such an effort “as an attempt to open alternative political spaces outside the usual arenas of party and government.”⁵² Through the creation of an autonomous political space, the people of Uttarakhand could gain majority status where the interest of the region could be suitably reflected in the processes of policy formulation and policy implementation; instead of opting for electoral mode of participation for the purpose of articulating their interests.

The following section attempts to illuminate the historical understanding of the region covering aspects such as social, political and economic conditions which the region witnessed with the evolution of time.

2.2 Historical Understanding of the Region

The region that forms the state of Uttarakhand today was the erstwhile Garhwal kingdom and Kumaon kingdom. In the 2nd century BCE, Kunindas were a major dynasty of Kumaonis who practiced an initial custom of Shaivism. At the same time, Buddhism could be seen through Ashokan edicts at Kalsi near Dehradun in Western Garhwal. It was during the 8th century that the Chand dynasty came to power in the Kumaon region. The Katyuri dynasty interrupted the rule of the Chand dynasty during the 9th-11th century. During the same period, the Shah⁵³ dynasty (Parmar) began ruling Garhwal. This led to continued invasions of Kumaon by Garhwal until the 17th century. It resulted in Man Shah, the then Shah King, conquering the erstwhile Laxmi Chand, a Chand King of Kumaon. Later in the 19th century, earthquakes and famine in the region made the existing kingdoms weak resulting in an attack by the Gorkhas of Nepal. Both Garhwal and Kumaon were ruled by Gorkhas for 25 years. What is interesting to note here is “Garhwal was one of the independent kingdoms on which the mighty Mughals had neither influence nor supremacy. The kings of Garhwal were able to retain their diplomatic presence to some extent from the rule of Mughal who swept the northern plains of India. However, there were few skirmishes with the Mughals for various reasons and they changed the course of history of the region. Historically, the relationship between the Mughal rulers and the Garhwal kings

⁵² Rajni Kothari, *Rethinking Democracy* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2005), 165.

⁵³ The Pal rulers later came to be known as Shahs, the title that a Mughal ruler gave them out of gratitude.

was believed to be cordial, barring a few incidents.”⁵⁴ Most of those who migrated were of Kshatriya-Rajput classes, explaining the higher percentage of upper castes in the hills. The local rulers who accepted the alien rule enjoyed considerable freedom at the regional level.

Later, the state was largely under British rule. With the appointment of British Commissioner during the mid-19th century, the British started influencing the region in the later period. During the various battles, Garhwal rifles and Gorkha battalion of the army performed bravely and had earned a reputation for bravery which the British took notice of.⁵⁵ Following the Anglo-Nepal War, ‘Sugauli Treaty’ was signed in 1816 which made Nepal give up its rights from the areas of Uttarakhand to Britain. The treaty handed over a major portion of current Uttarakhand to the British. Throughout the period of colonial rule, Uttarakhand was divided into two distinct political units: Tehri Garhwal (a princely state), and Kumaon Division (directly controlled by British). With the coming of independence, Tehri Garhwal, a princely state joined into the Republic of India and hence was organized under UP, a newly created state. Thus, while the region was quite homogeneous in terms of economy and culture, the structure of the state, especially the style of rule, differed greatly in the two territories.⁵⁶ It is true that Garhwal and Kumaon were traditional rivals but the ties between the two got strengthened during the statehood movement in the 1990s. The reasons for this could be the similarity between the two regions, viz. the complementary nature of their language, culture, traditions and geography.⁵⁷ The people shared common practices and affinities and contributed towards a unified movement despite being under different styles of rulers. The merger with UP led to a common understanding among the habitants of Garhwal and Kumaon about their similarities as well as the common cultural difference they shared with the rest of the population of UP. This created apprehensions in the minds of the natives of Uttarakhand region, which consolidated into various political organizations with time, resulting in demand for separate statehood.

⁵⁴ Ajay Ramola, “Kingdom that Mughals could never win,” *The Tribune*, February 21, 2016, accessed on February 17, 2020, <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/archive/features/kingdom-that-mughals-could-never-win-199323>.

⁵⁵ “Uttarakhand Open University,” last modified May 18, 2021, accessed on June 8, 2021, <http://www.uou.ac.in/sites/default/files/slm/BTTM-601.pdf>.

⁵⁶ Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in North India* (United States: iUniverse, 2005).

⁵⁷ Dinesh Prasad Saklani, *Ancient Communities of the Himalaya* (New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 1998).

In the subsequent sections, we will understand the societal structure of Uttarakhand from the pre-colonial period as well as the transformations witnessed by it. The societal structure in general is fragmented due to economic, social and political policies of British as well as native rulers. Fragmented society caused hindrances in the formation of Uttarakhand due to difficulty in consensus.

2.3 Social Structures and Caste-Class Relationship

Social structures and changes in the pre-colonial society are difficult and challenging to describe because of inadequate information. The Thuljats, the Khasas/Khasiyas and the Doms were the three major groups that existed in society. ‘Doms’, the untouchables, were known to be the earliest settlers and were the descendants of Kols. They engaged themselves in activities like carpentry, coppersmith, ironsmith, etc. They were to work as agricultural labourers too. Khasas or Khasiyas were a powerful tribe consisting majorly of farmers and cultivated lands both as tenants and proprietors. They were not a part of the caste hierarchy and established their own rules and regulations, and subjugated Doms. Rajputs, who in-migrated from the plains, conquered them and established Chand and Panwar dynasties. Large number of Brahmins also in-migrated to the region during the same period. Brahmins and Rajputs together constituted the Thuljats. Even during pre-colonial period, they were already a powerful group exercising economic and political impact on society. Thuljats had their impact on the Khasas/ Khasiyas. Later, Khasas/ Khasiyas were merged with Rajputs.⁵⁸

King’s administration was dominated by Thuljats who also occupied all important positions.⁵⁹ Thuljats were the ones who were on almost every job. They were the first group getting higher education, whereas Doms tried and struggled to improve their position and status. Thus, the caste system was characterized by social structure. Unlike, the rest of the India, the caste system was not rigid though. However, it was during Mughal period that the caste structures emerged in Uttarakhand wherein a large number of people in-migrated to the region. Other advocates say that the system of caste hierarchy began during the rule of Chand and Katyuri rulers. During 11th and 12th centuries, the region witnessed “large-scale in-migration from other parts of India. Earlier, these tracts were probably inhabited largely by nomadic grazier communities, though settled cultivation had also begun and picked up after the massive in-migration of the 11th and 12th centuries. It was probably due to the settling

⁵⁸ Vishwambhar Prasad Sati, *Himalaya on the Threshold of Change* (Germany: Springer, 2020).

⁵⁹ Ibid.

down of pilgrims who most likely came on pilgrimage and also prosecution by invaders in the plains. Over the next many centuries, forests were cleared for cultivation through hard labour.”⁶⁰ In the later period, Uttarakhand witnessed a harmonious social structure where people from almost all religious communities lived peacefully and in harmony despite being a Hindu dominated region. Their food habits, language and traditional clothing were very similar to Hindus. They followed all the festivals, customs, traditions and fairs that were celebrated in Uttarakhand and spoke Garhwali and Kumaoni dialects.⁶¹

2.3.1 Agrarian Relations

Social anthropologists studying ritual hierarchy in Garhwal and Kumaon have stressed the similarities between hill society and the rest of India, seeing the former as the variant of the pan-Indian trend. There are significant differences in terms of control over land. “The hill society exhibits an absence of sharp class divisions. Along the river valleys, cultivation was carried out, limited only by the steepness of the land and more frequently by the difficulty of irrigation. Two and sometimes three harvests were possible throughout the last century; wheat, rice and millets being the chief cereals grown. The system of tillage and methods of crop rotation bore the mark of the hill folk’s natural environment. With the production oriented towards subsistence needs, there remained a surplus of grain for export to Tibet and southwards to the plains.”⁶² The hill's cultivators were described by Henry Ramsay, Commissioner 1856-1884, as probably better off than any peasantry in India. Through the 19th century, European travellers and officials frequently gave lyrical descriptions of peasant life in the Himalaya comparing it favourably not only to social conditions in the adjoining Indo-Gangetic plain but also to everyday existence of British and Irish villagers. Grain production easily exceeded subsistence as the surplus produce of interior villages made it very easy to live off the country. The hill land-tenure system inherited by the British differed no less strikingly from that in the plains. G.W.Traill, the first commissioner of Kumaon, observed “that three-fourth of the villages were ‘hissedari’, i.e. wholly cultivated by the actual proprietors of the land, from whom the revenue demand was perforce restricted to their respective shares of the village assessment. The remaining villages were divided into: (1)

⁶⁰ Ibid., 108.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ramachandra Guha, *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya* (California: Univ of California Press, 2000), 14.

those in which the right of property was recognized in earlier recipients of land grant, while the hereditary right of cultivation remained with the original occupants (called Khaikar); (2) a handful of villages owned by a single individual. Individual tenants (called Khurnee) were able to wrest easy terms owing to favourable land-man ratio.”⁶³ “Landowners depended on the actual influence; they exercised over village communities and not on any legal right. There was not even one estate which could be termed ‘pure zamindari’. Government revenue and certain customary fees were collected by the elected village pradhans who reported to a higher revenue official called ‘patwari’. He was entrusted with police duties and the responsibility of collecting statutory labour for public works.”⁶⁴ Later, “much of the class of ‘Khurnee’ merged with that of ‘Khaikar’. The latter differed from the ‘hissedar’ only in that he could not be transferred and had to pay a fixed sum as ‘malikhana’ to the proprietor. This sum represented the conversion into a cash payment of various cesses and prerequisites earlier levied. But by the end of the century, full nine-tenth of all hill men was estimated to be ‘hissedars’, cultivating proprietors with complete ownership rights. Within the hill districts proper, one observes that around 60 percent of the agrarian populations were owner cultivators. Also, with Khaikari tenures, it can be argued that around 80 percent of the total population farmed largely with the help of family labour.”⁶⁵

2.3.2 Community Traditions

The absence of sharp inequalities in land ownership was the basis for the sense of solidarity within the village community. Peasants often derived their caste name from the village they inhabited exhibiting a strong sense of clanship. The institutional and organised expression of this solidarity was the village panchayat. The hill panchayat differed markedly from the caste panchayat of the plains. While not accorded formal rights, the ‘Doms’ could also invoke the authority of the panchayat to settle their affairs. Panchayat dealt with social, religious and judicial questions. After the establishment of the colonial law in Kumaon, under jurisdiction of civil and criminal courts, panchayats continued internally. In Tehri Garhwal, the state had taken over some of its duties, and the panchayat continued to be very powerful.⁶⁶

⁶³ Ibid., 16.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 17.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 17.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

After independence, the economic measures and acts adopted by the Government of India produced different effects on various groups. The “Kumaon and Uttarakhand Zamindari Abolition and Land Reform Act, 1960” came into effect in these districts on 1st July 1965. This replaced the multiplicity of tenure holders, i.e. ‘Khaikhar’ into two main classes ‘Bhumidhar’ and ‘Sirdhar’. The impact of the Zamindari Abolition Act was limited to certain pockets of the state, as the presence of large zamindars in the states was limited. On the other hand, the impact of the Land Reform Act was far-fetched as the tenants (‘Khaikhar’) became the ‘Bhumidar’ and ‘Sirdhar’ and gained status by becoming masters of their land. The hill society differs from the rest of India in terms of control over land. Majority of agrarian population of this area is owner-cultivators and confirms the picture of an egalitarian peasant community. Generally, the ownership of land becomes a determinant of socio-economic status of an individual, but in the areas, unlike the rest of the agrarian society, land is hardly purchased as an investment, but merely to satisfy the craving that all hill men have to become proprietors. Thus, the economy has little economic differential. It is composed almost wholly of small peasant proprietors with a small number of agricultural labourers.⁶⁷

But when the relationship between caste and class is to be established on the basis of landholding, the Brahmins must be excluded even though being at the top of the social ladder. Brahmins always owned less land but were at the apex of caste system and did not follow agriculture as source of livelihood. The Rajputs, though not the dominant caste in caste hierarchy, are numerically and economically dominant. Therefore, it is significant to note that the prominent people of villages are all Rajputs. They not only have larger land holdings, but they are also the ones who are in a position of authority. While the Brahmins may not have large land holdings, nor do they have political power, but they wield power due to the social hierarchy. Scheduled Castes (SCs), on the other hand, are most deprived and socially and economically backward. Even now their houses are in a separate cluster and mostly with a separate water source. They do not enter beyond the courtyard of the higher caste houses and they do not eat and drink in their vessels.⁶⁸

The advent of the British rule had a far reaching impact; one amongst those was on the caste structure. The old caste-stratification based on equilibrium of village occupation and mutual

⁶⁷ Ramila Bisht, *Environmental Health in Garhwal Himalaya: A Study of Pauri Garhwal* (New Delhi: Indus Publishing House, 2002).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 142.

functional interdependence which was the basic characteristic of village self-sufficient communities was disturbed by the British. The economic system of the British based on mercantilism and industrial revolution introduced a money system in the hill areas where people were practicing exchange and barter systems. The widely scattered self-sufficient peasant settlements had practiced limited production of exchange of value-oriented commodities. The capitalist mode of production as a feature of economic development was established during the British rule which soon overtook the weak and decaying feudal system in the hills. The colonial mode of administration in the form of snatching away community control over natural resources also took place.⁶⁹

Despite the inherent social and economic differences, the people of Uttarakhand developed a common notion of apathy by the successive governments, which they believed was the reason for their under-development as well as led to indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources. These factors resulted in the growth of an idea of popular government which further bolstered the demand of a separate statehood. In the next section, the following issues have been discussed deeply to understand the movement for the state of Uttarakhand.

2.4 Causes that led to the Statehood Movement

The structural conditions under which a movement takes place are those of relative deprivation, strain and revitalization. Gurr provided several classifications with respect to relative deprivation. According to him, relative deprivation implies a discrepancy between expectations and perceived capabilities involving economic conditions, political power and social status.⁷⁰ The structural conditions of relative deprivation produce the essential conditions that are necessary for the generation of a movement. This section seeks to answer the reasons behind Uttarakhand movement with a stress on structural conditions of relative deprivation. It was this relative deprivation which motivated people and mobilized them around certain interests and issues.

⁶⁹ Guha, *The Unquiet Woods*. 2000.

⁷⁰ Ted Robert Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970).

2.4.1 Environmental Degradation

The movement for the state of Uttarakhand demanded a right to safeguard the forests, with which they (the people) were so inextricably linked, a relationship which has been sought to be destroyed. The need instead was to look at alternative modes of development. These demands, however, were not as clear as expected. The unplanned manner in which roads had been constructed led to landslides and associated 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 for the outside interests with the help of mafia-politics-bureaucracy nexus. Invasion of forests in towns like Mussoorie and Nainital evoked a very acerbic response from the environmentalists who saw this development as resulting in the depletion of natural resources and defacement of the hills to create leisure spots for the affluent and the neo-rich from the metropolis. Unscientific mining, deforestation, liquor and forest mafias along with the contractor's mafias also posed major ecological concerns. It is to be noted that the forest policy with its plans of changing the composition of forest species artificially by replacing original species (of Oak, Rhododendrons etc.) by pine for purely commercial reasons was pursued unhindered.⁷¹

In 1958, the Forest Research Institute found that chir waste could be used to make paper. This idea was used by the forest department not only to sell the chir waste but to sell large tracts of forests containing chir trees. The colonial hangover did not seem to subside after the British had long left our shores. This can be gauged from the restrictions placed on the local populace on collecting timber and firewood from the forest. The policy of the government to give large tracts of forests to 'outside' contractors was not only deeply resented but loathed. Like colonial period, the villagers refused to cooperate with the forest officials.⁷²

P.C. Joshi talks about the development projects which were applied from above without taking into consideration the socio-economic context of the region, through an uninformed

⁷¹ Ramachandra Guha, "Forestry in British and post-British India: A historical analysis," *Economic and Political Weekly* 18, no. 44 (1983): 1882-1896, <https://www.epw.in/journal/1983/44/special-articles/forestry-british-and-post-british-india-historical-analysis.html>.

⁷² Manmohan Dobriyal, "Why Cutting Down Chirpine is not a Solution to Uttarakhand Forest Fires," *Down to Earth*, September 21, 2015, accessed on October 19, 2016, <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/forests/why-cutting-down-chirpine-is-not-a-solution-to-uttarakhand-forest-fires-51178#:~:text=It%20is%20an%20established%20fact,wood%2C%20funeral%20wood%20and%20furniture.>

bureaucracy. This has led to the destruction of traditional socio-economic structures of the region which were previously self-reliant. For him, it was a rare movement where people forged ahead and took charge of the destiny, and left intellectuals and politicians far behind. Destruction of traditional ways of living, displacement in the wake of development projects, recurring natural calamities at an increased frequency due to mindless tree felling and construction activities, disastrous earthquakes and innumerable number of landslides, forest fires etc., have impacted the common consciousness of the people of Uttarakhand. The Uttarakhand region was hit by major floods in 1971, which caused extensive damage to life and property. The full impact of the floods was borne by the peasants of the region. It was later proved that one of the main causes of floods was the extensive deforestation of the hill slopes. Lack of tree cover had caused massive landslides, the obvious victims being the peasants who lived below. The painful realization of the ill-effects of deforestation and the need to assert their rights over the forests led to the famous Chipko Andolan. The lead in this was taken by “Dashauli Gram Swarajya Sangh” (DGSS), a cooperative organization based in Chamoli. They organized major public gatherings in Gopeshwar and Uttarkashi demanding the replacement of the contractor system with Forest Labour Cooperatives.⁷³

These were the conditions that prevailed and forced the residents to come forward and raise their demands. The demonstrations got transformed into protests, later into agitation and finally became a movement. It could be called a movement for a state, to develop and excel but what happened was vice-versa. People are still fighting to fulfil their meagre needs.

2.4.2 An Upsurge for Economic Development

Economic explanation of Uttarakhand upsurge has proved that apart from linguistic and religious minorities, it also has identities based on economic and social neglect. Due to lack of an autonomous political space, the region was degenerated into the ‘hinterland’ of the national economy reflecting ‘Backwash Effects’ of capitalist development. It is in this context that the Uttarakhand movement can be seen as a protest against the national model of development. But economy is not the only factor that could explain this regional assertion; it

⁷³ Puran Chandra Joshi, *Uttarakhand: Issues and Challenges* (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1995).

was also about control over one's own resources.⁷⁴ The sub-state movements in the North-East were not based on economic aspects rather organized on ethnic or linguistic lines.⁷⁵

Uttarakhand is often labelled as a colony within the state, and it has been an internal colony exploited for and by outsiders. Despite the region being a part of a bigger state of UP, for its administrative procedure, economic and other areas, remained different with no advantages. Economic backwardness is due to the historical, ecological, political and administrative differences that the region witnessed. The neglect even continued in the post-independence period. Along with problems of communication, geographical inaccessibility, regional gravity and small size of the holdings,; agriculture could not flourish. Thus, this can be said that agriculture could not sustain life and the industries have been non-existent.

When it comes to industries no attention was paid to industrial development that could be in consonance with the difficult terrain and topography of the region. Some of the industries that had been laid before resulted in the destruction and exploitation of natural resources. The policy of the plains was always imposed by the policy makers who were ignorant of the uniqueness of topography and geography of the region. Before separation, the hill districts also figured among the most undeveloped districts of UP, and among 72 most backward districts of the country.⁷⁶ The proportion of people dependent on transport has always been higher in western plains and the lowest in the Himalayas. The challenges caused by the Himalayan topography led to neither urbanization nor industrialisation. Hence, a large proportion of its rural population is dependent on remittances of employees in the defence and other services. The success has been of the majority community since 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 and as source of raw materials with deeming grounds for surplus goods of the developed regions of the world.⁷⁷ The new elites of the country thus

⁷⁴ Sanjib Baruah, "Minority Policy in the North-East: Achievements and Dangers," *Economic and Political Weekly* 24, no. 37 (1989): 2087-2091, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4395335>.

⁷⁵ T.V. Satyamurthy, *Region, Religion, Caste, Gender and Culture in Contemporary India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁷⁶ Giriraj Shah, *Uttarakhand: A Blueprint for Development* (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1996).

⁷⁷ Pankaj Naithani, "On Industrial Development of Uttarakhand: Policy Framework and Empirical Evidence," *The Journal of Industrial Statistics* 3, no.1 (2014): 140-151, http://mospi.nic.in/sites/default/files/reports_and_publication/NSS_Journals/7_Industrial_Development_of_Uttarakhand.pdf.

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 ones.

Many self-employment schemes were launched, but in the absence of resources and training, they could not be successful. Even after independence some of the hill areas were deeply 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. In the remote areas, there has been acute scarcity of social and public services, education and medical facilities. Even the basic facilities like health have been grossly insufficient and inadequate. There has been a lack of doctors, paramedical staff, medicines etc. The deprivation in the region therefore has not merely been relative but also absolute to a great extent.⁷⁸ The entire hill region has remained industrially backward with lack of employment opportunities, little investment along with continuing destruction of natural resources. Industrial sector forced a large number of people to migrate to the plains. This backwardness of the hilly region gave rise to migration from the hills to plains. This became so pervasive that the Uttarakhand economy began to be known as the “money order economy.”

The policies of colonial, central and state governments deprived the local population of access to forest produce as well as other resources. The lives of the people, especially the traditional dwellers, share an intimate relationship with the forest; and these communities view forest both as provider and a protector. The policies not only alienated them but also exploited the forests whose benefits were reaped by outsiders while they bore the cost of its destruction. The lack of alternative development as well as expedited pace of resource diversion made out-migration more profound, which in turn strengthened the demand for separate state.

2.4.3 Anti-Reservation Movement

Literature also projects the Uttarakhand movement as an ‘Anti-Reservation Movement’ but not in academic circles. This view was mainly held by both Samajwadi Party (SP) and

⁷⁸ Pradeep Kumar, *The Uttarakhand Movement: Construction of a Regional Identity* (New Delhi: Kanishka Publication, 2000).

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) combined and gained wide currency in the journalistic and, to some extent, among the popular perceptions as well. Such an understanding, that the mass upsurge in the Uttarakhand region was an upper caste reaction to the government ordinance of implementing 27 percent OBC reservation quota in UP, is devoid of academic investigation and is influenced by compulsions of electoral calculations. Ironically, it was the same SP government which had earlier passed a resolution supporting the creation of a separate hill state, that later termed it as an 'Anti-Reservationist Sentiment'. Calling the movement of Uttarakhand as anti-backward and anti-reservation is driven solely by political motives. Various newspaper reports confirmed that the issue was used to polarize caste formations in the plains of UP for consolidating vote banks. Then, CM Mulayam Singh Yadav made it clear when he said that he has nothing to lose in the Uttarakhand region which hints at the political marginalization of the residents of Uttarakhand. On the contrary, Communist Party India (Marxist) explained the Uttarakhand movement on the basis of 'Mechanical Implementation of Mandal' in a region that is already steeped in economic backwardness, threatening whatever little job opportunities were available there.⁷⁹

To further elucidate these bases, the following example can be understood. When Mandal recommendations were first accepted by the Union in 1991⁸⁰ and later by the UP state government for the purposes of employment in government jobs, there were no protest in the Uttarakhand region unlike the rest of India.⁸¹ But, it all began by the women and students in the wake of the extension of 27 percent reservation quota to the educational institutions as well. In July and August, the local population faced difficulties in securing admissions of their wards due to the newly implemented provision of reservations. The seats were lying vacant due to the peculiar demographic profile of the region with OBCs constituting only 2-3 percent of the population concentrated in a few pockets in the Terai region.⁸² The region that remained relatively calm when anti-Mandal agitation was at its peak, reacted only when the practical implications of the reservation policy started becoming clearer to the people. This would explain why the movement did not start immediately after the promulgation of the ordinance to this effect in the month of February, but only picked up in the months of July-

⁷⁹ Joanne Moller, "Anti-reservation protests and the Uttarakhand pro-autonomy movement: Caste and regional identities in the Indian Himalayas," *South Asia Research* 20, no.2 (2000): 147-169, <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F026272800002000205>.

⁸⁰ Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003).

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Emma Mawdsley, "Redrawing the Body Politic: Federalism, Regionalism and the Creation of New States in India," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 40, no. 3 (2002): 34-54.

August with the beginning of the new academic session. Studies have shown that the people in the region were not averse to reservation per se but rather seeking a reservation policy which could incorporate the socio-economic and demographic peculiarities of the region.

Parties like Akali Dal, called the Uttarakhand movement as an anti-reservation movement. The Sikh political party was the principal opposition to forming a new state since they had greater profit from it being part of larger UP. “Akali Dal opposed introduction of the statehood bill under the pressure from the Sikh landowners of Udham Singh Nagar who had settled here after partition. They feared that on becoming a part of the hill state, wherein the land is scarce and means of livelihood are few, the new government would enforce the Land Ceiling Act which will upset the traditional owner tenant equations.”⁸³

Other parties like Congress Party, Janata Dal, Communist Party of India (CPI), Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M), Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) CPI(M-L), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Uttarakhand Kranti Dal (UKD), and some local political outfits⁸⁴ like the Uttarakhand Sangarsh Vahini (USV)⁸⁵ expressed their views on the Uttarakhand movement. These views can be divided into three groups:

- (1) Those who view this phenomenon (regionalist movement) neither as the expression of sub-nationalism nor as a class struggle. Example: Congress, Janata Dal, BJP, UKD.
- (2) Those who view this movement as an expression of sub-nationalism which is the outcome of the class consciousness. It include CPI (M-L) and USV. The CPI (M-L) does not regard India as a nation rather a state and their views were very close to USV.
- (3) Those who believe that these movements were the creation of bourgeoisie forces in order to divert the attention of the working classes. They shared the views expressed by the Communist Party of Russia on movements which say, “The wave of nationalism engulfs the masses of workers. And the more the movement for emancipation declined, the more

⁸³ Radhika Ramaseshan, “Safety Clause for Sikh Enclave in Uttarakhand,” *The Telegraph*, December 8, 1999, accessed on March 22, 2015, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/safety-clause-for-sikh-enclave-in-uttarakhand/cid/908652>.

⁸⁴ Uttarakhand Mukti Morcha, the Uttarakhand Party, the Uttarakhand Jan Morcha, the Uttarakhand Raksha Manch, the Uttarakhand Shanti Vahini, who supported the Uttarakhand Movement.

⁸⁵ It still works for the protection and conservation of forest and water resources in Uttarakhand.

plentifully nationalism pushed forth its blossoms.”⁸⁶ CPM falls in this category. It is interesting to note that the CPI supported the Uttarakhand movement without having strong ideological justification.

Thus, the movement was an expression of regional aspirations and cultural concerns but was projected as a ‘Caste-Struggle’.⁸⁷ This was evident on the basis of participation that shows the contrary, cutting across caste and class barriers. In the process, the real issues were regional aspirations, cultural interests, historical-geographical and economic considerations, and the desire for greater devolution of power to the underdeveloped areas which were relegated to a position of no significance.

2.4.4 Developmental Issues

People cannot be excluded from the processes of development. If Indian State continues to do so, it would pose a challenge since it would further lead to demands for sub-state autonomy. The most popular explanation available for demanding statehood was one of ‘economic backwardness’ and ‘developmental neglect’. It is quite similar to the centre/core-periphery model of development which consists of twin processes of integration, through the project of nation and marginalization. Madan Mohan Bahuguna, a senior journalist, once said on substantiating the state of affairs in the region that “before statehood, three things which actually became reasons for strong resentment among the masses were poor development of the hill, increasing unemployment and time-taking distance from hills to Lucknow, in case one has to approach officials in the state capital.”⁸⁸

The multi-pronged development strategies not only destroyed the forest wealth and agricultural land but by breaking down systems of conserving and sharing natural resources have wrought an overall environmental degradation of the region. The damage of soil, rock structures and water resources has assumed threatening proportions.

⁸⁶ J.V. Stalin, “Marxism and the National Question,” Marxists Internet Archive, 1913, accessed on August, 22 2019, <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03a.html>.

⁸⁷ Emma Mawdsley, “Uttarakhand Agitation and Other Backward Classes,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 31, no 4, (1996): 205-210, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i397160>.

⁸⁸ Rajiv Srivastava, “Hill State was carved out after 70 Years of Struggle,” *The Times of India*, November 17, 2011, accessed on February 12, 2020, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/lucknow/Hill-state-was-carved-out-after-70-yrs-of-struggle/articleshow/10763132.cms>.

Declining crop yields, reducing natural biodiversity, loss of crop cultivators and livestock breeds are some of the crucial indicators of an imbalanced ecosystem. These are the combined effects of large-scale reckless destruction of forests, large-scale capital-intensive development projects, distorted urbanization and urban construction. The extensive use of hilly forest land for industry, urban growth and tourism has led to water scarcity, floods and soil erosion. The fragile ecosystem has further deteriorated through massive forest clearance for imperfect alignments of hasty road construction. The growth of tourism has laid additional claim and stress on this depleting resource base. Mass tourism has infested the pilgrimage routes with hotels, motels, rest houses, restaurants, shops etc. Further, tourism sells the Himalayas for climbers, adventurers and the pleasure-seeking urban tourists, taxing environmental capacity.

In the past few decades, hills became victim to mining operations. For ore and limestone, the hills have become barren due to dynamite blasting. Resulting, the region has been exposed to a weak, hollowed and unstable structure worsened by dust storms and landslides. The entire socio-economy in the hills is based on forest exploitation. Allegations have also been levelled against police for sheltering the mining mafia. Areas on the outskirts like Vikasnagar, Sahaspur, Premnagar, Raipur and Nayagaon are notorious for illegal mining activities.⁸⁹

Protection without adequate rights led to inadequate grievance redressal as well as disproportionate appropriate legal actions against the perpetrators. This only aggravated the agony of the helpless hill people. “The main indicator of the thriving real estate business in Uttarakhand is the way river beds are mined for boulders, pebbles, sand and gravel. Data accessed from the state forest department show that from 2000 till 2010, 3,903.24 hectares (ha) of forestland in the state have been diverted for different mining projects. But, officials of the state mining department fail to explain why mining was stopped at Tailihat village of Garur Block in Bageshwar district of the Kumaon region weeks ahead of election, only to be resumed after a few weeks, when the election results were declared.”⁹⁰ “Due to large-scale mining operations, the high concentration of stone particles in air besides vitiating the atmosphere has been responsible for the rise in temperatures. In the decade that followed the grant of statehood to Uttarakhand in 2000, the state’s development priorities changed.

⁸⁹ Gaurav Talwar, “Illegal mining continues to be a persistent problem in Doon,” *The Times of India*, November 19, 2019, accessed on February 12, 2020, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/dehradun/illegal-mining-continues-to-be-a-prrsistent-problem-in-doon/articleshow/72115435.cms>.

⁹⁰ Anupam Chakravartty, “Undone by rampant mining, illegal buildings,” *Down to Earth*, June 24, 2013, accessed on April 24, 2018, <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/urbanisation/undone-by-rampant-mining-illegal-buildings-41450>

Infrastructure and real estate development, triggered by the cash flow from tourism, have led to indiscriminate mining of river beds for construction material, altering the fragile Himalayan environment. This human activity has exacerbated the effects of the flash floods that have badly affected the state.”⁹¹

Some new measures have also been introduced under the new economic policy that include programmes like Joint Forest Management Program (JFM), World Bank’s Swajal Program (Drinking Water Project), UNDP's Hill Hydro Program, Mahila Samakhya, USAID's SIFSA- or family Planning initiatives, etc.,⁹² but the methodology of implementation remains more or less the same. As a result, much of what is envisaged does not take place in practice.

Government programmes like the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) seem to have a 'road centric bias'. In other words, only those villages which are either connected by roads or are relatively close to one have derived benefits from the programmes. There are some places that are still untouched by the various programmes of the government. Considering the environmental and geo-strategic position of the Himalayas, development in the Uttarakhand region must always be consistent with the environment. One can conclude that in spite of significantly large inflows of funds allocated to the region through the Five Year Plans, progress of the region has not resulted in sustainable development and could not alleviate poverty.⁹³

The development policies have rather led to iniquitous and skewed patterns of development that benefited a few regions and some sections of the people, resulting in distorted ecological and economic profile for the region. It has created inter-regional and socio-economic disparities with few islands of prosperity and plenty in the hills. Summarily, the development agenda of the hill region fails to take into account or respond to people's real needs and problems. There has been neither a commitment to strengthen the traditional agro-pastoral economy nor towards preserving the fragile ecosystem. The limited gains achieved have by far been outweighed by the costs paid in terms of injury to nature, the decline of the peasantry and their subsistence and life supporting systems.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Sumeet Gairola et al., “Biodiversity Conservation and Sustainable Rural Development in the Garhwal Himalaya,” *Report and Opinion* 1, no. 4 (2009): 6-12, https://www.academia.edu/664917/Biodiversity_conservation_and_sustainable_rural_development_in_the_Garhwal_Himalaya.

⁹³ T.S. Papola, “Development of Micro-Enterprises in Mountain Areas,” *Issues in Mountain Development*, ICIMOD, Kathmandu, Nepal, 1996, accessed on January 12, 2016, <https://lib.icimod.org/record/7599>.

2.4.5 Migration as a Catalyst for Demand of Separate Statehood

The history of migration in Uttarakhand has been driven by the push factors like of economic development, poor environmental conditions, which made agriculture unsustainable, frequent floods and glacial outburst in upper Uttarakhand region, poor social infrastructure, lack of transport and communication channels, etc., caused threat to human life. On the other hand, the out-migration had a variety of pull factors such as economic benefits in terms of better income as well as job amenities, better social infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, pro-active governance, law and order, transparent public service delivery, etc. Either in colonial times through mass recruitment in British army, or in post-colonial times, the widespread migration to metropolitan cities such as Delhi, Mumbai, etc., for rudimentary jobs; the economic factors carried the most weight. With time, the migrants as well as their dependents got education as well as better exposure about the prevailing situations, both in their native as well as the in the emigrant state. The benefits accrued to them by the emigrant state government made them understand the implications of aware citizenship as well as proactive government. This encouraged them to question the administration at native states. The lackadaisical approach of the UP government led to more conflict between the citizens and the administration. The poor grievance redressal as well as the enlightenment cost by these migrants in the minds of the natives of Uttarakhand led to the formation of common identity which was later cultivated by various political organizations such as UKD which led to the formation of Uttarakhand.

Migrants also contribute to the growth and improvement of their native villages through non-monetary transfers as well. To save the future of Uttarakhand identity, social remittances played an important role in mobilizing the masses. The natives finally realized that having an autonomous state would ensure enough opportunities available for the locals within the state.

An upshot of the above narrative is that the causes that led to the movement were much more pervasive. It would be correct to say that there were definitely some high points of the movement that included Chipko of 1972, creation of UKD in July 1979 (a regional party) and the volatile phase that began in 1994 with the protests against 27 percent reservation for OBCs. These can only be called catalysts that crystallized the mass movement into statehood movement. The larger concern for the people was their development which they never experienced. The British exploited initially and after gaining independence, the region was

subjected to political marginalization. And even after the creation of a separate state, the developmental efforts were not sensitive towards the peculiar context of the region.⁹⁴ But, this exploitation was not anything new. The region had witnessed it even during the British era. The section that follows will try to provide an understanding about the history of exploitation that was faced by Uttarakhand since the time of British rule.

2.5 Alienation of Hill People from Nature

The forests around the village were the property of the village and the villagers met their fuel and fodder needs from these forests. The forests around them were not seen as a source of raw material but part and parcel of their livelihood, and therefore, the forests were nurtured and cared for. But, the industrial revolution fuelled the need for wood. The forests of Uttarakhand were therefore looked upon by the British as a vast repository of raw material for timber and turpentine. In order to feed their need for wood and turpentine, they introduced commercial forestry. Commercial forestry meant that large tracts of forests were declared as reserved forests and the access to these forests to the local villagers were denied or restricted. It alienated the people from forests which they regarded as their own. Therefore, it was resented and despised.⁹⁵

Also, the beginning of the 19th century saw the need for the expansion of railways throughout the length and breadth of the country. Initially, wood was imported from Europe, however the enormous cost involved in the import for wood forced the administration to look out for substitutes to make railway sleepers. The First World War also accelerated the demand for wood. The chirpine wood was found to be most suitable for the purpose. Therefore, the forests of Kumaon and Garhwal were seen as vast repositories of precious raw material. Scientific forestry⁹⁶ was a natural corollary to the demand for wood. It upsets the traditional rights of the peasants over the forests. The peasants expressed their anger against their alienation from the forests and started setting fires in the forest. The advent of scientific forestry was deeply resented but the practice of ‘Begar’ and ‘Bardaish’ or ‘Burdayash’

⁹⁴ Shekhar Pathak, “State, society and natural resources in Himalaya: Dynamics of change in colonial and post-colonial Uttarakhand,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 32, no. 17 (1997): 908-912, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i397700>.

⁹⁵ Guha, *The Unquiet Woods*. 102.

⁹⁶ Scientific Forestry: It is a way of managing tree plantations and managing forests. Under this method, different types of trees are cut down and replaced by one type of tree in rows.

continued.⁹⁷ Whenever the “British officials toured the hills, it was regarded as the duty of the local people to arrange ‘coolies’ for their luggage. This system was known as ‘*Coolie Utar*.’ According to Coolie Begar, the hill people had to work for the British officials on tour without payment. Coolie ‘Bardaish’ or ‘Burdayash’ meant free ration had to be provided to the officials on tour and the people were penalized if they failed to do so.”⁹⁸ In the early phase, protest was registered by refusal of ‘Begar’ and ‘Bardaish’ or ‘Burdayash’ to officials and travellers.⁹⁹

The signs of unrest were seen early by the British Commissioners. Wyndham, the Commissioner of Kumaon (1919), pleaded that the forest officials use pack ponies and end ‘*Begar*’ as the continuance of it might lead to unrest. The system was not scrapped as such but reforms were introduced. Coolie agencies were opened, who were to be paid for their services. Officers were instructed to acquire grain from merchants subsidized by the government. However, these reforms were like treating the symptoms rather than the disease itself. In 1916, many malicious fires were reported in the newly constituted reserved forest. These ‘acts of incendiarism’¹⁰⁰ as the British called it, were certainly methods of unorganized peasant protest against scientific forestry.¹⁰¹

Like the British Kumaon, the princely state of Tehri-Garhwal was equally affected by these developments. The demands of scientific forestry and the traditional rights of the villagers came into conflict which found expression in the Khassi Patti Dhandak of 1921. This Dhandak gained notoriety because the face of the Conservator of Forests was branded with an iron rod. This was unique because traditionally Dhandaks were peaceful affairs. Dhandak usually meant non-cooperation with the officials, not providing ‘Begar’ and often non-payment of taxes. Usually, Dhandaks were resorted, when conditions were particularly oppressive or the new laws threatened to alter substantially age-old patterns of livelihood. In previous times, the relations between the King and his subjects were embedded in customs and practices. A sort of father-son relationship was believed to exist between the King and the people. It was probably due to this patriarchal relationship, Guha opines, that any ire against unfavourable taxation or any rule or law was never directed at the King, but against

⁹⁷ Guha, *The Unquiet Woods*. 103.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 104

¹⁰⁰ Meaning: Malicious burning to destroy property.

¹⁰¹ Mamgain and Reddy, "Out-migration," 209-235.

the officials. It was seen by the populace as a means of helping the king restore *Nyaya* (justice). The form of protest that was resorted to was known as Dhandak. The Dhandaks were also a means of warning the king of their plight. Dhandaks usually continued till the King intervened and the 'erring' official was either removed or punished. Before the arrival of the British, one does not find much reference to Dhandaks, and even after their arrival, almost a century elapsed before any significant protest took place.¹⁰²

According to local perception, Dhandaks was sort of a legitimate social device which provided an opportunity to masses to resist and express discontent against the ruling authorities. By organizing Dhandaks, people demanded redressal of their grievances. It was a method to fix the differences and conflicts between the state and its subjects, and to regain their rights and customary privileges usurped by the state.¹⁰³ According to Guha, Dhandaks in Tehri-Garhwal encompassed two forms of protest, i.e. peasants refuted new rules and officials who were implementing them; on the other, when demands were forced by repression, villagers fled into the jungles or into British territory, a classical form of protest.¹⁰⁴ Dhandaks, because of their inherent peaceful nature (violent incidents like the one described above were exceptions rather than the rule), represented a democratic means of registering protest. These methods were not based on any ideological grounds but were rooted in traditions. In the Kumaon region, the revolts were of a different nature as compared to those in Tehri-Garhwal. This was probably due to the fact that Kumaon was under the British, and the traditional legitimacy that the King of Tehri enjoyed from his subjects was absent here. However, till the advent of scientific forestry, the conflict between the peasants and the British administration was slight because of which there is very little documentation available of peasant struggle and revolt in the first century of British rule. During the feudal system, masses could not challenge the ruling elite as they did neither have the resources nor counter-elite. The ruling elite used to have a traditional basis of power with no circulation of elites. In these circumstances, Dhandaks provided an opportunity to the masses to express and revolt. As a prelude to mass protest, the masses had the right to approach the king for redressal of their grievances against the 'Thokdars' or 'Jagirdars' and officials. Defying and violating the state laws, letting their cattle wander freely in the fields, complaining against the injustices, in case of infringement of their rights by 'Thokdars' or 'Jagirdars' and state, going

¹⁰² Guha, *The Unquiet Wood*. 2000.

¹⁰³ Atul Saklani, "Changing Nature of Unrest in Princely Himalaya: Colonialism as an Expression of Structural Differentiation," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 46 (1985): 507-516,

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/44141396>.

¹⁰⁴ Guha, *The Unquiet Wood*. 2000.

in bunches to complain, etc., were some of the ways through which the villagers protested and tried to create unruly situation. All these strategies played a key role in the interest of the masses or peasantry.¹⁰⁵ Despite various protests, the British policies still continued to alienate the locals from the nature which was so close to them.

2.6 Scientific Forestry vs. Sacred Groves

The distinctive social structure of the hills was largely cohesive with equalitarian village communities exercising control over their forest habitat. The indigenous people were so acquainted with the surrounding environment that they acquired practical understanding of the natural setting. It has often been argued that this is attributed towards a spiritual respect towards the environment. This gave rise to a strong sense of conservatism.¹⁰⁶ The small patches of forests were declared as sacred forests, implying the deep religious faith. During those days, scientific understanding did not carry much validity, and in some cases, it was substantiated under the religious clout.

“Around 133 sacred groves have been documented from the state of Uttarakhand. They are locally known by various names such as Deo Bhumi and Bugyal (sacred alpine meadows). The groves are dedicated to local deities such as Chandrabadni Devi, Hariyali Devi, Kotgadi Ki Kokila Mata, Pravasi Pavasu Devata, Devrada and Saimyar and are believed to be protected by them.”¹⁰⁷ They are the undisturbed and preserved covers of forests located in the outskirts and are protected, conserved and preserved by communities by dedicating them to local folk deities or ancestral spirits. According to them, as these patches belong to deities, ruining it could anger them. “The most commonly found trees in the groves include Turnip-root chervil, Himalayan cedar, Sanjeevani, Indian Barberry, Himalayan firethorn and Indian valerian. The groves of Uttarakhand serve as a gene pool of diverse species of plants and animals that inhabit the forests. Various traditional practices sustained by the local

¹⁰⁵ DN Bhatkoti and MM Semwal, “Elites and Political Change vis-à-vis Mass Movement Politics in Uttarakhand,” *Samaj Vigyan Shodh Patrika* 1 (2007): 135-145, <http://uttarakhand.org/2007/08/elites-and-political-change-vis-a-vis-mass-movement-politics-in-uttarakhand/>.

¹⁰⁶ Chandra Singh Negi, “Developing Sacred Forests into Biodiversity Heritage Sites-Experiences from the State of Uttarakhand, Central Himalaya, India,” *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge* 1, no. 1 (2015): 96-102.

¹⁰⁷ Purna Jana, Sabyasachi Dasgupta, and Nagendra P. Todaria, “Impact and ecosystem service of forest and sacred grove as saviour of water quantity and quality in Garhwal Himalaya, India,” *Environmental Monitoring and Assessment* 189, no. 9 (2017): 477.

communities play an important role in preserving threatened plant and animal species in the region.”¹⁰⁸

Thus, sacred groves are traditional way of protecting trees and forests. “Trees are not merely sinks of carbon dioxide but they are home to myriads of birds, animals, insects and even microscopic creatures. The root zone of a tree is an ecosystem in itself. A rich variety of microbes reside in the root zone. In combination with the dead leaves and dead microbes, the living ones produce the humus, which imparts permeability to the soil, allowing water to pass through the interspaces between soil particles. This humus has a great property of attracting water, therefore, wherever humus is present molecules of water form a wet ring around. Clay also has similar properties.”¹⁰⁹ Though unaware of all these nuances, it is strange that our ancestors knew trees being crucial for our existence. “The North-Eastern Region of the country is famous for such groves. Similar to the northern part of the country, Uttarakhand also has its share of sacred groves. Several researchers have traversed the wilderness of Uttarakhand in search of such sacred groves. From a religious perspective, these groves are so sacred that not a single leaf is touched. From the environmental point of view, it need not be emphasized that these dense forests are invaluable for the survival of mankind.”¹¹⁰

The British disrupted the relationship between the people and nature and treated forests as a source of raw material. Their stand was “far from the sacred position, they enjoyed within the communities of the hills. The lack of interest that has been exhibited by forest communities in preserving vegetation on land, no longer vested in them may be traced to the loss of community control consequent on state intervention. Reserved forest has been seen by the villagers as their main enemy. It can be referred to as a classic form of alienation wherein the forest now appears as an entity opposed to the villagers.”¹¹¹

Scientific management of forests has moved away from the study of norms, values and culture. But, science cannot be seen as value-free and culture-free in any meaningful sense. The techniques of scientific forestry are designed to reorder nature and agrarian practices. Commercial interests resulted in a change in the traditional lifestyle for many. Scientific

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Madhav Gadgil, “Sacred Groves: An Ancient Tradition of Nature Conservation,” *Scientific American*, December 2018, accessed on December 12, 2019, <https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/sacred-groves-an-ancient-tradition-of-nature-conservation/>.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Guha, “Scientific Forestry,” 1939.

management of forest affected the subsistence dilemma of the hill peasantry. The subsistence dilemma was a result of management and control of forest by the British. In the ecological setting of Uttarakhand, commercial forestry struck at the very root of peasant society. “The assertion of state monopoly ran contrary to traditional management practices. These practices were at once an affirmation of communal action oriented towards production and of the unity between man and nature. Colonial forest laws, which recognized only individual rights of users, initiated the fragmentation of community and erosion of social bond. The produce of the forests no longer belonged to the hill villagers, but was appropriated by the state for the use of the classes it represented.”¹¹²

Perceiving that their subsistence was threatened by the loss of control over forest, several villages in British Garhwal petitioned Kumaon Forest Grievances Committee (formed in the aftermath of 1921 movement). It was to restore full rights over the surrounding forests. As the committee was determined to maintain state monopoly, it divided the reserved forest of Kumaon into the following two categories. Class-I category constituted of forests of little or no economic (commercial) importance. Class-II forests stocked with commercially exploitable trees (i.e. forests stocked with Chir, Sal, Deodar, Kail and other commercially valuable species. The management of Class-I forest was put under the control of civil administration and Class II forest continued to vest with the Forest Department. This led to a fundamental change in the agrarian life of Uttarakhand as it resulted in the shift to individual from collective use of forest. The loss of community ownership had effectively broken a well-established and socially codified link between man and forest. The government had in certain areas, made over limited tracts of forests to the villages called ‘third class’ or village forest. Officials were convinced that if villagers were assigned proper legal titles to forest land and assured both of the products grown and the management, they would continue to preserve tree growth. It restricted and limited the customary and traditional use of forests thus led to what can be described as alienation of man from nature.¹¹³

The above mentioned respective as well as contradictory usage of forest produce can be understood by scientific forestry vs religiously sanctioned sacred groves. Sacred groves for natives were seen as a religion having latent environmental functions, while for British purely serving as a source of raw material. It can also be seen questioning the connection between

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

local people and indigenous communities and in opposition to the political and corporate elites. It was largely a tussle between the moral narrative for the former and implementing activities for the latter. “The relationship with the subject of ‘development’ and their own positioning through developmental agencies and indigenous people remains ambiguous. Some consider development agencies as creators of ‘monocultures of the mind’ in which the new ‘holy grail’ of the dominant political elites, the consumerist culture, is perpetuated and native ways of relating to each other as well as to plants and animals are undermined.”¹¹⁴ “In examining the relationship between economic and technological progress, and the health and welfare of local communities, Bodley argues that increased consumption, lowered mortality and the eradication of all traditional controls have combined to replace a relatively stable balance between population and natural resources, with a new system which is imbalanced. Reflecting on the relativity of the very concepts of ‘progress’ and ‘quality of life,’ many question the ‘goodness’ of industrialization and the whole enterprise of ‘development,’ including the ‘democratic sharing’ of the green revolution, medical technologies, and other seductive blessings.”¹¹⁵

One cannot ignore the role played by women asserting their rights over resources and their region. Some historical and cultural experiences are also essential as far as female peasantry’s role in the movement is concerned. The participation and contribution made by women in popular agitations and protests dates back to the anti-alcohol agitations steered by Sarvodaya workers in the 1960s. Guha argues “that the most celebrated ‘environmental’ movement in the world, the Chipko movement, is viewed by its participants primarily as a peasant movement who were defending their traditional forest rights; and then as an ‘environmental’ or a ‘feminist’ movement.”¹¹⁶ It has also been argued “that the female peasantry were not interested in saving the trees per se, but in using their produce for agricultural and household requirements.”¹¹⁷ According to Guha, “women play an uncommonly important role in hill agriculture but the reasons behind women’s participation in the movement were more economic than environmental and ecological.”¹¹⁸ It is almost impossible for a single economic activity to sustain the household in the difficult and tough terrain of the Himalayas.

¹¹⁴ Helen Kopnina, “Towards conservational anthropology: addressing anthropocentric bias in anthropology,” *Dialectical Anthropology* 36, no.1 (2012): 129, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10624-012-9265-y>.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹¹⁶ Guha, *The Unquiet Woods*, 9-10.

¹¹⁷ Ramachandra Guha and Joan Martínez Alier, *Varieties of environmentalism: essays North and South* (London: Routledge, 2013), 3.

¹¹⁸ Guha, *The Unquiet Woods*, 22.

Resulting, women played a crucial role in challenging environments. Apart from the tasks of cultivation, they are also exclusively responsible for household chores that include collection of fuel, fodder and water. They have contributed to an extremely high share of family labour. “Chandi Prasad Bhatt, a strong leader of Chipko movement and the one behind ‘tree-hugging’, stated women being capable of playing a more dynamic role in the movement in comparison to men, which due to the ongoing commercialization and an expanding capitalist economy, are gradually losing sight in the importance and long-term interests of the village economy.”¹¹⁹ According to him, what women were articulating more strongly was ‘ecology is permanent economy’ and their right to use it. Here, women weren’t fighting so that the trees remain untouched rather it was the competition between the government approved contractors and the community. The Chipko movement became a forerunner for rest of the popular movements which were trying to defend their community rights over natural resources.¹²⁰

Thus, a major setback for the natives was losing control over the forests where men as well as women participated actively. Simultaneously, above mentioned circumstances were also forcing people to leave the hilly areas in search of jobs. This promoted the initial large-scale phenomenon of migration, whose speed has been increasing with progression of time. The phenomenon of migration is not a recent phenomenon. The commonality of issues affected the majority of the population in Uttarakhand and helped them to overcome their inherent differences for a collectivised and organized struggle. This was used by various political organizations in the course of history which culminated into the actions of UKD and finally led to the formation of Uttarakhand.

2.7 Political History

At the organizational level, the Kumaon Parishad was established in 1916. The Parishad was vehemently against the ‘*Begar*’¹²¹ system in which the hill people had to work for the British officials on tour without payment. The Kumaon Parishad established sabhas in the villages. The Uttaraini mela was used by the Kumaon Parishad to gather support of the masses. Ex-

¹¹⁹ Guha, *The Unquiet Woods*, 175.

¹²⁰ Ashley Heaslip, “Ecology is Permanent Economy: An Examination of ‘Environmentalism of the Poor’ and the Chipko Movement,” *On Politics* 1, no. 1 (2005): 29-42.

¹²¹ Shekhar Pathak, “Understanding Colonial and Post-Colonial Uttarakhand,” in *Uttarakhand: Need For A Comprehensive Eco-Strategy*, ed. R.P. Dhasmana (New Delhi: V K Publishers, 2008), 23-32.

soldiers of the Indian Army who had been discharged from the army after the First World War were instrumental in assisting Kumaon Parishad by organizing sabhas in the villages. The Kumaon Parishad began to spearhead a hitherto unorganized protest movement. The 1921 movement sent shock waves through the administration and in the wake of this; the Kumaon Forest Grievances Committee was set up. There was, however, widespread dissatisfaction over the composition of the committee. The committee did not have any representative of the people, for this reason the villagers boycotted its sittings.¹²²

However, despite the implementation of the recommendations, deliberate firing of the forests continued. In fact, in the years 1930-31, the cases of forest fires were recorded to be the highest. The national movement had by this time gained ground in the Kumaoni region. On 19th May 1927, Mahatma Gandhi had visited Tadikhet in Uttarakhand to participate in an annual festival. He was greeted by hundreds of people, an indication of the spread of the fame of Gandhi and the support for the Indian National Congress in the region. The salt Satyagraha too had its effects in the Kumaon region. On 17th August 1930, 'Malguzars' of the region who were the backbone of the British revenue administration, resigned. Following this, the administration stationed police battalions in Sult town. The villagers had previously decided that they would blow the '*ransinha*' (a kind of horn) to assemble, if need be. In September 1930, the Sub Divisional Magistrate (SDM) of the region Habibur Rahman marched to Sult with a contingent of around 60 policemen. They surrounded a village, Dangula, and on the pretext of searching for Congress workers, looted the village. The neighbouring villages came to know of the incident and the '*ransinha*' was sounded again. The villagers in hundreds marched to the place where the SDM had camped and forced him to pay compensation for the damages. On 24th October, 1930, Purshottarn Upadhyay, Mathuradutt Joshi, Dharrn Singh and others proceeded from Sult to Ranikhet to court arrest. They were accompanied by a massive procession, which marched through a curfew bound Mall road in Ranikhet to court arrest. On 30th November, 1930, a Jungle Satyagraha was embarked upon in which 404 satyagrahis marched to the Mohaan 'Dak Bunglow' where auctions of the forests were to be held. Following a police lathicharge, 58 satyagrahis were injured and arrested. They were later incarcerated in the Moradabad jail without trial.¹²³

¹²² Shekhar Pathak and Hira Bhakuni, "Rise and Growth of Kumaon Parishad, 1916-26," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, no. 48 (1987): 397 - 403, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44141715?seq=1>.

¹²³ Pathak, "Understanding Colonial," 27.

The Tehri Rajya Praja Mandal (TRPM), which had been set up under the influence of the nationalist movement, took up the issues of 'Begar' and 'Pauntoti'. 'Pauntoti' is a form of customs duty levied on the belongings of the subjects as and when they entered the state. Sridev Suman, a leader of TRPM, also a member of the Indian National Congress (INC) and an important functionary of the All India States Peoples Conference succeeded in rousing the students of the state to go on strike. His hunger strike outside the Tehri police station attracted much attention among the people, and support for the movement grew. He was expelled from Tehri Garhwal and was later jailed in Agra. Upon his return from jail, he toured extensively in the villages of the state. He was arrested again and jailed in Tehri. He went on a hunger strike again which lasted for 84 days, wherein he succumbed to pneumonia and heart failure. The martyrdom of Sridev Suman gave great propaganda value for years to come. In the same year of Suman's death, the durbar embarked on fresh land surveys and settlements. The officials immediately had to contend with non-cooperation by the peasants who refused to submit to the survey. Thousands of peasants joined the peasant rallies and meetings. The meetings and rallies were mainly organized by the TRPM. However, there were other meetings which were autonomous of the TRPM. By this time, demand for statehood did not exist until a resolution was tabled by majority demanding a separate state of Uttarakhand.¹²⁴

In 1938, Garhwal session of INC at Srinagar demanded a separate administrative set up for hill districts of western UP on the basis of its geo-cultural peculiarities. The session was presided over by Pratap Singh Negi and Vijay Laxmi Pandit. In 1939, Congress held a political conference at Pauri where the Congress committee got split over the issue of separate administrative set up. With no further development, it was in 1946, under the Chairmanship of 'Kumaon Kesari' Badri Dutt Pandey, that the Haldwani Conference moved a resolution for a separate administrative unit. The proposal was sent to GB Pant, who turned it down.¹²⁵

By 1942 the freedom movement had reached a feverish pitch. In the Garhwal-Kumaon region, there were Congress sabhas in almost all places, organized rallies and demonstrations were taking place all over. The support for the Congress, according to Guha, did come from the peasants but not because they believed in the ideology of 'purna swaraj' but were using

¹²⁴ Guha, *The Unquiet Woods*, 79.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 190.

the vehicle of nationalism to reclaim their lost forest rights. The forest administration had introduced a hitherto alien concept of property to the forests and thereby destroying the communal protection of the forest.¹²⁶ Simultaneously, the erstwhile ruler Manvendra Shah (1946-1949) of the Garhwal Kingdom was the one who guided the demonstrations.

Post-independence there were various regional movements for creation of states such as Andhra agitation, Gujarat agitation, etc., in these waves of agitations, the demand for Uttarakhand also gained prominence. B. D. Pandey, time and again, raised the issue and was favoured by Sardar KM Panikkar but was overruled, citing that the region can develop better if continuous to be a part of UP.¹²⁷

The intensity for the demand of the state of Uttarakhand increased manifold since 1952. CPI was the first party to raise the demand for separate Uttarakhand. P.C. Joshi started the mass awakening movement. The General Secretary of CPI, he was another prominent political leader to raise the demand for separate state of Uttarakhand, which was based on Karachi Resolution¹²⁸ of Congress. In 1954, Inder Singh Nayal, the member of Legislative Council (UP), had also written a letter to the then Chief Minister (CM) of UP, Govind Ballabh Pant for granting special status to the hill region. The demand took the shape of an agitation in 1957. Over time, the demand for statehood to Uttarakhand became even stronger.¹²⁹

The question of Uttarakhand was also proposed to the State Reorganization Commission which considered language as the only criteria while redrawing the federal map of India. The Congress leaders of Uttarakhand, like Pt. Govind Ballabh Pant did not support the idea of division as he wanted to retain the control over the most populous state which would give them an edge over other states in the parliament. As a result, Uttarakhand not only remained a part of UP but also remained cut off from the national mainstream and underdeveloped too.¹³⁰ In 1967, to pursue the demand of the hill state, a Hill State Council was formed. In 1973, it was reconstituted as Uttarakhand Hill State Council. To provide a momentum to the demand

¹²⁶ Ibid., 191.

¹²⁷ Srivastava, "Hill State was carved," 2011.

¹²⁸ Karachi Resolution: The Resolution is three pages long and is mostly written in a quasi-legal style. It reiterated the Congress Party's commitment to 'Purna Swaraj' or 'complete independence'.

¹²⁹ Srivastava, "Hill State was carved," 2011.

¹³⁰ Annpurna Nautiyal, "Separate Uttarakhand State: Political Issue or Economic Necessity," in *Uttarakhand in Turmoil*, ed. R.R. Nautiyal and Annpurna Nautiyal (New Delhi: MD Publications, 1996), 7-12.

of separate Uttarakhand in 1979, UKD¹³¹ was formed which has since then emerged as a major party, working towards this goal.¹³² Eventually, BJP joined the movement and took over from UKD so that it could lead the movement. “The Parishad became a platform for statehood struggle and gave birth to a political party called UKD under the chairmanship of former Vice Chancellor (VC) of Kumaon University, D.D.Pant. It was an age-old demand as it was pending for nearly 60 years but it gained momentum after police firing on Uttarakhand’s activists in Muzaffarnagar in 1994 which were going to take part in a protest in Delhi. After this incident, major political parties, including Congress and BJP,”¹³³ came out openly and supported the formation of the state.

The then UP CM Mulayam Singh Yadav’s decision to implement 27 percent OBC reservation for the 2 percent of population provoked the long dormant feelings of the people and Uttarakhand saw an unprecedented wave of mass movement which soon became a passion of every household. Due to the intensity of the movement, Yadav’s government had to forward the resolution to the Union for its creation, and at the same time, the police force unleashed a reign of terror and many lives were sacrificed at Khatima, Mussoorie, Muzaffarnagar and Srinagar, but this could not dampen the spirit of the people. A similar resolution, for the creation, was also sent to the Centre by the BJP government in 1991-92.¹³⁴ The demand gained “momentum in 1994, when Yadav who was against the formation of hill state set up Kaniskya Committee for evaluating demand of Uttarakhand. As a result, students launched massive protests all over the region. This movement was joined by state government employees who went on strike. The protest became so violent, the administration had to impose curfew in Haldwani and Khatima on 1st September 1994. The violence spread in other parts of the regions as well killing seven persons including a Deputy Superintendent of Police (DSP) in police firing in Mussoorie. These two incidents added fuel to the fire and the protest spread up to Delhi. In 1998, National Democratic Alliance (NDA) government at the Centre sent an ordinance for the formation of Uttaranchal state through the President to the UP assembly.”¹³⁵

¹³¹ Uttarakhand Kranti Dal is a registered unrecognized regional political party in Uttarakhand. It was established on July 26, 1979 by Bipin Chandra Tripathi, Dr. D.D.Pant, Indramani Badoni and Kashi Singh Airy at Nainital to fight for a separate state of Uttarakhand. In the 17th Lok Sabha Elections, Uttarakhand Kranti Dal couldn’t get even a single seat.

¹³² Nautiyal, “Separate Uttarakhand State,” 8.

¹³³ Srivastava, “Hill State was carved,” 2011.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

Though the demand for independence was voiced by P.C. Joshi and others, the main impetus for the demand for separate states, was initiated in the 1970's. This was due to the awareness regarding the impact of distant British rule on the region and environment. Further, incidents like building of Tehri Dam, Chipko movement to save forests and other natural resources, lack of relief measures and rehabilitation strategies by the state government during the earthquake in Tehri in 1991, policy of extending caste based reservation to the hills and mishandling of protestors in Muzaffarnagar in 1994 by the UP state police; furthered the movement towards a separate state. Because of the above factors, it was decided to form a separate state of Uttaranchal. On 9th November, 2000, Uttaranchal as a separate state formally came into being. In 2006, Uttaranchal was renamed as Uttarakhand.¹³⁶

After several amendments under the leadership of Atal Bihari Vajpayee, "Uttar Pradesh Reorganization Bill-2000 was presented in Lok Sabha on July 27, 2000. The bill was passed on August 1, 2000 and on August 10, 2000 in Rajya Sabha and received sanction of the President on August 28, 2000. The central government fixed November 9, 2000 for the formation of Uttaranchal state. Uttaranchal emerged as the 27th state of India with Surjeet Singh Barnala as the Governor and Nityanand Swami as the Chief Minister of the state."¹³⁷ The newly formed state comprised of thirteen districts. Uttaranchal became Uttarakhand "in August 2006, when the union cabinet accepted the four year old demand of the Uttaranchal state assembly and leading members of the Uttarakhand movement to call it Uttarakhand instead of Uttaranchal. In October 2006, legislation was passed by the state assembly and the Union Cabinet brought in the bill in the next session of parliament."¹³⁸

2.8 Post 2000: Different Regimes

Earlier in this chapter, we have discussed the causes that led to the statehood movement as well as the role of political organizations involved in the process. Since its inception in 2000, internal disputes and disagreement in the ruling parties led to numerous faces in the CM's office. After the formation of state, the first CM of the interim government was Nityanand Swami appointed by Union Government. Just in eleven months, B.S. Koshiyari replaced Swami, occupying the office for three months. In 2002, the first general election in the state was held; the Congress won and N.D. Tiwari became the CM, who ruled the state for five

¹³⁶ "Uttarakhand Open University," last modified May 18, 2021.

¹³⁷ Srivastava, "Hill State was carved," 2011.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

years.¹³⁹ In 2007, BJP won the election and the central leadership chose Bhuwan Chandra Khanduri as CM over Koshiyari, who had the support of the majority of legislatures. In this turmoil, central leadership chose Ramesh Pokhriyal Nishank as a compromise candidate.”¹⁴⁰ Within twenty four months, the incumbent CM was replaced by Khanduri, hoping that he would retain the state in the next election. The appointment of Khanduri boomeranged, resulting in the defeat of the BJP in 2012. Vijay Bahuguna, a confidant of Nehru-Gandhi family was chosen the CM, though Harish Rawat had the support of majority of legislatures in the assembly. Around two years later, Bahuguna was forced to resign; Rawat took over as the eighth CM of Uttarakhand.¹⁴¹ The hill state was in the midst of another political crisis. The central leadership of the BJP and Congress imposed their choices on the state in the absence of tall leaders in these parties, which further augmented the political instability in the state. BJP got a chance again and made Trivendra Singh Rawat, the new CM of the state. But shortly, state had a new face again when with Tirath Singh Rawat was made its CM.¹⁴² In another dramatic turn of events, citing constitutional constraints; Rawat was replaced by Pushkar Singh Dhami in July 2021.

As far as the stand of different regimes about the problems in the state is concerned, almost every government in all these respective years talked about the same issues and concerns. Their manifestoes talk about the similar issues of employment, education and migration. To deal with migration, Uttarakhand Rural Development and Migration Commission (URDMC) was constituted in August 2017 to examine all aspects of the problem. The incumbent CM is the chairman of the Commission. The primary objective of the commission is to develop the rural areas of the state. Further, it aims “to promote welfare and prosperity of the rural population. It also aims to mitigate out-migration, advising the government on multi-sectoral development at the grassroots levels, etc. Development at the grassroots levels is the larger aim which would aggregate at the district and state levels. To achieve the same, it will also submit recommendations to the government on various other related matters. Further, as a part of this mandate, the commission has analysed major schemes and programmes in the

¹³⁹ Rakesh Mohan Chaturvedi, “Uttarakhand politically unstable since formation,” *The Economic Times*, March 28, 2016, accessed on July 10, 2020, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/uttarakhand-politically-unstable-since-formation/articleshow/51577198.cms>.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 2016.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 2016.

¹⁴² Ibid., 2016.

rural development sector implemented by different departments and agencies.”¹⁴³ The commission in the past has recommended several solutions to arrest the increasing trends of migration. However, the government has not taken any concrete steps to ensure its implementation. In the wake of the second wave of Covid-19 pandemic, it aims to compile the data of returning migrant workers.

Since its creation, the race has always been primarily between the Congress and the BJP to form the government. Uttarakhand has a history of alternating between the Congress and the BJP since the first assembly polls in 2002. One of the issues that have annoyed the people of Uttarakhand is rampant corruption of successive governments since state formation.

2.9 Conclusion

The present chapter is an historical account of the movement revealing that ethnocentrism was the reason behind the resentment that got triggered with the issue of reservation. The movement represents an assertion for recognizing socio-cultural identity. It also represents a protest to recognize the spatial features of the hill region and the disabilities that the region had been suffering. It was not a separatist movement but rather represented an urge to live and march with the nation on the path of prosperity and development. The attempt has been made to look at the historical background of formation of Uttarakhand and to situate the Uttarakhand movement in a larger framework transcending the issues of development and economic backwardness that eventually led to the problem of migration.

The Uttarakhand movement has been an expression of discontent arising out of inter-regional socio-economic inequalities and was marked by unusual spontaneity and massive support base. It was basically against the socio-economic exploitation of the region and misleading marginalization of the region in terms of unplanned industrial plans insensitive towards geographical and topographical features. Against the backdrop of state failure to fulfil the rising expectations of newly mobilized social categories, these identities have increasingly acquired political overtones and have become the basis of demand for various rights. Due to the state failure in distributing the benefits of development equitably, sub-national identities were demanding a more decisive say in the affairs of governance in the allocation of

¹⁴³ “Background,” Rural Development and Migration Commission, accessed on February 18, 2019, <http://www.uttarakhandpalayanayog.com/>.

resources as well as a more autonomous political space. This movement is an outcome of the transitional state of Indian socio-economic system wherein regionalism emerged as a powerful social force as people were subjected to insecurities. These insecurities emerged due to uneven development and its "backwash effect" spread to rest of the areas.¹⁴⁴ Uttarakhand was included in UP with some aspiration but what was experienced was distrust. It was assured that its identity would be preserved and cherished but with time, Uttarakhand witnessed a discriminating attitude from the state government of UP.

All through history, the environment had governed economic activities and laid out norms for living and carrying out those activities with a regularity which became the culture of these people. With the arrival of the British, this close relationship between man and environment maintained through culture was severed. The British policy on forests destroyed the balance between the two. 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. The new economic realities that came under the wake of deforestation and money based economy led to the movement of people to the plains. The region continues to witness the same due to the new form of capitalist development that started in 1990s.

Unsustainable development is one of the main reasons that led to further backwardness of the region. The forces of modernisation and state intervention did make themselves visible in the Uttarakhand region, but not positively. Blind implementation of plan projects and policies reflected themselves in the imbalanced social profile resulting in mismatches between the levels of literacy and the degree of employment generation, and in the resources and the indigenous production facilities. In the name of development and modernisation, problems like migration are direct consequences of the policies where the interests, aspirations and expectations of the Uttarakhand people were marginalized in view of its relative insignificance in determining the character of governing alliance at the political and the decision-making levels. The core developed by the exploitation and discrimination of the peripheral regions like Uttarakhand. Earlier, the region was exploited by the British and after independence by UP. The kind of development put in place has made things worse in the absence of livelihood opportunities and regional backwardness. The failure of the state is attributed variously to the institutional breakdown or the inherent unsuitability of the

¹⁴⁴ Purna Chandra Joshi, "Child of the Himalayas," *Economic and Political Weekly* 39, no. 17 (2004): 1732-1740.

modernisation process and due to its ethno-centric bias has given rise to grassroots activism. Some scholars have opined that the Chipko movement was a reaction against this exclusionary model of development and reflected the aspiration of the locals to gain a share for them in the entire process of development.

In a way the dynamics of democracy and development placed the discourse of an Uttarakhand identity well within the boundaries of the polity, policy and the state. The 'differentiating role' of the state and its policy instruments, as a distributor of privileges, and its impact on the process of identity evolution and its consequences for the issues of mobilization are well recognized by the scholars. If the government intends to stop the problem of migration, it should modify its policies and regulations incorporating local sensitivities as well. Uttarakhand is witnessing 'development of underdevelopment' which starts by entry of market and commercial interest resulting in rapid social change, disintegration of primordial social networks and giving rise to out-migration. It is about people's understanding of the existential circumstances of their lives, employment realities, threat perceptions, lack of safety measures and the ecological embeddedness of their consciousness.

Even after twenty years, the state could not arrest the problem of migration. Those involved in statehood movement say that the purpose of creation of a separate state has not yet been fulfilled and is still a distant dream. In the last twenty years, the state has seen both stable and unstable governments but all of them have failed in delivering the promise of development. Census 2011 reveals 17,868 fewer people than in 2001 and 3500 villages as 'ghost villages' highlighting the magnitude of migration. The state has a literacy level of 78.8 percent. This fairly high indicator does not play any role and gives credence to the fact that region is not backward. The indicator of sex ratio in the region has been much higher than the state average for a few decades now. As compared to 955 females in 1991, the sex ratio increased to 963 in 2011. The density of population in the hill districts is much lower than that of the state average. Therefore, on an average the number of schools, colleges and hospitals in the region show a better ratio than the rest of the states.

Uttarakhand has quite unique socio-economic factors and this can be understood in terms of geographical peculiarities. Small and scattered land holdings, lack of irrigation, absence of modern techniques of farming and lack of industrial development are some of the factors

contributing towards its backwardness. The relative infertility and inability to apply modern methods of farming are an added burden that employs almost 70 percent of the population. Unequal development is a natural corollary to the pattern of development embarked upon by the Indian State. The five-year plans have not quite been able to achieve their objectives. The 'trickle-down' effect, envisaged by first two plans led to the formation of islands of prosperity in a sea of poverty.

In the absence of opportunities, people are still migrating in search of jobs and livelihood. This phenomenon continues to exist even after the creation of the state and migration has not reduced. Migration has become a societal reality which brings into picture the role of male migration and remittances. The next chapter shall be dealing with male migration and the impact of remittances on the place of origin in terms of social, human and financial capital.

Chapter 3

Male Migration and the Role of Remittances

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will try to locate the issues of migration in general and male migration in particular in the state of Uttarakhand. Migration, especially male migration, is such a significant process in Uttarakhand that its economy came to be known as “remittance economy”. This chapter comprises of two components. The first section deals with the history of migration in Uttarakhand which came in the wake of continued alienation that the locals were facing. In this section, it also attempts to study an understudied aspect of the migration process in Uttarakhand, i.e. the culture of migration and how it has led to a change in gender distribution in the region. And in the second section, I will largely analyse some general literature on remittance economy in terms of social and financial remittances and its impact on the home state.

Uttarakhand is at 20th position among Indian states. According to the 2011 Population Census, out of 10.09 million populations, nearly 70 percent lives in its rural areas. The ten hill districts account for 48.1 percent of its population. Rest of the population resides in the much smaller area of the three plain districts because of better opportunities. The rural population predominantly resides in the hills and a sizeable 42.4 percent of the population resides in urban areas of the three plain districts. These three districts have emerged as major centres of economic activities and are attracting rural population from the hills.¹⁴⁵ In 2001-2011, it led to noticeable changes in the demographic structure. The share of hill population has declined substantially from nearly 53 percent in 2001 to about 48 percent in 2011. In comparison to population growth in the plain districts (2.82 percent), the hills witnessed much lower growth in population (0.70 percent), and subsequently turning villages into ‘ghost villages’. The increased percentage of three plain districts can be

¹⁴⁵ Mamgain and Reddy, “Out-Migration,” 209-235.

attributed to the in-migrants into the state of Uttarakhand. The rural areas of hill districts registered the lowest growth of 0.38 percent in population during 2001-2011.¹⁴⁶

The state of Uttarakhand was created due to its lopsided development. Evident from latest Population Census 2011, the rate of out-migration from the hills could not be reduced even after its formation rather accelerated in recent years. It shows a very sluggish population growth in the mountain districts of the state. Despite of the fact that these districts had well-developed social indicators, the rate of out-migration has left villages with single digit population. The developmental efforts reached at much less pace than desired to these areas. Otherwise, increased opportunities of economic and social well-being would have reduced the rate of out-migration.¹⁴⁷ Increasing out-migration portrays the challenges and hardships of lives in villages. Before getting into the discussion on migration and remittances with respect to Uttarakhand, it would be prudent to have an understanding about the various theories about migration as well as the impact of remittances on society in general as per the available literature.

3.2 Theoretical Understanding

Human mobility and migration are as old as humanity itself. Initially it was about hunting, gathering and settlements. Subsequently, they got transformed into trade and pilgrim routes. In the modern context, the villages became the major source of human capital for industries and urban centres. The limited growth and opportunities contributed to the process of migration from underdeveloped to developed regions and from rural to urban areas. The massive out-migration has created a vacuum, leading to huge social-cultural loss.¹⁴⁸

Social scientists began theorizing about migration in the 19th century. They emphasized that social, cultural and economic factors as well as the distance are the causes of migration. A theory is a symbolic and simplified representation of reality, which helps in understanding the observed behaviour. Sociologists had focused their attention on the social, economic, demographic, physiological and attitudinal factors to explain the migration flows. The main concern of economists had been on the causes, factors and consequences of migration. Geographers largely dealt with the territorial movement of the people leading to a redistribution of population.

¹⁴⁶ "Uttarakhand Human," *Institute for Human Development*, 2018.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Pathak, Pant and Maharjan, "De-population Trends," 2017.

Migration means semi-permanent or permanent change in the place of residence. For McLeman, “commuting to work, going on vacation, or moving to another apartment in the same town or city are actions that are generally not considered to be migration. Migration often follows common spatial pattern, the most common being from rural areas to urban centres, typically called rural-urban migration.”¹⁴⁹ According to Gonzalez, “migration can be seasonal, temporary or indefinite (or permanent). Migration often follows spatial patterns, the most common being from rural to urban areas, urban-rural migration also occurs though this is less common.”¹⁵⁰

Since 1875, numbers of theories have studied the growth of the migration process. However, there is no single migration theory accepted by social scientists due to the intrinsically interdisciplinary nature of the migration research. It involves geography, demography, economics, political science, sociology, etc.¹⁵¹ The involvement of many parameters makes migration a complex phenomenon. Migration in any region also gets determined by the perceptions and behaviour of individuals concerned, apart from social, economic, political and environmental factors. Therefore, there is no comprehensive theory of migration but attempts have been made to provide a comprehensive theory of migration that would integrate social, economic, spatial and behavioural theory.¹⁵²

On the basis of available literature, some of the theories for migration are discussed below.

I. Ravenstein's Laws of Migration

Ravenstein argued that individuals move from an area of low opportunity and the magnitude of migration increases with advancement of technology. In his ‘Laws of Migration’, Ravenstein discussed about the causes of migration, the predominant factor that influences the decision to migrate is the economic ones. The migrants, for long distances, look for large centres of economic activities for migration. The primary cause is better external economic opportunities. At the same time, both push factors such as low wages,

¹⁴⁹ Robert McLeman, "Migration and Land Degradation: Recent Experience and Future Trends," *The Global Land Outlook Working Paper, United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD)*, September 2017: 5, accessed on July 8, 2018, https://knowledge.unccd.int/sites/default/files/2018-06/8.%20Migration%2Band%2BLand%2BDegradation_R_McLeman.pdf.

¹⁵⁰ Nancie L. Solien De Gonzalez, “Family Organization in Five Types of Migratory Wage Labor,” *American Anthropologist* 63, no. 6 (1961): 1264-1280.

¹⁵¹ Farkhanda Shamim, Najeeba Tazeen and Naveeda Qaseem, "Labor Migration and Gender Empowerment: A Case Study of Housemaids," *Asian Social Science* 10, no. 3 (2014): 232.

¹⁵² Denis F. Johnston and Michael J. Carley, "Social Measurement and Social Indicators," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 453, no. 1 (1981): 237-253.

high unemployment rates, etc., in rural areas; and pull factors, viz high wages and high job opportunities incline people towards the urban cities.¹⁵³

II. Lee's Conceptual Framework for Migration Analysis

Introducing the concept of intervening opportunities, Everett Lee has argued that migrant's characteristics provide an understanding about the trend of migration and the variation within. He begins by postulating that the decision to migrate is based on individual calculations by taking into consideration the positives at the place of destination and negatives at the place of origin. Under the concept of intervening opportunities, Lee explains that the intervention is between home and host location, and the perception about these results in migration. Further, he argues that push factors at the place of origin are relatively more significant than pull factors at place of destination.¹⁵⁴

III. Lewis- Fei- Ranis 'Theory of Development'

Lewis developed the first comprehensive theory of development with reference to rural-urban labour transfer,¹⁵⁵ which was later extended by Fei and Ranis. According to this model, migration implies the transfer of traditional labour surplus from the villages to the modern labour deficit sector which eventually brings wage equality in the two sectors. Hence, it considers migration as an equilibrating mechanism. This model is based on the concept of dual economy, the former comprised by unemployment and under-employment and the later characterized by full employment where capitalists reinvest the full amount of their profits.¹⁵⁶ The marginal productivity of labour in the traditional sector is zero or very low. On the other hand, due to the high productivity-oriented activities, wage rates in the modern industrial sector are much higher. These differences in the wage rates lead to migration of workers from the rural areas to the urban areas. It results in possibilities of reinvestment as it increases industrial production and profits; and further increases the

¹⁵³ EG Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 48, no. 2 (1885): 167-227.

¹⁵⁴ Everett S Lee, "A Theory of Migration," *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966): 47- 57, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2060063>.

¹⁵⁵ William Arthur Lewis, "Economic Development with Unlimited Supplies of Labor," *Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies* 22 (1954): 139-91.

¹⁵⁶ John Fei and Gustav Ranis, *Development of Labour Surplus Economy: Theory and Policy* (Homewood, Illinois, Richard A. Irwin, Inc., 1964).

labour demand from the traditional rural region. It will go on as long as surplus labour remains available in the subsistence sector.¹⁵⁷

IV. Human Capital Theory

According to this theory, migration is seen as an investment strategy. It is expected that the returns and benefits will be higher than the involved costs in migration and can be segregated into monetary and non-monetary.¹⁵⁸ According to this theory, individuals calculate the associated costs and benefits of migration. For Larry Sjaastad, migration is an “investment increasing the productivity of human resources, an investment which has costs and which also renders returns.”¹⁵⁹ His greatest contribution was to introduce the notion of human capital into migration theory, and employing it in view of migration, training and experience as investments in the human agent. The basic premise is that the analysis of private costs of voluntary migration which, in a competitive economy, satisfies the requirement of ‘optimum’ allocation of resources.¹⁶⁰

Theorists including Lewis, Fei and Ranis, Harris and Todaro,¹⁶¹ Sjaastad and Todaro¹⁶² hold on to the following assumptions and propositions:

- Migration of people is due to the differences in the wages between two regions.
- Migration is on the basis of cost-benefit calculations at individual level.
- Migration decisions are influenced by discontinuities between labour markets, not directly influencing the decision to migrate.
- Government should maintain a check and regulate the labour market in both locations.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁷ Trent Bertrand and Lyn Squire, “The Relevance of the Dual Economy,” *Oxford Economic Papers* 32, no.3, (1980): 480-511, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2662802>.

¹⁵⁸ Baayah Baba, Peter Mc Gregor, and Kamaruzaman Jusoff, “Today’s Relevancy of the Migration Determinants Theory,” *Asian Social Science* 4, no. 9 (2008): 84-95.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹⁶⁰ Larry A. Sjaastad, “The Costs and Returns of Human Migration,” *Journal of Political Economy* 70, no. 5 (1962): 80-93, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1829105>.

¹⁶¹ John R. Harris and Michael P. Todaro, “Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis,” *The American Economic Review* 60, no. 1 (1970): 126-42, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1807860>.

¹⁶² M.P. Todaro, “A Model of Labor Migration and Urban Unemployment in Less Developed Countries,” *The American Economic Review* 59, no. 1 (1969): 138-49, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1811100>.

¹⁶³ Douglas S. Massey, Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor, “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,” *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 431-466, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2938462>.

3.3 Review of Literature

Migration has spawned abundant research and prompted wide ranging models as discussed above. The following section discusses the same in light of various studies highlighting the factors leading towards migration.

Migration due to Pull Factors: Skeldon analyses that it is rarely the poorest that migrate. He further states that rather than absolute poverty, a certain level of socio-economic opportunities seems to be the most important cause of migration.¹⁶⁴ Usher supports that those who have access to some resources usually migrate.¹⁶⁵ Yadava argues in the same line where he talks about the economic implication of rural out-migration in the state of UP. It was asserted that by improving the income of out-migrant households, remittances decrease the inequalities in their overall income distribution. It was also found that remittances on an average constitute 24 percent of income in a migrant household and was socio-economically and educationally better placed than non-migrant families.¹⁶⁶

Migration due to Push Factors: An empirical study conducted by Devi and others in 2009 asserted that among the low income group, migration mostly happens due to poverty. They look for better jobs and finally migrate on getting an opportunity or a relatively better opportunity.¹⁶⁷ Hussain et al.,¹⁶⁸ Mishra,¹⁶⁹ Ghaffari and Singh¹⁷⁰ have agreed that non-availability of jobs is a major factor for them to migrate. Whereas scholars like Rao¹⁷¹ and Reddy¹⁷² argued that migration from villages started temporarily due to environmental conditions such as drought, flood, landslide, etc., but later for jobs on permanent basis

¹⁶⁴ Ronald Skeldon, "Rural-to-urban migration and its implication for Poverty Alleviation," *Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 12, no.1 (1997): 3-16.

¹⁶⁵ Erica Usher, "The Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) and Migration," International Organization for Migration (Geneva: 2005).

¹⁶⁶ Kedar Yadava, Surendar Yadava and R.K. Sinha, "Rural Out-Migration in Uttar Pradesh and its economic implications for Migrant Households in India: A Review," *Indian Economic Journal* 44, no. 2 (1996): 21-38.

¹⁶⁷ P. Ambiga Devi, K.T. Geetha, K.R. Gomathi, "Rural Out- Migration: Two Group Discriminant Analysis," *Social Change* 39, no. 1 (2009):85-101, <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F004908570903900105>.

¹⁶⁸ Shabbir Hussain, Badar Naseem Siddiqui, Muhammad Zakaria and Yousuf Hassan, "A Sociological Study of Factors Responsible for Migration: A Case Study of Faisalabad City(Pakistan)," *International Journal of Agriculture and Biology* 6, no. 4 (2004): 683-685.

¹⁶⁹ S.K. Mishra, "Factors and Processes of migration in a developing economy: a case study of M.P.," in *Frontiers in Migration Analysis*, ed. R.B.Mandal (New Delhi: Concept, 1981): 227-239.

¹⁷⁰ Hadi Ghaffari and S.P. Singh, "Rural-urban migrations: A search for economic determinants," *Indian Journal of Economics* 84 (2004): 433-458.

¹⁷¹ G.B. Rao, "Household Coping/Survival Strategies in Drought-prone Regions: A Case Study of Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh, India," *SPWD* (Hyderabad Centre, 2001).

¹⁷² D.N. Reddy, "Rural Migrant Labour in Andhra Pradesh," *Report submitted to National Commission on Rural Labour*, Government of India (1990).

keeping future in mind. The demographic pressures, small size of landholding, low status and gap in wage rates also pushed the migrant worker. Another feature of out-migration is the person already migrated provides the necessary information to the newcomers.

Gupta and Prajapati studied the reasons for migration in Chhattisgarh region when it was part of Madhya Pradesh. The data was collected from 140 seasonal agricultural labourers from couple of villages of Raipur district, discovered that large family size with small land holding, presence of a large number of small and marginal farmers, shortage of irrigational facilities, low agricultural productivity and lack of employment prospects during the rabi season were the main reasons for migration. It was also argued that the announcement of the government regarding the increment in the wage rates was not executed in sapient manner. Resulting, farmers were left with two options; either to work at low wages or to look for work outside the region. It highlights that the decision to migrate was to earn additional money.¹⁷³

Another study was conducted by Joshi in the state of Madhya Pradesh and data was collected from 2280 households in 66 villages of Jhabua district. Joshi analysed concerns of tribal migrants. Factors like increasing population, decreasing command over resources and failure of the local support system, led to large-scale migration as it was seen as a survival strategy. The study provided a factual enquiry about the nature, direction, volume and causes of tribal migration. It also analysed the manpower skill components.¹⁷⁴ Amitabh Kundu in his study indicated that distance between the home and host destination also matters in some cases.¹⁷⁵

Migration due to Push as well as Pull Factors: Braunvan states that the people tend to be pushed from the areas of decline and pulled to the areas of prosperity.¹⁷⁶ Sekhar asserted that migration takes place among the middle income groups. The rich do not migrate due to risk and hardship. Lack of required resources at disposal, restricts the poor to migrate.¹⁷⁷ Misra revealed that both (push as well as pull) influence migration. Reasons like absence of

¹⁷³ S.P. Gupta and B.L. Prajapati, "Migration of Agricultural Labourers in Chattisgarh Region of Madhya Pradesh: A Micro Level Study," *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 41, no. 4 (1998): 707-715.

¹⁷⁴ Yashwant Govind Joshi, *Tribal Migration* (New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 1997).

¹⁷⁵ Amitabh Kundu, "Migration, Urbanisation and Inter-Regional Inequality: The Emerging Socio-Political Challenge," *Economic and Political Weekly* (1986): 2005-2008.

¹⁷⁶ J. Braunvan, "Towards a renewed focus on rural development," *Agriculture and Rural Development* 11, no.2 (2004): 4-6.

¹⁷⁷ T.V. Sekhar, "Migration selectivity from rural areas: Evidence from Kerala." *Demography India* 22, no. 2 (1993): 191-202.

work in the native place, family dispute and inadequate property were identified as some of the push factors. On the other hand, presence of some network (friends and relatives) and availability of capital at urban centres were some of the pull factors.¹⁷⁸ Belwal studied the impact in rural areas of Uttarakhand. The survey was conducted on 675 migrant respondents to study the increasing rural out-migration. It also predicted the impact of rural out-migration. On one hand, the region has to face the scarcity of capable youths. On the other hand, the surplus of the workforce in urban areas has resulted in the lower wages and exploitation of labour in the urban areas. To him, the high degree of rural out-migration is problematic from the demographic and socio-economic point of view.¹⁷⁹ Scholars like Awasthi analysed migration to urban areas from hill and tribal regions.¹⁸⁰

The Study by Singh and Kaur stated factors of migration as natural, social, psychological, economic and political.¹⁸¹ “The study attempted to bring out the important push and pull factors of migration of the respondents to Ludhiana city of Punjab. The result of a mean score of 90 migrant labourers indicated that poverty, low employment at native place and more employment and higher wages were the prime factors for their migration. Other equally important economic causes of migration were indebtedness, small land holdings and low income in villages. The study mentioned some other causes for migration as well but reported that economic and social causes were the prime factors which forced the respondents to migrate to Punjab.”¹⁸²

Hussain et al. conducted a study in Faisalabad city of Pakistan to look for key factors that led to migration of 120 migrant respondents. It concluded that for majority of the respondents, “non-availability of jobs was the main reason for their migration. Besides, the absence of educational facilities, poor health institutions, low paying jobs, poor rural settings, labour intensive agriculture production, family disorganization and polluted environment were found as the factors that pushed them to migrate. The outcome of the analysis indicated that better education and better employment were the pulling factors for

¹⁷⁸ Hrudanand Misra, “Rural Urban Migration in India: A Micro Level Study,” *Indian Journal of Social Work* 70, no. 1 (2009): 5-25.

¹⁷⁹ O.K. Belwal, “Hill Out-Migration from Uttarakhand: Access to Livelihood, Education and Other Determinants of Movement,” *Demography India* 36, no. 1 (2007): 135-143.

¹⁸⁰ I.C. Awasthi, “Migration Patterns in Hill Economy of Uttarakhand,” *The Indian Economic Journal* 57, no. 4 (2010): 84-99.

¹⁸¹ Sukhdev Singh and Amandeep Kaur, “Causes and Consequences of Migrant Labour in Ludhiana City: A Case Study,” *Social Action* 57, no. 1 (2007): 56-64.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 62.

their migration.”¹⁸³ It also found that better housing, better health institutions and services, high paying wages, etc., were some of the other pull factors working as attractions for the migrants.¹⁸⁴

Chand et al. attempted to analyse the push and pull factors. They conducted a field survey in four sugar mills of Punjab to analyse the same. The study founded that the migrant workers belonged to the poor and backward areas of rural Bihar and rural UP. Poor economic conditions were the most significant push factors at the place of origin compelling the labourers to migrate. This was largely attributed to small land holdings, large joint families, low productivity of land, absence of alternative sources of income, incidents of droughts, floods and famines that made it challenging for them to satisfy their basic necessities. The study further analysed the pull factors on 160 migrant respondents. It found that only 19 percent of respondents identified better employment prospects as the significant reason for migrating to Punjab. It was concluded that the factors causing migration among labourers were largely the push factors as compared to pull factors.¹⁸⁵

Choudhary pointed out that the agricultural labourers from backward classes migrated to areas which they had relatively more information about. They were involved in occupations like agriculture, construction and street hawkers. The wages vary considerably depending upon the nature and kind of job, labour demand on the basis of seasonal pattern and required skills. It concluded that the huge seasonal out-migration of labourers from rural areas is limited to males due to difficult and hectic travels, and tough and challenging conditions at the urban and industrial areas.¹⁸⁶

According to Joshi and Padasia, migration could be in the form of rural to rural semi-urban areas and to urban industrial centres. On the other hand, it could be in the form of semi-urban to urban areas. It has been seen that industrial formal sectors largely involve migrants from semi-urban areas and migrants from rural areas are largely visible in the urban informal centres. The pattern was rural to urban as well as was urban to urban. Thus, the study concluded that during their initial stages, they stayed in small cities and towns, and

¹⁸³ Hussain et al., “A Sociological Study,” 683-685.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Krishan Chand, K.C. Singhal and Sanjay Modi, “Socio-Economic Variables and Processes of Migration in Sugar Industry of Punjab,” *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 41, no. 4 (1998): 675-693.

¹⁸⁶ S.C.P.Thakur, R.R.Mishra and J.N.Chaudhary, “Migration of Agricultural Labourers in Bihar in the Perspective of Underdeveloped and Developed Agriculture,” *Economic Affairs* 42, no. 1 (1997): 28.

their subsequent generation further migrated to large industrial metropolises from those cities.¹⁸⁷

Therefore, it can be said that the socio-economic, political and cultural factors contribute to the decision of migration. Deshingkar and Start conclude that “seasonal and circular migration of labour for employment has become one of the most durable components of the livelihood strategies of people living in rural areas. Migration is not just by the very poor during times of crisis for survival and coping, but has increasingly become an accumulative option for the non-poor alike.”¹⁸⁸

It can be said that for the very poor, unlike Bihar or southern states, the existence of labour contractors doesn't happen in case of Uttarakhand. That might be a reason for the poor being unable to move out for better livelihood. On the other hand, for the ones with relatively better resources, migration is usually done through some networks or connections at individual level.

3.4 The Present Scenario

Uttarakhand comprises of a primitive economy. Subsistence agriculture practices dominate in occupation (70 percent) and livelihoods. Meanwhile, limited arable land (13 percent) high population growth (18.8 percent decadal, 2011), low output from cereals (production is limited to maximum six months), poverty and malnutrition (40 percent people live below poverty line; 2011) forced people to out-migrate from the region.¹⁸⁹

Migration has become a very common phenomenon in Uttarakhand. It characterizes rural to urban and urban to urban migrations within and outside the state. Jain describes that Uttarakhand witnesses three types of migration; seasonal, rural-urban and international. The most common form of migration was to work in the private sector industries, mainly in the hotels and restaurants. Earlier during the creation of Garhwal and Kumaon regiments under British rule, for the times time, such a large number of local youth got regular employment. This initial exposure had a major influence on building acceptance of livelihood based on

¹⁸⁷ Samir Joshi and Vinod Padasia, “Labour Migration: Process, Causes, Effects and Remedies,” *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 34, no. 4 (1999): 325-330.

¹⁸⁸ Priya Deshingkar and Daniel Start, *Seasonal migration for livelihoods in India: Coping, accumulation and exclusion*, vol. 111 (London: Overseas Development Institute, 2003), vi.

¹⁸⁹ Sati, “Patterns and Implications,” 26-37.

migration. Local youth started getting regular employment and out-migration took place. Many also kept their families in the villages to cultivate the land and returned after retirement.¹⁹⁰

The main reasons for migration are desire for better livelihood, employment, education and medical facilities. They account for almost three-fourths of migrants at the state level. In individual districts, exploring better livelihood opportunities and employment remains the most important reason (accounting for 41 and 76 percent). Decreasing land fertility, reduction in agricultural production and following the footsteps of relatives, acquaintances who have migrated are some of the miscellaneous reasons.¹⁹¹

The high literacy rate naturally puts a pressure for more employment due to the uneconomical status of farming. Unemployment in the hills has been a chronic problem in the region. In a study of Pithoragarh district, Khanaka points out that “there prevails a high degree of underemployment, an attested reality of hill agriculture...As a whole, the problem is not how many persons are unemployed but how much they remain unemployed.”¹⁹² There is a proverb in hills, ‘Na Pahar Ka Pani Raha, Na Jawani Rahi’ (The hills have lost both, the water and youth). In his survey of Kumaon, Bir Singh says that the problem of migration is more or less the same in all the villages of Uttarakhand. He particularly talks of two villages, namely, Banik and Hatapani in Pithoragarh district where he could not find even a single male.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Mamgain and Reddy, “Outmigration,” 209-235.

¹⁹¹ Joshi, “Why are people migrating,” 2018.

¹⁹² Shobhan Singh Khanka, *Labour force, employment and unemployment in a backward economy: a study of Kumaon region in Uttar Pradesh* (Delhi: Himalaya Publishing House, 1988), 26.

¹⁹³ Joshi, B.K., “There’s little to worry over migration from Uttarakhand,” *The National Herald*, June 10, 2018, accessed on December 26, 2020, <https://www.nationalheraldindia.com/opinion/theres-little-to-worry-over-migration-2>.

Table: 3.1: Outmigration (% Share)

District	Outmigration	% Share of District Population	% Share of Total Migration
Haridwar	92185	9.6	7.2
Dehradun	103125	2.9	8
Udham Singh Nagar	58550	5.6	4.5
Nainital	75375	5.9	5.9
Pauri	178270	15	13.9
Almora	182005	14.8	14.2
Tehri	168445	12.2	13.1
Pithoragarh	114680	36.9	8.9
Chamoli	92675	29.3	7.2
Uttarkashi	58550	16.6	4.5
Bageshwar	50365	64.8	3.9
Champawat	56405	22	4.4
Rudraprayag	54855	24.2	4.3
Total	1284125	12.7	100

Source: Economic and Statistical Directorate, Statistical Diary, 2013, Dehradun

Migration decisions have been viewed variously as a ‘coping mechanism’ or a survival strategy for poor households and as an ‘accumulation strategy’ for the better-off households. Migration and transition to ‘Money Order Economy’ or remittance economy has resulted because the population had been stripped off by the limited absorptive capacity of the local system. Resulting, out-migration emerged as the only course of action. In case of relatively well-off families, non-availability of adequate local non-farm employment opportunities, especially for the educated, increased the pace of out-migration and the region's swift transition to a money order economy. People's preparedness to venture to faraway cities increased. They preferred to hire out their labour for cash, rather than struggle to live off their own land. Cash was increasingly required for a range of activities - to have ready access to agricultural inputs and public distribution systems, better educational facilities, health facilities outside the village in case of critical illnesses and a host of consumer products and consumer durables that made their appearance in the markets. It was easier now to expand rather than contract expenditure. Family expenditure had increased considerably on what were now ‘necessities’ such as sugar, tea and kerosene. Such expenditure demanded an increased income, which many families did not have.

Table 3.2: Reasons for Migration: District Level Aggregate Data

District	Employment	Medical Facilities	Education	Infrastructure	Poor agricultural produce	followed the family that migrated	destruction of agricultural produce by wild animals	others
Uttarkashi	41.77	6.04	17.44	2.29	7.14	2.1	4.04	19.17
Chamoli	49.3	10.83	19.73	4.93	4.73	2.51	3.09	4.87
Rudraprayag	52.9	8.64	15.67	4.43	4.27	3.26	5.11	5.72
Tehri Garhwal	53.43	7.84	18.24	3.07	6.17	2.47	4.26	5.52
Dehradun	56.13	6.33	12.5	1.2	2.08	1.4	1.65	18.7
Pauri Garhwal	52.58	11.26	15.78	3.03	5.35	2.53	6.27	3.21
Pithoragarh	42.81	10.13	19.52	4.97	4.66	2.36	4.08	11.48
Bageshwar	41.39	9.09	14.49	4.32	2.18	1.45	3.42	23.65
Almora	47.78	8.61	11.75	3.81	8.37	2.68	10.99	6.02
Champawat	54.9	6.67	10.24	5.46	6.31	4.3	6.65	5.46
Nainital	53.7	7.79	10.37	4.96	4.94	2.1	6.38	9.76
Udham Singh Nagar	65.63	4.27	3.52	0.6	0.38	5.4	2.6	17.6
Haridwar	76.6	1.62	2.73	0.05	0.64	1.69	0.82	15.85

Source: Report of Migration Commission, September 2019.

3.4.1 Decadal Change of Population in Uttarakhand

The table below gives the decadal variation in the population of Uttarakhand since 1981. It is quite evident from the data that some districts witnessed an increase of population, and some have seen decreases in their population. The increase in population is mainly in the plain districts that include Udham Singh Nagar, Dehradun, Haridwar, etc., due to large volumes of in-migration. On the other hand, hill districts such as Almora, Pauri Garhwal and Tehri witness high level of out-migration resulting into a negative or moderate growth of population.

Table 3.3: District Wise Decadal Change of Population

District	1981 % increase	1991 % increase	2001 % Increase	2011 % Increase/Decrease
Almora	15.81	8.94	3.67	-1.28
Bageshwar	19.57	14.81	9.28	4.18
Chamoli	24.15	22.63	13.87	5.74
Champawat	25.34	26.38	17.60	15.63
Dehradun	31.93	34.66	25.00	32.33
Haridwar	32.72	26.31	28.70	30.63
Nainital	38.08	30.22	30.72	25.13
Pauri	15.46	8.57	3.91	-1.41
Pithoragarh	16.38	14.11	10.95	4.50
Tehri	24.67	16.53	16.24	2.35
Udham Singh Nagar	48.05	38.30	33.60	33.45
Uttarkashi	29.19	25.54	23.07	11.89
State	27.45	23.13	18.81	19.20

Source: Census of India, 2011

3.4.2 Rural-Urban Migration

There are two patterns of out-migration from Uttarakhand, viz within as well as outside the state. Out-migration takes place from the remote rural areas to the towns. These are mainly connected to the highland pilgrimages and the three plain districts, where pull factors are dominant attraction. Second pattern of out-migration is to other states of India and for the same reasons. Permanent out-migration stands for 44.4 percent and level of education of these out-migrants are relatively high. The second type of migration is related to service periods. In this type of migration, some persons of the family are out-migrated for a service period, and thereby send remittances to their families. People involved in seasonal or daily migration account for about 22 percent of total migration. Seasonal migration is practiced during summers (peak tourist and pilgrim season). People migrate to the valley regions, located along the routes that lead to the major pilgrimages. For the rest of the time, they stay back in their villages. People also move daily to other places, mostly the teachers and students. Hence, employment and education seem to be the major driving forces of rural-urban migration.

At domestic level, availability of working health infrastructure and services are critical to the delivery of health facilities. Health services/ facilities should not only be present but should be functional too with sufficient and experienced health personnel in required numbers for an effective and efficient delivery. Its key health outcomes and processes were found to be in a bad state and is one of the lowest performing states. Short average occupancy of district's Chief Medical Officers hinders effective implementation of health programmes.¹⁹⁴ Therefore, health sector in Uttarakhand is in a weak state that deserves genuine intervention of the state.

As for education, majority of Uttarakhand's adults have completed schooling till secondary level and have a larger share of children's in school than ever before. Incidentally, enrolment in states' public schools remains high, especially among the low income households.¹⁹⁵ Literacy rate of Uttarakhand is 78.82 percent, which is relatively higher than the national average 74.04 percent, thereby highlighting the importance of education in the state.

¹⁹⁴ Kriti Kapur, "How fares India in Healthcare? A sub national analysis," *ORF Occasional Paper no. 237*, Observer Research Foundation, February 25, 2020, accessed on May 12, 2021, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/how-fares-india-in-healthcare-a-sub-national-analysis-61664/>.

¹⁹⁵ "Uttarakhand: Indicators at glance," *India State Briefs Washington, D.C.*, World Bank Group, accessed on March 17, 2020, <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/india/brief/india-states-briefs-uttarakhand>.

Shylendra et al.,¹⁹⁶ Hann,¹⁹⁷ Srivastava and Bhattacharya¹⁹⁸ found that in recent years, the increase in migration from rural to urban areas is largely due to economic reasons. Availability of jobs and the expanding informal sector in the urban areas are the key factors that motivate them to move. The latest NSSO estimates also show that almost 56 percent of rural-urban migration is due to employment related reasons, with an increase in salaried class earnings from 28 percent in 1999/00 to 32 percent in 2007/08. With the coming of globalisation that led to the linking of several globally linked sectors, opened up job opportunities and boosted the migration from the underdeveloped and rural areas to the developed urban industrial centres. The rural-urban difference in migration rate shows that compared to rural areas, the migration rate is higher in urban areas and the difference is prominent in the lowest economic class. The male migration rate in urban areas is higher in the poorest quintile (22.47 percent) followed by the poorer class which is 10.12 percent. This indicates a wide difference in migration rate between the first two economic classes in urban areas whereas in rural areas the difference is less. The same pattern has been observed in case of females also. The relation between poverty and migration is completely different for two periods (pre and post-1990) especially in urban India.¹⁹⁹

It is in contrast with the studies that argue that migration largely takes place from better off groups and unprivileged people are less likely to migrate.²⁰⁰ Even though, spatial characteristics reflect towards the motivations for migration but it should not be generalised. Therefore, to understand the extent of relationship between poverty and migration, it would be necessary to explore and analyse the socio-economic characteristics of migrants and their employment status.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁶ H.S. Shylendra and P. Thomas, "Non-Farm Employment: Nature, Magnitude and Determinants in a Semi-Arid Region of Western India," *Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 50, no. 3 (1995): 410-416.

¹⁹⁷ Arjan De Haan, "Migration as Family Strategy: Rural-Urban Labour Migration in India during the Twentieth Century," *The History of the Family* 2, no. 4 (1997): 481-505.

¹⁹⁸ Ravi Srivastava and Sangeetha Bhattacharyya, "Globalisation, Reforms and Internal Labour Mobility: Analysis of Recent Indian Trends," *Labour and Development* 9, no. 2 (2003): 31-55.

¹⁹⁹ Mahapatro, "The Changing Pattern," 2012.

²⁰⁰ Arjan De Haan, "Migration and Livelihoods in Historical Perspective: A Case Study of Bihar, India," *Journal of Development Studies* 38, no. 5 (2002): 115-142.

²⁰¹ Mahapatro, "The Changing Pattern," 2012.

3.5 Migration in the 21st Century

In the aftermath of the long struggle, the 21st century commenced with the creation of a separate state of Uttarakhand in November 2000 with high hopes and expectations that now the people of the region could be heard. The new state managed to achieve high economic growth but the growth was mostly limited to the plain districts creating disparity within the state. As a result, people in the mountains are still struggling for a good quality of life and livelihood. This is continuously contributing to out-migration from the hill region.²⁰²

The data of Census 2011 reflects on the massive out-migration from the hills. The state's population growth rate stands at 1.74 percent. The mountain regions witnessed much lower growth rate of 0.70 percent as compared to the plain districts which is 2.82 percent. The population growth is high in Dehradun, Haridwar and Udham Singh Nagar (over 30 percent in each of the three areas) and Nainital (over 25 percent); moderately high in Champawat (14.5 percent) and Uttarkashi (about 12 percent); low (5 percent or less) in Pithoragarh, Rudraprayag, Bageshwar, Chamoli, Tehri Garhwal.²⁰³ The growth is negative in Almora and Pauri Garhwal witnessing 17,868 fewer people in 2011 compared to 2001. The census also reveals that of 16,793 villages, 1053 have no inhabitants, 405 have single digit populations and 3500 are 'ghost villages' in the state.²⁰⁴

It's not necessary that all areas characterised by hill agriculture are dependent on remittances. Neighbouring hill state of Himachal Pradesh has managed to not have such a high out-migration rate. Even, if there are remittances, they are invested in productive activities of the state. In Uttarakhand, many villagers blame the government for its lack of interest in the area as the main cause of migration. They feel that the government has not made any efforts to solve the problems of the people. Its efforts have been inadequate in dealing with the problems of the region. Others feel that more than opening a factory in the area, the government should solve the agriculture-related problems of the peasants. They feel that if improved methods through research and development specifically for hill regions are introduced, the production will increase in the hill region. But in absence of such efforts people will keep migrating. Therefore, in people's view the laxity on part of the government is another cause for ever increasing migration.

²⁰² Pathak, Pant, and Maharjan, "De-population Trends," 2017.

²⁰³ Pankaj Bahuguna and O.K. Belwal, "Regression Model Approach for Out Migration on Demographic Aspects of Rural Areas of Pauri Garhwal," *International Journal of Management and Social Science Research (IJMSSR)* 2, no.8 (2013): 175-182.

²⁰⁴ Pathak, Pant, and Maharjan, "De-population Trends," 2017.

This indicates that migration is not out of choice but forced. If one looks at the reasons for migration in this area, both "push" and "pull" factors are found to be involved in migration. However, "push" factors are dominant. In fact, in the last few years the natural environment of the hills, viz soil, water and forest has been so badly degraded that difficulties of the inhabitants have increased manifold. The erosion of the common resources also led to an uncertainty about people's future. In order to mitigate their problem, they are rapidly migrating away from the hills.

Thus, people's perception of causes reflects a gamut of factors linked together. These are the processes of underdevelopment of local resources and technologies, selective development, inadequate and inappropriate government strategies in providing services or initiating production activities. Declining trend of investing into land and gradual loss of control over forests and other resources derived from them, further add to dwindling opportunities for employment locally.

In order to highlight the importance of governmental intervention as well as enhanced public participation and the role of Public-Private Partnership (PPP), the study aims to compare two Western Himalayan states of Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh as they share the same geographical features, historical background and similar cultural traditions. Despite numerous similarities, the quality of life in Himachal Pradesh is far better than Uttarakhand due to better health and educational facilities, adequate job availability as well as better investment and growth potential of business. Uttarakhand, on the other, witnesses low levels of health indicators, poor skill development initiatives as well as poor investment climate which have fastened the pace of migration.

Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand

Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand share similar geographical features. Himachal Pradesh is marginally larger than Uttarakhand in terms of area. A comparison between the two states, in terms of allocation of resources will provide a fair idea on the discrepancies between them. As these two states have many commonalities, the most important being their geographical setting and similar climatic conditions. Yet, there is a huge difference between the two. Himachal Pradesh has an edge over Uttarakhand in terms of almost everything, be it infrastructure, industries, tourism. Earlier, it was a Union territory that came into being in

1956 and later the State of Himachal Pradesh Act was passed and the state came into being on 25th January 1971. This fact itself says a lot about its advantageous position over Uttarakhand. Private industries do not want to invest in Uttarakhand, as a result job creation is negligible. Industries mainly invested in plains because of location and have resulted in regional imbalance; also no absorption of labour market resulted in labour outflow.

With migrants abandoning their land, the vacated farmlands are attracting wild animals from surrounding forests and leading to a conflict between animals and human. A notification in February 2016 allowed culling of wild boars, but the implementation has been poor. Climate change has pushed fruit cultivation to even higher altitudes, causing a drop in the production.²⁰⁵

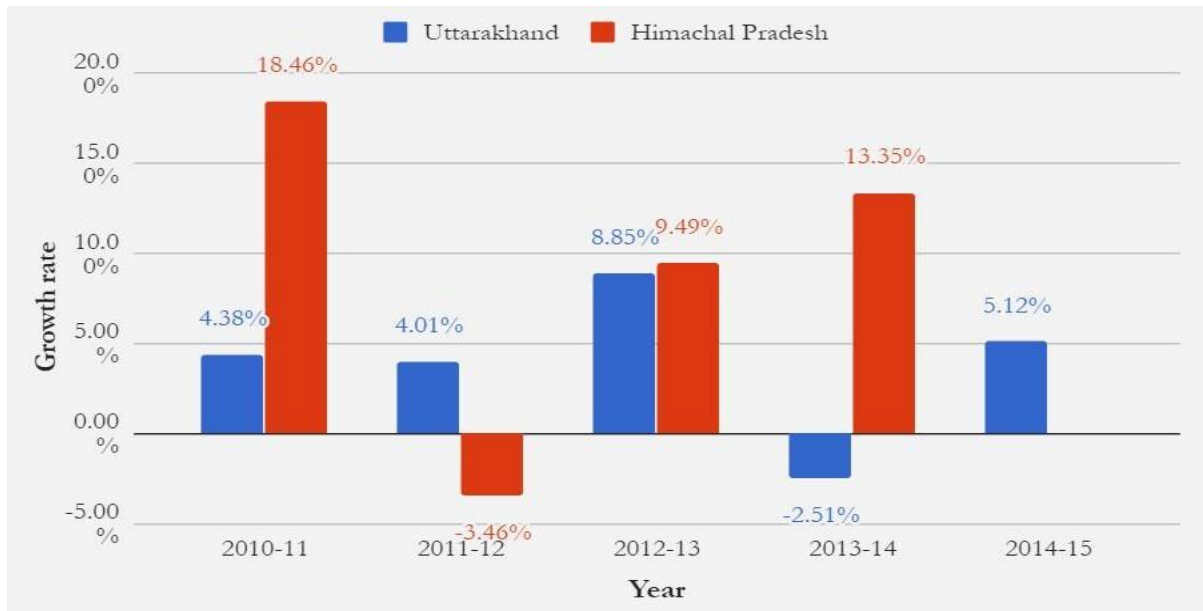
Instead of becoming another Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand's performance has been depressingly below par and is in danger of becoming another Jharkhand. Jharkhand's political economy is based on the loot of natural resources. The zeal and idealism of those who fought for the hill state have been absent in those who are ruling it. Himachal Pradesh proves to be a good example where the leadership and bureaucracy remain honourable unlike Uttarakhand. One reason for its underdevelopment could be Dehradun as the capital of the state. For a hill state, it's essential to have a capital in hills and Gairsain met that criteria and was also proposed by the leaders who fought for the statehood. Gairsain is in eastern Garhwal, close to where Kumaon begins. It remains a prospective future capital only in theory and in practice Dehradun continues to be the capital. There are some reasons for Dehradun being inappropriate for a capital. For instance, the town has a large population of people from outside Uttarakhand, who have no emotional connection with the state. From a geographical and psychological sense, capital of Dehradun will always be disastrous for those whose fates it determines. Also, Dehradun as the capital provided a platform for rampant corruption and politico-administrative-criminal nexus. Himachal Pradesh wisely chose a hill town in the middle of the state as its capital.²⁰⁶ On the healthcare front, data for the year "2014-15 shows, Himachal Pradesh has 141 beds per 100,000 people compared to 86 beds in Uttarakhand which has 47 percent more population (10 million) than the former (6.8 million). Himachal Pradesh has nearly doubled the primary health centres (500) as compared to

²⁰⁵ "Hills of Uttarakhand," *The Hindustan Times*, 2017.

²⁰⁶ Ramachandra Guha, "Why Uttarakhand is more like Jharkhand than Himachal," *The Hindustan Times*, November 22, 2015, accessed on April 11, 2017, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/columns/why-uttarakhand-is-more-like-jharkhand-than-himachal/story-AHIR7z43FSjAie3SmerDkJ.html>.

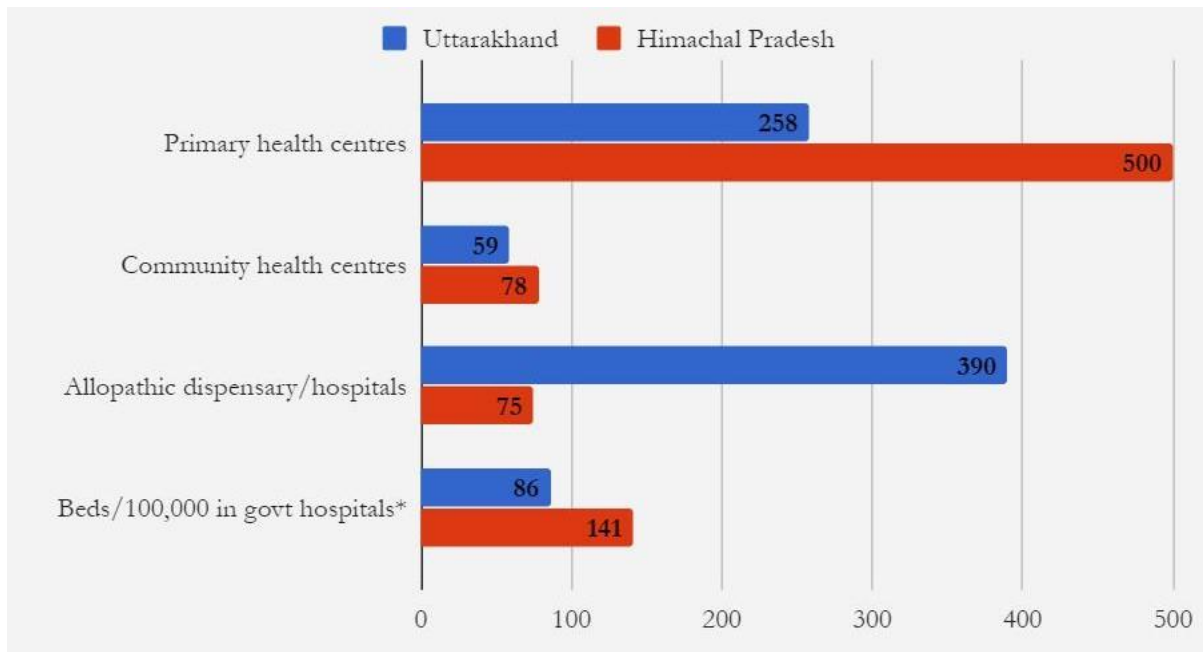
Uttarakhand (258) and its community health centres (78) outnumber those in Uttarakhand (59).”²⁰⁷

Bar Graph 3.1: Agriculture Growth: Uttarakhand vs. Himachal Pradesh, 2010-15



Source: Hindustan Times, 10 March 2017

Bar Graph 3.2: Uttarakhand vs. Himachal Pradesh: Health Facilities



Source: Hindustan Times, 10 March 2017

²⁰⁷ Guha, “Why Uttarakhand,” 2015.

Thus, the above sections talk about the lessons that could be learnt from other similar and successful examples. Since, the study attempts to analyse the effect of male migration on the left behind societies, the following section reviews the literature on the impact of remittances that are received by the families and societies from migrant population.

3.6 Remittances and its impact on ‘Left Behind’ Families and Society

Migration has direct and indirect effects at the household (micro), community (meso) and societal (macro) level. Loss of labour is one of the direct effects, and reorganization of gender roles is one of the indirect effects. The monetary transfers that the migrant populations send back home are known as remittances. These can be grouped under financial remittances (purely on economic terms) and social remittances (in terms of skills, ideas and experiences). In various studies, it has been quoted that the effects of remittances can be positive, negative, mixed and neutral. It has been asserted “whether remittances are utilized for consumption or purchasing houses, or other investments, they produce positive impact on the economy by stimulating demand for other goods and services. Migrants provide different forms of capital that have developmental impact on their countries of origin. These impacts may be in the form of financial, social, cultural, political and/or economic impacts. The impact can be examined at both micro level like in case of households, and macro level like the impact on GDP growth, poverty and development.”²⁰⁸

The following section discusses and analyses the different positions on the impact of remittances and have been categorized under the following heads:

I) Household: At household level, remittances lead to an increase in household income and reduce poverty. Remittances also have direct as well as indirect impact. Majority of the existing studies show positive impact in the short as well as in the long run on left behind. In a UN report, it was argued that the remittances are used for consumption as well as for investment purposes. It also directly contributes to household income, purchasing assets, investment in business, facilitating buying more goods, improving education and health indicators. According to Yang, Woodruff and Zenteno, remittances can spur entrepreneurial activity. It leads to increased opportunities for investment and livelihood diversification.

²⁰⁸ “Impact of Remittances on Poverty in Developing countries,” *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*, United Nations, New York and Geneva (2011): 4, accessed on January 12, 2015, https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/ditctnecd20108_en.pdf.

Also, if the frequency and size of remittances are adequate for the daily needs, it leads to leisure and it will also reduce child labour. In contrast, the poor families are less likely to opt for leisure and unable to reduce child labour since they had to repay a loan.²⁰⁹ Unlike, better off households, it exercises a lower poverty-reducing impact.

According to Hadi, the length of stay exercises a mixed impact on remittances. Hadi found that the remittances contribute towards the ability to save money and also improves their standard of living. The capacity to repair a house, repay debt, to buy land or to invest in building is associated with the duration of stay. The study found that the indicators of social well-being also get improved with the length of stay. The study indicated that the 'diffusion effect' also played a significant role in reduction of inequality, in the aspiration of educating children and the improvement in women's position.²¹⁰

On education, it has been argued that remittances mostly exercise a positive impact on education as the family, due to remittances, has some additional income and invests in children's schooling. But, it will not automatically translate into positive impact in terms of educational attainment or outcomes. One of the reasons for less impact could be due to the constraints on the supply-side. Remittances allow households to pay for school attendance, but the low quality of schooling, infrastructure, connectivity, facilities and services in areas of origin constrains potential impacts and positive outcomes.²¹¹ Further, absence of a specific household member may have negative repercussions on children's education. Number of studies has highlighted the negative ramifications of parental absence (fathers, in particular) on their children's school attendance. This may be due to various reasons; lack of motivation for schooling, lack of authority in left behind households, difficulties in the logistics for enrolling in absence of male, need to supplement household income, accessibility, availability, and an aspiration to migrate. Hence, it cannot be guaranteed that an increase will automatically translate into higher enrolment in schools or outcomes.

As far as the indicator of health is concerned, a number of studies suggest migrant-sending households have a higher tendency to invest in health and have a positive impact on health outcomes. A number of studies show a positive correlation between expenditures on health/

²⁰⁹ Jessica Hagen-Zanker, "Effects of remittances and migration on migrant sending countries, communities and households," *Economic and Private Sector*, ODI, January 2015, accessed on May, 18, 2021, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08999ed915d3cfd000326/Effects_of_remittances_and_migration_56.pdf.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

health outcomes and remittances. Hildebrandt and McKenzie analysed the “effects of remittances on migrant sending households, communities and countries. These are the channels through which these positive effects work and they could be the result of direct wealth effects as well as greater health knowledge. On the other hand, migration may also have adverse effects on health outcomes, specifically of the children and elderly staying behind, particularly if the migrants are caretakers.”²¹² But, this is an area that needs to be studied further as there has relatively smaller body of literature dealing with the effects of migration and remittances on health.

Impact of remittances can also be analysed on employment. Some macro-economic studies argue that sometimes, additional non-labour income reduces the participation of the members from left behind families in local labour markets. When remittances are used for investment purposes, the left behind members get benefited by the local employment opportunities by virtue of these investments. A study found that remittances have no impact on the labour supply of left behind family members in Mexico. At micro level, studies suggest mixed results.²¹³ Likewise, a study conducted by Frank argues that remittances severely curtail their work efforts.²¹⁴ Similar findings were demonstrated by Rodriguez and Tiongson who concluded that remittance reduces employment.²¹⁵

II) Gender Relations: Migration has noticeable impacts that include changes in the roles of the left behind family members. It is often the key household member of a family who migrates and leads to the restructuring of relations within the household. It affects labour allocation within the household since it is usually the main breadwinner who migrates and has repercussions on gender relations. It means women at home take up responsibilities and start occupying spaces of men or men’s domain. Women performing new roles face social and physical challenges and are often stigmatised in carrying out the required tasks. Accessibility to school and education of the children in the family also gets impacted.

“These new responsibilities can be seen as ‘empowering’ and some emerging evidence shows encouraging and positive findings. Migration may empower women staying behind by

²¹² Nicole Hildebrandt, David J. McKenzie, Gerardo Esquivel, and Ernesto Schargrotsky, "The effects of migration on child health in Mexico [with comments]," *Economia* 6, no. 1 (2005): 258.

²¹³ Alejandra Cox-Edwards and Eduardo Rodríguez-Oreggia, "Remittances and labor force participation in Mexico: an analysis using propensity score matching," *World Development* 37, no. 5 (2009): 1004-1014.

²¹⁴ Søren Frank, *Migration and Literature: Günter Grass, Milan Kundera, Salman Rushdie, and Jan Kjærstad* (US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

²¹⁵ Edgard R. Rodriguez and Erwin R. Tiongson, "Temporary migration overseas and household labor supply: evidence from urban Philippines," *International Migration Review* 35, no. 3 (2001): 709-725.

gaining control over certain types of decision-making within the household. A number of studies reviewed showed wives staying behind gained power in the domestic sphere and can encourage the participation of women in community decision-making.”²¹⁶ It has also been seen that agricultural resources become more evenly re-distributed. However, “the new roles and responsibilities are often just superficial or temporary changes in terms of work performed, without having a sustainable impact on underlying gender roles.”²¹⁷ Active role of women can be attributed to agriculture being more marginal and not because they became powerful.

III) Community: Impact of remittances on community is immense in terms of aspiration on the left behind population. Social remittances play a crucial role. For Peggy Levitt, migrants send home more than money and are called social remittances. Social remittances include norms, practices, identities and social capital.²¹⁸ Social remittances get circulated in many ways through visits, letters, phone calls and returns. Hildebrandt and McKenzie talk about the knowledge transfer and change in attitudes of the left behind population. These social remittances can have a positive as well as a negative impact and also shake up gender and generational dynamics in ways that benefit women.²¹⁹ Amitav Ghosh has also argued that migrants sent back ideas and beliefs that challenged the status hierarchy by allowing greater social mobility. It also influences health outcomes and attitudes towards education.²²⁰ Rural people being unsatisfied with the local conditions, migration becomes inevitable and contributes to the ‘culture of migration’. “This ‘culture of migration’ denotes an environment, both cultural and physical, in which migration is viewed as a highly favourable (if not the only) means out of unfavourable circumstances, such as unemployment and poverty. This environment has a high degree of influence and, over time, migration can become the norm, especially among youth. Migration is often seen as an effective household or even community strategy to improve their situation. Frequently, those from the community who

²¹⁶ Audrey Lenoel, “The “three ages” of left-behind Moroccan wives: Status, decision-making power, and access to resources,” *Population Space and Pace* 23, no. 8 (2017):e2077.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, e2077.

²¹⁸ Peggy Levitt, “Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion,” *International Migration Review* 32, no. 4 (1998): 926-948.

²¹⁹ Hildebrandt and McKenzie, “The effects of migration,” 257-289.

²²⁰ “Migration a multi-billion dollar industry: Amitav Ghosh,” *The Business Standard*, June 19, 2019, accessed October 22, 2020, https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/migration-a-multi-billion-dollar-industry-amitav-ghosh-119061900557_1.html.

have successfully migrated are expected to support those back home by sending some of their income back.”²²¹

The application of acquired knowledge and skills at place of origin depends on three conditions. Firstly, the migrants have learnt new knowledge and skills. Secondly, the extent of these new learnt skills being useful in their areas of origin. Thirdly, the willingness of the migrant and application of the new learnt knowledge and skills. Usually, highly skilled migrants have greater potential to use and apply their skills after migration but it is not a universal characteristic. The current literature is apprehensive about whether these conditions can be met for unskilled migrants as they might have not learnt or might be involved in an unskilled or semi-skilled job. Hence, unskilled migrants are unlikely to use new skills and knowledge upon return. Studies like that of Collyer et al. are optimistic and argue that sometimes even return migrants may use their skills (unskilled or semi-skilled), thereby improving the employment prospects for the left behind.²²²

Hence, out-migration usually does not radically transform poor areas. Rather, it may retard and contain the development process and weaken and damage the whole social understanding as people move out of the region for livelihood and employment opportunities. This trend, as discussed earlier, has also been visible in Uttarakhand where this trend proved out to be negative. For the poor, “migration is considered as a distress induced strategy for survival rather than for effecting a qualitative change in livelihoods. Remittances are viewed as helping to stabilize the petty household at the survival level and hence play the ameliorative role rather than provide a boost to the economies of most households.”²²³ For relatively better-off households, it creates an opportunity for further improvement.

IV) Poverty: The impact of remittances on poverty can be understood from both macro and micro perspectives. Remittances are expected to reduce poverty, if directly received by the poor. According to Chimhowu et al., there is no formal framework to capture this impact. It would be reasonable to assume that the remittances exercise a positive impact by reducing

²²¹ “A Culture of Migration,” *Project for the Study of the 21st Century*, accessed on November 22, 2020, <https://projects21.org/2015/11/04/a-culture-of-migration/>.

²²² Michael Collyer, Franck Düvell, and Hein De Haas, "Critical approaches to transit migration," *Population, Space and Place* 18, no.4 (2012): 407-414.

²²³ Mamgain and Reddy, “Out-migration,” 224.

poverty.²²⁴ Uruci and Gedeshi analysed the impact on immigrants in Albania and found that majority of them (69.7 percent) send money for the essential needs of the family, and hence had a positive impact.²²⁵ According to Adams, when international remittances were included in the total household income, the squared poverty gap measure in Guatemala declined by 19.8 percent.²²⁶ Another study by Taylor et al. in rural Mexico shows the positive impact of international remittances on poverty. It estimated that poverty headcount and poverty gap indices declined with 10 percent increase in international remittances.²²⁷ In the case of India, remittances have steadily grown as a percentage of GDP from less than 1 percent in 1990 to 2.8 percent in 2000 and 6.2 percent in 2008. This indicates remittances might have also helped people in India by moving them out of poverty over time. The existing data reveals that there has been a fall in poverty ratio in India from 54.9 percent in 1973-74 to 19.3 percent in 2006-07.²²⁸

Though, one of the positive impacts of remittances includes reduction in poverty as it leads to an increase in household income. An extension of this argument is that not all migrants are able to generate enough surpluses to send remittances. Resulting, migration cannot always have a positive or poverty reducing impact at the household level. This could be explained through the phenomenon of churning with respect to migrants i.e. movement of people across the poverty line in both directions.

In some cases, it has been found difficult to establish a concrete relationship between poverty and remittances for inherent limitations caused by raw data. To understand the impact of remittances on poverty, one has to analyse it by studying the decline in poverty and inequality levels that are distributed equally between the gap years.²²⁹

²²⁴ Admos Chimhowu, Jenifer Piesse, and Caroline Pinder, "Assessing the impact of migrant workers' remittances on poverty," in *EDIAS Conference on New Directions in Impact Assessment for Development: Methods and Practice, United Kingdom*. November 24-25, 2003, accessed on May 18, 2021, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.198.5116&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

²²⁵ Russell King, Esmeralda Uruci, and Julie Vullnetari, "Albanian migration and its effects in comparative perspective," *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 13, no. 3 (2011): 269-286.

²²⁶ Richard H Adams and Alfredo Cuecuecha, "Remittances, Household Expenditure and Investment in Guatemala," *World Development* 20, no. 1 (2010): 1626-1641.

²²⁷ J. Edward Taylor and Alejandro Lopez-Feldman, "Does migration make rural households more productive? Evidence from Mexico," *The Journal of Development Studies* 46, no. 1 (2010): 68-90.

²²⁸ "Impact of Remittances," *UNCTAD*, 2011.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

V) Economic Growth: The impact of remittances on economic growth again reflects on both positive and negative results. Scholars like Pradhan et al.,²³⁰ Fayissa and Nsiah,²³¹ Ramirez,²³² Meyer and Shera,²³³ Comes et al.,²³⁴ Cooray and Faini talk about the positive relationship between remittances and economic growth. Adelman and Taylor have studied Mexican economy and found every dollar Mexican migrants send back home, depending on which household income group received the remittances, increases Mexico's Gross National Product (GNP) between \$2.69 and \$3.17. Ekanayake et al. examine impact on economic growth of developing countries like Asia, Africa, Caribbean and Latin America for the period 1980-2006. They found remittances significantly promoting growth in developing countries. It will lead to increased aggregate demand, fuelled by increased spending financed by remittances which may have a multiplier effect. When financial systems are weak, remittances could alleviate credit constraints and could also be used to finance investment, education and health that will eventually contribute to increase in human capital. Remittances tend to be stable, consistent and counter-cyclical. Thus, studies focusing on financial access conclude that remittances increase growth.

However, the above positive relationship is challenged by several studies. Opposite to the above view is the view which focuses on the negative correlation between remittances and economic growth as argued by Chami et al.²³⁵ and Karagoz²³⁶. In the study, they investigated whether workers' remittances have a growth impact on Turkish economy and found that it had a negative impact on growth. In another study by Chami et al. found remittances have a negative effect on economic growth. According to them, the use of remittances involves a decentralised decision-making process, making it difficult to gauge their aggregate effect.²³⁷ Spatafora refutes the idea of linkage between real per capita output growth and remittances

²³⁰ Gyan Pradhan, Mukti Upadhyay, and Kamal Upadhyaya, "Remittances and economic growth in developing countries," *The European Journal of Development Research* 20, no. 3 (2008): 497-506.

²³¹ Bichaka Fayissa and Christian Nsiah, "The Impact of Remittances on Economic Growth and Development in Africa," *The American Economist* 55, no. 2 (2010): 92-103.

²³² Miguel D. Ramirez, "Do Financial and Institutional Variables Enhance the Impact of Remittances on Economic Growth in Latin America and the Caribbean? A Panel Cointegration Analysis," *International Advances in Economic Research* 19, no. 3 (2013): 273-288.

²³³ Dietmar Meyer and Adela Shera, "The Impact of Remittances on Economic Growth: An Econometric Model," *Economia* 18, no 2 (2017): 147-155.

²³⁴ Calin-Adrian Comes et al., "The Impact of Foreign Direct Investments and Remittances on Economic Growth: A Case Study in Central and Eastern Europe," *Sustainability* 10, no.1 (2018): 238.

²³⁵ Ralph Chami, Connel Fullenkamp and Samir Jahjah, "Are Immigrant Remittance Flows a Source of Capital for Development?," *IMF Working Papers WP/03/189*, 52, no. 1 (September 2003): 55-81.

²³⁶ Kadir Karagoz, "Workers' Remittances and Economic Growth: Evidence from Turkey," *Journal of Yasar University* 4, no.13 (2009): 891-908.

²³⁷ Chami, Fullenkamp and Jahjah, "Are Immigrant Remittance," 55-81.

and says there is none. Also, labour out-migration could have negative effects too and can be seen as 'brain drain'. Another study by Gupta et al. found that remittances decrease growth. According to them, remittances reduce labour supply and create a culture of dependency that inhibits economic growth.²³⁸ Although, the majority of empirical studies analyse the impact of remittances on economic growth but the evidence on the impact remains inconclusive. One possible reason could be the investments in human and physical capital that can only be realised in the long-term. At the same time, remittances received in an under-developed and challenging context, cannot be expected to overcome all barriers that limit growth.

VI) Investment Decisions: As far as the investment decisions are concerned, Adam and Cuecuecha have analysed and discussed three perspectives.²³⁹ According to the first perspective, a neutral view states that remittances would be spent exactly the same like income sources. According to the second view, remittances change spending behaviour of the left behind and proves to be less beneficial for development. The optimistic view would argue that remittances are more likely to be spent in productive investment like human capital.²⁴⁰ The second position is supported by Chami et al.²⁴¹ and Chami et al.²⁴² an increase in status-oriented consumption goods. The third approach considers remittances as a transitory type of income spending more on investment goods than on consumption goods. Thus, directly and positively contributing to economic development. The fungibility argument is still not fully validated empirically. The third approach is supported by Edwards and Ureta.²⁴³

A combination of second and third approaches is what Zachariah and Rajan have used while studying the impact of remittances. According to them, "remittances raised the income level of the households and that led to changes in lifestyle and consumption patterns such as ownership of land, housing and household amenities, the nutritional and health status of the members of the households. It also found that social status is reflected

²³⁸ Sanjeev Gupta, Catherine Pattillo, and Smita Wagh, "Impact of Remittances on Poverty and Financial Development in Sub-Saharan Africa," *IMF Working Paper no. 07/38* (February, 2007): 1-43.

²³⁹ Adams and Cuecuecha, "Remittances, Household Expenditure," 1626-1641.

²⁴⁰ Richard Adams, Alfredo Cuecuecha and John Page, "The Impact of Remittances on Poverty and Inequality in Ghana," *Policy Research Working Papers*, World Bank Group, June 2013, accessed on November 24, 2015, <https://doi.org/10.1596/1813-9450-4732>.

²⁴¹ Chami, Fullenkamp and Jahjah, "Are Immigrant Remittance," 55-81.

²⁴² Ralph Chami et al., "Macroeconomic Consequences of Remittances," *IMF Occasional Paper No. 259* (2008).

²⁴³ Alejandra Cox Edwards and Manuelita Ureta, "International Migration, Remittances, and Schooling: Evidence from El Salvador," *Journal of Development Economics* 72, no. 2 (2003): 429-461.

in the relationship of the family and the community and the quality of children's education.”²⁴⁴ Although literature on the impact of remittances on marginal spending behaviour is fairly diverse in its conclusions, most scholars by and large appear to support the theory that it has a significant impact and is an investment in human capital, whether in education or health or both, the two pillars of human development.²⁴⁵

In developing countries, Barajas et al. empirical evidence shows that migrant workers contribute to increasing investment activities in the recipient country.²⁴⁶ Asiedu reveals that nearly 30 percent of remittances are used for constructing houses and on other investment activities in Ghana. Examining the impact of remittances, Adams argues that remittances are spent for consumption as well as for investment purposes, in both rural and urban region of Guatemala. The households with international remittances spend more on investment goods and less on consumption items.²⁴⁷

Some scholars have talked about the mixed impact that includes Hasan and Shakur, they argue that remittances being negative initially and eventually in the long run become positive.²⁴⁸ For Shaikh et al.²⁴⁹ remittances have no effect on economic growth, which can be considered as the neutral impact and do not share any relationship as such. Chami et al. found remittances have a negative effect on economic growth. According to them, the use of remittances involves a decentralized decision-making process, making it difficult to gauge their aggregate effect.²⁵⁰ Spatafora finds that there is no direct link between real per capita output growth and remittances. Also, labour out-migration could have negative effects too and can be seen as brain drain. Another study by Gupta et al. found that remittances decrease growth. According to them, remittances reduce labour supply and create a culture of dependency that inhibits economic growth.²⁵¹ The majority of empirical studies analyse the impact of remittances on economic growth but the evidence on the impact remains

²⁴⁴ Kunniparambil Curien Zachariah and Irudhya Rajan, “Gender Dimensions of Migration in Kerala: Macro and Micro Evidence,” *Asia -Pacific Population Journal* 16, no. 3 (2001): 53.

²⁴⁵ Jajati K. Parida, Sanjay K. Mohanty, and K. Ravi Raman, “Remittances, Household Expenditure and Investment in Rural India: Evidence from NSS Data,” *Indian Economic Review* 50, no. 1 (2015): 79-104.

²⁴⁶ Adolfo Barajas, Ralph Chami, Connel Fullenkamp, and Anjali Garg, “The Global Financial Crisis and Workers' Remittances to Africa: What's the Damage?,” *Journal of African Development* 12, no.1 (2010): 73-96.

²⁴⁷ Alex Asiedu, “Some benefits of migrants' return visits to Ghana,” *Population, Space and Place* 11, no.1 (2005): 1-11.

²⁴⁸ Gazi Mainul Hassan and Shamim Shakur, “Nonlinear Effects of Remittances on Per Capita GDP Growth in Bangladesh,” *Economies* 5, no. 3 (2017): 25.

²⁴⁹ Ghulam Mustafa Shaikh, Muhammad Tariq, and Irfan Haider Shakri, “Remittances and Economic Growth in Pakistan: A Time Series Analysis,” *Global Management Journal for Academic & Corporate Studies* 6, no. 2 (2016): 36-48.

²⁵⁰ Chami, Fullenkamp and Jahjah, “Are Immigrant Remittance,” 55-81.

²⁵¹ Gupta, Pattillo and Wagh, “Impact of Remittances,” 1-43.

inconclusive. One possible reason could be the investments in human and physical capital that can only be realised in the long-term.

To summarize the above section, it was evident from the majority of studies that the impacts of remittances have been positive on overall indicators. The degree of impact varies upon the amount of remittance received as well as the existing economic conditions of the left behind families. On the basis of literature, one can argue that remittances in the long run, results in the betterment of the conditions of the left behind families. Poverty-reducing impacts are greater for those regions, where migrants belong to lower income levels. They do tend to have positive effects by reducing poverty at the household level, in case of low-income receiving families. Received in an under-developed and challenging context, remittances by themselves cannot be expected to overcome all barriers that limit growth. An extension of this argument could be not all migrants are able to generate enough surpluses to send remittances. In case of affluent families, “studies do find that migrant households are more likely to invest (part) of their income, for instance, on land and businesses. Even remittances that are ‘only’ consumed and hence contributing to poverty reduction, as described above, can have positive multiplier effects on the economy. Remittances are also spent on education and health services.”²⁵² On the whole, the positive impact can be felt across families receiving remittances. The received amount could be spent on basic consumption goods, education, and health, and could be used for investment purposes that get decided by the indicator of economic class they belong to. Also, the long term positive impact can only be ensured by the governmental intervention. The required infrastructure and services should be in place to derive the maximum positive impact of remittances.

It can also be said that gender relations within the households also get transformed leading towards both increased decision-making for females and increased hardships or burdens. It has been asserted that increased decision-making power does not automatically translate into increased autonomy or empowerment. At the same time, absence of fathers can also have a negative impact on children. This again gets decided on the basis of class they belong to. For instance, in case of lower income groups, the children are expected to help in farm labour

²⁵² Jessica Hagen-Zanker, “Potential products and policies to leverage productive use of migration and remittances,” *Economic and Private Sector*, ODI, June 2014: 12, accessed on May 18, 2021, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08999e5274a31e0000188/Products_and_policies_to_leverage_use_of_migration_and_remittances_58.pdf.

which will affect their education and a gendered approach can also be used here by saying that it is always a girl child who is expected to help in the chores.

Further, on economic growth, the impact of remittances is such that it reduces labour supply and creates culture of dependency. The impact of remittances on community can also be divided into financial remittances and social remittances. It has been asserted that financial remittances definitely lead to improved circumstances but social remittances not necessarily translates into a positive outcome at community level. This is because social remittances influence and pushes the people outside the region and contributes further to the culture of migration and results into 'brain drain'.

Migration is a selective process and the direct benefits of it are also selective. It should be kept in mind that the direct benefits are not reaped by the poorest households in communities. The impact varies upon the quantum of remittance as well as its effective utilization. The already affluent class use remittance in a more productive manner than the weaker sections, which leads to widening of economic and social gaps between the strata. Left behind families witnesses relative impact of remittances depending on their placement in the socio-economic ladder that might create economic inequality in society. Hence, it will be interesting to look for remittances exacerbating social inequality in the hills. The following section attempts to set the background for remittances that could become a basis of social inequality.

3.7 Remittances as bases of Social Inequality

There is little consensus in the literature about the amount and effects of remittances. As far back as in 1979, Whittaker had observed that remittance forms a large part of the rural household income.²⁵³ In some parts of the hill districts of Uttarakhand, more than 60 percent of the family income was derived from remittances.²⁵⁴ The hill states depend to a large extent on outside income chiefly by way of money order remittances. Over the years,

²⁵³ William Whittaker, "Migration and Agrarian Change in Garhwal District, Uttar Pradesh," in *Understanding Green Revolutions*, ed. Tim P. Bayliss-Smith and Sudhir Wanmali (London: Cambridge University Press, 1984): 109-135.

²⁵⁴ "Uttarakhand Human," *Institute for Human Development*, 2018.

the dependence seems to have increased. The consequence has been the emergence of a remittance economy supported by subsistence agriculture.²⁵⁵

From the earlier discussions, it was evident that remittances overall impact has been positive on overall indicators. The degree of impact varies upon the amount of remittance received as well as the existing economic conditions of the left behind families. What can be concluded from the above discussion is that the impact varies upon the quantum of remittance as well as its effective utilization that gets decided by the economic classes, the families belong to. The already affluent class use remittance in a more productive manner than the weaker sections, which leads to widening of economic and social gaps between the strata. Hence, it can be said that remittances might exacerbates social inequality in the hills.

The study will try to look at all the above proposed arguments and different positions in the specific context of Uttarakhand in chapter five of the present work. On the basis of fieldwork, I will be carrying on this discussion further in the subsequent chapter.

3.8 Conclusion

The upshot of the above narrative is that the process of out-migration emerged as a response to underdevelopment of the hilly region and has increased due to the capitalist development that came in 1990s. Skewed development has forced the hill population to migrate as they became the "Islands" of underdevelopment in this overall capitalist growth. These inroads of development brought in a culture which did not follow the traditional norms of hill economy. It has resulted into out-migration and created a demographic vacuum in the region as male migration is quite prevalent.

The chapter attempted to critically analyse and examine the models, processes, patterns and the impact of male migration on the left behind societies. The impact of male migration on family or household in particular and society in general, gets affected by the process of migration which has been dealt in this chapter. Some theorists argue that push factors at place of origin lead to migration. For others, pull factors at place of destination attract the people

²⁵⁵ Emma Mawdsley, "A New Himalayan State in India: Popular Perceptions of Regionalism, Politics, and Development," *Mountain Research and Development* 19, no. 2 (1999): 101-112.

towards the urban industrial centres. The social and financial remittances that the migrant population sends back home, affects the lives of the left behind people in many ways. Like financial remittances, social remittances equally play a crucial role and have impacted the families and villages differently. The migrants and their families know about the nuances of migration; but for the villagers, migrants provide a ray of hope. The different positions regarding the impact of remittances have also been discussed and tried to be hypothesised in the context of Uttarakhand. It has also been said that absence of males contributes to a greater decision-making power among females but it cannot be generalised as context plays a significant role. This increased decision-making whether translates into empowerment is something this study aims to analyse in two districts of Uttarakhand. Other arguments that were raised include that remittances ensure increased incomes, fulfilment of consumption needs, access to finance to initiate new endeavours, lead to investment in human indicators like education, healthcare, etc. They provide a way for poverty reduction and economic development.

From macro perspective, it was asserted that this could damage the development process at the domestic level as the region witnesses' loss of human capital, popularly known as 'brain-drain'. It may affect economic growth negatively as argued in neoclassical growth theory. This has given rise to a 'culture of migration' and 'culture of dependency' which could limit growth and development.

To summarize, we can say that the economic benefits as well as the associated benefits in terms of poverty-reducing impact or improved lifestyle as well as other indicators is positive on account of most of the studies. However, various theories have also highlighted the ill-effects of migration on family relations, gender relations, community, etc. Relative economic advantages still remain a predominant factor driving migration. However, the impact of economic advantage differs upon the area of study. This is due to a plethora of different contributing factors such as governmental policies, social indicators of the place, general awareness among the people, etc. It has also been seen in many cases that remittances had been acting as a factor leading to a new class inequality, and thereby bifurcating society on new dimension. The rise of rural elites which was previously based on amount of land has now been transformed to better skills and higher income in the hill region. Another trend highlighted in this chapter and in the subsequent chapters will be analysing whether remittances strengthen class differences and upset the moral economy of the villages. In other

words, do remittances exacerbate the societal inequality? These are some of the questions that needs to be analysed in the context of Uttarakhand and will be carrying on this analyses and discussion further in chapter five which deals with field work.

Despite the discussed disadvantages of migration, the economic gain by virtue of migration supersede such disadvantages and thereby acting as a trigger for the behaviour of many people. In the later chapters, I will discuss the specific problems caused by migration in the case of Uttarakhand and the benefits which the natives of Uttarakhand enjoy by virtue of migration.

To conclude, the chapter discusses the various models of migration as well as different positions related to its subsequent impact, whose applicability in the subsequent chapter will be discussed with reference to the two districts of Uttarakhand. In addition to this, the chapter presents the impact of migration on the left behind families in detail, opening the discussion on the impact of male migration on women in particular which is the objective of this study. The next chapter will be dealing with the position of women in the absence of male counterparts. The subsequent chapters will try to find convergence as well as divergences between the theories and practice with an attempt to identify the reasons for such divergences.

Chapter 4

Impact of Male Migration on Women's Decision-Making

4.1 Introduction

Women have traditionally been at a disadvantage due to the strong patriarchal tradition which impinges on the rights of women. As no process is gender neutral, so is migration and it impacts women differently. While their husbands earn a living by working, their wives are engaged in managing the homes. The central concern of this research is with the broader objective of understanding the impact of rapid social change on the life and work of rural people, especially on rural females when the males in their families relocate because of urbanisation. The aim is to look at the impact across class and caste lines as it has already been argued in earlier chapters that migration is a survival strategy as well as an accumulative strategy for further betterment. The aim is also to enrich our understanding about the sociology of the family in general and the problems of women in particular. This chapter will also talk about the impact of male migration on women's decision-making. While analysing and discussing the traditional gender roles, it tries to bring into the picture the concept of empowerment. It does so by looking at the gendered construction of roles in society and the resultant changes, if there are any, due to migration.

Unlike other demographic phenomena such as birth and death, migration is a process rather than an event. According to Harris and Todaro, it is no more restricted to the conventional 'push and pull' factors and rather requires an integrated study of social, cultural, political and economic dimensions of the migration experience.²⁵⁶ Studies on rural-urban migration are largely concentrated at the place of destination in Indian context. Furthermore, discussions, analysis and findings are limited to socio-economic variables such as family size, occupation, income, caste and literacy; and have relatively little focus upon gender issues. Rural-to-urban migration has been particularly male-selective and furthermore the pattern seems to be "rich student, poor worker". In the study "Migration from Rural Areas", inequality has been the most important single variable underlying both 'push' and 'pull' factors, the former applying to

²⁵⁶ Harris and Todaro, "Migration, Unemployment," 126–142.

the poor, and the latter to the affluent in the rural society.²⁵⁷ On the basis of various studies that include Goldscheider,²⁵⁸ Massey et al.,²⁵⁹ Lucas,²⁶⁰ it can be argued that motivation, reasons, length of stay, etc., may vary in the process of migration. This variation can be considered as a norm. A constant feature across large number of migrants, in developing countries, is leaving wives and children at the place of origin.²⁶¹

As a result of the above factors, it has been estimated that almost every family in Uttarakhand has at least one member working outside the region. P.C. Joshi recalled that villages after villages were inhabited by women and old men because all the men folk had gone outside the region for work. As a result, much of the burden of cultivation has fallen on the women who apart from doing their normal household chores like collecting firewood, attending to the children and collecting water, have to do back breaking work in the fields. An average woman in the village works nearly 16 hours daily and one of the reasons for this was the absence of men to share the burden.²⁶² The out-migration in Uttarakhand is synonymous to male migration. This process is not only destabilizing the sex structure of the region but also resulting in 'brain drain'. Educated people mostly migrate to other parts of India since the jobs are not available in the region. Consequently, there is a divide between male and female, educated and uneducated, young and old, man and children. One should not be surprised to find village after village with only children, women and old men left to carry on with the hard struggle for survival. The massive out-migration uncovers the region of its able-bodied potential for leadership, manpower at all levels. The result of massive out-migration could be seen in the density of population and gender distribution of the region.

²⁵⁷ Michael Lipton and Martin Ravallion, "Poverty and policy," in *Handbook of Development Economics* 3, ed. Hollis Chenery and T.N.Srinivasan, 1st ed., (Amsterdam: Elsevier 1995), 2551-2657.

²⁵⁸ Calvin Goldscheider, "Migration and social structure: Analytic issues and comparative perspectives in developing nations," *Sociological Forum* 2, no. 4 (1987): 674–696, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/684298>.

²⁵⁹ Douglas S. Massey et al., *Worlds in Motion: International Migration at the End of the Millennium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

²⁶⁰ Robert E.B. Lucas, "Internal Migration in Developing Countries," in *Handbook of Population and Family Economics* 1, part B, ed. M.R. Rosenzweig and O. Stark (Elsevier 1997), 721-798, [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1574-003X\(97\)80005-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1574-003X(97)80005-0).

²⁶¹ Shawn Malia Kanaiaupuni, "Reframing the migration question: An analysis of men, women and gender in Mexico," *Social Forces* 78, no.4 (2000): 1311–1347.

²⁶² Joshi, *Uttarakhand: Issues*, 1995.

4.2 Impact of Out-Migration on Gender Distribution

According to Census 2011, the sex ratio in Uttarakhand (963) is fairly high.²⁶³ The improved sex ratio is not due to women's empowerment; rather due to huge out-migration of male from the region. At district level, the sex ratio of plains is worse than the sex ratio of hilly districts. This trend can be explained via parameters i.e. low out-migration of males from the plain districts while high out-migration of males from the hill districts. Dehradun, Haridwar, Udham Singh Nagar and Nainital are majorly plain districts of the state. The sex ratios in these districts are 880, 920, 920 and 934 respectively. On the other hand, Almora, Rudraprayag, Pauri, Bageshwar, Tehri, Pithoragarh and Chamoli are majorly the hill districts of the state. The sex ratios in these districts are 1139, 1114, 1103, 1090, 1077, 1020 and 1019.²⁶⁴

Migration is a phenomenon which is experienced by both males and females. In case of males known as 'brain drain', and when females migrate, it leads to a phenomenon called 'care drain'. Upon migration, the traditional responsibilities born by the female are shifted to other members of the household resulting in care drain. It is evident in countries like the Philippines, Sri Lanka and in South India.²⁶⁵ For the purpose of study, the focus will be on the impact of male migration and analysing its impact on the left behind.

The social and economic deprivation of women is something we already have an idea about. The extent of exploitation and suffering they undergo or views on their conditions, across regions should also be analysed. It is also not clear as to what extent their decision-making power and autonomy gets influenced. Whether the situation and circumstances for women are region and context specific or not is what needs to be analysed. Hence, my chapter would review the literature on the impact of male migration on women by analysing their position and the resultant changes in traditional gender roles.

Being a gendered phenomenon, migration impacts males and females differently. To increase awareness about the same, broader social factors that influence women's and men's roles needs a gendered approach to migration. Migration is also a socio-cultural process mediated by gendered and kinship ideologies, institutions and practices, and not merely an economic or

²⁶³ "Sex Ratio in India," Census 2011, accessed April 24, 2021, <https://www.census2011.co.in/sexratio.php>.

²⁶⁴ "Uttarakhand Population 2011-2021," Census 2011.

²⁶⁵ Speranta Dimutru, "From 'Brain Drain' to 'Care Drain': Women's Labor Migration and Methodological Sexism," *Women's Studies International Forum* 47, Part B (2014): 202-212, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.06.006>.

political process.²⁶⁶ In order to properly address the research questions, it is essential to understand what constitutes women's empowerment. The next section discusses various studies trying to establish the link between decision-making and women's empowerment. The following section also talks about the theoretical framework as it is important to understand the construction and reproduction of gender roles, relationships, labour and power in a social historical context.

4.3 Decision-Making Power: Gender and Empowerment

Consciousness about gender based inequality is much older. Gender conceptualises about the socially constructed female and male roles through gendered meaning and practices, and point towards the nexus between gender and empowerment. At macro level, analysis of gender allows us to see how gender is constructed through the practices of power and labour resulting in empowerment; and at micro level, how women and men in their social interaction and everyday politics regulate the practice of gender.²⁶⁷ As a result, gender construction is such that in most societies, women are disempowered relative to men. For instance, men are better educated, earn more, own more property and dominate community and national institutions. This has resulted in a gender imbalance that gives men more freedom to control their lives than women and also often gives them the freedom to control lives of women too. The only key to rectify this gender imbalance is empowerment. Luttrell et al. define empowerment as “a progression that helps people gain control over their own lives and increases the capacity of people to act on issues that they themselves define as important.”²⁶⁸ This means both sexes having equal control of their lives. Gender parity ensures increased power to both men and women; although achieving it would entail men giving up some of their power over women and the benefits they possess as a result of their gender,²⁶⁹ it's a distant and almost an impossible endeavour. Men hardly sacrifice their power. They have to be forced to give up power by women who get into paid work.

²⁶⁶ Sarah.J.Mahler and Patricia R. Pessar, “Gender matters: Ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies,” *IMR International Migration Review* 40, no. 1 (2006): 27-63, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2006.00002.x>.

²⁶⁷ K.C. Luna, Gemma Van Der Haar and Dorothea Hilhorst, “Changing gender role: Women's livelihoods, conflict and post-conflict security in Nepal,” *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 4, no.2 (2017):175-195, <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F2347797017710743>.

²⁶⁸ Cecilia Luttrell et al., “Understanding and Operationalising Empowerment,” *Overseas Development Institute Working Paper*, 308, London, November 2009: 16, accessed on April, 17, 2021, <https://www.1decada4.es/pluginfile.php/189/course/section/47/understanding.pdf>.

²⁶⁹ Anke A. Ehrhardt et al., “Gender, empowerment and health: What is it? How does it work?,” *Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome* 51, 3 (2009): S 96- S105, <https://dx.doi.org/10.1097%2FQAI.0b013e3181aafd54>.

In a study conducted by Mahmud et al. for women in Uganda, empowerment meant more independence, greater equality for women in Guatemala; while stronger financial foothold for rural women in Bangladesh. It is more about individualistic outcome for them.²⁷⁰ Due to such varied perceptions of empowerment, it is difficult to settle on a precise definition for empowerment. Since, empowerment itself is latent variable and cannot be directly observed or measured, evaluating it becomes even more challenging. In this chapter, we look at women in families experiencing migration of men and try to investigate the factors whether contributing towards empowerment.²⁷¹

To reiterate, as discussed in earlier chapter, context is a significant factor for empowerment too. The aspects of empowerment are largely subjective, shaped by culture and context.²⁷² The process of empowerment involves various stages that range from individual to collective consciousness-raising and mobilisation for structural changes.²⁷³ Jo Rowlands argues that “empowerment for individual women was a personal and unique experience, even though one woman may go through some similar experiences to those of other individuals. This ‘personal’ empowerment involved very distinct processes from those which made up empowerment in a group or collective sense.”²⁷⁴ Naila Kabeer emphasises “that empowerment strategies for women must build on the power within women’s selves expressed in terms of their ability to control resources, determine agendas and make decisions affecting their lives.”²⁷⁵ Beyond analysing the empowerment process as it applies to the lives of the left behind women in my research, the chapter also tries to investigate whether their sense of empowerment (if empowered) can be sustained, and also to identifies the structure or domain of their empowerment.

Alsop et al. define “empowerment as the capacity to make effective choices. They utilized Sen’s concept of agency, which is the ability to act towards what is valued, and the component of proper institutional settings to facilitate agency.”²⁷⁶ Kabeer defines empowerment as “the expansion in people’s ability to make strategic life choices in a context

²⁷⁰ Simeen Mahmud, Nirali M. Shah and Stan Becker, “Measurement of Women’s Empowerment in Rural Bangladesh,” *World Development* 40, no. 3 (2012): 610-619.

²⁷¹ Mahmud, Shah, Becker, “Measurement of Women’s,” 610-619.

²⁷² Naila Kabeer, "Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment," *Development and change* 30, no. 3 (1999): 435-464.

²⁷³ Srilatha Batliwala, "Putting power back into empowerment," *Democracy* 50 (2007): 3.

²⁷⁴ Jo Rowlands, “A Word of the Times, but What Does it Mean? Empowerment in the Discourse and Practice of Development,” in *Women and Empowerment*, ed. Haleh Afshar (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 22.

²⁷⁵ Naila Kabeer, *Reversed Realities Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought* (London: Verso, 1995), 229.

²⁷⁶ Ruth Alsop, Mette Bertelsen, and Jeremy Holland, *Empowerment in practice: From analysis to implementation* (USA: The World Bank, 2005), 86.

where this ability was previously denied to them.”²⁷⁷ Women’s empowerment by Kabeer implies “notion of empowerment is about change, it refers to the expansion in people’s ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them. The ability to exercise choice can be thought of in terms of three interrelated dimensions: resources (pre-conditions), agency (process) and achievements (outcomes).”²⁷⁸ In brief, it’s about individuals who were initially deprived of making a choice now acquire the same, as empowerment is a dynamic process. For Kabeer, access to microcredit is one of the indicators and others sets of indicators include decision-making ability in household, farm and non-farm enterprises, ownership of assets and access to household income.²⁷⁹

Kabeer et al. on the other hand, “while examining the effects of paid work on empowerment in Bangladesh Ghana and Egypt; employed spending decisions, ability to leave home, attitude about women’s work and preference for daughters as empowerment indicators. Several studies also examined indicators pertaining to women’s individual rights that may be enriched from economic empowerment, including family planning, freedom of mobility, and emancipation from domestic violence.”²⁸⁰ Mahmud et al. advised that before selecting indicators of empowerment, certain basic premise for measuring it should be fixed beforehand. According to them, it is not possible to measure empowerment directly as it involves different indicators. Due to the complex nature of empowerment and its indivisible parameters, one should make sure that the selected indicators should represent all features and dimensions of empowerment. Lastly, when measuring empowerment, context is extremely important. It determines the relevance of the indicator in measuring empowerment. They further explain that empowerment may not necessarily be positively associated with welfare.²⁸¹ This can be understood as greater decision-making does not automatically translate into empowerment; which the study also attempts to find out in context of Uttarakhand.

A theoretical understanding has also been given by Amin et al. They have “split the concept of women’s empowerment into three components: the inter-spouse consultation index, which

²⁷⁷ Naila Kabeer, *The power to choose: Bangladeshi women and labor market decisions in London and Dhaka* (UK: Verso, 2002), 19.

²⁷⁸ Kabeer, “Resources, Agency,” 437.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 435-464.

²⁸⁰ Naila Kabeer et al., "Paid work, women’s empowerment and inclusive growth: Transforming the structures of constraint," *United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women*, UN Women (United States: 2013), 80.

²⁸¹ Mahmud, Shah and Becker, “Measurement of Women’s,” 610-619.

seeks to represent the extent to which husbands consult their wives in household affairs; the individual autonomy index, which represents women's self-reported autonomy of physical movement outside the house and in matters of spending money; and the authority index, which reports on actual decision-making power (which is traditionally in the hands of the patriarch of the family).²⁸² Similar components are also included in the eight indicators used by Hashemi et al.: "physical mobility, economic security, ability to make a small purchase, ability to make larger purchases, involvement in major decisions, relative freedom from domination by the family, political and legal awareness, and involvement in political campaigning and protests."²⁸³ The incidences of migration of one or more family members will influence the way the family functions and the family structure. "The absence of the migrant from the household, especially if he is 'the head of the family', can have serious implications for the women left behind, both socially and economically. Women may gain autonomy through the absence of men; however, they are left with greater stress and vulnerability, an increased workload and a high chance of extended family intervention. So, the migration of men potentially affects cultural norms in the household, to women's benefit or detriment."²⁸⁴

As discussed above, we have number of studies that have analysed women's empowerment by adopting various indicators. For example, Kabeer analysed empowerment in terms of 'resources, agency and achievements'. Another study by Mahmud et al. examines empowerment using indicators like context and interlinked indicators. The above discussed indicators are based on some different context. Since, the context of my study is migration, the following section discusses the studies that have examined empowerment in the context of migration and to find out which of the following indicators can be used for my study to analyse women's empowerment in the two hill districts of Uttarakhand.

Maity et al. analysed empowerment in the context of migration by conducting studies in West Bengal. The selected indicators include mobility, restrictions placed and decision-making power. They concluded that out-migration has not generated any significant impact on the empowerment of women. Rather, they exercised increased decision-making power and

²⁸² Ruhul Amin and Stan Becker, "NGO promotes micro-credit programmes and women's empowerment in rural Bangladesh: Quantitative and qualitative evidence," *The Journal of Developing Areas* 32, 2 (1998): 225.

²⁸³ Sidney Ruth Schuler and Syed M. Hashemi, "Credit programs, women's empowerment, and contraceptive use in rural Bangladesh," *Studies in family planning* (1994): 67.

²⁸⁴ Babita Sinha, Smita Jha and Nalin Singh Negi, "Migration and Empowerment: The Experience of Women in Households in India Where Migration of a Husband has occurred," *Journal of Gender Studies* 21, no.1 (2012): 62.

autonomy due to factors like age, education, occupation.²⁸⁵ Fakir and Abedin conducted a study in five countries of Middle East and North Africa. To analyse the same, asset ownership, household expenditure, personal autonomy, productive decision-making, exposure to domestic violence were the indicators used to test women's empowerment. They concluded that there is no improvement in the decision-making power of the women despite enjoying ownership of assets.²⁸⁶ Ullah have analysed the empowerment of women in rural Bangladesh. The chief indicators that were employed include resources, agency and achievements. The study argued that the male migration is complex to analyse and it further says that changes in gender roles are visible across countries. The responsibility comes on the wives, and it rejuvenates their potential. Hence, it contributes in their empowerment positively.²⁸⁷

The existing literature on the impact of male migration and women's empowerment presents a mixed outcome. For some, it is seen as a liberating experience as it provides better economic opportunities which give a sense of autonomy. For other studies, migration did not change the unequal gender relations. They rather continue to persist in society. The following section discusses the impact on women's empowerment in detail.

4.4 Two Lines of Thought

In traditional patriarchal societies, women exercised less personal freedom and autonomy,²⁸⁸ limited resources and less involvement in the decision-making processes than males,²⁸⁹ as were considered inexperienced and unprepared for the new roles. Physical absence of a male exercises a myriad of impact on the family and the related decision-making. Thus, it becomes important to delve into what happens to women who assume new roles and more responsibilities in the husbands' absence.

The literature on the impact of male migration provides two alternative perspectives. The first focuses on the role of women in the new structure of the family in terms of changes in the

²⁸⁵ Kingsuk Maity, Debasis Mazumdar and Pinaki Das, "Male Out-Migration and its Impact on Women's Empowerment in West Bengal," *Economic Affairs* 63, no. 2 (2018): 459-467.

²⁸⁶ Adnan M.S. Fakir and Naveen Abedin, "Empowered by Absence: Does Male Out-Migration Empower Female Household Heads Left-Behind?," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 22 (2021): 503-527.

²⁸⁷ Ahsan AKM Ullah, "Male Migration and 'Left-Behind' Women: Bane or Boon?," *Environment and Urbanization ASIA* 8, no. 1 (2017) : 59-73.

²⁸⁸ Shelah S. Bloom, David Wypij and Monica Das Gupta, "Dimensions of women's autonomy and the influence on maternal health care utilization in a north Indian city," *Demography* 38, no. 1 (2001): 67-78.

²⁸⁹ Adediran Daniel Ikuomola, "An exploration of life experiences of left behind wives in Edo State, Nigeria." *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology* 6, no. 01 (2015): 289-307.

traditional roles; and second, the workload on the women. The first school of thought analyses women's empowerment in India on the basis of autonomy and decision-making ability of women as argued by Mason and Smith,²⁹⁰ and Desai.²⁹¹ It can be expected that women put aside norms of female seclusion since the husbands' absence would demand their participation in the daily affairs of the family. To put it differently, absence of husbands allow them to take on roles that they would not normally undertake which might be reflected in the women's autonomy. In some instances, the greater autonomy and decision-making may also be substituted to some different source/authority or other male figures or relatives as argued by De Haan²⁹² and Desai.²⁹³ But studies tend to agree that the potential substitute's influence of a husband's male or female relatives is not fully equivalent to that of husbands. Wives see their autonomy increasing due to absence of their husbands. While greater autonomy for women is overall a beneficial outcome, it has also been documented several negative impacts on women who are left behind as it leads to an increase in their tasks, duties and responsibilities.

It further states that it leads to some improvement in the status of women, and also the impact on left behind women, children and elderly can be quite powerful. On the positive side, out-migration ensures availability of more money with families, in particular, to their wives.²⁹⁴ According to studies like Synder,²⁹⁵ Hadi,²⁹⁶ Ennaji and Sidiqi,²⁹⁷ Manjivor and Agadjanian,²⁹⁸ the husband sending money for the first time, the first thing the wife does is opening a bank account. Further, females enjoy higher autonomy and important decision in the households that include children's education, physical mobility and act independently. The absence of extended families has an additional substantial effect on women's lives²⁹⁹ as

²⁹⁰ Karen Oppenheim Mason and Herbert L. Smith, "Women's empowerment and social context: Results from five Asian countries," *Gender and Development Group, World Bank, Washington, DC* (2003).

²⁹¹ Sonalde Desai and Kiersten Johnson, "Women's decision making and child health: familial and social hierarchies," *A focus on gender: Collected papers on gender using DHS data 2005* (2005): 55-68.

²⁹² Arjan De Haan, "Migration, gender, poverty: family as the missing link," in *Women and Migration in Asia*, ed. Sadhna Arya and Anupama Roy, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Sage, 2006), 107-128.

²⁹³ Desai and Banerji, "Negotiated identities," 337-355.

²⁹⁴ Zachariah and Rajan, "Gender Dimensions," 47-70.

²⁹⁵ V. Neily Salgado De Snyder, "Family life across the border: Mexican wives left behind," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 15, no. 3 (1993): 391-401.

²⁹⁶ Abdullahel Hadi, "International migration and the change of women's position among the left-behind in rural Bangladesh," *International Journal of Population Geography* 7, no. 1 (2001): 53-61.

²⁹⁷ Fatima Sadiqi and Moha Ennaji, "The Impact of Male Migration from Morocco to Europe on Women: A Gender Approach," *Finisterra: Revista Portuguesa De Geografia* 39, no. 77 (2004): 59-76.

²⁹⁸ Cecilia Menjivar and Victor Agadjanian, "Men's Migration and Women's Lives: Views from Rural Armenia and Guatemala," *Social Science Quarterly* 88, no. 5 (2007):1243-1262.

²⁹⁹ Desai and Banerji, "Negotiated identities," 337-355.

they enjoy greater autonomy, freedom and decision-making power. In rural settings, they take primary role in important agricultural decisions.³⁰⁰ They are de facto household heads and execute various responsibilities, in case of well-off families, such as hiring of agricultural labour. In case of poor households, they have emerged as the bread earners, in addition to increased domestic and familial responsibilities.³⁰¹ A study has shown that the migration of men ensures expansion of skills for their wives in tasks, not traditionally undertaken by women.³⁰² Thus, the absence of males forces or frees females to take on roles that they would not usually undertake.³⁰³

Gulati observed that “migration breaks women’s isolation, increases mobility and brings them into contact with a wider network of institutions like banks, educational institutions, post offices and international communication patterns which equips them with greater confidence and more responsibilities.”³⁰⁴

Agasty and Patra argued that women’s decision-making capacity has increased predominantly due to male migration. Some studies show that receiving remittances from migrants lead to decrease in hours of work of the women left behind.³⁰⁵ There are studies that say male migration leads to decrease of women participation in non-formal works as well as labour supply.³⁰⁶ In contrast, the wives have assumed new roles outside the domestic sphere as they belonged to less affluent families, i.e. they being not rich enough to maintain their traditional role and could not hire someone to perform tasks outside the private sphere on their behalf. They also attempt to determine the extent to which these changes introduced at the decision-making level within the family are of a temporary or permanent nature. Decisions regarding family expenditures after the husband’s migration are, in the great majority of cases, taken by the wife left behind. Decisions related to family property are still taken by the husband. Despite a slight modification in favour of the wife, this decision

³⁰⁰ Elizabeth Gordon, “An analysis of the impact of labour migration on the lives of women in Lesotho,” *The Journal of Development Studies* 17, no. 3 (1981): 59-76.

³⁰¹ Surinder Jetley, “Impact of male migration on rural females,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 22, no. 44 (1987): WS47-WS53.

³⁰² Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, “Overcoming Patriarchal Constraints: The Reconstruction of Gender Relations among Mexican Immigrant Women and Men,” *Gender & Society* 6, no. 3 (1992): 393-415.

³⁰³ Gordon, “An Analysis of the Impact,” 59-76.

³⁰⁴ Leela Gulati, “In the Absence of their Men: The Impact of Male Migration on Women (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993), 62.

³⁰⁵ Mahendra P. Agasty and Rabi N. Patra, “Migration of Labour and Left-Behind Women: A Case Study of Rural Odisha,” *American International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences* 7, no. 1 (2014): 28-33.

³⁰⁶ Agasty and Patra, “Migration of Labour,” 28-33.

remains the prerogative of the husband. Shifts from the private to the public sphere are witnessed following husband's migration as wife being in-charge of settling payments or issues with various institutions, be they public or private. The traditional division of roles between husband and wife with respect to their children is maintained, with the latter being in-charge of their education and guidance, while the former plays a significant role regarding their marriage and employment. The longer the duration of the husband's migration, the more such decisions are taken jointly. The left behind wife assume new roles outside the domestic domain that were not traditionally her's. She performs tasks that he is expected to accomplish when he is present. As a result, she becomes more involved in the decision-making process and in the public sphere.

Although "migration may have resulted in the 'feminization of the family,' it has also reaffirmed the essence of the traditional gender ideology, which perpetuates the situation in which women are financially dependent upon their male folks, despite some superficial changes in the realm of activities they may perform."³⁰⁷ The new distributed roles within the family affect her well-being. One should always investigate whether her new status should be considered 'a sign of increased empowerment or hardship'.

On the basis of literature, it can also be argued that the impact of male migration on women also varies from region to region. "Male migration leads to changes in division of labour including feminization of agriculture and increase in women's workload. The effect of male migration on the autonomy and decision-making among their wives vary in different communities and contexts. For instance in Kerala, women who have been called to take charge of a number of household tasks have become responsible for the financial management of the household and have developed new expertise in agriculture. In North India, with well-defined gender roles, such a change in autonomy is less likely and observed limited autonomy among wives of migrants from UP. Women seldom have the power to decide what crops are to be sown and the migrants continue to decide the expenditure on different items."³⁰⁸

³⁰⁷ Homa Hoodfar, "The Impact of Male Migration on Domestic Budgeting: Egyptian Women Striving for an Islamic Budgeting Pattern," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 28, no. 2 (1997): 78.

³⁰⁸ Surinder Jetley, "Education and Occupational Mobility: A UP Village," *Economic and Political Weekly* (1969): 728.

The second line of thought talks about the increased hardships and financial challenges for the wife back home. In absence of husbands', wives need to fill in for his absence as argued by Jetley³⁰⁹ and Paris.³¹⁰ Additionally, they may also need to shoulder responsibilities outside the home contributing to the increased work burden for wives. In instances, where remittances are not sufficient, their work load is most likely to increase as they have to compensate for the absence of their husbands' farm labour and to ensure that the basic needs of the family could be met. In cases, where male migration is successful, it may again contribute to increased challenges for women due to the dependence on remittances that may be irregular and limited as argued by Kothari.³¹¹ According to Engel, it could be more physical labour.³¹² It is about loneliness for Rajan and Mathew,³¹³ and decreased social support and network for Kothari.³¹⁴

In the absence of their husbands, their responsibility increases. This impact can further be divided into two. For some, in the absence of husbands, they have to manage and take care of everything like farm, household chores, cattle, etc.; and for some, they feel less burdened as they no longer have to manage farms and are totally dependent on the remittances sent by the male. Women belonging to affluent families may not feel that burdened. In contrast, the rural poor face increased burdens and it aggravates their difficulties for subsistence. Sometimes, the received remittances are unable to transform the economic status of the family as they being not enough even for subsistence purposes. Women belonging to lower income groups have no options but to manage by taking on additional responsibilities. This might be either due to the remittances being not sufficient or irregular ones. In these families, the struggle is to fulfil even the basic necessities of life. Some studies also revealed that received remittances did not reduce the working hours of women; rather they get further involve in other activities like agriculture or taking care of the elderly at home. Similar observations are also found in some studies.³¹⁵ Thus, belonging to economically weak classes further burdens

³⁰⁹ Jetley, "Impact of male migration," WS47–WS53.

³¹⁰ Thelma Paris, Abha Singh, Joyce Luis and Mahabub Hossain, "Labour Outmigration, Livelihood of Rice Farming Households and Women Left Behind: A Case Study in Eastern Uttar Pradesh," *Economic and Political Weekly* (2005): 2522-2529.

³¹¹ Uma Kothari, *Migration and chronic poverty*, vol. 16 (Manchester: Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2002).

³¹² Barbara Alpern Engel, "The woman's side: male out-migration and the family economy in Kostroma Province," *Slavic Review* 45, no. 2 (1986): 257-271.

³¹³ Kunniparampil Curien Zachariah, Elangikal Thomas Mathew, and S. Irudaya Rajan, "Impact of migration on Kerala's economy and society," *International Migration* 39, no. 1 (2001): 63-87.

³¹⁴ Kothari, *Migration and chronic*, 2002.

³¹⁵ S. Parida, "When Men Migrate." *News Reach* 5, no. 10 (2005): 10-13.

the women. It reflects on the variation of the impact of male absence on women of different classes differently.

In addition to increased hardship, some negative impacts on left behind women are also worth noting. Women experience high level of stress due to increased managerial responsibilities.³¹⁶ The stress is caused due to more responsibilities while the strain denotes the period of separation.³¹⁷ Migration also imposed increased economic burden on the woman when migrant is not in the position to send remittances, when looking for job, or in some cases, remittances sent are limited and irregular.³¹⁸ In situation like these, the role of women increases as they need to now compensate for the absence of migrant's labour.³¹⁹ Other negative effects include the probability of divorce,³²⁰ higher reproductive morbidity for women,³²¹ decrease in fertility,³²² disintegration of family and misguidance of children,³²³ loneliness³²⁴ and decreased social support and networks.³²⁵ Child rearing can result in decrease in much acclaimed women's autonomy and independence.³²⁶

Another impact of male migration on women due to increased workload has added to their mental stress as some times, they have to depend on others for decision-making while performing all the activities. Also, some have also shared the fear of sexual harassment from close relatives. It adds on to their distress by making the situation worse for them.³²⁷ "The assumption of responsibilities outside the home may in some instances increase the work burden of women. For instance, in villages of eastern UP, if remittances are not large enough, women's work load is likely to increase as they have to compensate for the absence of their husbands' farm labour."³²⁸

³¹⁶ Agasty and Patra, "Migration of Labour," 28-33.

³¹⁷ Sadiqi and Ennaji, "The Impact of Male Migration," 59-76.

³¹⁸ Uma Kothari, "Introduction: Migration, Staying Put and Livelihoods," *Journal of International Development* 15, no. 5 (2003): 607.

³¹⁹ Paris, Singh, Luis, and Hossain, "Labour Outmigration," 2522-2529.

³²⁰ Sadiqi and Ennaji, "The Impact of Male Migration," 59-76.

³²¹ Agasty and Patra, "Migration of Labour," 28-33.

³²² Jane Menken, "Seasonal Migration and Seasonal Variation in Fecundability: Effects on Birth Rates and Birth Intervals," *Demography* 16, no. 1 (1979): 103-119.

³²³ De Snyder, "Family Life Across," 391-401.

³²⁴ Kunniparampil Curien Zachariah, Elangikal Thomas Mathew, and S. Irudaya Rajan, "Social, Economic and Demographic Consequences of Migration on Kerala," *International migration* 39, no. 2 (2001): 43-71.

³²⁵ Kothari, "Introduction," 607.

³²⁶ Peter McDonald, "Gender Equity, Social Institutions and the Future of Fertility," *Journal of Population Research* 17, no. 1 (2000): 1-16.

³²⁷ Bhaskar Kumar Kakati, "Out-Migration and Its Bearing on Left-Behind Woman: Case in a Jharkhand Village," *Social Change and Development* 11, no. 2 (2014): 83-89.

³²⁸ Paris, Singh, Luis and Hossain, "Labour Outmigration," 2526.

Additionally, conjugal separation is another challenge that the women have to go through. For security reasons, the wives are largely left with in-laws, parents or other relatives, resulting in cases of sexual harassment. A study revealed that “mostly close relatives including father-in-law and brother-in-law and other relatives are responsible for such acts. Two kinds of impacts were reported; one is when the women tried to resist the abuse, they were beaten up, and two, is to hide the trauma in the interests of family prestige.”³²⁹

Kandari also argues about the predominant role of women in the rural economy of Uttarakhand is very significant. Agricultural work is highly time-consuming, since agricultural fields are generally very small and are located on the terraces of the hill region. This increases women’s workload tremendously. Men show no interest in agricultural work, they prefer to migrate to urban areas. They found agriculture to be less productive. Hence, the contribution of women becomes fundamental.³³⁰ The women labourers have been part of the labour on fields but mostly it is ‘invisible’ to the stock takers. However, it has been argued by Kishwar and Vanita that women’s income is not additional, rather the only income that the family thrives on. In other words, women may experience increased autonomy, yet even with this increase they still face large gender inequalities due to the sheer magnitude of these disparities. It can be said that the resultant changes are visible in relation to women’s status, responsibility and challenges while coping with the new reality of absence of men from their midst. These new roles lead to a shift in the traditional gender roles in the society.³³¹

Therefore, across classes, in absence of males, the women in these de facto female headed households consider themselves as ‘behind the scenes’ decision-makers. Rather, they try to live according to the expectations of the patriarchal ideology, conferring the role of major decision-makers on the absentee husbands. Hence, on the basis of above discussed literature, it can be highlighted that generally, the impact of male migration on women increases their burden and responsibility. This is due to the changes in their roles because of absentee husband. It can also be said that the impact varies on women due to the different economic classes they belong to. The following section discusses in detail about the changed responsibilities and role of women. The section also tries to build a relationship between increased roles or increased decision-making with empowerment.

³²⁹ S. Parasuraman, “Migration and its Effect on the Family,” *Indian Journal of Social Work* 47, no.1 (1986): 8.

³³⁰ Prashant Kandari, “Migration pattern and the increasing participation of females in the economy of hill rural areas: a study of Pauri District in Uttarakhand,” *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 17, no. 5 (2013): 27-33.

³³¹ Madhu Kishwar and Ruth Vanita, “Land Fragmentation: Inheritance Rights for Women,” *Manushi* 57 (1990): 3-9.

4.5 Changes in Traditional Gender Roles

Migration is a multi-dimensional process. The analyses of migration are done on economic context however “such analyses bear partial explanation of the consequences of outmigration as it equally affects those people who are close to the migrant and left behind. In such a context, the issue arises on the impact of out-migration of male members on their better half who are left behind at home and their adjustment to the situation. It might be that the new responsibilities assigned in absence of their husbands change their personal status.”³³²

The vision of a static rural community becomes unrealistic. In rural contexts, a series of structural changes such as poor local opportunities, polarization of land holdings, degradation of natural resources, occurrence of natural calamities and better opportunities accompanied by exponential population growth outside the region have contributed to migration. Single male migration leaving the women behind is due to imposed household responsibilities or due to restrictions on women’s mobility. Due to the export of healthy men, the life of hill women has become more miserable, taking care of not only household but also devotes more time to family’s agricultural lands. This phenomenon is partially marked in agriculture and animal husbandry where almost two third workers are women. Agriculture has become largely women’s jobs in the hills. To preserve gender patterns, communities and households reconfigure themselves to respond to absence of males due to migration.

One another interesting feature to note is that “male migration has been a traditional feature of internal migration in India from regions where local employment opportunities are scarce. This leaves women at home. There is much more evidence in the oral tradition and folk-songs than in social science literature of the sufferings and deprivations of the women of such families whose men have gone to earn a living in the city. The folk-songs called 'Bidesia' and 'Birha' of eastern UP and Bihar, two areas with a high concentration of male migration to cities, refer to the beloved living in a far off 'country' and reflect the unhappy and lonely existence of the women who are left behind. Though, the pace of migration has increased with the advent of industrialization and globalization but it dates back to the pre-industrial period, though migration has increased with industrialization.”³³³

³³² Kakati, “Out-Migration,” 83-89.

³³³ Dharendra Prakash Saxena, *Rurban Migration in India: Causes and Consequences* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1977), 52.

In half of the families, the females, in most cases the wife of the migrant, shoulder the major responsibility of taking care of the children. The reasons for women not out-migrating are to look after their children and the elderly. They manage the several minor and some major crises in the family, sometimes single-handedly. Agriculture is a familial activity; there is sexual division of labour for various agricultural activities. For example, preparation of soil, ploughing of land, arranging inputs for land and other purchases are undertaken by males, while transplanting, hoeing, weeding and husking, winnowing of food grains and storage are typically female activities. Men and women work together during harvest. Produce is carried to the house by males. Tending cattle is shared with females, males look after bullocks, and females take care of milch cattle. The repair of houses and equipment is undertaken by males, while females cook the food, wash utensils and clothes and fetch water for domestic use and for cattle, in addition to arranging fuel and fodder with the help of children. In the absence of males, the tasks for women and children increase.³³⁴ Studies in India have also found that migrants often delayed their migration until some male relatives were available to take care of the families being left behind.³³⁵

The responsibility to look after the family property is also delegated to left behind women, in absence of the elderly or other male members in the households.³³⁶ Further, “the male migrants of the village can be divided into categories i.e. teenagers and married. The first category generally migrated due to the influence of their peer group whereas the second category migrated to find out suitable livelihood options.”³³⁷ In migrated households, women and girls break the traditional gender norms by coming into spaces, earlier reserved for men or were considered as men’s arena.

4.6 Challenges of ‘Left Behind’ Women

Agarwal has brought the available evidence together and has highlighted that female-headed households: (a) are more likely to depend on wage labour than self-employment; (b) have less land (in fact more concentrated in the size-class of less than one acre); (c) are more unable to find work; and (d) are in higher age group with lower educational level and higher illiteracy.

³³⁴ Hoodfar, “The Impact of Male Migration,” 73-98.

³³⁵ De Haan, “Migration, Gender,” 107-128.

³³⁶ Kakati, “Out-Migration,” 83-89.

³³⁷ Kakati, “Out-Migration,” 83-89.

The above characteristics combined with the legal and social structures imply that female-headed households' exercises limited access to productive resources and are more prone to poverty. As Agarwal concludes, more in depth studies from different regions are required. According to her, some specific questions should be examined i.e. does the relative poverty proneness vary by types of migration - absence of male, short-term absence, etc.? What is the decision-making role of women in such households? What are the specific socio-economic processes which lead to an increase in the incidences of female-headed households?³³⁸

As far as employment is concerned, barring agriculture, construction and public services, in general, females do not have any access to other segments of non-farm sector. In the context of rural areas in the state of Uttarakhand, females are engaged in multiple activities such as cultivation, animal husbandry, fetching water, collection of firewood and fuels, and child care activities and therefore it becomes extremely difficult to extricate themselves for availability and willingness.

This can be understood in words of Agarwal³³⁹ and Sen³⁴⁰ who have given the idea of conceptual bias. For example, if one question, what is your main activity (in terms of time)? Even a female respondent would reply to house work despite contributing significantly to family production. The conceptual bias arises as the tasks performed by women are not considered as economic contributions unlike wage-work.

4.7 Conclusion

The chapter largely talks about the theoretical understanding of the concept of decision-making power and empowerment. It attempted to study the impact of male migration on women. On the basis of literature, it was found that absence of male exercises two kinds of impact on left behind women. The two kinds of impact are increased decision-making power and increase in general hardships. Some studies suggested that this increased decision-making reflects towards women's empowerment. This is because they believe that women in the absence of males take day-to-day decisions, manages house, farms, children's, elderly, etc. Other positive conclusions that were drawn by other studies included arguments like increased mobility, investment in health, etc. Apart from increased hardship, other negative

³³⁸ Bina Agarwal, ""Bargaining" and gender relations: Within and beyond the household," *Feminist Economics* 3, no. 1 (1997): 1-51.

³³⁹ Agarwal, "Bargaining and Gender," 1-51.

³⁴⁰ Amartya Sen, "Gender and Cooperative Conflicts," in *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*, ed. I. Tinker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 162-181

impact includes increased mental stress, conjugal separation and sexual harassment in absence of their husbands, divorce, etc.

It was also stated that the impact of increased burdens and responsibilities on women also varies from family to family depending upon the economic class the family belongs to. Unlike women belonging to affluent families, in case of the rural poor in addition to increased burdens, it compounds their difficulties of basic survival. For the latter, the struggle is to fulfil the basic needs for survival. Sometimes, the additional source of income through remittances does not substantially change the economic status of the family nor helps to come to a subsistence level. What can be highlighted here is that the above understanding about the impact cannot be generalised and apply to Uttarakhand. According to Kabeer and Ullah, context differs from region to region, and likewise, the situation of women at one place could not be superimposed on other. Thus, the aim of the study is to examine the above discussed parameters and at the same time to analyse whether increased decision-making power due to male migration translates into empowerment of women in the two districts of Uttarakhand.

In this chapter, the various indicators were also discussed in details that have been used in different studies to measure women's empowerment. Secondly, the chapter also analyses the changes in traditional gender roles and opens up discussion on whether husbands' absence forces or frees women to take on role that they would not usually undertake. The lack of understanding about the precise extent of exploitation and suffering, the women undergo in the absence of male is also something which should be analysed. Thus, the chapter tried to explain that the situations and circumstances of women are region and context specific. It has been alleged that increased household responsibilities do not equate with more egalitarian gender ideologies. For the same, the indicators of empowerment chosen for the analysis in this study are largely based on Ullah's three-dimensional approach as it is premised on the same context of migration. In comparison to Maity, Ullah's model encompasses the broad indicators of women empowerment, and therefore, is a larger set of other models. Secondly, the research location of Ullah is rural Bangladesh who's political, cultural, social and economic contexts are similar to Northern States of India. Therefore, these indicators for measuring empowerment were selected keeping in mind the context of Uttarakhand.

The next chapter attempts to study the impact of male migration on the decision-making power of women on the basis of the selected parameters. It attempts to answer the above

questions through the selected indicators to measure women's empowerment in Uttarakhand. Therefore, I will be carrying on the discussion further in the subsequent chapter to find out the impact through field work in the two hill districts of Uttarakhand which include Almora and Pauri Garhwal.

Chapter 5

An Empirical Analysis of Women's Decision-Making

5.1 Background

As discussed in earlier chapters, Uttarakhand has witnessed high numbers of male out-migration in the recent past. To analyse its impact on left behind, the present chapter attempts to validate the theoretical understanding and explanations discussed in the earlier chapters by looking at the data collected during field surveys in the districts of Almora and Pauri Garhwal. To gather information, the socio-economic profile of each person was collected, and later open-ended questions were asked to know their views on migration and its overall impact. The survey sample comprised 170 respondents consisting of both males and females. To understand the demography of the region, 70 respondents (58 females and 12 males) from Almora were interviewed. From Pauri Garhwal, a total of 100 respondents (82 females and 18 males) were interviewed. Only one respondent was selected from a household to maintain uniformity. In addition to the information collected from the respondents, various other tools for data collection, like personal observation and government records were used. This chapter attempts to understand the impact of remittances on the left behind society, and evaluate decision-making power of women in the absence of their male counterparts. To analyse this, the methodology consisted of interviews designed around fourteen open-ended questions keeping in mind the research. The nature of the questionnaire was subjective. The structural framework of the questionnaire was fixed while the approach of questioning varied according to the understanding and interest of the subjects.

This chapter discusses the social characteristics of the respondents. Important socio-economic characteristics of respondents are presented in the subsequent tables. In relation to the socio-economic background, the respondents were classified into different categories on the basis of their age, marital status, education, occupation and caste. The study collected information of households via semi-structured interviews with an emphasis on socio-economic status, reasons for migration and its impact on them. The interview was designed to discover the specificities of the families' personal reasons for migration as different from common narratives and to evaluate the impact of their decisions post-migration. The respondents were asked to respond to some specific, objective and open-ended questions about the reasons for

migration and the respondents' opinion, in case of females, about the transition in their roles, if any. This allowed figuring out differences in the interpretation of their experiences. The respondents were told that individual responses of the participants would be kept anonymous and their participation in this survey is voluntary. The interview proceeded only after the verbal consent of the respondents. On the basis of their responses, data was collected and inferences were drawn. The results are presented in different sections and in form of tables, bar graphs and pie charts along with interpretations in the subsequent sections.

5.2 Section - I: Demographic Details

As rural-urban migration took place over an extended period of time, it can be broadly divided into three categories: 'pre-independence', 'post-independence' and 'post-Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization (LPG)'. The migration flow was persistent, not marked by discrete peaks or disjuncture in the timeline. Based on the previous section, it can be asserted that the impact of migration and its subsequent remittances varied from family to family. For the better-off, remittances gave additional capital for investment as well as the opportunity to improve their social decisions like choice of schools, etc. On the other hand, for the poor, it acted as an additional source of income for consumption expenditure.

Hence, it is imperative that the profile of respondents needs to be analysed to accurately depict the various theories, patterns and impact of migration in the context of Uttarakhand.

5.2.1 Socio-Economic Profile of the Respondents

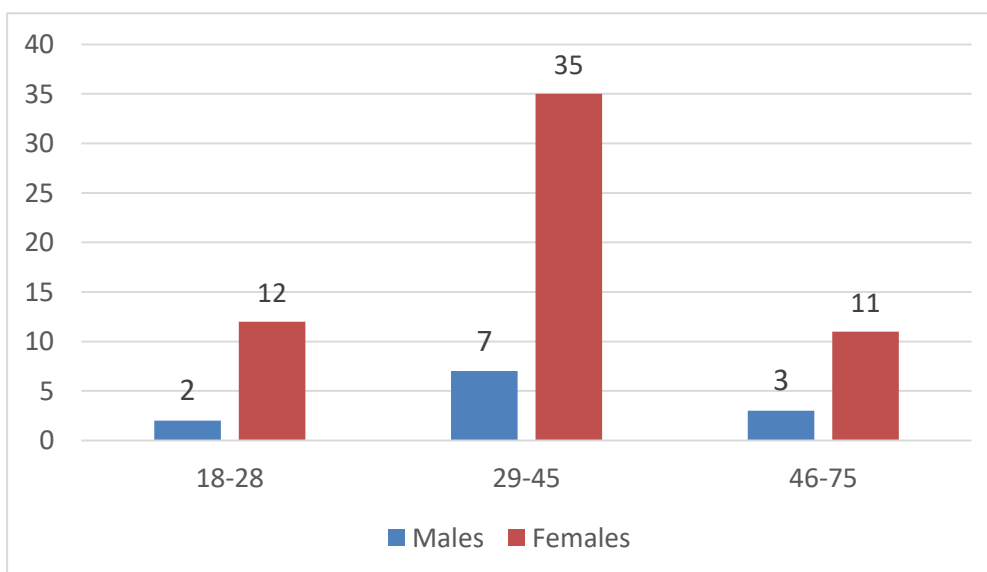
Socio-economic profile of the respondents plays a crucial role in social science research. The average family size of the surveyed respondents was five members per household, and did not show any significant variation across classes and regions. The age structure of the household indicates that the average age of the functional head of the household was almost the same across the region. Their responses provide useful insight for the study. For this, a set of socio-economic profiles - namely age, marital status, education, occupation and caste of the respondents have been presented in the following section from both the districts.

Table 5.1: Age of the Respondents (Almora)

Age-Group	Males	Females
18-28	2	12
29-45	7	35
46-75	3	11
Total	12	58

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.1: Age of the Respondents (Almora)



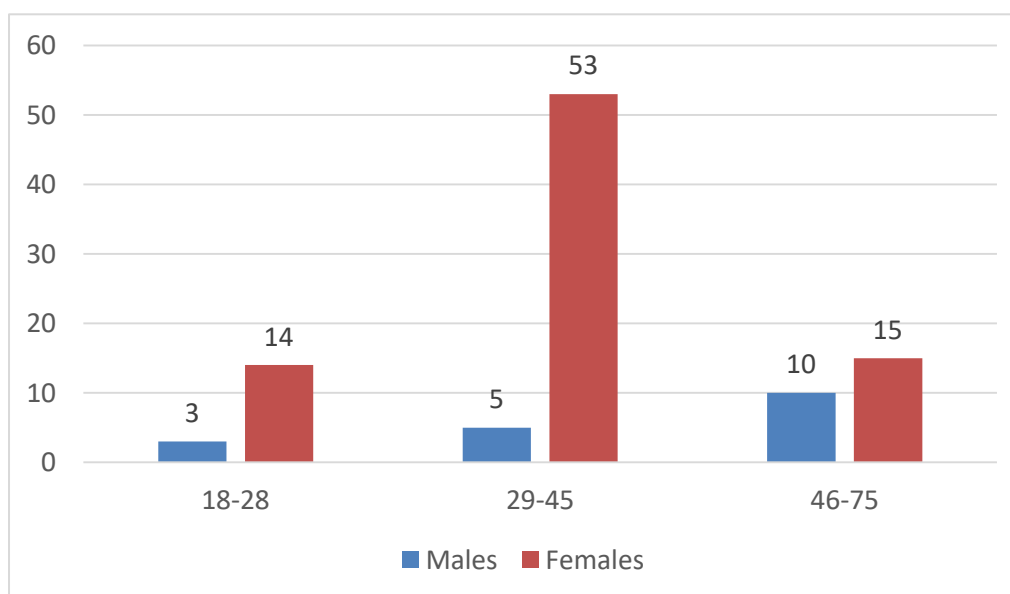
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.2: Age of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)

Age-Group	Males	Females
18-28	3	14
29-45	5	53
46-75	10	15
Total	18	82

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.2: Age of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey

On the basis of the data above, women of a particular age group (29-45) were available in large numbers in both the districts. The respondents (migrant's family/ non-migrant family) were vocal and assertive, but in the presence of in-laws, the respondents were somewhat reserved in their responses. Indian societies generally consist of households headed by males, this being the reason to take a household a unit for data collection. It was found that a few houses were headed by females too. It must be emphasised that it was not due to any attitudinal change, but rather due to unavoidable circumstances like migration or death.

II. Marital Status

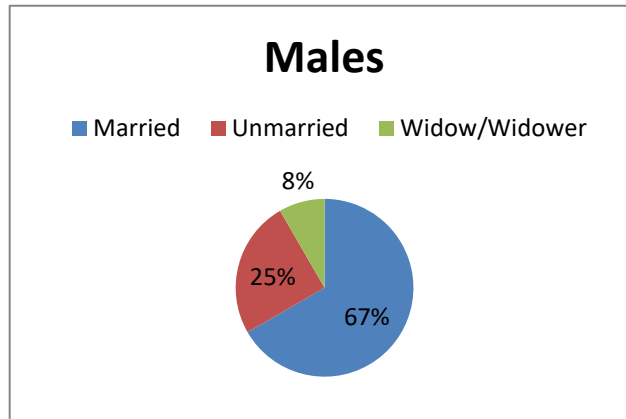
Marriage is a powerful social institution in Indian society which influences the individuals' decisions and determines their interactions with the society. It can be asserted that marriage changes the perception and outlook of the individual. Marriage makes a person more conscious and mature, and sometimes forces him/her to take decisions that he would otherwise not. For example, additional responsibilities post-marriage can lead individuals to migrate for better job opportunities to improve general lifestyle. After marriage, we can say parenthood as well as family planning is another factor for migration. Factors like better health facilities and better educational opportunities, to ensure all round development of their children can be reasons for parents to migrate.

Table 5.3: Marital Status of the Respondents (Almora)

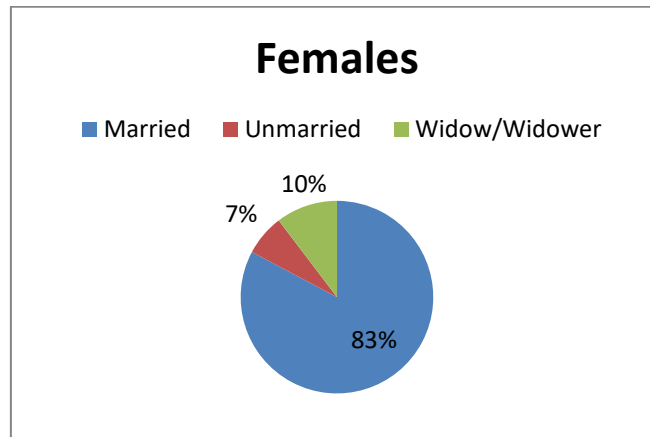
Marital Status	Males	Females
Married	8	48
Unmarried	3	4
Widow/Widower	1	6
Total	12	58

Source: Household Survey

Pie Chart 5.1: Marital Status of the Respondents (Almora)



Source: Household Survey



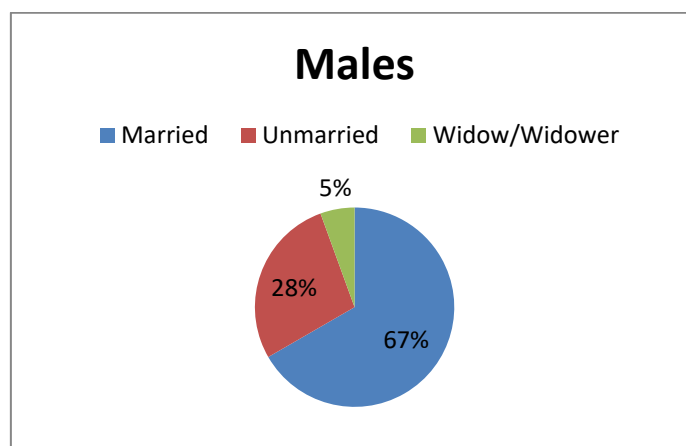
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.4: Marital Status of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)

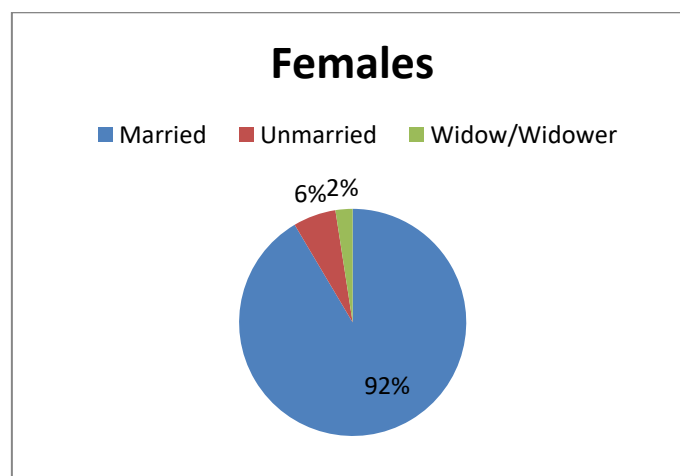
Marital Status	Males	Females
Married	12	75
Unmarried	5	5
Widow/Widower	1	2
Total	18	82

Source: Household Survey

Pie Chart 5.2: Marital Status of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey



Source: Household Survey

The majority of the respondents interviewed were married. A small portion consisted of unmarried and widow/widower. The primary reason for this skewed distribution in the sample was that people get married at a relatively younger age in the hills. Respondents argued that it is done in order to start their family as early as possible. A migrated man is the first choice as an eligible groom. Migration offers the prospects of better income as well as continuous source of income to a family. Migration may entail highly specialized jobs such as doctors, lawyers, etc., which generate better income. Even the less skilled migrated persons may have much higher income in metropolitan cities as compared to their native villages.

For an enhanced income, stability as well as the opportunity for their daughter to escape the miseries at home, the parents prefer a groom who has the potential to migrate or who had already migrated.

III. Education

Education provides better opportunities to the present generation. It helps them getting employed at higher salaries and brings its associated benefits. It also creates an opportunity for the future generation to avail the benefits of social mobility. Hence, it is crucial to have an idea about the educational status of the respondents. The responses were found to be guided by their educational status. Hence, the variable ‘Educational Level’ was investigated for the purpose of the study.

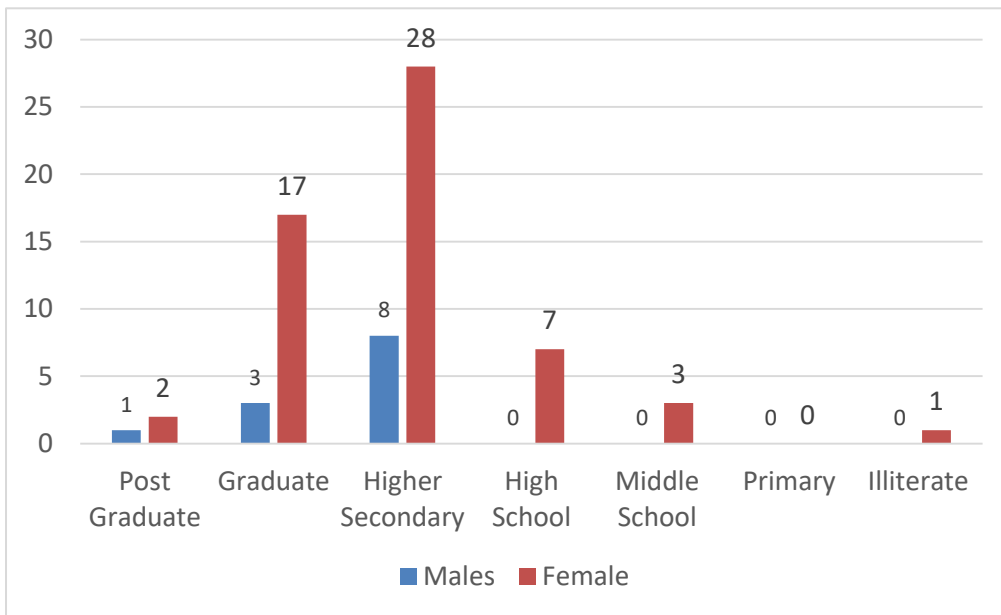
Table 5.5: Level of Education of Respondents (Almora)

Level of Education	Males	Females
Post Graduate	1	2
Graduate	3	17
Higher Secondary	8	28
High School	0	7
Middle School	0	3

Primary	0	0
Illiterate	0	1
Total	12	58

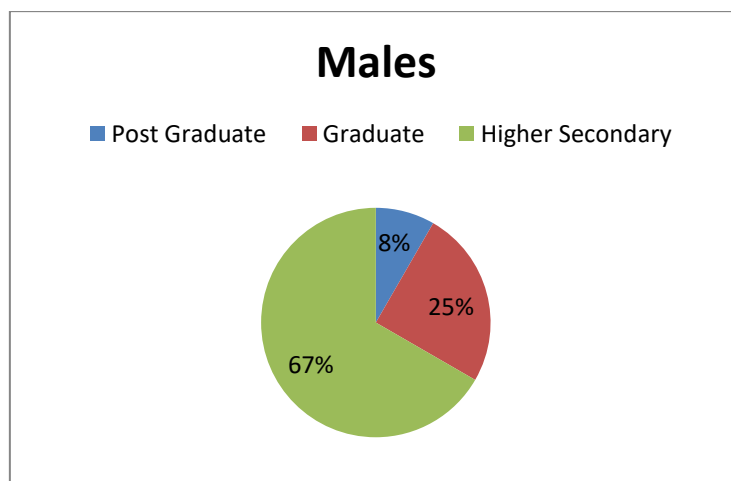
Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.3: Level of Education of Respondents (Almora)

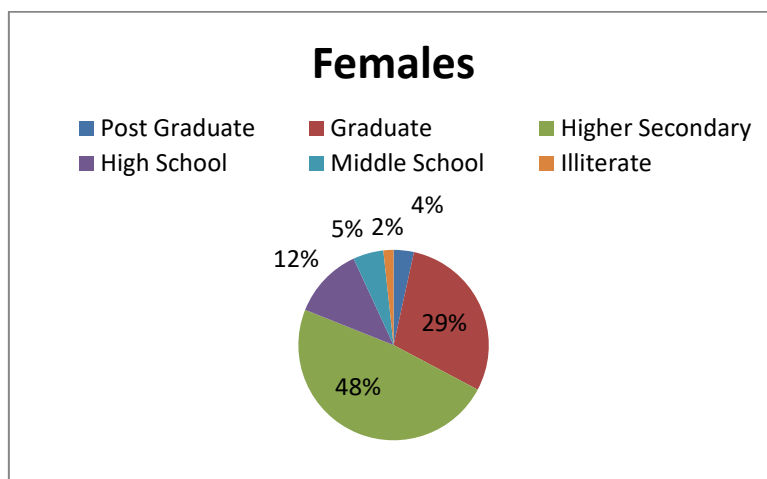


Source: Household Survey

Pie Chart 5.3: Level of Education of the Respondents (Almora)



Source: Household Survey



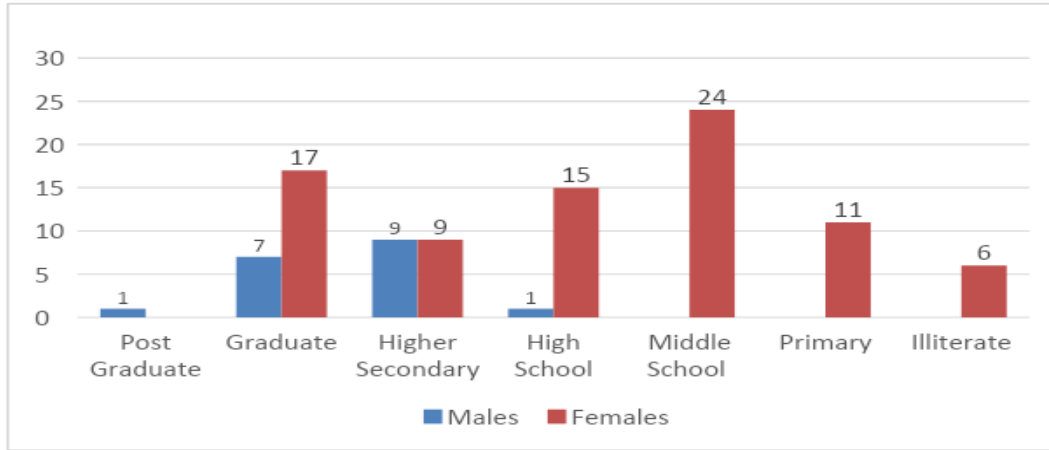
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.6: Level of Education of Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)

Level of Education	Males	Females
Post Graduate	1	0
Graduate	7	17
Higher Secondary	9	9
High School	1	15
Middle School	0	24
Primary	0	11
Illiterate	0	6
Total	18	82

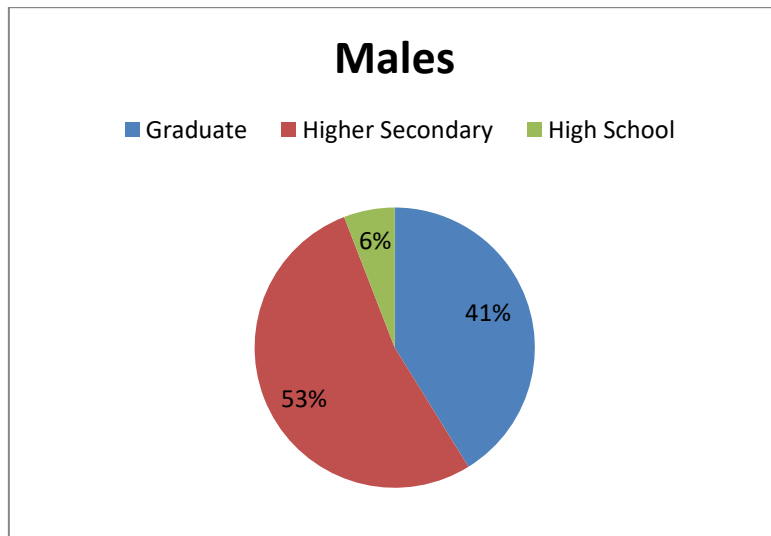
Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.4: Level of Education of Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)

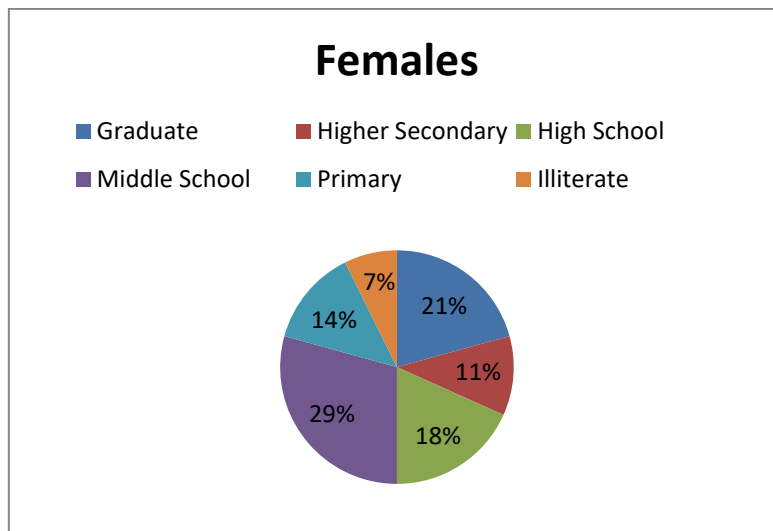


Source: Household Survey

Pie-Chart 5.4: Level of Education of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey



Source: Household Survey

In Uttarakhand, the emphasis of families has been on better education which is also reflected in higher literacy rate at state level. One factor for better female literacy is the remittances sent by migrants. However, the scope of employment for individuals, especially women is meagre. Hence, the well-developed human capital does not translate into economic growth.

The primary factor for the better education to women is to increase their suitability for better educated husbands in the future. It is important to note that the educated males have migrated and hence the respondents left behind in the villages have low educational level in comparison to the females, as evident from the tables.

The educational status in the two districts shows similar findings to the pan Indian phenomenon of increased gender gap from middle school level to high school level. Probably it is because of the benefits accrued via 'Right to Education' and the mid-day meals given by the government only to primary and middle-school children. After middle school, the cost of education becomes high and kids, particularly girls are given the responsibilities of household chores. This explains the increased variance in gender ratio from middle school to high school. As indicated by the data, majority of the respondents interviewed were graduates. The number of respondents attaining higher degrees was considerable. On the contrary, some

respondents were only functionally literate. By literacy, we mean the ability to read and write. Majority of the people in Uttarakhand are middle school passed and hence the data is in line with the high literacy rate (78.82 percent) of Uttarakhand as available from government records. Anyone who has passed middle school is considered to be literate but may not have the desired skill to get meaningful employment. This highlights the phenomenon of functional literacy.

In the case of male, migration happens at every educational level. As far as females are concerned, migration (not only by virtue of marriage) sometimes happens in case of high qualifications or upon getting a government job.

When it comes to females, the majority was only functionally literate, mostly having studied in government schools, with no additional burden on their families. Also, it can be seen that when it comes to assisting in the day-to-day activities of the household, girls are the obvious choice. On the other hand, the families encourage boys to complete their education to develop better skills and seek meaningful employment.

Majority of the females who were interviewed are married to men who have migrated. If migrant husbands are in a decent private job or are government employees, their children are enrolled in private schools. Education for them is the medium to achieve success in life. Education is seen as a way to move outside the stagnated hill life.

Thus, it can be concluded from the table that by and large the respondents were quite aware about education. The aim of providing good education was to migrate at intra-state level in form of rural to urban migration and as well as at inter-state level.

IV. Occupation

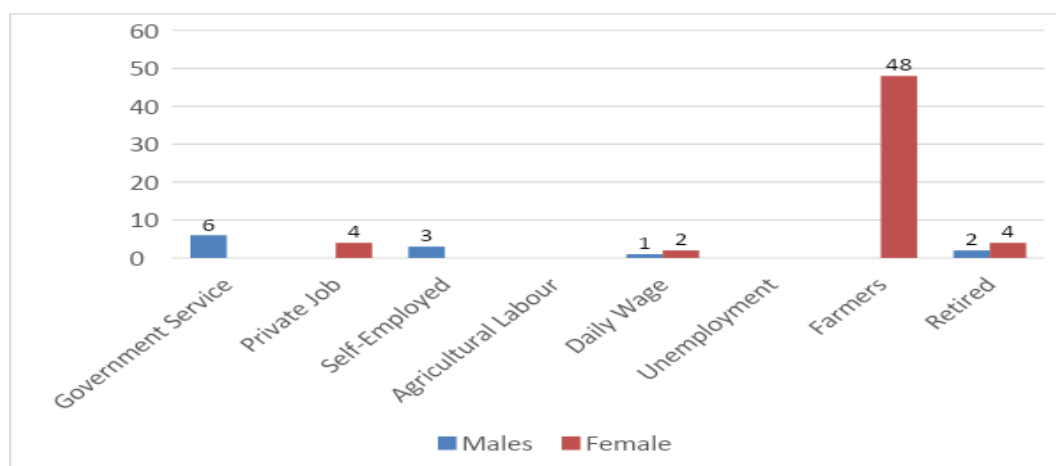
The quality of life is invariably determined by a person's occupation. Quality occupation leads to increased incomes and higher associated benefits. Therefore, it was imperative to have an idea about the jobs, migrants were involved in

Table 5.7: Occupation of the Respondents (Almora)

Occupation	Males	Females
Government Service	6	0
Private Job	0	4
Self-Employed	3	0
Agricultural Labour	0	0
Daily Wage Worker	1	2
Unemployment	0	0
Farmer	0	48
Retired	2	4
Total	12	58

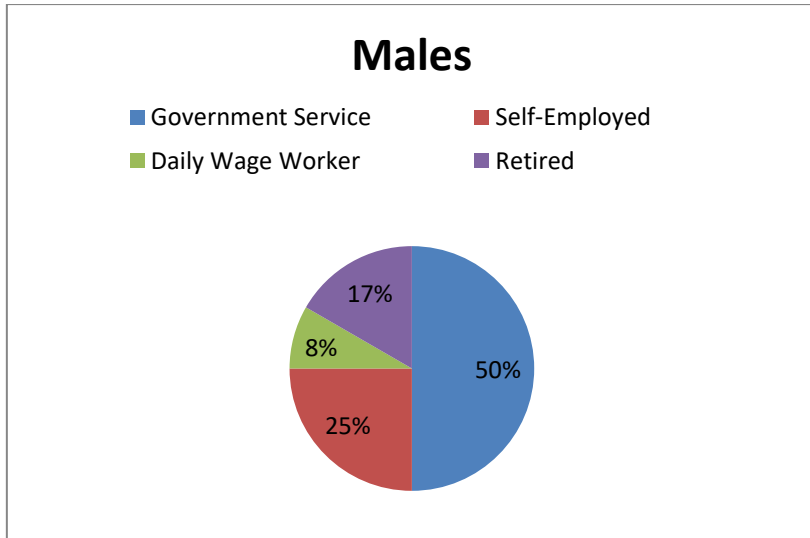
Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.5: Occupation of the Respondents (Almora)

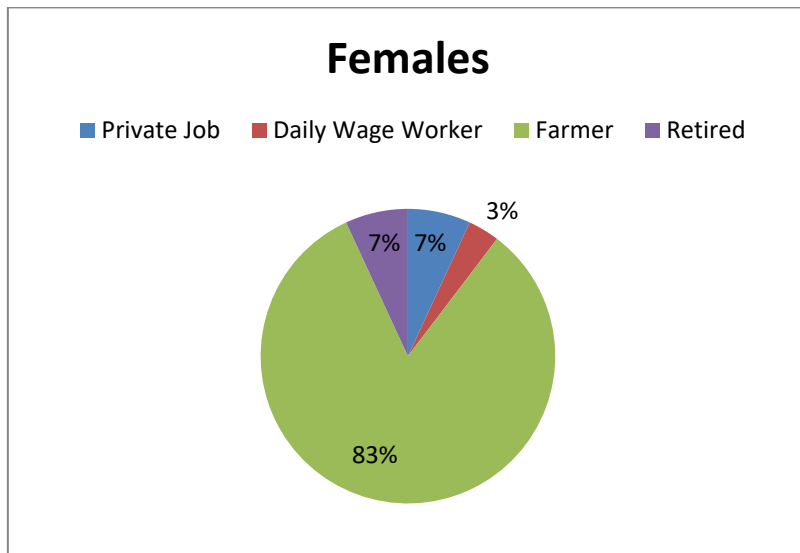


Source: Household Survey

Pie Chart 5.5: Occupation of the Respondents (Almora)



Source: Household Survey



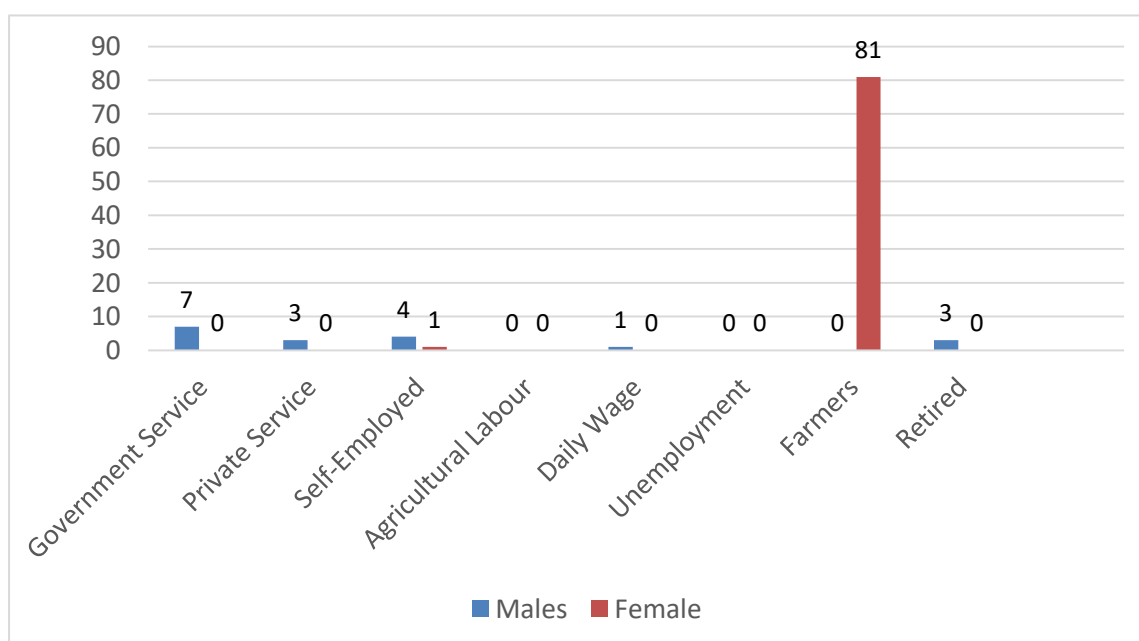
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.8: Occupation of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)

Occupation	Males	Females
Government Service	7	0
Private Job	3	0
Self-Employed	4	1
Agricultural Labour	0	0
Daily Wage Worker	1	0
Unemployment	0	0
Farmers	0	81
Retired	3	0
Total	18	82

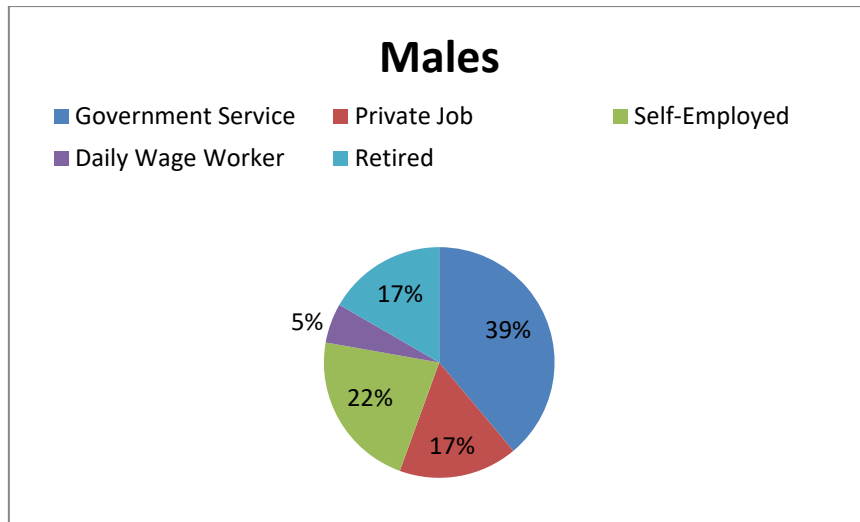
Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.6: Occupation of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)

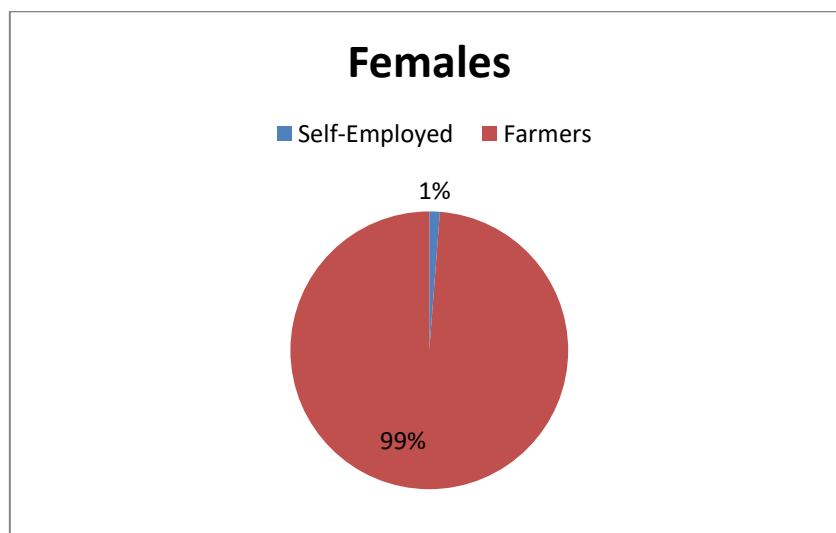


Source: Household Survey

Pie Chart 5.6: Occupation of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey



Source: Household Survey

It is evident from the tables above that a large number of male respondents residing in the study area were either active government servants or were retired from government services. Respondents involved in agrarian activities were largely unskilled and less educated. In the case of females in both the districts, education has nothing to do with participation in agrarian activities. Respondents in Pauri Garhwal were relatively more involved in agrarian activities in comparison to Almora. As far as the female respondents are concerned, the majority of them were housewives. In addition to this, they cultivated and looked after their own patches of land.

Self-employment refers to those classes of economic activities where the traditional employee-worker relationships as well as its inherent features are not applicable. It is a rising class of economic activity in contemporary India. In the case of Uttarakhand, the self-employed class refers to people such as handymen, truck drivers, farmers, etc.

(v) Caste

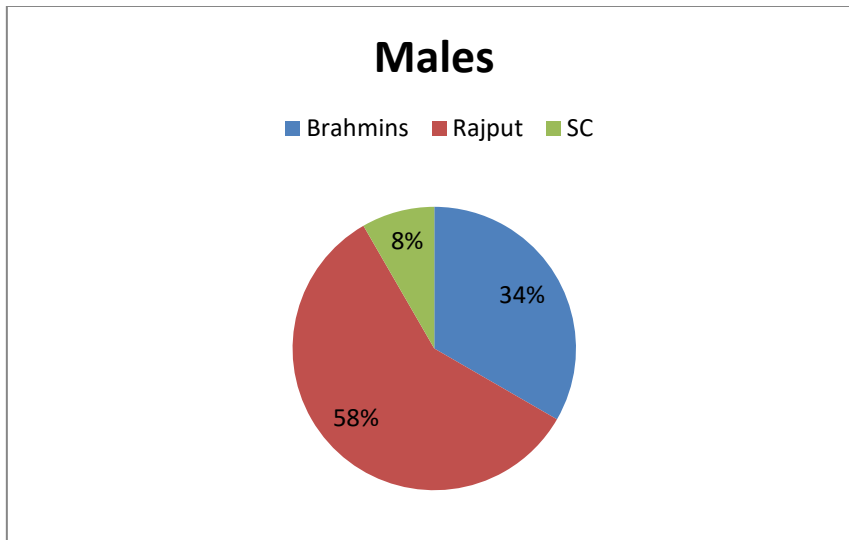
The tradition of caste system in India has been present from time immemorial. In the early days, it was based on the notion of purity and played a role in religious life. With the progression of time, caste changed its structure from religious dimension to secular dimensions in the form of economic powers and social hierarchy. In Uttarakhand, the development of the caste system is on the similar pattern as witnessed in other parts of North India.

Table 5.9: Caste of the Respondents (Almora)

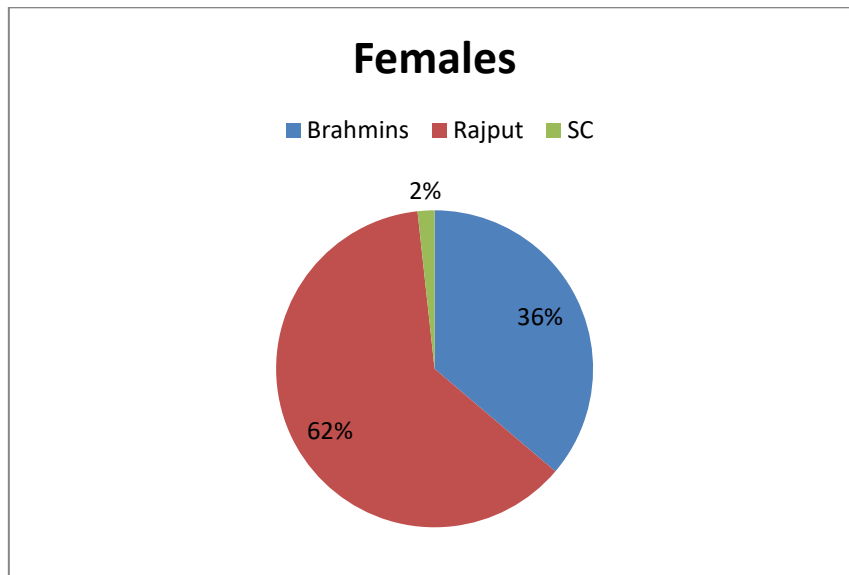
Caste	Males	Females
Brahmin	4	21
Rajput	7	36
SC	1	1
Total	12	58

Source: Household Survey

Pie Chart 5.7: Caste of the Respondents (Almora)



Source: Household Survey



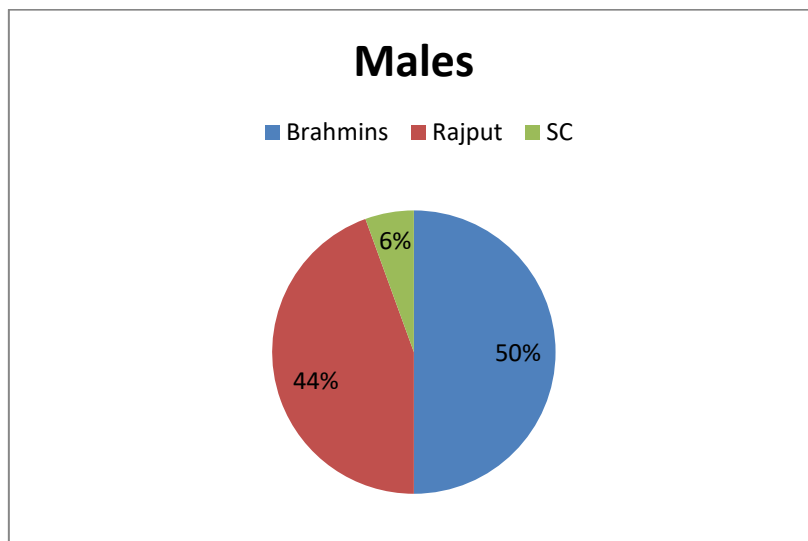
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.10: Caste of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)

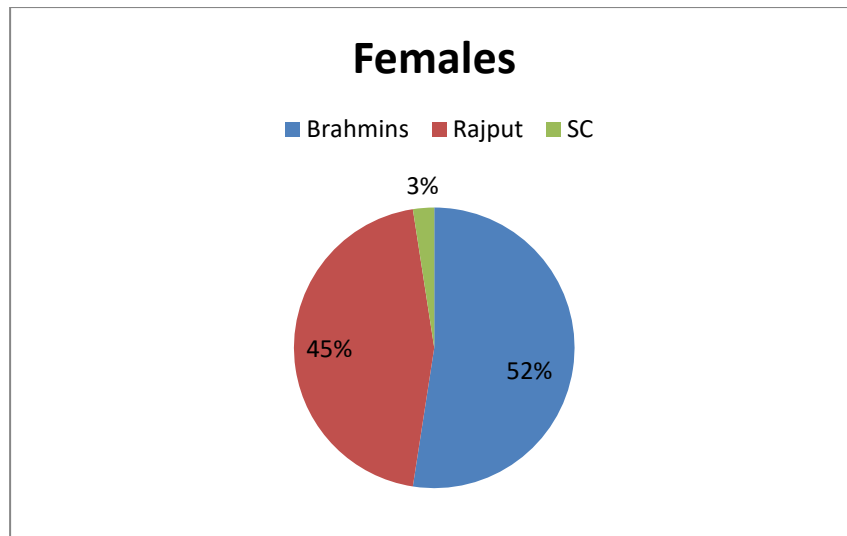
Caste	Males	Females
Brahmin	9	43
Rajput	8	37
SC	1	2
Total	18	82

Source: Household Survey

Pie Chart 5.8: Caste of the Respondents (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey



Source: Household Survey

The findings of the study are in concurrence with the available literature that the upper castes (Brahmins and Rajputs) live in significantly large numbers in the two districts i.e. Almora and Pauri Garhwal. In Pauri Garhwal, villages are named after or belong to a particular caste such as Chandola Rain, Timali, etc. Villages in Pauri Garhwal are more homogenous than villages in Almora, where the caste distribution seems to be relatively more heterogeneous as different castes reside in the same village. People who belong to vulnerable sections have limited economic inheritance as well as limited economic choices. They are primarily employed as landless labourers or tenants in the other's field.

For the purpose of study, the economic classification based on incomes as well as wealth seems to be more relevant than the social classification based on caste. In both districts, Almora and Pauri Garhwal, the majority of habitants are of upper castes and hence, it cannot be a criterion for distinguishing them. Hence, the study can only be done on the basis of classes.

5.3 Observations on the basis of Field Work

One observation that can be made on the basis of data collected is that the process of migration is seen among the high earning class as well as those belonging to the lower income bracket. Geography also plays a major role in migration as most of the migration has

originated from rural hilly interior areas. Another important feature is women across classes are involved in agrarian activities.

Chapter two discusses the causes that led to the protests/movement and later creation of a separate state of Uttarakhand. Environmental degradation, economic backwardness, lack of opportunities, migration, underdeveloped industries and service sector, etc., are some of the factors which led to formation of Uttarakhand. Migration, being one of the core causes for formation of state, has not been arrested even after its formation. Rather the pace of migration has increased after the state formation. The principal reason for migration is that agriculture and allied sectors due to underdeveloped industrial and service sectors, is neither remunerative nor self-sufficient. Agriculture therefore, continues to be of subsistence nature in Uttarakhand as the input cost per unit of output comes to be quite high. Uneven development and backwardness of the region are other major causes for migration. The findings support the hypothesis that the developed districts have developed more at the cost of underdeveloped districts which can be explained through the core-periphery model of development.

The table mentioned below tries to show the difference between developed and underdeveloped districts in terms of Gross District Domestic Product (GDDP) at current prices.

Table 5.11: Gross District Domestic Product

Districts	2011-12	2016-17	Difference
Haridwar	Rs.3,541,395 Lakh	Rs.5,816,824 Lakh	Rs.2,275,429 Lakh
Dehradun	Rs.2,221,193 Lakh	Rs.4,057,583 Lakh	Rs.1,836,390 Lakh
Pauri Garhwal	Rs.487979 Lakh	Rs.828356 Lakh	Rs.340,377 Lakh
Almora	Rs.428018 Lakh	Rs.660378 Lakh	Rs.232,360 Lakh

Sources:http://www.des.uk.gov.in/files/_Estimates_of_District_Domestic_Product_2011-12_to_2016-17.pdf

On the basis of the above table, it can be said that the GSDP of Haridwar and Dehradun has increased at a faster pace than the GSDP of Pauri Garhwal and Almora. As government expenditure is a key driver in growth of GSDP, it can be inferred that the state government allocates a greater devolution to already developed districts like Haridwar and alike towards their further development in comparison to under and moderately developed districts.

Further, chapter three talks about the various theories of migration and discusses the differential impacts of migration on left behind families due to social and financial remittances received by respective families. The differential impact can be understood on the basis of the economic position of families. As per respondents' answers, the chapter evaluates economic factors as the primary cause of migration, thereby confirming Ravenstein's 'Laws of Migration'. In addition to these, chapter evaluates what caused the migration in families, in terms of the pull and push factors. Going by the respondents' answers, it was majorly the push factor that encouraged them to migrate. This is in conformity with Lee's 'Conceptual Framework for Migration Analysis' which shows that repulsion from present circumstances is greater than the attraction of other places.

From the respondents' answers, it can be concluded that Lewis-Fei-Ranis 'Theory of Development' is not applicable in Uttarakhand's migration pattern. According to this model, migration is an equilibrating phenomenon which by transferring labour from rural areas to urban settings brings equality in wages in both sectors. Responses were not supporting the model. Distance plays a crucial role when it comes to migration and this model is largely based on migration to the adjoining areas. As per Larry Sjaastad's 'Human Capital Theory', the economic benefits received by the individual and his family far outweigh the social costs of separation from family and thereby encouraging the migrants to migrate. The responses of the respondents validated Sjaastad's postulate of 'Human Capital Theory'.

Chapter four tries to provide a theoretical framework about the impact of male migration on women's lives and on their decision-making powers. This chapter also discusses the idea of empowerment by analysing it through the decision-making powers of the women. On the basis of the fieldwork, it can be argued that two different perspectives were visible in Uttarakhand. When it comes to Almora, women's decision-making power did not increase much. However, some changes did take place in their traditional role. Whereas in Pauri Garhwal, women experience greater decision-making power along with changes in their

traditional gender roles. In the context of ‘Feminization of Agriculture’, it was found that women are the primary workers in the field while the migrated husbands still own the land.

It has already been argued that in the case of Almora, decision-making power does not increase much. The possible reason for this could be high population density (201 sq. km²). The families live in the vicinity of one another. As a consequence, the power shifts in households to other male members of the family, is more apparent and the frequency of decision-making by other males is also high in the households from which a male member has migrated. The society in Almora is quite heterogeneous due to multiple waves of migration in a relatively short history of time. It is evident from the fact that Almora has one of the highest SC populations in the state, i.e.~30 percent while the state average is 18.76 percent.

In the case of Pauri Garhwal, villages haven’t witnessed multiple waves of migration due to which the society is more homogenous in nature. However, the villages in Pauri Garhwal are sparsely populated and houses in the districts are located afar. Despite homogeneity, the distance factor reduces the ability of male members of other families to influence the decision-making in a household on a frequent basis. Hence, women in Pauri Garhwal enjoy greater decision-making freedom in contrast to women in Almora.

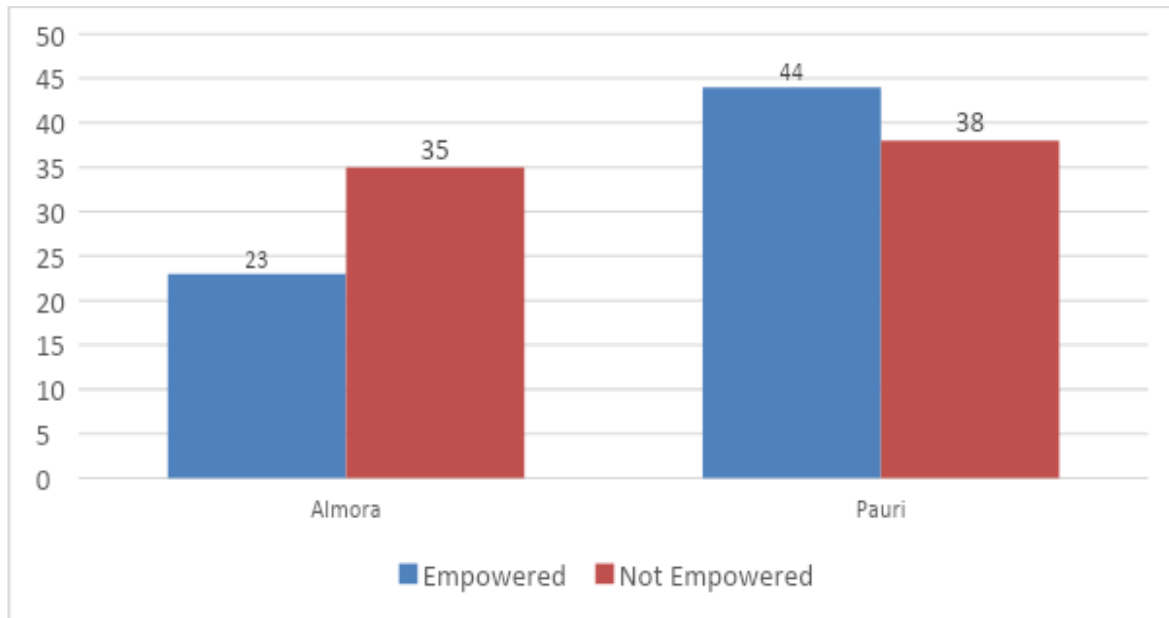
On the basis of six open-ended questions, women decision-making power in the region has been analysed. Those who have replied as ‘yes’ to four or more questions have been considered as the actual decision-makers for the purpose of study and women who have answered ‘yes’ to less than four were not considered as decision makers. Their responses have been tabulated below in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12: Status of Decision-Making in two Districts

District	Total Respondents	Increased Decision-Making	No Change in Decision-Making
Almora	58	23	35
Pauri Garhwal	82	44	38

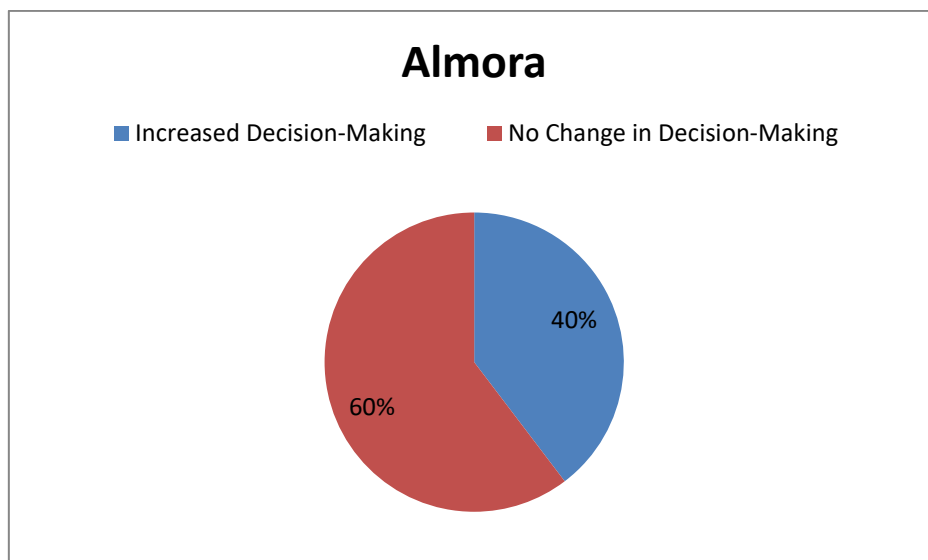
Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.7: Status of Decision-Making in two Districts

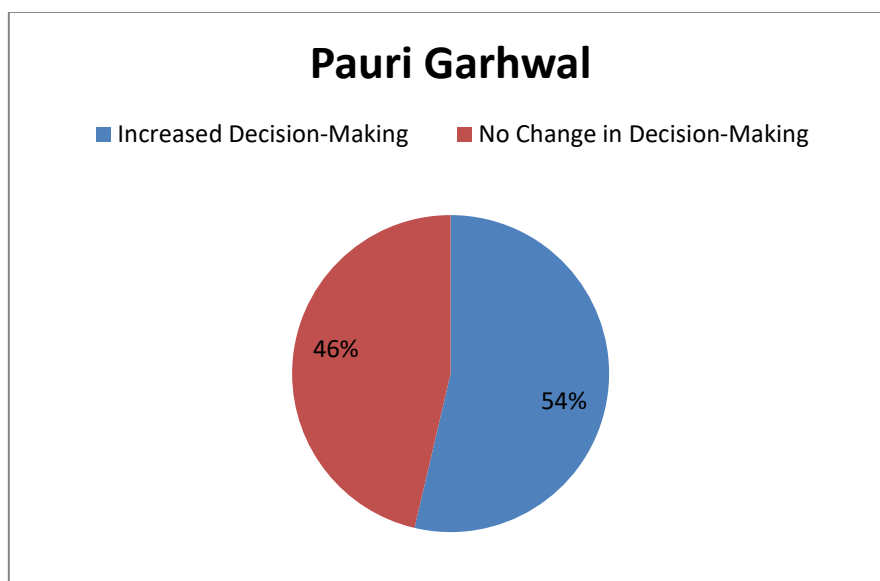


Source: Household Survey

Pie Chart 5.9: Status of Decision-Making in two Districts



Source: Household Survey



Source: Household Survey

Thus, it can be asserted that dimensions of decision-making are indivisible due to their inter-linked framework. They cannot be classified purely on economic or purely social parameters. Rather, it's a complex amalgamation of various factors. It is a process that involves various institutions simultaneously. That is why it cannot be measured directly and can only be understood through different instances and indicators.

The above data has been collected from twelve males in Almora and eighteen males in Pauri Garhwal. They were interviewed to know about the possible reasons for migration, and to further distinguish between the male and female responses. The study also tried to find variance among reasons at district levels between Almora and Pauri Garhwal.

It was found that the male respondents who were interviewed were largely the local businessmen, government employees or retired government officials. This reflects towards the limited avenues for the people of the region. As far as, the distinction between the two regions is concerned, the data revealed that women from rural region of Pauri Garhwal experience greater autonomy and decision-making power than women from Almora. This has been said on the basis of collected responses. Having said that, on the basis of subjective question that were asked, it gives a different understanding about their definition of empowerment. One of female respondent from Almora, Rekha Pandey's husband Chandra

Sekhar Pandey works in Indian Army as non-commissioned officer (Rudrapur). According to her, she takes decision in the absence of husband. Remittances are spent on children's education, daily expenses items, cow food, etc. She is involved in household work and manages the field too. She finds it difficult to manage both household and agricultural activities but she feels empowered as she shoulders high number of responsibility.

One of the respondents, Roshni Dhanoshi, 55, from Pauri Garhwal, a Nagar Pallika Member had her son and daughter-in-law working in Dehradun. She was very proudly talking about her empowerment story of being a ward member along with managing a shop and family consisting of only her and her husband. But she said that her situation is very different from the rest of women in the hills. The rest of women lead a very difficult life. But she made a point that the situation of hill women is still better than the rest. She further said that the problems of hill women are materialistic and are largely about fulfilling basic needs. Patriarchy is not much prevalent in the hills in comparison to other states. But her arguments need to be analysed from the context she was coming from and hence cannot be applied to others.

Hence, more investigation or further research is required to analyse the actual pattern of women's decision-making. For the purpose of the study, the following section discusses some of analyses made on the basis of subjective questions that were asked and have been discussed under different headings.

5.4 A Day in the Life of a Woman in the Hills

Usually, the life of a woman in the hills starts at 5 am in summers and 8 am in winters, if they are working outside the homes. Women have to make arrangements for food for the family. They work in the fields for four to five hours. In the afternoon, they go home and cook rice for the family, which is eaten with some lentil soup (dal), or with salt and pepper. Those who work at a distance from their homes cannot go home for lunch, for them food is brought to their fields by some other member of the family, usually a woman. The main meal is cooked in the evening which is again rice and/or 'chapatis' with lentils and vegetables and/or salt and chilies. Older girls look after their younger siblings when the mother goes out to work. Younger daughters-in-law do most of the housework. Young boys take out the cattle for

grazing. Girls help the mother inside the home while the boys work outside. Other males work as labourers if they are landless or on their own land if they have any.

When the male migrant is at home for a fortnight or a month, he too helps in the fields, especially during harvest time, which is in fact the period when the migrants visit their families. They seldom help in the household duties, though they all do their own cooking, washing, cleaning, etc., in the city.

This type of lifestyle highlights the monotony of their lives, limited choices, and hardships due to restricted economic choices as well as social mobility.

5.5 Some General Findings

The region lacks basic infrastructure abysmally. Villages in Pauri Garhwal; Pabo, Nail, Maso, Thapli, Bunga and Chorkandi to name a few, have no road connectivity at all. Schools such as primary schools and middle schools which come under the ambit of RTE are located in approachable distances which explain high levels of enrolment at the primary level. However, the schools for higher education are located at faraway places which lack good accessibility and thereby explain the low level of female enrolment in higher levels. Other amenities like roads, medical, educational and paramedical facilities are also lacking. In areas where such facilities are present, it lacks accessibility which discourages the participation of women. Due to these factors, situations were worse for women in comparison to men in these villages.

The interesting thing to note is that all the families have a small portion of land that they call 'Nali' on which they grow crops for subsistence. Secondly, families with adequate economic resources send their kids to private schools showing the importance of education. Families with limited economic resources send their children to government schools since they cannot afford costly private schools.

5.6 Impact of Male Migration on Women's Decision-Making

The question that has been analysed is whether women's supportive role in the matter of male migration is voluntary or not. It seems that women are more than merely passive supporters. As a woman grows in age, the support for male migration increases. Even the mothers worked

actively for their sons' migration by making their personal contributions and also by raising funds from other sources. One thing that can be inferred from the data is that female-headed households are mainly dependent on remittances and have less land and lower educational levels in general. Secondly, none of the respondent's migrants were working abroad. Mostly, the destinations were Dehradun, Haridwar and Delhi.

Women are actively involved in preparing their men to migrate. They have almost invariably taken on greater responsibilities in the wake of men's migration in poor families. The issue is how they cope with the new situation, exercising autonomy and their decision-making power. The study attempted to have an idea about the same by segregating the women into different categories.

Category I: When it comes to the newly weds, these girls hardly have time to know their husbands before they migrate. The newly wed faces new social environment and increased social responsibilities. Lack of emotional support from the migrated husband makes their role more challenging in managing the households. However with time, the women understand their roles better which helps them to adjust in the new households.

Category II: Women older in age and with children, mostly stay with their in-laws. They are better equipped than the young brides in coping with the separation. The prolonged stay at in-laws houses help them understand the in-laws better as well as their expectations. They have a clearer role in the family, which gives them mental peace. The support of the children as well as their responsibilities help the women to feel emotionally cope with migrated husbands. In this criterion, a distinction has to be made between younger brides and older brides. Younger brides in general have to face more restrictions from in-laws in terms of mobility and economic decision-making in comparison to older brides.

Besides married women, other women such as mothers and daughters are also affected by male migration. They share the similar challenges as faced by the wives of migrated males. In case of mothers, the challenge is more daunting as she has to arrange the funds required for migration of his son and also take the decision of selecting his bride in case of his absence. Besides, additional responsibilities, mothers also enjoy greater decision-making in taking household decision in comparison to un-migrated households. But, as the daughter-in-law, after marriage understands the usual working of the households, the in-laws do not interfere much.

Category III: When it comes to nuclear households, in the absence of males, the women assumes the role of men. Their role in farm related work also increases. However, they cope with labour shortages through exchange of labour with other women from the same social stratum. De facto female heads of households lack access to new skills and knowledge on improved methods of farming. Thus, these findings will have important implications for policy, technology options and institutional arrangements to respond to social changes taking place. In the hills, there is a unique category of migrants' households. In such types of families (male migrated households), relatives live in different houses in the same neighbourhood. In such households, the influence of other male substitutes is determined by several determinants such as distance between households which somewhat restricts their involvement. Hence, in some cases of absence of alternatives, wives become the only executor of the decisions, particularly with respect to agriculture.

Due to the small size of land holdings, many of the families employ help from other women and work as a commune. Such types of females are not very affluent to hire outside surplus labour.

Some other observations are:

- Some of the women respondents working on their own land, taking care of the cattle (if they have any), found the task to be cumbersome.
- Employment in the villages is not available all over a year.
- Majority of the rural families receive some remittances from the city regularly.
- Economic motive is a major factor for migration.
- Older women were more vocal about the situation in comparison to the younger women. Also, women in the presence of their mothers-in-law were a bit hesitant in sharing their thoughts.
- From the field study, it can be argued that both joint and nuclear families exist in the hills.
- Another interesting fact is that the from middle-aged to old males in all the families residing in the hills were either retired from government jobs or were active government servants. The younger generation was largely unemployed.

5.7 Limited Decision-Makers

In the previous section, it was established that the women in Pauri Garhwal had witnessed improved decision-making in comparison to Almora. However, the increased decision-making is not due to actual empowerment but due to lack of alternatives.

One crucial aspect to note here is that in the absence of the husband, the wife is expected to accomplish the tasks on behalf of him. As a result, she becomes more involved in the decision-making process. But this decision-making power is essentially superficial and limited. In some studies, it has been argued that in case of male migration, brothers or other male relatives move in to take care of left behind women. However, this was not visible in the study area, none of the respondents mentioned situations like these. When it comes to employment of females, as argued in other studies, they do not have access to non-farm sectors. Unlike other places, where women are involved in multiple activities, in the hill region, collection of firewood and fuel is a time-consuming task, which leaves little time for other activities. Besides reduced labour, the impact of migration on food production as well as food security is negative. For women, this translates into a marked increase in agricultural work, which results in less time for domestic work and childcare, if they have sufficient land. If they do not have a decent patch of land, they do not invest much in it. However, migrants prefer to work in urban and industrial cities rather than in other agricultural areas. Remittance incomes are used for food, house construction, social obligations and farm inputs. Decisions related to family property are taken by the husband or son. As far as education is concerned, mother plays a role herein but it is the father who decides about the marriage and employment of the children. In such cases, it has been found that the extent of autonomy is inversely proportional to the period of migration of husbands. The longer the duration of the stay of the husband, the more decision-making power she exercises.

On the basis of literature, one can argue that what the women witness is not empowerment rather superficial, temporary or limited decision-making. They feel taking day to day decisions makes them empowered. Hence, the decision-making power of women, though more profound in migrant households, does not translate to empowerment in a real sense. They don't have the authority to make decisions which have long term impacts. However, the respondents felt they were more empowered than the women from the households which have no migration as their definition of empowerment was very constrained, limited and narrow. The application of the collected data was analysed on the Ullah's empowerment

model using resources, agency and achievements. These are the three interrelated parameters of empowerment. It can be argued that the measurement of empowerment is difficult and its status varies with respect to culture, history, geography and social factors. Since, empowerment is a multi-dimensional process; it becomes important to take into consideration the relevance of indicators for measuring empowerment. In the case of Uttarakhand, the women believe that they are empowered in the true sense. However, on the basis of literature, especially the Ullah's model of empowerment, they were not found to be empowered. To highlight this, we can assess their situation based on agriculture as Uttarakhand is predominantly an agricultural economy.

These women do not have the ownership rights of the land which they till. Majority of such lands are in the names of migrated males. Hence, these women do not have access to the resources which is one of the indicators given by Ullah. In terms of decision-making, women cannot take major decisions such as choice of crops, sale of produce, etc., and are restricted to take day to day decisions. Hence, these women are not empowered on the determinant of agency as per Ullah's model. The sale of produce and its subsequent income generated is taken by the male and he decides the expenditure pattern of such income whenever he returns to the village to meet his family. In some households, even if the agricultural income is in the hands of the female, its expenditure decisions are taken by the male who spends decades in the cities. Hence, the women do not enjoy the fruits of labour and thereby fare poorly on Ullah's indicator of achievements.

Based on the three indicators of Ullah, the women in Uttarakhand are not empowered which seems contrary to the popular notion that women in Uttarakhand are empowered as they form the backbone of the Uttarakhand economy.

As already discussed, migration also exercises an impact on the left behind societies. The next section tries to present, interpret and analyse the data of impact of remittances on left behind societies in detail.

5.8 Section II: Male Migration and Impact of Remittances on the basis of Field Work

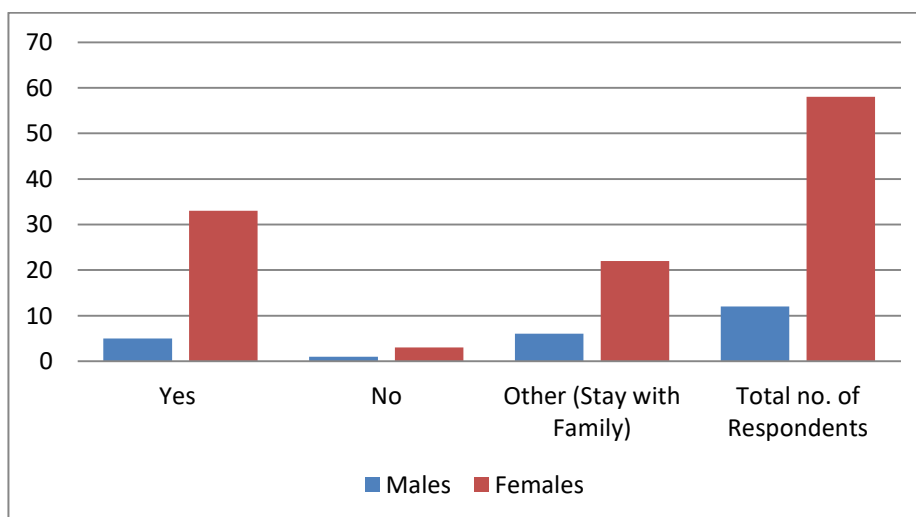
The study now proceeds to find out the impact of the remittances on the left behind women and families according to different categorizations. The following tables below present the data dealing with remittances.

Table 5.13 Remittances Received (Almora)

Remittances Received	Males	Females
Yes	5	33
No	1	3
Other (Stay with Family)	6	22
Total no. of Respondents	12	58

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.8: Remittances Received (Almora)



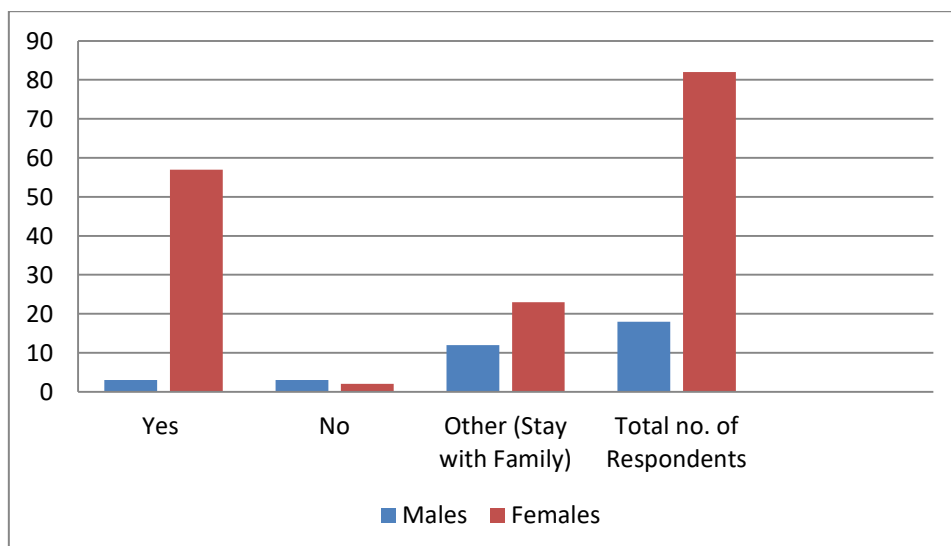
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.14 Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal)

Remittances Received	Males	Females
Yes	3	57
No	3	2
Others (Stay with Family)	12	23
Total no. of Respondents	18	82

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.9: Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey

On the basis of the given responses on receiving remittances, data points towards the good number of families receiving remittances implying about the high incidences of out-migration in Almora as well as Pauri Garhwal. The couple of respondents denied by saying that the migrants were not earning, for instance, might be looking for job and staying with some relative in urban areas or was studying. Rest of the data clearly shows some of the respondents were staying with families with no out-migrant members. Thus, on the basis of above table, in Almora, out of 12 males, 5 received remittances and 33 females received remittances out of 58 total respondents. In Pauri Garhwal, out of 18 males and 82 females, the number of respondents receiving remittances includes 3 males and 57 females.

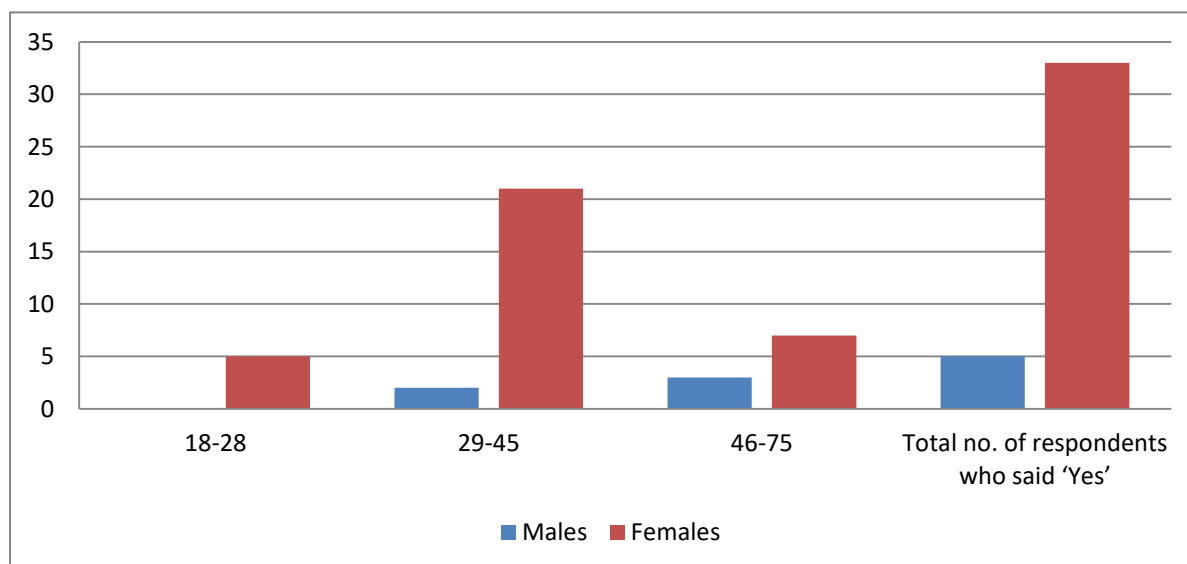
Therefore, the total sample of respondents receiving remittances will be 5 males and 33 females in case of Almora and 3 males and 57 females in case of Pauri Garhwal. The following tables will only be based on these numbers of respondents.

Table 5.15: Remittances Received in Different Age Groups (Almora)

Age Group	Males	Females
18-28	0	5
29-45	2	21
46-75	3	7
Total no. of respondents who said 'Yes'	5	33

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.10: Remittances Received in Different Age Groups (Almora)



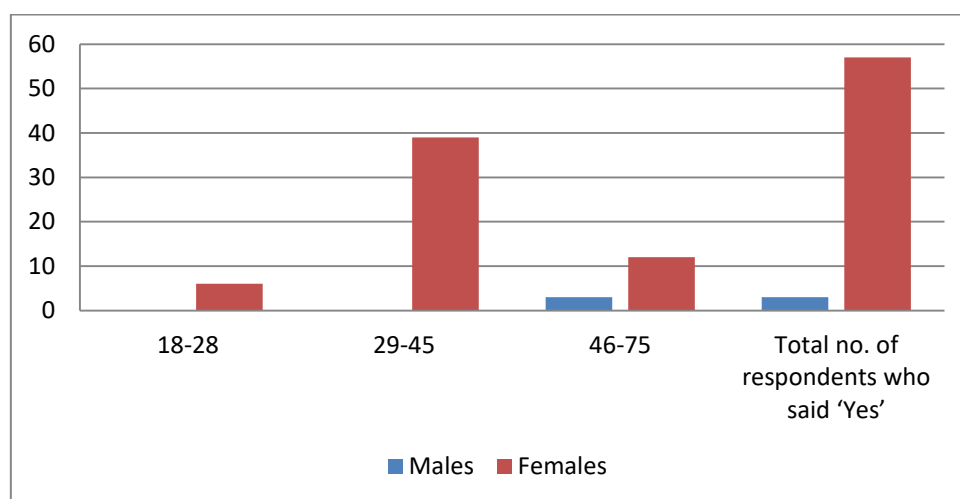
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.16: Remittances Received in Different Age Groups (Pauri Garhwal)

Age Group	Males	Females
18-28	0	6
29-45	0	39
46-75	3	12
Total no. of respondents who said 'Yes'	3	57

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.11: Remittances Received in Different Age Groups (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey

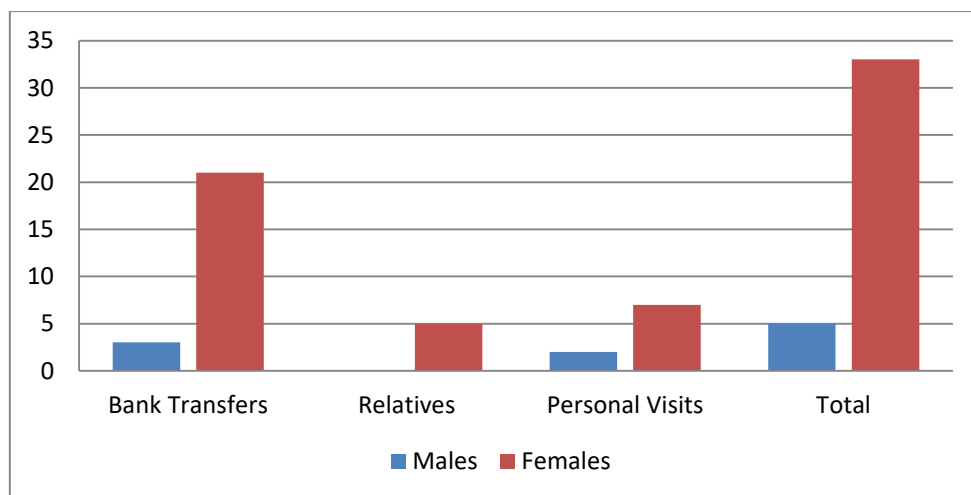
The above data can be interpreted by saying the middle aged category receives the maximum number of out-migrants receiving remittances. One possible reason of this could be in age group (18-28), the youth is still trying to figure out the opportunities or have migrated due to studies for proper resources and exposure. People settle in areas whatever they get and want to secure stability. They don't experiment with new things as have accepted the profession according to their calibre. In the last category of age-group, the number is again less. This might be due to the fact that after residing for around a decade they now can manage to keep their families along. This data also corroborates towards the fact that it is largely the young and middle aged people those who migrated.

Table 5.17: Channel of Remittances (Almora)

Channels	Males	Females
Bank Transfers	3	21
Post Office	0	0
Relatives	0	5
Personal Visits	2	7
Total	5	33

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.12: Channel of Remittances (Almora)



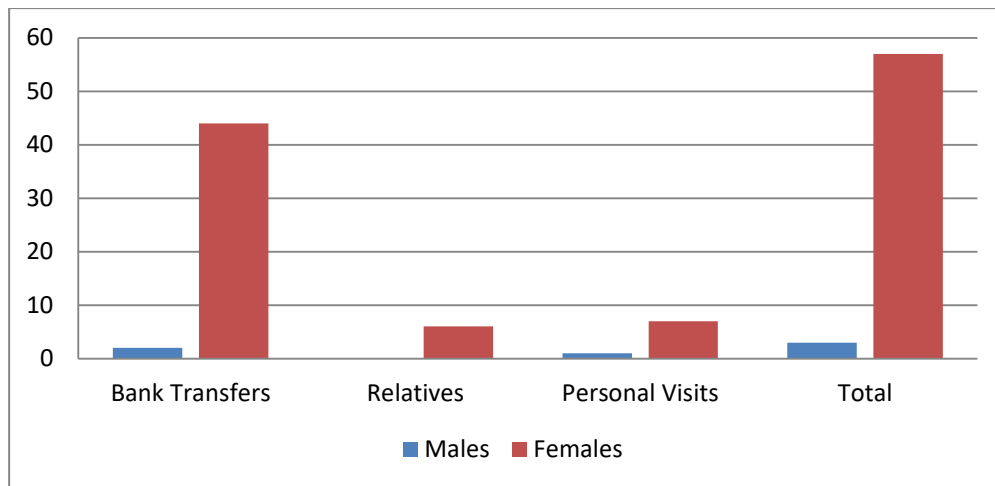
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.18: Channel of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal)

Channels	Males	Females
Bank Transfers	2	44
Post Office	0	0
Relatives	0	6
Personal Visits	1	7
Total	3	57

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.13: Channel of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey

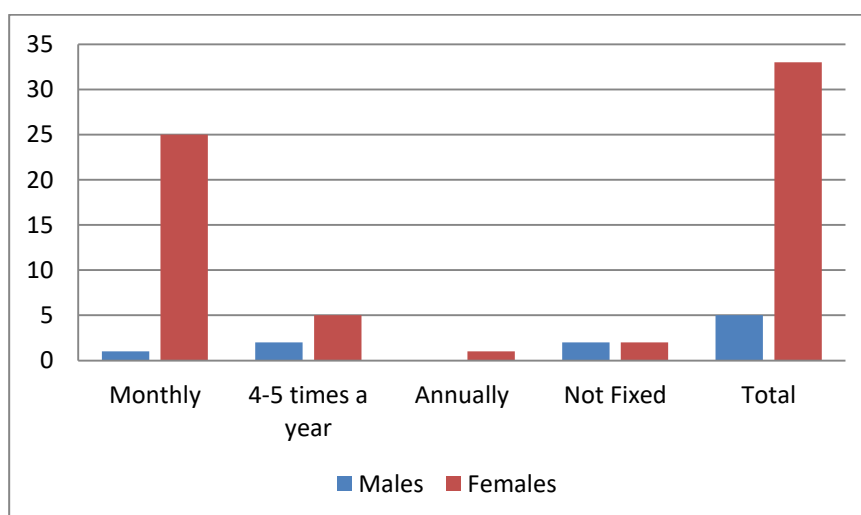
Both tables show that the higher dependence on banks for received amount. The lack of awareness as well as accessibility of post office was the reasons for its lack of popularity in the hills. The other reason was post offices don't have these ATM services and technology related factors. Those who knew about it found it to be a bit traditional and considered them less consumer friendly. Even if banks were not accessible, they will still try to look for Banks or ATMs afar. They might not go every now and then but even if it is for once in a month, it is going to be a bank or ATMs. Secondly, since, it is not possibly for the old and aged to visit banks, in that case she is seen to be dependent on some relatives, it could be a close or a distant one but makes sure to get it updated in passbook for record. Personal visits for those who were working in the relatively near locations and managed to come on every weekend, or in case of a need arise.

Table 5.19: Average Frequency of Remittances (Almora)

Frequency of Remittances	Males	Females
Monthly	1	25
4-5 times a year	2	5
Annually	0	1
Not Fixed	2	2
Others	0	0
Total	5	33

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.14: Average Frequency of Remittances (Almora)



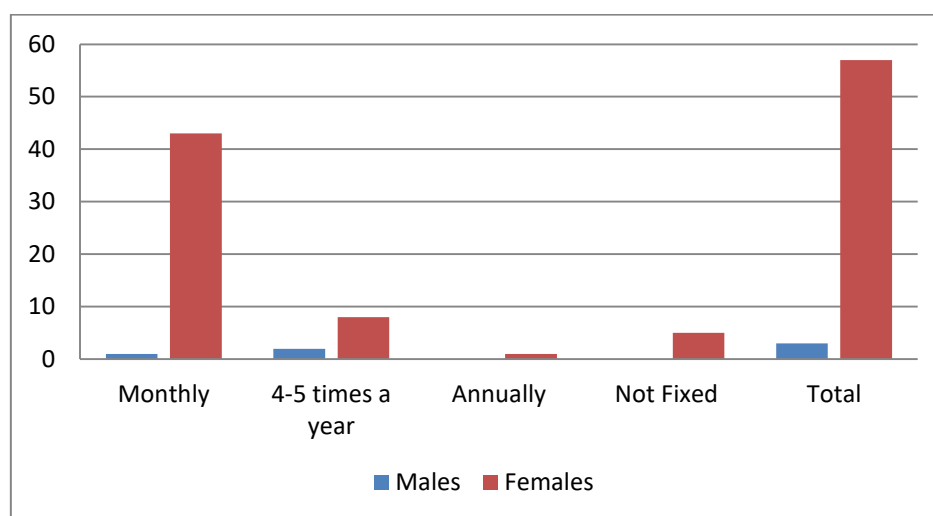
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.20: Average Frequency of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal)

Frequency of Remittances	Males	Females
Monthly	1	43
4-5 times a year	2	8
Annually	0	1
Not Fixed	0	5
Others	0	0
Total	3	57

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.15: Average Frequency of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey

Frequency of remittances also varies across different parameters. Higher percent is visible in case of remittances received monthly. It shows the stability of the nature of migrant's job i.e. government or private. The explanation that they gave was, they need the amount every month. What could be noticed was these were largely young females. For some, it is also 4-5 months in a year. It was felt that people. For poor migrants, it is either not fixed or annually,

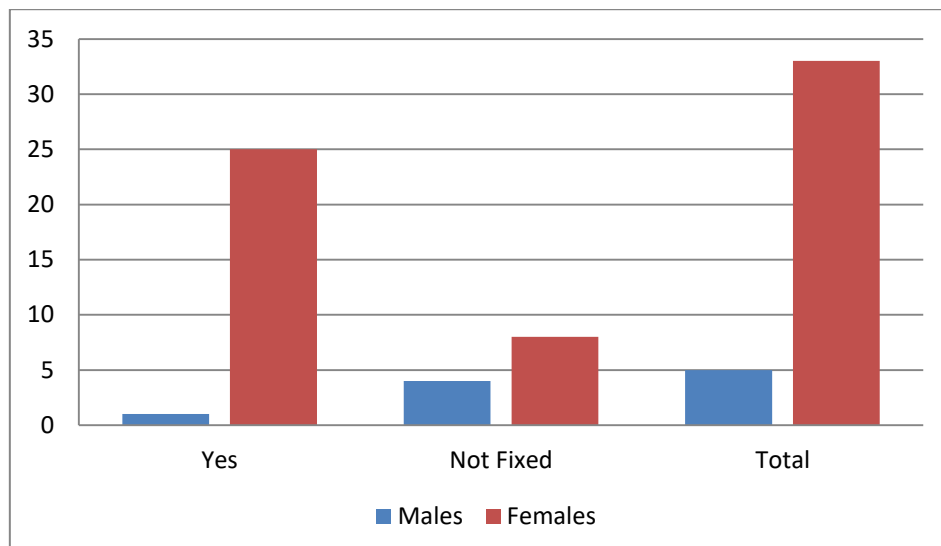
who brings remittances with him when he visits home annually. One thing could also be argued here is that, with age, dependence on remittance reduces. It reflects that as the age of female progresses, she can manage for some months if didn't get remittances for some time. An explanation of this could be that she saves or children were already married and earning, etc.

Table 5.21: Fixed Amount of Remittances Received (Almora)

Fixed Amount of Remittances Received	Males	Females
Yes	1	25
Not Fixed	4	8
Total	5	33

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.16: Fixed Amount of Remittances Received (Almora)



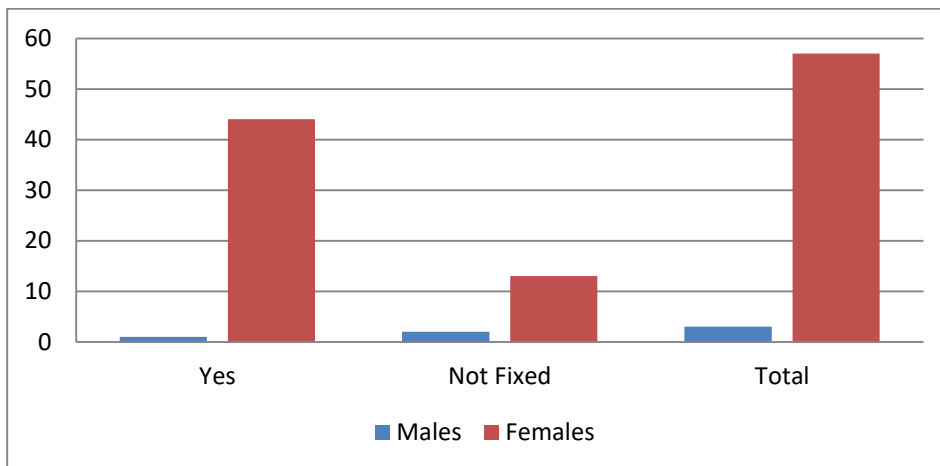
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.22: Fixed Amount of Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal)

Fixed Amount of Remittances Received	Males	Females
Yes	1	44
Not Fixed	2	13
Total	3	57

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.17: Fixed Amount of Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey

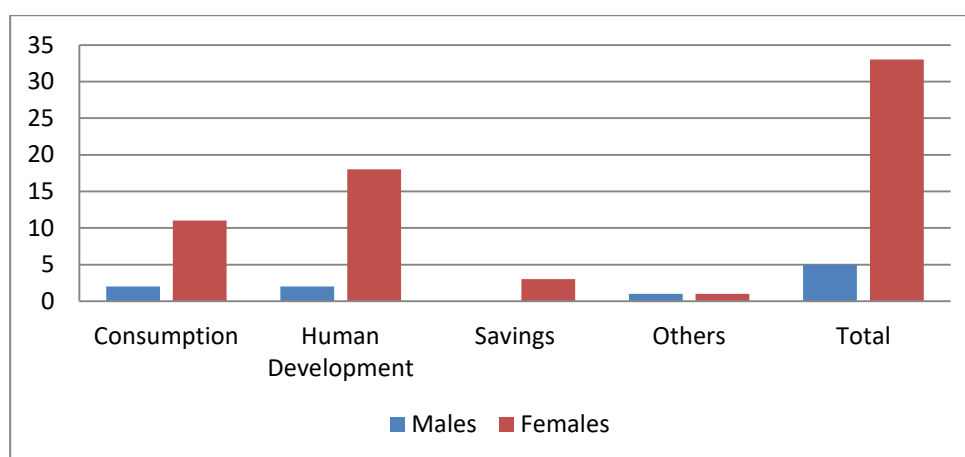
This data can be understood in consonance with data on frequency of received remittances. A stable job translates into high frequency of remittances as well as it is of fixed amount. In both regions, the respondents receiving fixed amount is higher among families with young and middle aged respondents. As the age progresses, amount of remittances also reduce. One reason for this was either the migrant took wife and children, or the left behind wife manages even if remittances are not fixed.

Table 5.23: Expenditure of Remittances (Almora)

Purposes	Males	Females
Consumption	2	11
Human Development	2	18
Investment	0	0
Savings	0	3
Others	1	1
Total	5	33

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.18: Expenditure of Remittances (Almora)



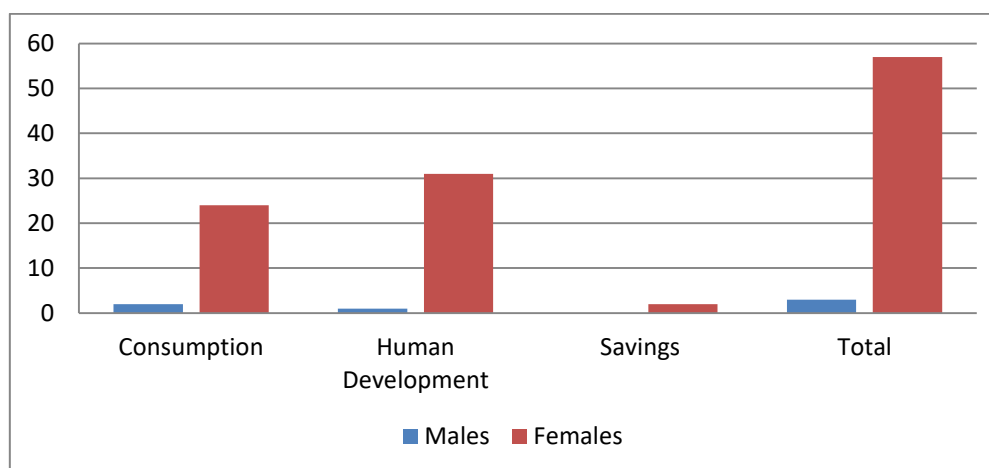
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.24: Expenditure of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal)

Purposes	Males	Females
Consumption	2	24
Human Development	1	31
Investment	0	0
Savings	0	2
Others	0	0
Total	3	57

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.19: Expenditure of Remittances (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey

It can be argued on the basis of data that remittances are largely spent on consumption purposes as well as on indicators of human development especially education. The respondents didn't commit saving for children but an inclination could be observed in one of the respondent's responses when she said they will have to manage even if they don't have much. Few of the respondents said yes and were saving for health emergencies and for daughters who will get married in future. On investment, no respondent said yes. One explanation of this could be investment is something that people don't disclose easily but was

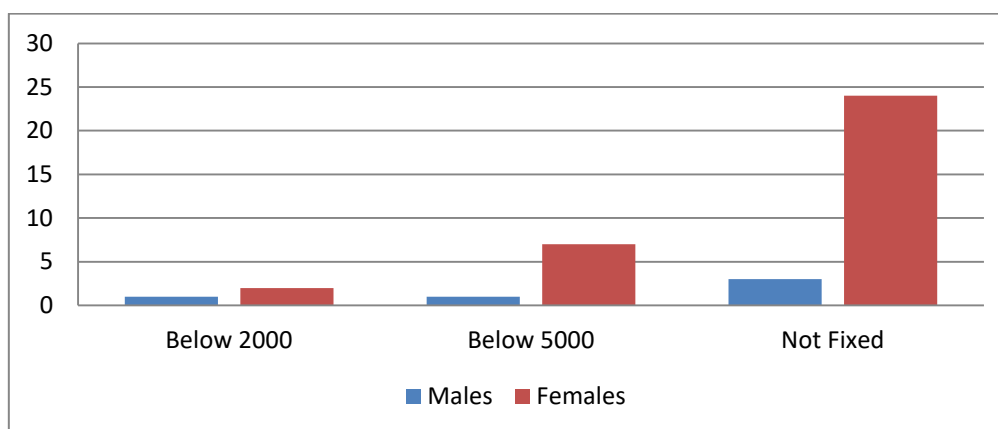
visible. For example, an extended renovated portion of a house or having cows, etc. A general better lifestyle was very evident and the respondents belonging to these families were found to be confident too. One of the respondents, Mohini Devi, a mother of two, doesn't have in-laws and in the absence of husband, she herself takes all the decisions, however for something major after consulting with husband over phone calls. As far as remittances are concerned, they are largely spent on childrens' education, daily expenses, consumable items, rent, etc. According to her, the family is not able to save a single penny. She feels tensed about the children's future, husband's health and about their future plans.

Table 5.25: Average Amount of Remittances Received (Almora)

Average Amount	Males	Females
Below 2000	1	2
Below 5000	1	7
Between 5000-10000	0	0
More than 10000	0	0
Not Fixed	3	24
Total	5	33

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.20: Average Amount of Remittances Received (Almora)



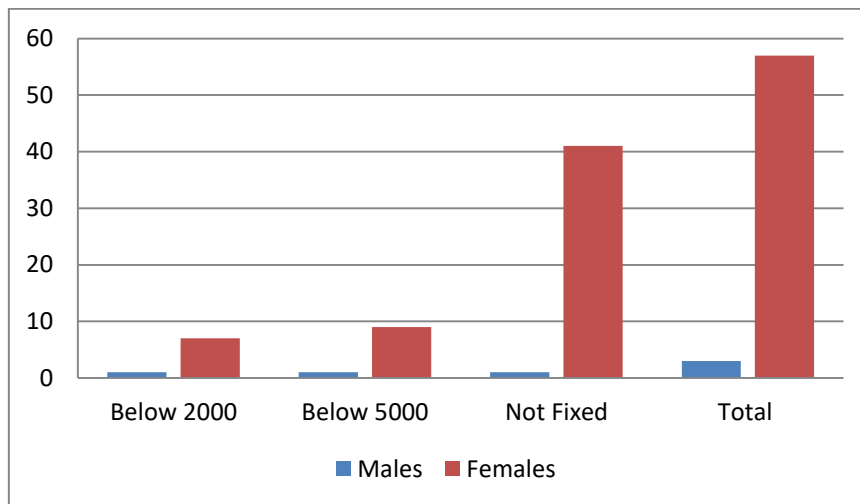
Source: Household Survey

Table 5.26: Average Amount of Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal)

Average Amount	Males	Females
Below 2000	1	7
Below 5000	1	9
Between 5000-10000	0	0
More than 10000	0	0
Not Fixed	1	41
Total	3	57

Source: Household Survey

Bar Graph 5.21: Average Amount of Remittances Received (Pauri Garhwal)



Source: Household Survey

The data from both regions also shares another commonality. The respondents were not comfortable in disclosing the amount they were receiving as remittances. Despite receiving remittances on a monthly basis, the respondents were not very open in sharing about the jobs

of their husbands. The wives of those involved in private sector could tell much about the nature of the jobs. Further, according to most of the respondents, the received amount was not high. Resulting, none of the respondents found to be quoting the received amount of remittances beyond Rs.5, 000 and few of the respondents who moved beyond Rs.5,000 were restricting themselves by saying approximately. Also, when the respondents were asked, about 5000 being enough for managing home, the respondents said they have small patches of land which is used to grow food crops for subsistence and to fulfil familial requirements. Another given reason was children were in higher studies had shifted to some other location. Hence, some of the remittances are invested for educational purposes. Rest, they can manage as they don't have any specific requirement.

Therefore, to conclude on the basis of data, it can be argued that remittances were received in the maximum number of households. The received remittances were fixed in terms of frequency and amount but the amount disclosed by the respondents did not exceed beyond Rs.5000 for many. Further, they were largely spent for consumption purposes and on indicators of human development, education in particular. The investment in education reflects towards the importance of education in the lives of the rural people. It was evident from the responses that they wanted their children to settle at a place having enough opportunities or should get a government job. The responses from the respondents largely point towards the inclination of the families that want their second generation to migrate. For them, the situation and circumstances are very limiting in their region.

On question of usage of remittances as savings or investments, they couldn't respond to it comfortably and were apprehensive about discussing it. But it be said, savings or investing for their children was something that could be sensed.

As far as channels of remittances were concerned, majority of the respondents were dependent on banks and ATMs, which were not easily accessible but once or twice in a month is something that they could still manage due to the familiarity of the system. In families, even in the presence of father-in-law, it is the woman who received the remittance amount. The reasons that were given was that the elders doesn't want to get involved in bank or ATM transactions or didn't want to visit bank on a monthly basis.

In comparison to other age groups, the category of age group between 25-49, received the most stable, frequent and fixed remittances. It can be argued that the age group between 18-28 were still trying to figure out opportunities and the last category of age group 46-75 was the category where savings were used to manage for some time or other case would be of the wives and children's have migrated too, leaving behind the elderly. One thing that could be mentioned here is the elderly were very much attached to their local surroundings and environments, in contrast to the relatively young who, on getting an opportunity wish to migrate.

The respondents could not explain on what differences they feel in comparison to wives without migratory husbands, except increased responsibilities. One thing that could also be discussed here is the presence of a substitute male authority receiving remittances could not be encountered on the basis of responses nor cases of sexual harassments were reported. This is unlike the arguments that were raised in the literature. This can further be added that the respondents might not be able to share their experiences even if they were going through the same.

Apart from economic remittances, social remittances also exercised a powerful impact on the minds of the respondents. They have an impression that the migrated person is exposed to many opportunities that they in their villages can't find. They compare their children with someone who have already migrated. The already migrated family when sometimes visits their hometown in vacation; the difference is quite visible in terms of confidence, exposure and opportunities.

When it comes to the geographical region, it can be argued on the basis of responses that the two regions shares more or less same experiences when it comes to impact of remittances. Economic and social remittances have a similar impact on the whole region. The respondents feel that after a point there is nothing much that can be explored and on getting a chance the left behind families want to migrate for a better future.

5.8.1 Impact of Male Migration on Families: Relatively Well-off and Poor Households

Migration leads to fragmentation of the family creating two establishments, one at the workplace of the migrant and the other in the village. In the case of relatively well-off

families, people are forced to migrate to the cities for the sake of better jobs. The educated and literate do not want to work in the fields and it is not possible to get a job commensurate with their educational qualifications in the rural areas. Many villagers also feel that without higher education, their children stand no chance in the job market, hence they have to migrate. In case of well-off families, migration creates rural elites who further accumulate resources and have an upper hand. In case of poor families, most of their earnings are likely to be spent on food, leaving little for education of children or improvement in the living standards of the family.

On the basis of field work, it can be argued that people belonging to the poor strata cannot afford to migrate and even if they somehow manage to migrate, it is largely a survival and livelihood strategy. Migration in case of well-off families provides opportunities commensurate with their skills. Thus, the only difference between the two classes is that the better off migrate to accumulate more sources of income.

Due to migration, people are now relatively more dependent on remittances than on agrarian produce. Reasons to migrate could vary from family to family but dependence on remittances is quite evident. In case of middle-class households, the migrants still own the land and unwilling to forgo its ownership as it is regarded as a status symbol as well as is the last economic resort, in case of urgent necessity. The increasing migration in well-off classes was due to their desire to enhance their incomes. They also use this additional income for their land in form of new agricultural methods, like use of chemical fertilizers and new varieties of seeds like High Yielding Variety (HYV) seeds etc. This is also reflected in the villages by the return of successful individuals to build residences and use their land. In case of poor households, a large number of migrants prefer to keep their families in the village. They can only visit them once a year due to economic constraints or more often, if possible, because of the transferable and temporary nature of their job. Majority of the migrants' income is not high enough to enable them to keep their families at the workplace. It is this partial migration which compensates for the underdeveloped local economy and brings social and cultural changes along with the money.

The present study also analysed the impact of remittances on society. It was found that the role of social remittance in these districts was very strong. Migrated youths were able to attract the youths of the region to migrate as well as help them in the initial rigours of

migration. As most of the migrants from these districts are involved in semi-skilled jobs, the social remittance in terms of skill development is very limited and rudimentary in nature. For example, by virtue of their managerial and clerical jobs, the migrants are able to share their basic knowledge about computers and English with the residents of the districts. Some of the migrants by their past experiences in the cities, have opened new economic ventures in the districts and generated employment for the natives

Besides such as hotels, taxi services, etc., have proliferated in the hills due to migrants. This in turn has led to development of new skills as well as new ideas among the residents. However, the level of employment generated by these activities is very limited. However, the indirect benefits of migration are more pronounced in the region. The increased awareness and knowledge of the migrants have helped the villagers in terms of cultivating political awareness as well as knowledge about government initiatives. Besides, migrants are able to guide the youth to migrate to cities and help them in settlement in terms of finding jobs, place of stay, etc. Sometimes, migrants also encourage the native for higher education as they understand that it will lead to better employment in future

Impact of remittances on families and especially on women have different impacts on different classes. On the basis of field work one can argue that Uttarakhand is heavily dependent on internal migrants' remittances. They make productive investments like investing in employment generating activities or starting a business, i.e., invest in something that has a multiplier effect. Such types of investments lead to better economic growth of the region and also help the government in reducing poverty at the community level. These households try to channelize remittances for the better development of the family. When it comes to well-off families, they invest in better nutrition and better education. On the other hand, in case of poor families, the remitted amount is mostly utilized in management of farms and sustenance of household, i.e. the basic consumption needs.

Another interesting fact to note is that remittances have a positive impact on household welfare. A clear distinction can be made between a migrants' family and a non-migrants' family. An analysis can also be made between remittances receiving households and a non-receiving, it was found that families who received remittances were better off than the other households. Thus, this can be asserted that migration and remittances have positive indirect effects on immigrant households. It has also been found that in case of poor families,

remittances do not contribute to productive investment that will bring long-term development rather spent on consumption, housing and land activities. On the other hand, for the rich and elite households, remittances act as an additional capital for further investment. The rural elites are few in number in rural Uttarakhand and most of the families do not have additional savings to invest on productive purposes. Hence, remittances could not bring any significant benefit for the society at large. No efforts have been made in promoting private investment in developing the local resource base. Hence, it can be said that the net benefit from migration is relatively low in comparison to the social cost that the region pays.

5.8.2 Remittances as bases of Social Inequality on the basis of Field Work

In the absence of social stratification due to skewed land holdings, remittances have become the basis of social inequality. Remittance from those employed in secured jobs and having political access has led to the consolidation of a rural elite. This group has achieved the status of non-cultivating owners of land either through rental income or hired labour. This stratum has also cornered benefits of state development activities either as the local organizers/contractor of projects or as direct beneficiaries. The penetration of political parties and competition among them has further ruptured social cohesion and created the advantaged, few with better access to power and resources. Changing stratification patterns did not alter existing inequalities along caste lines but accentuate inequality within the upper castes themselves.³⁴¹ One universal feature of the process of migration in the rural areas is that pre-established and traditional ways undergo changes. Modification of values and aspiration of the family members with revision of inter-caste relations are quite visible. Changes in the occupational structure and the resulting economic status can also be seen. The outcome may be the improvement of the village due to remittances from the city, and loss of large number of able-bodied young men and impoverishment of the village, which leave the village to the very young, very old and women.

On the basis of literature, one can argue remittances in the long run, results in the betterment of the conditions of the left behind families. Migration is a selective process and the direct benefits of it are also selective. It should be kept in mind that the direct benefits are not

³⁴¹ Andre Beteille, "Poverty and Inequality," *Economic and Political Weekly* 38, no. 42 (2003): 4455-4463.

reaped by the poorest households in communities. The impact varies upon the quantum of remittance as well as its effective utilization. The already affluent class use remittance in a more productive manner than the weaker sections, which leads to widening of economic and social gaps between the strata. Hence, it can be said that remittance exacerbates social inequality in the hills. Hence, left behind families witness relative impact of remittances depending on their placement in the socio-economic ladder that creates economic inequality in society.

5.8.3 Impact on Women

The workload of women increases significantly in absence of men. Lack of interest of males in agriculture is a serious concern as it may further drive out others from agriculture in the study region.

In the case of relatively better-off families, the conditions of women have improved to some extent, but their responsibilities and chores almost remain the same. The amount of remittances is not sufficient, in case of poor families. They need to work on farms as they provide some additional support to such households for at least few months. Women's role is very critical in supporting such households' well-being. Thus, remittances along with her continued involvement in some activities allow them to lead a relatively better life.

Thus, it can be argued that remittances have generally ameliorated the economic conditions of women to certain extent but their work-related drudgeries remain largely unchanged, especially for low income groups. In well-off families, women have some money at her disposal that they can spend on their clothing or ornaments. In contrast, in poor families, women are not left with any money that they can spend on themselves. Thus, remittances could hardly bring any significant benefits in case of poor families.

5.9 Conclusion

Rural areas are mainly dominated by women. A relatively high degree of participation by women is one of the features that characterize the migration process. Women ready to handle everything makes it easier for men to leave homes; they know there will be someone who can manage. This can be explained on the basis of the social and cultural disintegration of Uttarakhand society caused by the out-migration of the men folk. In general, women in this

region have moved from passive roles to more active roles in village governance and political institutions. This explains the high degree of women's participation in the social movements like Chipko Andolan, Raksha Sutra Andolan, Maiti Movement, etc.

With supportive households, male have the freedom to migrate as well as to explore opportunities for better incomes. In fact, migration has become a cultural norm of society. For majority, migration is also not familial rather individual, because the migrants are not in a position to keep their families with them in cities or other places of destination. Such perceptions and experiences about one's life opportunities and its deep ecological embeddedness explains the sustained, protracted, recurrent and ongoing process of migration in the lives of the hill population of Uttarakhand. Interestingly, many villagers viewed the "migrant" as the most eligible bachelor for their daughter. A boy living in the city is "preferred" over a farmer with more land. Hence, rural areas of Uttarakhand witness the dominant number of female populations, eight out of thirteen districts witness high sex ratio. This also translates into the phenomena of 'Feminization of Agriculture'. It was visible in the study area too.

The upshot of the above narrative is that when it comes to the decision-making power of women, the study shows that migration of males increases the control and decision-making power of the women. And this decision-making power increases with the progression of age, since women become emotionally, physically and mentally stronger. Even in the presence of husband, the females were quite vocal. There is no denying the fact that their responsibilities increase in the absence of males. Apart from increased responsibilities, wives or mothers of migrants were quite emotionally weak relative to those who had males around them. However, in-migrants households, the benefits of remittances can be seen through better education of off-springs.

However, it can be argued that in case of both the districts, the increased decision-making process is of limited nature. It can be said that short term decision-making has improved but only due to circumstantial nature, and in the long run, decisions require consultation of men. In some cases, migrated males make day to day decisions while in some cases the power of decision-making shifts to either in-laws or to other male members in the family.

The extent of decision-making power as well as subsequent empowerment depends upon the economic background of the women. In Uttarakhand, women of different classes exercise different kinds of autonomy. Hence, the study tries to classify the predominant factor as class

rather than caste. In rich households, women obtain greater remittances from migrated men as well as greater income from agricultural lands, which gives them greater power in decision-making. Even in such houses, the major decisions such as choice of bride/ groom rests with the males. On the other hand, women in poor households have limited capital to exercise greater autonomy in decision-making. Hence, such households witness lower levels of decision-making or decision-making in a regimented manner.

On the basis of the empowerment theory of Ullah, such women are not empowered in true sense since they have neither complete access to resources, agency nor enjoy the achievements in complete sense. However, this finding is contrary to the intrinsic belief of the respondents, who believe that they are empowered. This belief is more of comparative nature as these women feel they are more empowered than the women of non-migrated households. At this point, the chapter introduces the novel idea of 'Limited Decision-Makers'. The frequent decisions they take arises from compulsion, since the male counterparts are afar.

The study attempted to also analyse the variance in extent of decision-making in households at district level. Decision-making and empowerment of women depends on factors such as geographical setting, existing cultural ideology, administrative history, etc. To investigate these, the study compared the decision-making power of women in Almora and Pauri Garhwal and found that the composition of society and geographical locations of households are the predominant factors in influencing decision-making. Almora is a heterogeneous society due to multiple waves of migration, while Pauri Garhwal is more of homogenous nature. However, the villages in Pauri Garhwal are sparsely populated as compared to villages in Almora. The separation of households dominates the homogeneity of the villages which results in greater decision-making power of women in Pauri Garhwal than women in Almora. These factors resulted in greater decision-making freedom of women in Pauri Garhwal than women of Almora.

Hence, the impact of migration is profound in Uttarakhand, which is more visible in the villages. Its impact is seen in the economic, social, cultural and political systems of the villages and percolates through everyone in the society, particularly the women. The recognition of women's role in pre-migration and post-migration state at household level and at community level is critical to understand the challenges of migration in Uttarakhand as well as explore avenues to resolve the

Chapter 6

Conclusion and A Way Forward

This dissertation has tried to achieve two interrelated objectives. The first objective consists in placing the process of migration in a broader context of social, political and economic transformations. It was done by describing the circumstances and causes tracing the evolution of Uttarakhand from pre-independence times to the formation of Uttarakhand state in post independent India. The second objective was to observe and interpret the significant changes due to continued migration witnessed by the society even after the creation of the state. The present chapter attempts to provide some clarity along with specificities regarding the impact of male migration on women, and on society at large. The field work is facilitated to bring some specific information that can be used in future as a reference.

In order to address these questions, chapter two of the thesis examined the colonial conquest of Uttarakhand and the internal colonialism in post-independence period that the region witnessed. In chapter three, I have analysed the various theories of migration and the impact of remittances on left behind families in Uttarakhand. In chapter four, the impact of male migration has further been studied in terms of decision-making power and empowerment of the women. Chapter five studies the above mentioned parameters and indicators, and have analysed those through field work in the two districts of Uttarakhand: Almora and Pauri Garhwal.

The first conclusion that I drew from this study was that the region of Uttarakhand had uneven development during British period as well as when was part of UP. This can be explained by using the conventional core-periphery model of development. The regional inequalities and injustices led to the drain of wealth, as called by Dadabhai Naoroji, was a socio-economic process. The British policies were self-interest driven policies and the impact was duly felt in Uttarakhand. Although, at the surface, it looked as if the colonial system had put an end to feudalism but carried within it many characteristics of the old system. The division between agricultural India and industrial England was assisted with technology to ensure India's de-industrialization. The commercial interests placed industries in some selective areas. They introduced schools, roads, hospitals and helped in the emergence of the

press. The development that the region was witnessing was uneven regional development and unsustainable development. Also, British policies on forests destroyed the balance that made things difficult for the locals. The modern forest practices changed the traditional forest ecology. The traditional forest dwellers were deprived of their community rights which led to deprivation of income. The forest produce was also made inaccessible to the local population. It can be asserted that the exploitation by the British was done under the garb of development. After independence, when integrated with UP, it was assumed that the post-colonial government, the UP government, would preserve and cherish the aspirations and distinct district's identity. With the passage of time, Uttarakhand witnessed a discriminatory attitude from the state government of UP. The status of Uttarakhand with respect to the colonial government as well as the post-colonial government can easily fit in the core-periphery model of development. The concerns, interests and development of the region of Uttarakhand were relegated to the periphery. Under such conditions, the local population started migrating and became one of the main reasons that led to the formation of the state of Uttarakhand. Even after two decades of its creation, the issue of migration continues to persist. Hence, migration has become a social reality especially from the hills. This brings us to analyse the out-migration of males and its subsequent impact on left behind societies.

Chapter three discusses various models, theories, processes and patterns of migration. The chapter highlights the role of social and financial remittances, and rise of new class inequality that might exacerbate the social inequality and upset the moral economy in the study region. This is because the conclusions drawn from other studies cannot be generalised and applied to Uttarakhand. On the basis of fieldwork, when the migration pattern was analysed, similarity could be seen in the three models, the Ravenstein's 'Laws of Migration', Lee's 'Conceptual Framework for Migration Analysis' and Larry Sjaastad's 'Human Capital Theory'. Ravenstein's model highlights the importance of both pull and push factors in migration, and states that the economic motive is the major determinant for migration. It also states that people migrate from areas of low opportunity to areas of high opportunity. In Uttarakhand, people migrate due to the low remunerative nature of agriculture as well as for enhanced remittances by virtue of migration. Besides economic motives, people in Uttarakhand migrate to cities to explore or undertake new commercial opportunities other than the traditional livelihood based on agriculture at place of origin. One can explain the phenomenon of male migration in this region on the basis of Lee's conceptual model on migration. Lee's model states that both push and pull factors play a crucial role in migration,

giving relatively more importance to push factors than the destination's pull factors. It accurately depicts the migration pattern of Uttarakhand, where the destination choices might vary but the phenomenon of migration due to push factors is constant.

While the above mentioned models talk about the economic benefits of migration, Larry Sjaastad's model discusses both the social and economic factors of migration on which the migrant evaluates his decision. Normally, the economic benefits by virtue of migration overpower the social cost of separation between families, cost of acclimatization, etc., in migrant's decisions. In the case of Uttarakhand, the left behind women experience the social cost of migration, yet they encourage the male to migrate in hopes of better income and future.

However, based on my study, the theoretical framework of Lewis- Fei-Ranis' 'Theory of Development' is not applicable in case of Uttarakhand's migration. Lewis-Fei-Ranis' 'Theory of Development' is a theory based on developed economy which sees migration as an equilibrating mechanism of transfer of labour from the traditional labour surplus sectors to labour deficit sectors, which eventually leads to wage equality. In the case of Uttarakhand and India, which is predominantly labour surplus, the role of migration is not a wage equilibrating mechanism.

The second part of the chapter attempted to study the impact of remittances, i.e. financial and social remittance, on the left behind family and society at large on the basis of different positions available in the literature. The impact of remittances can be classified into micro (household), meso (community) and macro (societal) level. Various studies highlighted that remittances lead to greater economic benefits for the households and empower them to undergo large expenditures. They have both direct and indirect impacts. Large expenditure in health and education translates to better indicators in migrated households as compared to non-migrated households. However, the literature also highlights the importance of available infrastructure in terms of health and education for better outcomes. Gender relations also get affected due to restructuring of roles and responsibility. The impact of remittances is visible in the increased status of family in society which gets reflected between family and community, and in the quality education of children's.

At meso level, the community benefits from the remittances in the form of new skills and attitudes leading to reduction of poverty in society. The impact of social remittance is

immense in terms of aspirations. Besides poverty reduction, the migrated males empower the communities with knowledge and transfers of technical skills. Hence, the impact of migration on community remains positive. However, the process of migration poses certain challenges for the children and old age parents as they have to bear the cost of separation in terms of lack of emotional support. For women, migration leads not only to lack of emotional support but also leads to additional burden of responsibility, which the women are not generally used to. But at the same time, the community witnesses the 'culture of migration' and 'culture of dependency' which is not beneficial for the community in the long run.

At macro level, remittances facilitate economic growth in the region as the surplus capital translates into investment capital which leads to creation of new jobs in the region. However, its impact depends upon several factors such as government policy, financialisation of savings, etc. As a result, the study districts show mixed results. Also, the investment decisions vary with the classes. In case of poor families, it leads to behavioural change at the household level with greater expenditure on consumption rather than investment. Raised income level of households leads to changes in lifestyle and consumption patterns. For relatively better-off families, the remittances, as a transitory type of income, spent more on investment goods rather than for consumption purposes, directly and positively contributes to the economic development of the family. Thus, relative economic advantage is something that gets reflected across migrants' families.

In addition to this, another key point is that remittances are the bases of social inequality. Every society can be divided on the basis of economic classes, which can be further classified on the basis of income and wealth. In the case of relatively better-off families, it was found that the remittances were largely spent for investment purposes. The additional money led to an increase in the assets or has been used in the education of their children. On the other hand, in the case of poor families, it only contributes to the fulfilment of their basic necessities. Hence, it can be said that although the impact of remittance in general is positive, its degree of positivity varies with the economic strata of the family. In the case of Uttarakhand, economic inequality translates into social inequalities in terms of utilizing better health and education facilities as well as leads to low empowerment in the political domain. Thus, the inequality between the classes is perpetual, and in some cases exacerbates due to remittances.

Chapter four discusses the various theoretical understanding about decision-making and empowerment. It has been argued that increased decision-making not automatically translates into empowerment, and do not bring egalitarian gender ideology. The impact of remittances on left behind has been discussed in this chapter. The conclusion that can be drawn from chapter four is that the situation of left behind women is region and context specific. The circumstances faced by women vary from place to place and hence, should not be generalised. Some studies argue that the absence of husbands does not actually lead to an increased decision-making power of women in a real sense, and also increases their burden. In contrast, some other literature does not confirm the above theoretical perspective; rather they witness an increased decision-making power on part of women translating into their empowerment.

Chapter five tries to highlight the utility of above mentioned theories, discussed in chapter two, three and four respectively, in the context of Uttarakhand, particularly in the two districts of Almora and Pauri Garhwal, which has witnessed large scale migration. The approach of the study was to evaluate respondents on the basis of questionnaire containing objective as well as subjective questions, and to compare them with various theoretical frameworks. On the basis of the fieldwork, it can be argued that these two different perspectives were visible in Uttarakhand.

The following are some of the findings of field work:

1. Decision-Making Power of Women

As far as the impact of male migration on women is concerned, the available literature suggests two kinds of effects. The first is an increased burden, and the other a greater decision-making power. Their position, as far as decision-making is concerned, has relatively improved along with an increased burden. This phenomenon has an element of class to it. In case of better-off families, the women do not feel much burdened because in the absence of male, if required they could hire labour to work in the field. In case of poor families, physical labour does increase and they cannot afford to hire outside labour. When it comes to decision-making, women have always played an active role. They do handle the daily affairs but the major decisions lies with the male counterpart. The extent of this kind of decision-making is very limited. Decision-making which the women are exercising in Uttarakhand is very different from the decision-making suggested by literature, which defines it in terms of

autonomy and empowerment. The fact is that the left behind women have no choice than to take over the new responsibilities. Absence of the husband also affects them emotionally. Women across categories feel the vacuum of husbands' absence. One thing which is interesting to note is, in the case of well-off families, regular or frequent visits are quite helpful, unlike the poor ones who can only afford to visit once or twice in a year. On the basis of field work, it was found that in Almora, decision-making power of the women remained more or less same due to the relatives being closer. Although, it was a heterogeneous society wherein people of all castes and classes resided in the same area, yet due to close proximity between the households the shift of patriarchy from husbands to other males was quite visible here. On the other hand, in Pauri Garhwal, the clan and community feelings were strong. But there were not many inhabitants to verify this fact as the villages had a few number of families. Also, the relatives residing in far off places led to weakening of the traditional gender roles thereby increasing the decision-making power.

In the present study, the work provides an extension to the argument by saying that though the absence of male leads to a greater decision-making power of the women, it also increases their burden at the same time. Hence, decision-making does not imply their increased autonomy or empowerment but rather compulsory shouldering of the responsibility in the absence of men. Based on Ullah's model of empowerment, women in Uttarakhand have not been empowered in a real sense; as they do not have access to resources, do not possess the power of decision-making and do not enjoy its subsequent results. This kind of decision-making power is very restricted in its meaning, and at best can be called 'Limited Decision-Making'. For example, in better-off families, younger women have greater economic freedom to make monetary decisions but lack social freedom to make decisions in presence of in-laws. On the other hand, in families with lower incomes, women seek permission to take economic decisions but have greater social freedom such as mobility for work.

Another important feature that was noticed is that women belonging to better-off classes were relatively more restricted than women belonging to low income category. The extent of independence in terms of mobility was more visible in the latter category. A probable explanation of the trend lies in the fact that the economic advantages of gained by poor households by women's mobility forces them to ignore such social restrictions.

2. Limited Decision-Makers

The concept of 'Limited Decision-Makers' which had not been incorporated in earlier research of migration patterns in Uttarakhand has been introduced in this study. The concept highlights the importance of context in terms of opportunities and the challenges it creates for decision-making of women in male migrated households. The idea is in synchronization with the blurred category analysis, however, the blurred category is more in spatial terms (social, political and economic) while the limited decision-making is categorized in temporal terms (frequency of decisions). Hence, it can be concluded that the migration pattern in Uttarakhand is more or less on the theoretical lines with some anomalies which need to be corroborated and require further investigation in terms of better data profiling as well as increased sample size.

To empirically analyse the above theoretical frameworks, I examined the answers of respondents' on the decision-making criteria based on surveys and qualitative data, to illustrate how male migration affects economic and social position of women in the local contexts. Along with a high rate of male out-migration, Almora and Pauri Garhwal are the two administrative divisions of Uttarakhand and had a separate historical trajectory. After the review of literature and field work, one can possibly argue that one reason for high rate of out-migration could be the fairly long history of migration in these two districts. The chapter also tried to look for any differences between the two distinct regions, to have a comparative perspective. Uttarakhand was divided into two distinct political units: the princely state of Tehri Garhwal (Pauri being part of it), and British controlled Kumaon Division. While the region was quite homogeneous in terms of economy and culture; the administrative structure of the state, especially the style of rule, differed greatly in the two territories. This was also the reason to choose one district from Almora and another from Kumaon, to see if there were specific differences between the two due to different types of rules.

In addition to these, the prominent features of the hill economy of Uttarakhand are lack of skilled jobs and low revenue generation. Overall, the skill level of the general population is abysmally low in the region primarily due to absence of well-equipped skill development institutions. Due to these factors, migration has emerged as a popular choice for youth in the region. The lack of a formalized banking sector as well as its allied sectors promotes informal channels of remittances along with credit availability. The skewed gender ratio due to large

volumes of male migration has led to both positive and negative impact on women in terms of health, education, livelihood and responsibilities.

3. Economic Inequality translating into Social Inequality in the Hills:

The process of migration depends on both push factor and pull factor. On the basis of field work, one can argue that these push and pull factors are context specific. In the case of poor families, they are largely the push factors; while in the case of better-off households, largely the pull factors being involved. For the poor, it is about survival. The better-off considers migration as an opportunity for further accumulation as they use remittances for investment purposes. This has resulted in the emergence of a new powerful class, creating division in the hill society leading to a formation of modern rich class, which derives its wealth from remittances. The emergence of this class has led to more social divisions between traditional rich class (landowners), modern rich class and poor. Therefore, it can be said that remittances have strengthened class differences and hence upset the moral economy of the village.

Thus, the above section attempts to establish a link between the theoretical chapters and the chapter on field work. It tries to summarize the findings of the study. The following section discusses the role of government along with its successes and weaknesses, and ends with a way forward.

Role of Government

The demand for the new states in India has always been influenced by the economic and social considerations. At the very beginning, the demands for the separate states were made on the basis of language in order to protect their distinct cultures.

The founding fathers of Indian Constitution were aware of the ethnic identities and pluralistic culture of India and it's thereby challenges, after achieving independence. They believed that targeted development of such diversified regions will arrest the challenges of pluralism and would promote inclusive development. An approach to achieve targeted development was special financial grants and specific schemes for development. After some time, the Finance Commission was appointed in every five years to address these issues as well as take steps in

this regard. In the Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-1974), to have a balanced regional development, the 'Gadgil Formula' was implemented by taking into consideration the crucial parameters of state like population, per capita income at state level, relative challenges, etc., for horizontal devolution. The Fifth Finance Commission (1968) introduced the concept of 'Special Category States' (SCS). It provided special assistance to disadvantaged states. Under SCS, the states receive 90 percent of all expenditure on Central Sponsored Schemes (CSS), as Central Grants. For other general category states, the ratio is 70 percent loan and 30 percent grant. Further, an area specific approach was adopted by the then Planning Commission and introduced multiple centrally sponsored programmes. Some targeted efforts like the Tribal Development Programme and the Hill Area Development Programme (HADP) were initiated to cater geographically heterogeneous and backward regions, but have not been successful. Reducing regional inequalities still remains a politico-administrative challenge. In Uttarakhand, the devolution of funds at states level were cornered by the already prospered districts which further promoted the development of the same districts, at the cost of other traditionally backward districts. Hence, even at district level in such states, regional inequalities become more prominent upon the introduction of these schemes.

The Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-1997) laid emphasis on intensive efforts to prevent degradation of the hills; and financial and physical monitoring of HADP by the concerned state governments. It would help in the implementation of the plan, popularizing afforestation programmes through community participation, application of scientific inputs to agriculture and allied sectors, productivity of pasture grazing to be emphasized, development of watersheds for meeting the water requirements of the people, encouragement to Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) work in these areas, etc.

To promote sustainable development in the region with the goal of increasing incomes as well as diversification of job opportunities, the government took several initiatives in the form of policies in the field of textiles, wool based industry, khadi and village industries, and wax based industry. The aim was to develop traditional industries through private sector participation as well as cooperative formation and the target group were to be formed in a form of clusters. Financial assistance was provided to these clusters by suitable forward and backward linkages, and through Union and State Government schemes.

The goal was to revive the traditional industry of the state with the purpose of reviving employment. These industries were particularly focused upon due to their labour intensive

nature. To promote handicraft industries, training programmes by master craftsmen were organised under “Baba Saheb Ambedkar Hastshilp Vikas Yojana”. To facilitate market access, state government opened shops in tourist locations as well as locations outside the state. The initiatives such as ‘Shilp Grams’ were launched to promote self-sustainability of artisans via cluster approach. In the handicraft sector, a scheme called “Deen Dayal Hathkargha Protsahan Yojana” was launched with the similar objectives.

The Government of Uttarakhand also considers tourism, agriculture, biotechnology, etc., as the key GDP drivers of the state and hence acts as thrust areas. For example, Uttarakhand has great tourism potential and drives the economy, but is unable to pass the benefits into other sectors. The focus should be on making these drivers as enablers so to achieve growth in rest of the areas. For instance, hydropower is another example that could be developed as an enabler and not only as a main driver of GDP.

Scheme such as NREGA ensures rural employment opportunities and helps to arrest migration in Uttarakhand. This scheme ensures 100 days wage employment in a year to one of the adult member of a rural household and results in local development. This programme targets those who otherwise would have migrated. But, it can also be said that it covers a category that is unskilled or uneducated, and rest still continues to migrate. Thus, this scheme is a good alternative to minimize migration for the needy and those who are less educated. Thus, the above narrative presents some of the policy responses to mitigate migration. In addition to these, the government has taken several infrastructural development programmes to counter out-migration.

Recent Initiatives

The Government has taken some major initiatives to promote Uttarakhand as an investment destination for businesses. To facilitate investment in the state, the Government of Uttarakhand attracted investors via “Destination Uttarakhand: Investors Summit 2018”. On the infrastructure front, the government has aimed to expedite the existing projects, such as “Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana” to improve transportation and connectivity in the state with emphasis on the rural areas. It also aims to undertake new infrastructural projects “Mega Food Parks”, “Software Technology Parks”, etc. It has also upgraded the existing infrastructure, such as Jolly Grant Airport, Dehradun to cater to high demands in future. To

facilitate business, the state aims to simplify the business processing via introducing initiatives like single window clearance for MSME's. In order to skill the labourers, the Uttarakhand Government has focused on introducing schemes such as "Uttarakhand Policy for Skill Development & Entrepreneurship", to skill and train the workers. Besides skill training, the government has focused on education, particularly primary education in the state. As per the "Union District Information System for Education (U-DISE)", all hilly districts have at least one primary school for every two villages in the state.

Hence, developmental efforts should comprise of development in each and every sector. It is heartening to note that child education is spreading in the hilly region of the country. Development of communication system and school infrastructure, free book distribution, launching of stipend, school-based development plan, attractive listening and cordial intensive supervision by the teachers have encouraged the students from hill areas towards the schools. It has been seen that free of cost textbooks, mid-day meals every day, etc., have contributed towards the increasing enrolment in the schools unlike in the past, when children were not regular.

Lacunae in Governmental Interventions

Despite numerous interventions, Uttarakhand, unlike other Himalayan states, has not been able to sustainably utilize their natural resources. In some cases, the extreme destruction of habitats have led to mobilizations of people against the destruction as evident from protests against dam construction as well as forest destruction in the past. Agencies of development such as roads, electrification and schools brought along with them a lot of middlemen who only increased the process of resource depletion.

The governmental action in Uttarakhand does not commensurate with the demands of the people due to lack of participation of people in governmental processes as well as bureaucratic hurdles. For example, the unavailability of high schools and degree colleges in the hilly region of Uttarakhand are major challenges for the students. In quest of good education, it would eventually mean villages having a de facto urban dependency. For those, who managed to finish education by getting a degree, Uttarakhand does not provide adequate jobs to commensurate with their skills, despite creating educating workforce. As a consequence, educated youths are migrating in large numbers. Thus, contrary to the notion,

Uttarakhand is witnessing triggered migration due to selective development in the state. However, it can be said that the nexus between the politicians, the administrators, at district and at local level, also limits the success of developmental schemes.

Besides lack of developmental schemes and corruption, the technological support by the state towards its people, especially farmers is inadequate to improve their conditions. The extension of plain farmland technologies is not suitable to farmers of hilly regions, which lead to lower development of agriculture in the region. In addition to agriculture, the other sectors such as industries and services have not been developed in the state due to governmental inaction. As a consequence, tourism is not remunerative to the level where it can act as a driver of development.

This problem gets compounded by the relative policy neglect of the Uttarakhand region and its consequent marginalisation by the Union Government. The crisis of Uttarakhand follows as a natural corollary to the crisis of effectiveness and legitimacy faced by the Indian state. Further, its peculiar characteristics and socio-demographic profile makes it imperative to situate the problem of migration in it. Lack of focus on migration has led to alarming depopulation of villages in border areas raising national security issues. The larger framework transcends issues of migration, economic backwardness and development. The overall social, economic and political context and its various nuances for the purpose of analysing migration, and its pre and post consequences needs to be considered in the right perspective.

The lack of the economic opportunities, social limitations and administrative inefficiencies has led the youth to migrate away from the hills. During Covid-19 pandemic, the mismanagement in the reverse migration of labourers back to their hinterlands was noticed by each and every one. However, the mismanagement was not due to lack of governmental efforts, but rather was caused by an unprecedented surge of reverse migration. In this episode, the real challenge is not mismanagement of reverse migration, rather the management of migration via progressive policies. In times ahead, such types of reverse migration challenges will exacerbate due to lack of good prospects for youth which is required to counter manage the migration. Hence, the present approach of the government towards migration requires substantial changes.

Political parties' manifestoes have always mentioned the problem of migration but they hardly work on that front. Although, political parties focus on women's votes and especially target the "Mahila Mangal Dal" and other women's associations, yet do not support women leadership in higher political circles.

Recommendations

It can be suggested that studies on migration should be integrated with the policies of agricultural and rural development. For effective policy design, one should not generalise the migrants in general rather formulate section specific approaches like class, skill-based migration policy, etc.

The targeted policy making should primarily be designed to ensure sustainable as well as inclusive development. The attempts should aim at establishing the link between forest, governance and equity. The probable avenues could be food and fruit processing centres, timber and non-timber forest products by encouraging small-scale village level forest and agricultural based industries. Establishment of educational and business institutions and development of infrastructural facilities with government as well as private capital in the rural areas would create jobs leading to involvement of the educated youth of the region.

In recent times, Uttarakhand has witnessed lower growth rates in agricultural sector (average growth rate ~4% in 2010-15, compared to Himachal Pradesh (average ~9% in 2010-15). The decline in agricultural activities reflects towards the lack of commitment of state government. In contrast, Himachal Pradesh earns a lot from horticulture and agricultural activities only because of its governmental policies. Like Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand can also utilise its natural climate which is conducive for spice farming and could be developed as a major exporter state. Widespread exports will generate huge revenues and promote development of hinterlands with private capital. Though migration cannot be controlled fully, but a facilitated and conducive environment could be created for those who do not want to migrate. Therefore, it can be minimized through remunerative farming by the implementation of various policy measures.³⁴²

³⁴² Sati, "Patterns and Implications," 2455-2667.

On-going efforts involving women farmers should be expanded. Agricultural scientists should involve women in all stages of development process. Both males as well as females should be equipped with new skills to become part of the agricultural developmental process. Besides the primary sector, secondary and tertiary sector needs to be promoted with an emphasis on tourism and other labour intensive industries.³⁴³ The geographical bounty of Uttarakhand could be used by the State Government to promote religious, cultural as well as recreational tourism. The advantage of promotion of the tourism sector is creation of ample jobs for locals who have low skills.

For greater employment opportunities, the state government needs to promote vocational education as well as skill training to harness the demographic dividend of the region. Promotion of start-up culture with governmental support as well facilitation of MSME sector in the areas, will also lead to job creation in the hinterlands and allow the state to utilize the demographic dividend.

Emphasis on modernisation of agriculture, rapid industrialisation and sustainable tourism is the need of the hour. However, it should take into account the importance of ecology. To achieve this, effective Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) should be carried out for large scale industrial as well as developmental projects to ensure the balance between nature and development in the region. EIA will not only ensure balanced, but will also encourage people to participate in the developmental process by faster implementation of projects and better outcomes in the future.

In addition to EIA, the government especially the state government should promote PPP in developmental projects to ensure transparency and efficiency. The developmental projects should emphasis on health, education and improvement of connectivity in the hinterlands. In order to strengthen public participation in the developmental process, the administration needs to change the bureaucratic attitude to democratic attitude. It should also promote as well as empower the local bodies by means of funds and functionaries. In addition to these, the financial sector in the state needs an overhaul to ensure formalization of remittances which would promote formalization of capital in the area.

Competitive federalism should be promoted at state level to expedite the developmental process. At national level, Uttarakhand can be aggressive to utilize the benefits of the Central

³⁴³ Thelma, Singh, Luis, and Hossain, "Labour Outmigration," 2522-2529.

Schemes such “Mega Food Parks” to develop food processing industries in the state, HRIDAY (Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana) and PRASAD (Pilgrimage Rejuvenation and Spirituality Augmentation Drive) scheme to develop quality tourism destinations in the state, etc.

Current Trend

Due to the recent COVID-19 pandemic, the pattern of reverse migration could be seen in Uttarakhand as in the rest of India. The reverse migration is quite visible in the state and has brought life to hill villages. According to URDMC report, as part of the reverse migration, 59,360 people returned to the state in the lockdown - Almora (9,303), Bageshwar (1,541), Chamoli (3,214), Champawat (5,707), Nainital (4,771), Pauri Garhwal (12,039), Pithoragarh (5,035), Rudraprayag (4,247), Tehri Garhwal (8,782), and Uttarkashi (4,721).

These districts had the highest number of ‘ghost villages’, due to large volumes of migration from these areas. Newspaper reports claim that the people who have returned to their hill villages are mostly in the age group of 30 to 45 years, with 30 percent of them showing a desire to stay back for good, while the rest want to return, once the COVID-19 situation normalizes. The primary reason for them wanting to migrate back to cities is the lack of employment opportunities at the local level and small landholding size for the majority which makes farming unviable. Besides, a major portion of the state is mountainous, ecologically fragile and prone to earthquakes and landslides which make the terrain, challenging for both livelihood and development activities.

In order to ensure returnees do not migrate upon restoration of normalcy, the government should launch welfare schemes for rehabilitation in their native places and employment schemes for these skilled labourers. Their presence will improve the investment climate of the state and ensure greater economic growth of Uttarakhand in near future.

Way Forward

This study tries to bring fore the need to understand not only the changing relationship between men and women, but also the intersecting nature of identities and how they play out in enabling or preventing access to resources and services. Resources are much more than material assets as they have social, symbolic and relational meaning. The need is to understand the meaning of decision-making, vis a vis, autonomy and empowerment. As far as the geographical region is concerned, viz Kumaon and Garhwal, relative distinction could be made in the position of women, however, they share the same larger reality. Migration results in 'feminization of labour' as it leads to changes in their traditional roles. Increased responsibilities do not transform into egalitarian gender ideologies in society. In other words, women still face gender inequalities, despite experiencing increased autonomy. While the role of major decision-making still lies with the males, the females confer themselves as minor decision-makers, trying to live and adapt according to the patriarchal ideology. In other words, these left behind women can be termed as 'Limited Decision-Makers'.

The empowerment of women in the region is critical to ensure localised and sustained development of Uttarakhand. Although the process of empowerment is long, whose benefits trickle slowly into the society over the course of time, yet its natural speed can be catalysed by active governmental intervention. Governmental intervention comprises legislative and executive measures to ensure greater role of women, especially rural women in Uttarakhand's economy and politics. Progressive legislative measures such as recognition of land rights of women, women-centric agricultural policies such as widespread adoption of farm mechanization, etc., can be taken. Besides legislative measures, various executive measures such as encouragement of promotion of Farmer's Produce Organizations (FPO's), Self Help Groups (SHG's) can be promoted with women as beneficiaries. Such measures will lead to greater income for women in villages by opening new avenues for them in terms of new business and employment opportunities, as well as making traditional agriculture remunerative. Active enforcement of such measures would be only possible with modernised and proactive judiciary at the state level, which will give the women confidence to be vocal and assertive of their rights and privileges.

Besides such initiatives, the government needs to promote the schemes which lead to better health and educational facilities for the girls. Reducing dropout in high schools and empowering them with vocational skills can be great measures to promote empowerment in

the long term. As pointed out by Amartya Sen, women are the agents of change and hence both the Central and State Government need to utilize their inherent strength to promote sustainable development as per local interests, and ebb the flow of migration from the state in the long run.

Appendices

Questionnaire for PhD field research

Appendix A: Migration

Q1. What are the reasons for migration?

- (a) Employment (Permanent)
- (b) Employment (Temporary/Seasonal)
- (c) Better living amenities
- (d) Education
- (e) Other reasons

Q2. What are your views on the present situation with respect to migration?

- (a) Positive
- (b) Negative

If Negative, then why

Probable answers: Education, Government Job, etc.

Q3. How did you and the family make the decision to migrate and leave the family alone?

- (a) Felt sad but had to go for better living
- (b) No such emotion due to established culture of male migration
- (c) Felt happy due to increased employment prospects

Appendix B: Women's Decision-Making

Q1. What were the reasons for your husband's migration?

Q2. Does the husband's presence or absence affect your position in any way in the household?

Q3. Do you find it easy or difficult to manage everything in the absence of a husband?

Q4. Who decides about the day-to-day activities as well as major decisions?

Q5. How much time you spent in farms?

Q6. What are the new responsibilities that you perform in the absence of a husband?

Appendix C: Financial remittances

Q1. What is the nature of job profile?

- (a) Government Sector
- (b) Private Sector
- (c) Business
- (d) Other

Q2. Do you receive remittances?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

Q3. What is the channel of Remittance?

- (a) Bank Transfer
- (b) Post Office
- (c) Relative
- (d) Personal Visits

Q4. What is the average frequency of remittances?

- (a) Monthly
- (b) 4-5 times in a year
- (c) Annually
- (d) Not Fixed
- (e) Others

Q5. Do you get fixed amount?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No

Q6. Expenditure of remittances is largely based on:

- (a) Consumption purposes
- (b) Human Development (Education and Health)
- (c) Investment purposes
- (d) Saving
- (e) Others

Q7. What is the average amount of remittance received?

- (a) Below 2000
- (b) Below 5000
- (c) Between 5000-10000
- (d) More than 10000
- (e) Not fixed

Appendix D: To analyse the role of financial as well as social remittances and their impact on the left behind families, the following subjective questions were asked to know their opinions.

Q1. Do you think remittances play some role in your life (positive or negative)?

Q2. What problems do you face in getting remittances?

Q3. What is the main head on which you spend remittances?

Q4. Have remittances helped in raising your standard of living, better education for children, better health care, and better nutrition in the long term.

Q5. Do you want your children's to migrate?

Q6. Do you witness any change in your position, role and status in comparison to those living with their husbands.

Q7. If given an employment opportunity, will you still wish your children's to migrate?

Q8. Do you want to migrate?

Appendix E: Responses

To further explain, I will try to illustrate through an example on how the study determined who amongst the respondents were empowered or not. Suppose there are two women i.e. Respondent 'A' and Respondent 'B', who answered questions (Appendix B) in the manner of 'Yes' and 'No', as illustrated in the table below.

Questions	Respondent 'A'	Respondent 'B'
1	Yes	No
2	Yes	No
3	Yes	No
4	Yes	Yes
5	No	No
6	No	Yes

We can see, Respondent 'A' has responded 'Yes' to four questions, while Respondent 'B' has responded 'Yes' to two questions. For the purpose of the study, we consider women who have answered to four or more questions as 'Yes', as empowered. Hence, in this case, Respondent 'A' can be considered empowered while Respondent 'B' is not empowered for the purpose of the study.

Bibliography

Books:

- Alsop, Ruth, Mette Bertelsen, and Jeremy Holland. *Empowerment in practice: From analysis to implementation*. USA: The World Bank, 2005.
- Awasthi, I. C. *Livelihood Diversities in Mountain Economy: Constraints and Opportunities*. Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2012.
- Backstrom, Charles. H, and Gerald Hursh-Cesar. *Survey Research*. New York: Wiley, 1981.
- Barbour, Rosaline. *Doing focus groups*. London: Sage, 2007.
- Bergmann, Christoph. *The Himalayan Border Region: Trade, Identity and Mobility in Kumaon, India*. Springer, 2016.
- Bhambhri, Chandra Prakash. *Politics in India, 1991-92*. New Delhi: Shipra Publications, 1992.
- Bisht, Ramila. *Environmental Health in Garhwal Himalaya: A Study of Pauri Garhwal*. New Delhi: Indus Publishing House, 2002.
- Brass, Paul R. *Language, religion and politics in North India*. Bloomington: iUniverse, 2005.
- Brass, Paul R. *The politics of India since independence*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Brass, Paul R., ed. *Ethnic groups and the state*. Barnes & Noble Imports, 1985.
- Brass, Paul R. *An Indian Political Life: Charan Singh and Congress Politics, 1957 to 1967*. India: SAGE Publications, 2012.
- Connell, Raewyn. *Confronting equality: Gender, Knowledge and Global Change*. UK: Polity Press, 2011.
- De Haan, Arjan. "Migration, gender, poverty: family as the missing link." *Poverty, Gender and Migration*. New Delhi: Sage (2006): 107-128.
- Desai, Sonalde, and Kiersten Johnson. "Women's decision making and child health: familial and social hierarchies." *A focus on gender: Collected papers on gender using DHS data 2005* (2005): 55-68.
- Deshingkar, Priya, and Daniel Start. *Seasonal migration for livelihoods in India: Coping, accumulation and exclusion*. vol. 111. London: Overseas Development Institute, 2003.
- Deshingkar, Priya, and John Farrington, eds. *Circular migration and multilocational livelihood strategies in rural India*. USA: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Dogra, Bharat. *Forests, dams, and survival in Tehri Garhwal*. New Delhi: B. Dogra, 1992.

Fei, John, and Gustav Ranis. *Development of Labour Surplus Economy: Theory and Policy*. Homewood, Illinois, Richard A. Irwin, Inc., 1964.

Frank, Søren. *Migration and Literature: Günter Grass, Milan Kundera, Salman Rushdie, and Jan Kjærstad*. US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Guha, Ramachandra, and Joan Martínez Alier. *Varieties of environmentalism: essays North and South*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Guha, Ramachandra. *The unquiet woods: ecological change and peasant resistance in the Himalaya*. California: Univ of California Press, 2000.

Gulati, Leela. *In the Absence of their Men: The Impact of Male Migration on Women*. New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 1993.

Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. *India's silent revolution: the rise of the lower castes in North India*. Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003.

John, Connell, John Connell, Biplab Dasgupta, Roy Laishley, and Michael Lipton. *Migration from rural areas: The evidence from village studies*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Joshi, Puran Chandra. *Uttarakhand: Issues and challenges*. New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 1995.

Joshi, Yashwant Govind. *Tribal Migration*. New Delhi: Rawat Publications, 1997.

Kabeer, Naila , Ragui Assaad, Akosua Darkwah, Simeen Mahmud, Hania Sholkamy, Sakiba Tasneem, and Dzodzi Tsikata, and with statistical support by Munshi Sulaiman. "Paid work, women's empowerment and inclusive growth: Transforming the structures of constraint." *United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, UN Women*. United States: 2013.

Kabeer, Naila. *Reversed realities: Gender hierarchies in development thought*. London: Verso, 1994.

Kabeer, Naila. *The power to choose: Bangladeshi women and labor market decisions in London and Dhaka*. London: Verso, 2002.

Khan, Rasheeduddin. *Bewildered India: identity, pluralism, discord*. India: South Asia Books, 1994.

Khanka, Shobhan Singh. *Labour force, employment, and unemployment in a backward economy: a study of Kumaon region in UP*. Delhi: Himalaya Publishing House, 1988.

Kothari, Rajni. *Rethinking Democracy*, New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2005.

Kothari, Uma. *Migration and chronic poverty*, vol. 16. Manchester: Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2002.

- Krishnaraj, Maithreyi, and Aruna Kanchi. *Women Farmers in India*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2008.
- Kuhn, Thomas. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Kumar, Pradeep. *The Uttarakhand movement: Construction of a regional identity*. New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2000.
- Kumar, Pradeep. *The Uttarakhand Movement: Construction of a Regional Identity*. New Delhi: Kanishka Publication, 2000.
- Lipton, Michael, and Martin Ravallion. "Poverty and policy." *Handbook of Development Economics* 3, eds., Hollis Chenery and T.N.Srinivasan, 1st ed., 2551-2657. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1995.
- Lucas, Robert EB. "Internal migration in developing countries." *Handbook of population and family economics* 1, part B, edited by M.R. Rosenzweig and O. Stark, 721-798. Amsterdam: Elsevier 1997.
- Luttrell, Cecilia, Sitna Quiroz, Claire Scrutton, and Kate Bird. *Understanding and operationalising empowerment*. London: Overseas Development Institute, 2009.
- Mamgain, Rajendra P., and D. Narasimha Reddy. "Out-migration from the hill region of Uttarakhand, Magnitude, Challenges, and policy options." in *Rural Labour Mobility in Times of Structural Transformation*, edited by D. Narasimha Reddy and Kailash Sarap, 209-235. Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Martinez-Alier, Joan. *The Environmentalism of the poor: a study of ecological conflicts and valuation*. UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2003.
- Mason, Karen Oppenheim, and Herbert L. Smith. "Women's empowerment and social context: Results from five Asian countries." *Gender and Development Group, World Bank, Washington, DC* (2003).
- Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. *Worlds in Motion: International Migration at the End of the Millennium*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- McLeman, Robert. "Migration and land degradation: recent experience and future trends." in *The Global Land Outlook Working Paper; United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD): Bonn, Germany*. 2017.
- Mishra, S. K. "Factors and Process of Migration in Developing Economy." In *Frontiers in Migration Analysis*, edited by R.B.Mandal, 227-239. New Delhi: Concept 1981.

Nautiyal, Annpurna .“Separate Uttarakhand State: Political Issue or Economic Necessity.” in *Uttarakhand in Turmoil*, edited by R.R. Nautiyal and Annpurna Nautiyal, 7-12. New Delhi: MD Publications, 1996.

Papola, T. S., ed. *Development of Hill Areas: Issues and Approaches*. New Delhi: Himalaya Publishing House, 1983.

Parry, Jonathan P. *Caste and kinship in Kangra*. Vol. 4. India: Routledge, 2013.

Pathak, Shekhar. "Understanding Colonial and Post-Colonial Uttarakhand." in *Uttarakhand: Need For A Comprehensive Eco-Strategy*, edited by R.P. Dhasmana, 23-32. New Delhi: V K Publishers, 2008.

Radtke, H. Lorraine, Henderikus J. Stam, and Henderikus J. Stam, eds. *Power/gender: Social relations in theory and practice*. Vol. 13. UK: Sage, 1994.

Rao, G. B. "Household coping/survival strategies in drought-prone regions: a case study of Anantapur District." *Andhra Pradesh, India SPWD-Hyderabad Centre* (2001).

Reddy, D. Narasimha. "Rural migrant labour in Andhra Pradesh." *Report submitted to the National Commission on Rural Labour, Government of India* (1990).

Rowlands, Ro. “A Word of the Times, but What Does it Mean? Empowerment in the Discourse and Practice of Development.” in *Women and Empowerment*, edited by Haleh Afshar, 11-34. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998.

Saberwal, Satish. *Roots of crisis: Interpreting contemporary Indian society*. India: SAGE Publications Pvt. Limited, 1996.

Saklani, Atul. *The History of a Himalayan Princely State: Change, Conflicts, and Awakening: an Interpretative History of Princely State of Tehri Garhwal, UP, AD 1815 to 1949 AD*. Delhi: Durga Publications, 1987.

Saklani, Dinesh Prasad. *Ancient Communities of the Himalaya*. New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company, 1998.

Sati, Vishwambhar Prasad. *Himalaya on the Threshold of Change*. Germany: Springer, 2020.

Satyamurthy, T.V. *Region, Religion, Caste, Gender and Culture in Contemporary India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Saxena, Dharendra Prakash. *Rurban Migration In India: Causes And Consequences*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1977.

Sen, Amartya. “Gender and Cooperative Conflicts.” in *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*, edited by I. Tinker, 162-181. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Shah, Giriraj. *Uttarakhand: A Blueprint for Development*. New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1996.

- Sharma, Alakh N. *People on the move: Nature and implications of migration in a backward economy*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1997.
- Toulmin, Stephen E. *The Uses of Argument Updated Editions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Usher, Erica. *The millennium development goals and migration*. Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration, 2005.
- Whittaker, William. "Migration and Agrarian Change in Garhwal District, Uttar Pradesh" in *Understanding Green Revolutions*, edited by Tim P. Bayliss-Smith and Sudhir Wanmali, 109-135. London: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Wyatt, Andrew, and John Zavos, eds. *Decentring the Indian Nation*. London: Routledge, 2004.
- Yadava, K. "Rural Out-Migration in Uttar Pradesh and Its Economic Implications for Migrant Households." *Population and development in Uttar Pradesh*. New Delhi: BR Publishing Corporation, 1997.

Journal Articles:

- Abadan-Unat, Nermin. "Implications of migration on emancipation and pseudo-emancipation of Turkish women." *International Migration Review* 11, no. 1 (1977): 31-58.
- Adams Jr, Richard H., and Alfredo Cuecuecha. "Remittances, household expenditure and investment in Guatemala." *World Development* 38, no. 11 (2010): 1626-1641.
- Agarwal, Bina. "'Bargaining' and gender relations: Within and beyond the household." *Feminist economics* 3, no. 1 (1997): 1-51.
- Agasty, Mahendra P., and Rabi N. Patra. "Migration of labour and left-behind women: A case study of rural Odisha." *American International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences* 7, no. 1 (2014): 28-33.
- Amin, Ruhul, and Stan Becker. "NGO-promoted microcredit programs and women's empowerment in rural Bangladesh: quantitative and qualitative evidence." *The journal of developing areas* 32, no. 2 (1998): 221-236.
- Asiedu, Alex. "Some benefits of migrants' return visits to Ghana." *Population, Space and Place* 11, no.1 (2005): 1-11.

Awasthi, I. C. "Migration Patterns in Hill Economy of Uttarakhand: Evidence from Field Enquiry." *The Indian Economic Journal* 57, no. 4 (2010): 84-99.

Baba, Baayah, Peter Mc Gregor, and Kamaruzaman Jusoff. "Today's relevancy of the migration determinants theory." *Asian Social Science* 4, no. 9 (2008): 84-95.

Bahuguna, Pankaj, and O. K. Belwal. "Regression model approach for out-migration on demographic aspects of rural areas of Pauri Garhwal." *International Journal of Management and Social Sciences Research (IJMSSR)* 2, no. 8 (2013): 175-182.

Barajas, Adolfo, Ralph Chami, Connel Fullenkamp, and Anjali Garg. "The Global Financial Crisis and Workers' Remittances to Africa: What's the Damage?." *Journal of African Development* 12, no.1 (2010): 73-96.

Baruah, Sanjib. "Minority Policy in the North-East: Achievements and Dangers." *Economic and Political Weekly* 24, no. 37 (1989): 2087-2091.

Batliwala, Srilatha . "Putting power back into empowerment," *Democracy* 50 (2007): 3.

Belwal, O. K. "Hill out-migration from Uttarakhand: Access to livelihood, education and other determinants of movement." *Demography India* 36, no. 1 (2007): 135-143.

Bertrand, Trent, and Lyn Squire. "The relevance of the dual economy model: A case study of Thailand." *Oxford Economic Papers* 32, no. 3 (1980): 480-511.

Beteille, Andre. "Poverty and inequality." *Economic and Political Weekly* 38, no. 42 (2003): 4455-4463.

Bhatkoti, D.N, and M.M. Semwal. "Elites and Political Change vis-à-vis Mass Movement Politics in Uttarakhand." *Samaj Vigyan Shodh Patrika* 1 (2007): 135-145.

Bloom, Shelah S., David Wypij, and Monica Das Gupta. "Dimensions of women's autonomy and the influence on maternal health care utilization in a north Indian city." *Demography* 38, no. 1 (2001): 67-78.

Braunvan, J. "Towards a renewed focus on rural development." *Agriculture and Rural Development* 11, no.2 (2004): 4-6.

Chami, Ralph, Connel Fullenkamp and Samir Jahjah. "Are Immigrant Remittance Flows a Source of Capital for Development?." *IMF Working Papers WP/03/189*, 52, no. 1 (September 2003): 55-81.

Chand, Krishan, K. C. Singhal, and Sanjay Modi. "Socio-economic variables and process of migration in sugar industry of Punjab." *Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 41, no. 4 (1998): 675-693.

Collyer, Michael , Franck Düvell, and Hein De Haas. "Critical approaches to transit migration." *Population, Space and Place* 18, no.4 (2012): 407-414.

Comes, Calin-Adrian, Elena Bunduchi, Valentina Vasile, and Daniel Stefan. "The Impact of foreign direct investments and remittances on economic growth: A case study in central and eastern Europe." *Sustainability* 10, no. 1 (2018): 238.

Cooray, Arusha. "The impact of migrant remittances on economic growth: evidence from South Asia." *Review of International Economics* 20, no. 5 (2012): 985-998.

Cortes, Geneviève. "Women and Migrations: Those Who Stay. Introduction." *EchoGéo* 37 (2016).

Cox Edwards, Alejandra, and Manuelita Ureta. "International Migration, Remittances, and Schooling: Evidence from El Salvador." *Journal of Development Economics* 72, no. 2 (2003): 429-461.

Cox-Edwards, Alejandra, and Eduardo Rodríguez-Oreggia. "Remittances and labor force participation in Mexico: an analysis using propensity score matching." *World Development* 37, no. 5 (2009): 1004-1014.

Das, Miranda. "Male Out-migration and Women in Rural Bihar: A Socio-legal Study." *Journal of Migration Affairs* 1, no. 1 (2018): 21-40.

De Haan, Arjan. "Migration and livelihoods in historical perspective: A case study of Bihar, India." *Journal of development studies* 38, no. 5 (2002): 115-142.

De Haan, Arjan. "Migration as family strategy: rural-urban labor migration in India during the twentieth century." *The History of the Family* 2, no. 4 (1997): 481-505.

De Snyder, V. Neily Salgado. "Family life across the border: Mexican wives left behind." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 15, no. 3 (1993): 391-401.

Desai, Sonalde, and Manjistha Banerji. "Negotiated identities: male migration and left-behind wives in India." *Journal of Population Research* 25, no. 3 (2008): 337-355.

Devi, P. Ambiga, K. T. Geetha, and K. R. Gomathi. "Rural out-migration: Two group discriminant analysis." *Social Change* 39, no. 1 (2009): 85-101.

Dhanai, Rekha, and R.S. Negi. "Migration as a livelihood strategy in Uttarakhand." *Yojana* 62, no. 11 (2014): 35-37.

Dhar, T. N., and S. P. Gupta. "Himalayan States of India—Development Profiles." *SHERPA, Lucknow* (1992): 408.

Dimutru, Speranta. "From 'Brain Drain' to 'Care Drain': Women's Labor Migration and Methodological Sexism," *Women's Studies International Forum* 47, Part B (2014): 202-212.

Durand, Jorge, William Kandel, Emilio A. Parrado, and Douglas S. Massey. "International migration and development in Mexican communities." *Demography* 33, no. 2 (1996): 249-264.

Duvvury, Nata. "Women in agriculture: a review of the Indian literature." *Economic and Political Weekly* (1989): WS96-WS112.

Edwards, Alejandra Cox, and Manuelita Ureta. "International migration, remittances, and schooling: evidence from El Salvador." *Journal of development economics* 72, no. 2 (2003): 429-461.

Ehrhardt, Anke A., Sharif Sawires, Terry McGovern, Dean Peacock, and Mark Weston. "Gender, empowerment, and health: what is it? How does it work?." *Journal of acquired immune deficiency syndromes* 51, no. Suppl 3 (2009): S96-S105.

Engel, Barbara Alpern. "The woman's side: male out-migration and the family economy in Kostroma Province." *Slavic Review* 45, no. 2 (1986): 257-271.

Fakir, Adnan M.S., and Naveen Abedin. "Empowered by Absence: Does Male Out-Migration Empower Female Household Heads Left-Behind?." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 22 (2021): 503-527

Farooquee, Nehal A., and R. K. Maikhuri. "Role of the state on forests: Case of Uttarakhand." *Economic and Political Weekly* (2007): 3537-3540.

Fayissa, Bichaka, and Christian Nsiah. "The impact of remittances on economic growth and development in Africa." *The American Economist* 55, no. 2 (2010): 92-103.

Fine, Michelle, and Pat Macpherson. "Over dinner: Feminism and adolescent female bodies." *Power/gender: Social relations in theory and practice* 13 (1994): 219.

Gairola, Sumeet, C.M. Sharma, S.K.Ghildiyal, Sarvesh Suyal, C.S.Rana, and D.S.Butola. "Biodiversity Conservation and Sustainable Rural Development in the Garhwal Himalaya." *Report and Opinion* 1, no.4 (2009): 6-12.

Gartaula, Hom Nath, Leontine Visser, and Anke Niehof. "Socio-cultural dispositions and wellbeing of the women left behind: A case of migrant households in Nepal." *Social indicators research* 108, no. 3 (2012): 401-420.

Ghaffari, Hadi, and S. P. Singh. "Rural-urban migration: A search for economic determinants." *Indian Journal of Economics* 84 (2004): 443-458.

Goldscheider, Calvin. "Migration and social structure: Analytic issues and comparative perspectives in developing nations." *Sociological Forum* 2, no. 4 (1987): 674-696.

Gordon, Elizabeth. "An analysis of the impact of labour migration on the lives of women in Lesotho." *The Journal of Development Studies* 17, no. 3 (1981): 59-76.

Grillo, Ralph, and Valentina Mazzucato. "Africa<> Europe: A double engagement." *Journal of ethnic and migration studies* 34, no. 2 (2008): 175-198.

Guha, Ramachandra. "Forestry in British and post-British India: A historical analysis." *Economic and Political Weekly* 18, no. 44 (1983): 1882-1896.

Guha, Ramachandra. "Scientific forestry and social change in Uttarakhand." *Economic and Political Weekly* 20, no. 45/47 (1985): 1939-1952.

Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson. "Beyond "culture": Space, identity, and the politics of difference." *Cultural anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1992): 6-23.

Gupta, S. P., and B. L. Prajapati. "Migration of Agricultural Labourers in Chattisgarh Region of Madhya Pradesh: A Micro Level Study." *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 41, no. 4 (1998): 707-715.

Gupta, Sanjeev, Catherine A. Pattillo, and Smita Wagh. "Effect of remittances on poverty and financial development in Sub-Saharan Africa." *World development* 37, no. 1 (2009): 104-115.

Haan, Arjan de. "Rural-urban migration and poverty: The case of India." *IDS Bulletin* 28, no. 2 (1997): 35-47.

Hadi, Abdullahel. "International migration and the change of women's position among the left-behind in rural Bangladesh." *International Journal of Population Geography* 7, no. 1 (2001): 53-61.

Hanmer, Lucia, and Jeni Klugman. "Exploring women's agency and empowerment in developing countries: Where do we stand?." *Feminist Economics* 22, no. 1 (2016): 237-263.

Harris, John R., and Michael P. Todaro. "Migration, unemployment and development: a two-sector analysis." *The American economic review* 60, no. 1 (1970): 126-142.

Hassan, Gazi Mainul, and Shamim Shakur. "Nonlinear effects of remittances on per capita GDP growth in Bangladesh." *Economies* 5, no. 3 (2017): 25.

Heaslip, Ashley. "Ecology is Permanent Economy An Examination of 'Environmentalism of the Poor' and the Chipko Movement." *On Politics* 1, no. 1 (2005): 29-42.

Hildebrandt, Nicole, David J. McKenzie, Gerardo Esquivel, and Ernesto Schargrotsky. "The effects of migration on child health in Mexico [with comments]." *Economia* 6, no. 1 (2005): 257-289.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. "Overcoming patriarchal constraints: The reconstruction of gender relations among Mexican immigrant women and men." *Gender & Society* 6, no. 3 (1992): 393-415.

Hoodfar, Homa. "The impact of male migration on domestic budgeting: Egyptian women striving for an Islamic budgeting pattern." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 28, no. 2 (1997): 73-98.

Horowitz, Berny, and Madhu Kishwar. "Family Life-The Unequal Deal: Women's Condition and Family Life among Agricultural Labourers and Small Farmers in a Punjab Village.'" *Manushi* 2 (1982).

Hrudanand, Misra. "Rural–Urban Migration in India: A Micro-level Study." *The Indian Journal of Social Work* 70, no. 1 (2016): 5-25.

Hussain, Shabbir, Badar Naseem Siddiqui, and Muhammad Zakaria Yousuf Hassan. "A sociological study of factors responsible for migration: a case study of Faisalabad city (Pakistan)." *Educ* 32 (2004): 26-7.

Ikuomola, Adediran Daniel. "An exploration of life experiences of left behind wives in Edo State, Nigeria." *Journal of Comparative Research in Anthropology and Sociology* 6, no. 01 (2015): 289-307.

Jana, Purna, Sabyasachi Dasgupta, and Nagendra P. Todaria. "Impact and ecosystem service of forest and sacred grove as saviour of water quantity and quality in Garhwal Himalaya, India." *Environmental monitoring and assessment* 189, no. 9 (2017): 1-10.

Jetley, S. "Education and Occupational Mobility: A UP Village." *Economic and Political Weekly* (1969): 725-727.

Jetley, Surinder. "Impact of male migration on rural females." *Economic and political weekly* 22, no. 44 (1987): WS47-WS53.

Johnston, Denis F., and Michael J. Carley. "Chapter 11: Social Measurement and Social Indicators." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 453, no. 1 (1981): 237-253.

Jones, Huw, and Sirinan Kittisuksathit. "International labour migration and quality of life: Findings from rural Thailand." *International Journal of Population Geography* 9, no. 6 (2003): 517-530.

Joshi, Bhagwati. "Recent trends of rural out-migration and its socio-economic and environmental impacts in Uttarakhand Himalaya." *Journal of Urban and Regional Studies on Contemporary India* 4, no. 2 (2018): 1-14.

Joshi, Purna Chandra. "Child of the Himalayas." *Economic and Political Weekly* 39, no. 17 (2004): 1732-1740.

Joshi, Samir, and Vinod Padasia. "Labour Migration: Process, Causes, Effects and Remedies." *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 34, no. 4 (1991): 325-330.

Kabeer, Naila. "Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment." *Development and change* 30, no. 3 (1999): 435-464.

Kakati, Bhaskar Kumar. "Out-migration and its bearing on left-behind woman: Case in a Jharkhand village." *Social Change and Development* 11, no. 2 (2014): 83-89.

Kanaiaupuni, Shawn Malia. "Reframing the migration question: An analysis of men, women, and gender in Mexico." *Social forces* 78, no. 4 (2000): 1311-1347.

Kandari, Prashant. "Migration pattern and the increasing participation of females in the economy of hill rural areas: A study of Pauri district in Uttarakhand." *Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 17, no. 5 (2013): 27-33.

Karagöz, Kadir. "Workers' Remittances and Economic Growth: Evidence from Turkey." *Journal of Yaşar University* 4, no. 13 (2009): 1891-1908.

KC, Luna, Gemma Van Der Haar, and Dorothea Hilhorst. "Changing gender role: Women's livelihoods, conflict and post-conflict security in Nepal." *Journal of Asian Security and International Affairs* 4, no. 2 (2017): 175-195.

King, Russell, Esmeralda Uruci, and Julie Vullnetari. "Albanian migration and its effects in comparative perspective." *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 13, no. 3 (2011): 269-286.

Kishwar, Madhu, and Ruth Vanita. "Land Fragmentation and Inheritance Rights for Women." *Manushi* 57 (1990): 3-9.

Kopnina, Helen. "Toward conservational anthropology: addressing anthropocentric bias in anthropology." *Dialectical Anthropology* 36, no. 1 (2012): 127-146.

Kothari, Uma. "Introduction: migration, staying put and livelihoods." *Journal of International Development* 15, no. 5 (2003): 607.

Kundu, Amitabh. "Migration, Urbanisation and Inter-Regional Inequality: The Emerging Socio-Political Challenge," *Economic and Political Weekly* (1986): 2005-2008.

Kundu, Amitabh. "Urbanisation and urban governance: Search for a perspective beyond Neo-Liberalism." *Economic and political Weekly* (2003): 3079-3087.

Kynch, Jocelyn, and Amartya Sen. "Indian women: well-being and survival." *Cambridge journal of economics* 7, no. 3/4 (1983): 363-380.

Lee, Everett S. "A theory of migration." *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966): 47-57.

Lenoël, Audrey. "The "three ages" of left-behind Moroccan wives: Status, decision-making power, and access to resources." *Population, space and place* 23, no. 8 (2017): e2077.

Levitt, Peggy, and Deepak Lamba-Nieves. "Social remittances revisited." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37, no. 1 (2011): 1-22.

Levitt, Peggy. "Social remittances: Migration driven local-level forms of cultural diffusion." *International migration review* 32, no. 4 (1998): 926-948.

Lewis, William Arthur. "Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour." *Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies* 22 (1954): 139-91.

Li, Xiaoyang, John McHale, and Xuan Zhou. "Does brain drain lead to institutional gain?." *The World Economy* 40, no. 7 (2017): 1454-1472.

Mahler, Sarah J., and Patricia R. Pessar. "Gender matters: Ethnographers bring gender from the periphery toward the core of migration studies." *International migration review* 40, no. 1 (2006): 27-63.

Mahmud, Simeen, Nirali M. Shah, and Stan Becker. "Measurement of women's empowerment in rural Bangladesh." *World development* 40, no. 3 (2012): 610-619.

Maity, Kingsuk, Debasis Mazumdar and Pinaki Das. "Male Out-Migration and its Impact on Women's Empowerment in West Bengal." *Economic Affairs* 63, no. 2 (2018): 459-467.

Manhas, Deepak S, and R.S. Negi. "Destination, Distance and Place Pattern of Hill Rural Out-Migration: A Study of Garhwal District, Uttarakhand, India." *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 4, no. 9 (2016).

Massey, Douglas S., Joaquin Arango, Graeme Hugo, Ali Kouaouci, Adela Pellegrino, and J. Edward Taylor. "Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal." *Population and development review* (1993): 431-466.

Mawdsley, Emma. "A new Himalayan state in India: Popular perceptions of regionalism, politics, and development." *Mountain Research and Development* 19, no. 2 (1999): 101-112.

Mawdsley, Emma. "Redrawing the body politic: Federalism, regionalism and the creation of new states in India." *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 40, no. 3 (2002): 34-54.

Mawdsley, Emma. "Uttarakhand Agitation and Other Backward Classes," *Economic and Political Weekly* 31, no. 4 (1996): 205-210. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i397160>.

McDonald, Peter. "Gender equity, social institutions and the future of fertility." *Journal of the Australian Population Association* 17, no. 1 (2000): 1-16.

Menjívar, Cecilia, and Victor Agadjanian. "Men's migration and women's lives: Views from rural Armenia and Guatemala." *Social Science Quarterly* 88, no. 5 (2007): 1243-1262.

Menken, Jane. "Seasonal migration and seasonal variation in fecundability: Effects on birth rates and birth intervals." *Demography* 16, no. 1 (1979): 103-119.

Meyer, Dietmar, and Adela Shera. "The impact of remittances on economic growth: An econometric model." *Economia* 18, no. 2 (2017): 147-155.

Mishra, R. R., and A. R. Reddy. "Factors Affecting Migration from Rural Bihar." *Economic Affairs (Calcutta)* 50, no. 2 (2005): 98.

- Misra, Amaresh. "Reservation is not the Issue." *Economic and Political Weekly* (1994): 2467-2468.
- Mitra, Arup and Mayumi Murayama. "Rural to Urban Migration: A District-Level Analysis for India." *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care* 5, no. 2 (2009): 35-52.
- Moller, Joanne. "Anti-reservation protests and the Uttarakhand pro-autonomy movement: Caste and regional identities in the Indian Himalayas." *South Asia Research* 20, no. 2 (2000): 147-169.
- N. Narayan, "Contextualizing unpaid care work and women empowerment," *International Journal of Applied Research* 3, no. 7 (2017): 654-659.
- Naithani, Pankaj. "On Industrial Development of Uttarakhand: Policy Framework and Empirical Evidence." *The Journal of Industrial Statistics* 3, no.1 (2014): 140-151.
- Nancie, L., and Solien de Gonzalez. "Family organization in five types of migratory wage labor." *American Anthropologist* (1961): 1264-1280.
- Negi, Chandra Singh. "Developing Sacred Forests into Biodiversity Heritage Sites-Experiences from the State of Uttarakhand, Central Himalaya, India." *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge* 1, no. 1 (2015): 96-102.
- Nguyen, Liem, Brenda SA Yeoh, and Mika Toyota. "Migration and the well-being of the 'left behind' in Asia: Key themes and trends." *Asian Population Studies* 2, no. 1 (2006): 37-44.
- Oberheim, Eric. "On the historical origins of the contemporary notion of incommensurability: Paul Feyerabend's assault on conceptual conservatism." *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part A* 36, no. 2 (2005): 363-390.
- Pande, Vasudha. "Kumaun Histories and Kumauni Identities c. 1815–1990's." *Summerhill* 24, no. 1 (2020): 36-44.
- Parasuraman, S. "Migration and its effect on the family." *Indian journal of social work* 47, no. 1 (1986): 1-14.
- Parida, Jajati K., Sanjay K. Mohanty, and K. Ravi Raman. "Remittances, household expenditure and investment in rural India: Evidence from NSS data." *Indian Economic Review* (2015): 79-104.
- Parida, Jajati K., Sanjay K. Mohanty, and K. Ravi Raman. "Remittances, Household Expenditure and Investment in Rural India: Evidence from NSS Data." *Indian Economic Review* 50, no. 1 (2015): 79-104.
- Parida, S. "When Men Migrate." *News Reach* 5, no. 10 (2005): 10-13.

Parihar, Arti. "Tea cultivation and sustainable development in Kumaon region: a case study of Ghorakhal Organic Tea Estate." *International Journal for Research in Applied Science and Engineering Technology* 6, no. 1 (2018): 3457-3467.

Paris, Thelma, Abha Singh, Joyce Luis, and Mahabub Hossain. "Labour outmigration, livelihood of rice farming households and women left behind: a case study in Eastern Uttar Pradesh." *Economic and political weekly* (2005): 2522-2529.

Pathak, Shekhar, and Hira Bhakuni. "Rise and Growth of Kumaon Parishad, 1916-26." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 48 (1987): 397-403.

Pathak, Shekhar. "State, society and natural resources in Himalaya: Dynamics of change in colonial and post-colonial Uttarakhand." *Economic and Political Weekly* 32, no. 17 (1997): 908-912.

Piché, Victor, and Catriona Dutreuilh. "Contemporary migration theories as reflected in their founding texts." *Population* 68, no. 1 (2013): 141-164.

Pradhan, Gyan, Mukti Upadhyay, and Kamal Upadhyaya. "Remittances and economic growth in developing countries." *The European journal of development research* 20, no. 3 (2008): 497-506.

Pradhan, Hemachandra, and Sujit Kumar Luha. "Economic Aspects of Rural Households Labour Migration: Trends and Determinants in Bijepur in Bargarh Districts of Odisha." *Imperial journal of Interdisciplinary Research (IJIR)* 2, no. 11, (2016): 2054-2068.

Ramirez, Miguel D. "Do financial and institutional variables enhance the impact of remittances on economic growth in Latin America and the Caribbean? A panel cointegration analysis." *International Advances in Economic Research* 19, no. 3 (2013): 273-288.

Rao, Nitya and Asha Hans. "Gender and Climate Change Emergent Issues for Research, Policy and Practice." *Economic and Political Weekly* 53, no. 17 (2018): 35-37.

Ravenstein, Ernest George. "The laws of migration." *Journal of the statistical society of London* 48, no. 2 (1885): 167-235.

Razi, Shahin. "Rural Distress and Rural Migration." *Kurukshetra* 62, no. 11 (2014): 3-6.

Rodriguez, Edgard R., and Erwin R. Tiongson. "Temporary migration overseas and household labor supply: evidence from urban Philippines." *International Migration Review* 35, no. 3 (2001): 709-725.

Rogaly, B., Biswas, J., Coppard, D., Rafique, A., Rana, K. and Sengupta, A., 2001. Seasonal migration, social change and migrants' rights: Lessons from West Bengal. *Economic and political weekly*, pp.4547-4559.

Sadiqi, Fatima and Moha Ennaji. "The Impact of Male Migration from Morocco to Europe on Women: A Gender Approach." *Finisterra* 39, no. 77 (2004): 59-76.

Saklani, Atul. "Changing Nature of Unrest in Princely Himalaya: Colonialism as an Expression of Structural Differentiation." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 46 (1985): 507-516.

Sati, Vishwambhar Prasad. "Patterns and implications of rural-urban migration in the Uttarakhand Himalaya, India." *Annals of Natural Sciences* 2, no. 1 (2016): 26-37.

Schuler, Sidney Ruth and Syed M. Hashemi. "Credit programs, women's empowerment, and contraceptive use in rural Bangladesh." *Studies in family planning* (1994): 65-76.

Sekhar, T. V. "Male emigration and changes in the family: impact on female sex roles." *Indian Journal of Social Work* 57 (1996): 277-294.

Sekhar, T. V. "Migration selectivity from rural areas: Evidence from Kerala." *Demography India* 22, no. 2 (1993): 191-202.

Shaikh, Ghulam Mustafa, Muhammad Tariq, and Irfan Haider Shakri. "Remittances and Economic Growth in Pakistan: A Time Series Analysis." *Global Management Journal for Academic & Corporate Studies* 6, no. 2 (2016): 36-48.

Shamim, Farkhanda, Najeeba Tazeen and Naveeda Qaseem. "Labor Migration and Gender Empowerment: A Case Study of Housemaids." *Asian Social Science* 10, no. 3 (2014): 232.

Sharma, Ursula M. "Migration as a household process: Data from Himachal Pradesh." *Sociological bulletin* 36, no. 2 (1987): 61-79.

Shylendra, H. S., and P. Thomas. "Non-Farm Employment: nature, magnitude and determinants in a semi-arid village of Western India." *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics* 50, no. 902-2018-3379 (1995): 410-416.

Singh, Sukhdev, and Amandeep Kaur. "Causes and consequences of migrant labour in Ludhiana city: a case study." *Journal of Research* 43, no. 2 (2006): 144-147.

Sinha, Babita, Smita Jha, and Nalin Singh Negi. "Migration and empowerment: the experience of women in households in India where migration of a husband has occurred." *Journal of Gender Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 61-76.

Sjaastad, Larry A. "The costs and returns of human migration." *Journal of political Economy* 70, no. 5, Part 2 (1962): 80-93.

Skeldon, Ronald. "Rural-to-urban migration and its implications for poverty alleviation." *Asia-Pacific Population Journal* 12, no. 1 (1997): 3-16.

Srivastava, Ravi, and Sangeetha Bhattacharyya. "Globalisation, reforms and internal labour mobility: analysis of recent Indian trends." *Labour and Development* 9, no. 2 (2003): 31-55.

Srivastava, Ravi. "Migration and the Labour Market in India." *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics* 41, no. 4 (1998): 583-616.

Stark, Oded, and David E. Bloom. "The new economics of labor migration." *The American Economic Review* 75, no. 2 (1985): 173-178.

Staudt, Kathleen. "" Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development" Edited by Irene Tinker (Book Review)." *The Journal of Developing Areas* 25, no. 4 (1991): 553.

Taylor, J. Edward, and Alejandro Lopez-Feldman. "Does migration make rural households more productive? Evidence from Mexico." *The Journal of Development Studies* 46, no. 1 (2010): 68-90.

Taylor, J. Edward, and Philip L. Martin. "Human capital: Migration and rural population change." *Handbook of agricultural economics* 1 (2001): 457-511.

Thakur, S. C. P., R. R. Mishra, and J. N. Choudhary. "Migration of Agricultural Labourers in Bihar in the Perspective of Underdeveloped and Developed Agriculture." *Economic Affairs (Calcutta)* 42, no. 1 (1997): 28.

Todaro, Michael P. "A model of labor migration and urban unemployment in less developed countries." *The American economic review* 59, no. 1 (1969): 138-148.

Tuteja, Usha. "Agriculture Profile of Uttarakhand." *Agricultural Economics Research Centre*. University of Delhi (2013), 1-12.

Ullah, Ahsan AKM. "Male migration and 'left-behind' women: Bane or boon?." *Environment and Urbanization ASIA* 8, no. 1 (2017): 59-73.

V. Neily Salgado De Snyder, "Family Life Across the Border: Mexican Wives Left Behind," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 15, no. 3 (1993): 391-401.

Yadava, Kedar NS, Surendar S. Yadava, and R. K. Sinha. "Rural Out-migration and its Economic Implications on Migrant Households in India-A Review." *Indian Economic Journal* 44, no. 2 (1996): 21-38.

Zachariah, Kunniparambil Curien, and S. Irudaya Rajan. "Gender dimensions of migration in Kerala: macro and micro evidence." *Asia Pacific Population Journal* 16, no. 3 (2001): 47-70.

Zachariah, Kunniparambil Curien, Elangikal Thomas Mathew, and S. Irudaya Rajan. "Social, economic and demographic consequences of migration on Kerala." *International migration* 39, no. 2 (2001): 43-71.

Zachariah, Kunniparambil Curien, Elangikal Thomas Mathew, and S. Irudaya Rajan. "Impact of migration on Kerala's economy and society." *International Migration* 39, no. 1 (2001): 63-87.

Newspaper Sources (Online):

Chakravartty, Anupam. "Undone by rampant mining, illegal buildings." *Down to Earth*. June 24, 2013. Accessed on April 24, 2018.

<https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/urbanisation/undone-by-rampant-mining-illegal-buildings-41450>.

Chaturvedi, Rakesh Mohan. "Uttarakhand politically unstable since formation." *The Economic Times*. March 28, 2016. Accessed on July 10, 2020.

<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/uttarakhand-politically-unstable-since-formation/articleshow/51577198.cms>.

Guha, Ramachandra. "Why Uttarakhand is more like Jharkhand than Himachal." *The Hindustan Times*. November 22, 2015. Accessed on April 11, 2017.

<https://www.hindustantimes.com/columns/why-uttarakhand-is-more-like-jharkhand-than-himachal/story-AHIR7z43FSjAie3SmerDkJ.html>.

"Hills of Uttarakhand filled with 'Ghost Villages' as Growth Inequality Widens." *Hindustan Times*, March 10, 2017. Accessed on April 18, 2019. [https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/growth-inequality-is-emptying-out-entire-villages-in-uttarakhand/story-](https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/growth-inequality-is-emptying-out-entire-villages-in-uttarakhand/story-8WKFLavV90OkqR1uQsIbWM.html)

[8WKFLavV90OkqR1uQsIbWM.html](https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/growth-inequality-is-emptying-out-entire-villages-in-uttarakhand/story-8WKFLavV90OkqR1uQsIbWM.html).

Joshi, B.K. "Why are people migrating from Uttarakhand," *The National Herald*. June 10, 2018. Accessed on December 26, 2020, <https://www.nationalheraldindia.com/opinion/why-are-people-migrating-from-uttarakhand>.

Joshi, B.K. Joshi. "There's little to worry over migration from Uttarakhand." *The National Herald*. June 10, 2018. Accessed on December 26, 2020.

<https://www.nationalheraldindia.com/opinion/theres-little-to-worry-over-migration-2>.

"Migration a multi-billion dollar industry: Amitav Ghosh." *The Business Standard*. June 19, 2019. Accessed on October 22, 2020. [https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-](https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/migration-a-multi-billion-dollar-industry-amitav-ghosh-119061900557_1.html)

[stories/migration-a-multi-billion-dollar-industry-amitav-ghosh-119061900557_1.html](https://www.business-standard.com/article/pti-stories/migration-a-multi-billion-dollar-industry-amitav-ghosh-119061900557_1.html).

"Over 700 Uttarakhand villages deserted in 10 years." *The Economic Times*. May 6, 2018.

Accessed on November 16, 2019. <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/over-700-uttarakhand-villages-deserted-in-10-years-report/articleshow/64044151.cms>.

Ramaseshan, Radhika. "Safety Clause for Sikh Enclave in Uttarakhand." *The Telegraph*.

December 8, 1999. Accessed on March 22, 2015.

<https://www.telegraphindia.com/india/safety-clause-for-sikh-enclave-in-uttarakhand/cid/908652>.

Ramola, Ajay. "Kingdom that Mughals could never win." *The Tribune*. February 21, 2016. Accessed on February 17, 2020.

<https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/archive/features/kingdom-that-mughals-could-never-win-199323>.

Sainath, P. "The Migrant and the Moral Economy of the Elite." *India Today*. June 8, 2020.

Accessed on May 12, 2021. <https://www.indiatoday.in/magazine/cover-story/story/20200608-the-migrant-and-the-moral-economy-of-the-elite-1683242-2020-05-30>.

Sen, Sunanda. "Rethinking Migration and the Informal Indian Economy in the Time of Pandemic." *The Wire*. June 1, 2020. Accessed on January 17, 2021.

<https://thewire.in/economy/rethinking-migration-and-the-informal-indian-economy-in-the-time-of-a-pandemic>.

Srivastava, Rajiv. "Hill State was carved out after 70 Years of Struggle." *The Times of India*. November 17, 2011. Accessed on February 12, 2020.

<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/lucknow/Hill-state-was-carved-out-after-70-yrs-of-struggle/articleshow/10763132.cms>

Talwar, Gaurav. "Illegal mining continues to be a persistent problem in Doon." *The Times of India*. November 19, 2019. Accessed on February 12, 2020.

<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/dehradun/illegal-mining-continues-to-be-a-prrsistent-problem-in-doon/articleshow/72115435.cms>.

Web Sources:

"A Culture of Migration." *Project for the Study of the 21st Century*. Accessed on November 22, 2020. <https://projects21.org/2015/11/04/a-culture-of-migration/>.

Adams, Richard, Alfredo Cuecuecha, and John Page. "The Impact of Remittances on Poverty and Inequality in Ghana." *Policy Research Working Papers*, World Bank Group. June 2013. Accessed on November 24, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1596/1813-9450-4732>.

"Background." Rural Development and Migration Commission. Accessed on February 18, 2019. <http://www.uttarakhandpalayanayog.com/>.

Chimhowu, Admos, Jenifer Piesse, and Caroline Pinder. "Assessing the impact of migrant workers' remittances on poverty." in *EDIAS Conference on New Directions in Impact*

Assessment for Development: Methods and Practice, United Kingdom. November 24-25, 2003. Accessed on May 18, 2021.

<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.198.5116&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

Deshingkar, Priya, and Sven Grimm. "Internal Migration and Development: A Global Perspective." *United Nations Publications*, 2005. Accessed on February 22, 2017,

<https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/68.pdf>.

Dobriyal, Manmohan . "Why Cutting Down Chirpine is not a Solution to Uttarakhand Forest Fires." *Down to Earth*. September 21, 2015. Accessed on October 19, 2016.

[https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/forests/why-cutting-down-chirpine-is-not-a-solution-to-uttarakhand-forest-fires-](https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/forests/why-cutting-down-chirpine-is-not-a-solution-to-uttarakhand-forest-fires-51178#:~:text=It%20is%20an%20established%20fact,wood%2C%20funeral%20wood%20and%20furniture)

[51178#:~:text=It%20is%20an%20established%20fact,wood%2C%20funeral%20wood%20and%20furniture](https://www.downtoearth.org.in/blog/forests/why-cutting-down-chirpine-is-not-a-solution-to-uttarakhand-forest-fires-51178#:~:text=It%20is%20an%20established%20fact,wood%2C%20funeral%20wood%20and%20furniture).

Gadgil, Madhav. "Sacred Groves: An Ancient Tradition of Nature Conservation." *Scientific American*. December 2018. Accessed on December 12, 2019.

<https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/sacred-groves-an-ancient-tradition-of-nature-conservation/>.

Gupta, Sanjeev , Catherine Pattillo, and Smita Wagh. "Impact of Remittances on Poverty and Financial Development in Sub-Saharan Africa." *IMF Working Paper no. 07/38* (February, 2007): 1-43.

Hagen-Zanker, Jessica. "Effects of remittances and migration on migrant sending countries, communities and households." *Economic and Private Sector*, ODI. January 2015. Accessed on May, 18, 2021.

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08999e915d3cfd000326/Effects_of_remittances_and_migration_56.pdf.

Hagen-Zanker, Jessica. "Potential products and policies to leverage productive use of migration and remittances." *Economic and Private Sector*, ODI. June 2014: 12. Accessed on May 18, 2021.

https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08999e5274a31e0000188/Products_and_policies_to_leverage_use_of_migration_and_remittances_58.pdf.

"Human Development Report of the State of Uttarakhand." *Institute for Human Development*. December 31, 2018. Accessed January 17, 2019.

https://des.uk.gov.in/files/HDR_Report_Uttarakhand.pdf.

“Impact of Remittances on Poverty in Developing countries.” *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development*, United Nations, New York and Geneva. 2011. Accessed on January 12, 2015. https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/ditctncd20108_en.pdf.

“Introduction.” Census of India. Accessed on August 17, 2016.

https://censusindia.gov.in/Data_Products/Data_Highlights/Data_Highlights_link/Datahighlights_HH567.pdf.

Iyer, Madhunika. “Migration in India and the Impact of the Lockdown on Migrants.” *PRS Legislative Research* (blog). June 10, 2020. Accessed on June 12, 2021.

<https://www.prsindia.org/theprsblog/migration-india-and-impact-lockdown-migrants>.

J.V. Stalin. “Marxism and the National Question.” *Marxists Internet Archive*, 1913. Accessed on August, 22 2019. <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/stalin/works/1913/03a.html>.

Kapur, Kriti. “How fares India in Healthcare? A sub national analysis.” *ORF Occasional Paper no. 237*, Observer Research Foundation. February 25, 2020. Accessed on May 12, 2021. <https://www.orfonline.org/research/how-fares-india-in-healthcare-a-sub-national-analysis-61664/>.

Luttrell, Cecilia, Sitna Quiroz, Claire Scrutton, and Kate Bird. “Understanding and Operationalising Empowerment.” *Overseas Development Institute Working Paper*, 308, London. November 2009: 16. Accessed on April, 17, 2021.

<https://www.1decada4.es/pluginfile.php/189/course/section/47/understanding.pdf>.

Mahapatro, Sandhya Rani. “The Changing Pattern of Internal Migration in India.” *European Population Conference*, Stockholm, Sweden, 2012. Accessed April 17, 2018,

<https://epc2012.princeton.edu/papers/121017>.

Papola, T.S. “Development of Micro-Enterprises in Mountain Areas.” *Issues in Mountain Development*. ICIMOD, Kathmandu, Nepal, 1996. Accessed on January 12, 2016,

<https://lib.icimod.org/record/7599>.

Pathak, Shekhar. Lalit Pant and Amina Maharjan. “De-population Trends, Patterns and Effects in Uttarakhand, India- A Gateway to Kailash Mansarovar.” *ICIMOD Working Paper*, 2017/22, Kathmandu, Nepal, October 2017. Accessed on July 12, 2017.

http://lib.icimod.org/record/32787/files/icimodWP_22_017.pdf.

“Migration in India, 2007-08.” Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India. Accessed August 26, 2016,

http://mospi.nic.in/sites/default/files/publication_reports/533_final.pdf.

“Rural Development and Migration Commission.” Uttarakhand Pauri Garhwal. Accessed September, 11, 2019. <https://spc.uk.gov.in/upload/contents/File-98.pdf>.

Saklani, Atul. "Changing Nature of Unrest in Princely Himalaya: Colonialism as an Expression of Structural Differentiation." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 46 (1985): 507-516. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44141396>.

"Sex Ratio in India." Census 2011. Accessed on April 24, 2021, <https://www.census2011.co.in/sexratio.php>.

"State Profile." Uttarakhand Health and Family Welfare Society. Accessed January 26, 2018. https://www.ukhfws.org/details.php?pgID=mi_15.

"Transforming Crisis into Opportunity." Uttarakhand Action Plan on Climate Change, Government of Uttarakhand, 2014. Accessed February 24, 2018. http://www.forest.uk.gov.in/files/USAPCC/Uttarakhand_SAPCC.pdf.

"Uttarakhand Open University." Last modified May 18, 2021. Accessed on June 8, 2021. <http://www.uou.ac.in/sites/default/files/slm/BTTM-601.pdf>.

"Uttarakhand Population 2011-2021." Census 2011. Accessed April 26, 2018. <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/state/uttarakhand.html>.

"Uttarakhand: Indicators at glance." *India State Briefs Washington, D.C.*, World Bank Group. Accessed on March 17, 2020. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/india/brief/india-states-briefs-uttarakhand>.