

EXCLUDED, TARGETED, & DISPLACED

COMMUNAL NARRATIVES AND VIOLENCE IN UTTARAKHAND

A Fact-Finding Report



Association for
Protection of
Civil Rights

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**ASSOCIATION FOR PROTECTION
OF CIVIL RIGHTS (APCR)**

INDEX

INTRODUCTION	5
METHODOLOGY	7
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	8
BACKGROUND	10
UTTARKASHI	17
SRINAGAR	20
CHAURAS	21
GAUCHAR	22
NANDA GHAT	24
NAINITAL	28
KASHIPUR	35
DHARALI	37
HALDWANI	39
DEHRADUN	42
PACHWA DOON	46
HARIDWAR	48
VAN GUJJARS IN UTTARAKHAND	50
RECOMMENDATIONS	53

INTRODUCTION

Writing about Uttarakhand at this moment feels less like an academic exercise and more like bearing witness to events that are still unfolding, still causing pain. The past few years have revealed a pattern of systemic targeting of Muslims in Uttarakhand that is not just limited to acts of physical violence, but extends to boycotts, intimidation and direct attacks on religious worship. This report is an attempt to document these incidents and the manner in which anti-Muslim violence have been normalised as a routine part of doing politics in the state.

This is not a report about isolated incidents. Shopkeepers did not flee towns because of misunderstandings. Families were not divided across state borders by coincidence. Centuries-old shrines were not demolished in a single operation due to a neutral administrative procedure. These events are connected by a common thread: the strategic use of fear, distorted histories, and state machinery against a single community, deployed in ways that make it safer, cheaper, and more socially acceptable to exclude Muslims from public life, economic activity, and religious practice.

The mechanisms used are varied and sometimes contradictory. False rumors about demographic change, dubious legal procedures that target only one community's properties, coordinated shop closures framed as citizen movements and selective application of laws only against minority institutions has become a recurring and almost routine phenomenon over the last few years. Each of these methods and practices seem to operate independently, yet together they create a system where a Muslim shopkeeper cannot be sure he will have permission to work tomorrow, where a Muslim family cannot guarantee their place of worship will stand a year from now, where community leaders cannot protect their neighborhoods from coordinated violence.

What makes this pattern dangerous is not just the violence, though significant physical violence has been documented and witnessed. The real danger appears in the routinisation of hatred and discriminatory practices in the administrative and political machinery. When a police officer fails to file an FIR against those who publicly threatened Muslim vendors, he sends a message about which laws apply to whom. When a politician compares natural disasters to bulldozers, he creates permission structures for those who follow. When courts issue orders that are simply ignored, the rule of law itself becomes a fiction. These small failures accumulate into a culture where targeting minorities becomes an acceptable political strategy.

This report documents events in Uttarakhand from 2021 to late 2025. It records testimonies from people who lived through these events, who built lives and livelihoods in towns that eventually asked them to leave. It traces how ideas become laws, how laws become demolitions, and how demolitions become a normalized tool of governance. It shows how a Van Gujjar herder, a shopkeeper from Nanda Ghat, a migrant worker, and a small business owner from Haldwani discovered that their presence had become contested, not on the basis of what they had done, but on what they were assumed to be. The report aims to record this moment clearly, with specificity and without exaggeration.



Eerie silence in Uttarkashi after the Hindu Right Wing protests.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

METHODOLOGY

Information was primarily collected through field work, comprising group and semi-structured interviews, and narrative data collected from testimonies, substantiated by secondary research of news articles and official documents, including copies of notices, FIRs, and letters. Data collection was primarily qualitative, while the analysis and presentation of the broader context employed mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative). The inclusion of secondary research data has ensured the representation of the perspectives of involved persons who were otherwise difficult to reach in person. It has also ensured that the findings are contextualized through an exhaustive body of evidence and perspectives, which is crucial given that the aftermath of the incident and the tensions in Uttarakhand are still developing. The fact-finding team documented accounts from various persons involved in the incident, its different stages, and its aftermath, and recorded their testimonies, most of which have been anonymized for privacy. However, their names have already appeared in media reports and notices/FIR copies.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The right-wing Hindutva groups have fueled communal tensions in Uttarakhand through a surge in hate crimes, violence, and economic boycotts targeting Muslims, creating an atmosphere of fear and intimidation since 2021. This pattern, often away from media glare, intensified after the 2023 Purola incident—where false “love jihad” kidnapping allegations led to Muslim families fleeing or selling properties—and has spread to districts like Uttarkashi, Tehri, Chamoli, and Gairsain. Recent cases include mosque-targeted tensions in Uttarkashi, evictions of Muslim shopkeepers in Tehri’s Kirti Nagar and Chauras over “love jihad” claims, vandalism and looting of 15 shops in Nanda Ghat after an eve-teasing allegation, 10 evictions in Gauchar over a parking brawl, and a Gairsain trade body’s 2024 ultimatum for Muslims to leave by December 31. In Chamoli, 500 unidentified persons face police cases amid ransacked Muslim shops. Many affected Muslims, originating from Najibabad city of Uttar Pradesh since the 1970s-80s, are now branded “outsiders” despite migrating in pre-2000, when Uttarakhand had not been carved out of Uttar Pradesh yet.

Key flashpoints trace back to the December 2021 Haridwar Dharm Sansad, where leaders like Yati Narasinghanand, Prabodhanand Giri, Yatindranand Giri, Sadhvi Annapurna, Swami Anand Swaroop, and Kalicharan Maharaj incited violence against Muslims, calling for a Hindutva rashtra and killings. The BJP-led government under Chief Minister Pushkar Singh Dhami has amplified this through anti-“land jihad” and “mazar jihad” drives—recovering 5,000 acres by May 2024—hate speech conspiracies like “Thook Jihad,” economic boycott calls, and “non-Hindu” entry bans in Garhwal hills. Purola’s aftermath saw Dhami push background checks to curb “love jihad,” while a 2023 Hindutva Maha Panchayat escalated tensions, prompting Uttarakhand High Court intervention for peace.

Legislatively, the 2024 Uniform Civil Code (UCC) Act overrides minority personal laws on marriage, divorce, inheritance, and adoption, raising fears of cultural erosion among Muslims and Christians. 2025 amendments in Uttarakhand include the UCC (Amendment) Bill comprise harsher penalties for unregistered live-in relationships, up to 7 years imprisonment, and powers to cancel registrations, the Freedom of Religion and Prohibition of Unlawful Conversion (Amendment) Bill has life terms for “forced conversions,” broader “allurement” definitions, penalties for false marriage promises or religious propaganda, and Minority Educational Institutions Bill which extends minority status to Sikhs/Jains/Christians/Parsis/Buddhists while mandating madrasa affiliation with the state board or closure. These target interfaith ties and madrasas, framed as anti-“love jihad.”

Recent controversies, like the demolition of a centuries-old mazar at Doon School by Hindutva-linked groups amid the “Mazar Jihad” campaign, underscore ongoing threats. Dhami’s focus on divisive rhetoric has eroded Uttarakhand’s social fabric, demanding urgent intervention to protect vulnerable Muslim communities.



Photo of vandalism in Chamoli district.

Photo credit: *Special arrangement*

BACKGROUND

Hindutva right-wing groups in Uttarakhand have been perpetuating a culture of hate and intolerance against Muslims, creating a toxic environment of fear and intimidation. Incidents of communal tensions, violence, and economic boycotts have become increasingly common, with Muslims facing targeted attacks and harassment.

This religious persecution in the state has been evident since 2021. The Haridwar Dharm Sansad was a three-day religious conclave held in Haridwar, Uttarakhand, in December 2021. The event, which was attended by several prominent Hindutva religious leaders and politicians, was marred by controversy after several speakers made hate speeches and called for violence against Muslims. The speeches, which were widely condemned by civil society and opposition politicians, included calls for the killing of Muslims, the establishment of a Hindutva rashtra, and the suppression of Islam and Christianity. The event sparked widespread outrage and led to the filing of police complaints against several of the speakers.

The event was addressed by several prominent Hindutva religious leaders and politicians, including:

- *Yati Narasighanand*: The priest of the Dasna Devi temple in Ghaziabad and the chief of the Juna Akhara, who organized the event.
- *Prabodhanand Giri*: A former RSS pracharak who turned ascetic and runs an organisation called Hindu Raksha Sena in Haridwar.
- *Yatindranand Giri*: One of the most senior monks of the Juna Akhara and a former RSS pracharak.
- *Sadhvi Annapurna*: The head of the Niranjani Akhara and a general secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha, who openly called for the killing of Muslims.
- *Swami Anand Swaroop*: The head of the Sambhavi Dhaam, who delivered a hate speech at the event.
- *Kalicharan Maharaj*: A self-styled godman who praised Nathuram Godse, the assassin of Mahatma Gandhi.



The meeting point of Alaknanda and Bhagirathi rivers at Devprayag in Uttarakhand.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

In 2023, Uttarakhand Chief Minister Pushkar Singh Dhami directed officials to identify and remove illegal structures, including religious buildings, constructed on government land. The move was seen as a crackdown on “land jihad” and “mazar jihad”, terms used by right-wing groups to describe the alleged illegal construction of mosques and Muslim shrines on government land. In May 2024, Chief Minister Dhami claimed that his government recovered 5000 acres from “land jihad”.

The Chief Minister’s directive came after a survey conducted by the state government found that several illegal structures, including mosques and mazars, had been constructed on government land across the state.

The state government warned that action will be taken against those who fail to remove the illegal structures. The move was welcomed by right-wing groups, who have long accused Muslims of encroaching on government land to build mosques and other religious structures.

Later that year, in 2023, Purola, a town in the Uttarkashi district of Uttarakhand, witnessed communal tensions and an alleged kidnapping case that had far-reaching consequences. The case involved two men, Ubaid Khan and Jitendra Saini, who were acquitted in May 2023 of kidnapping a minor Hindutva girl. However, in a shocking twist, the victim revealed in court that she was never abducted and that the police had coerced her into making false allegations.

This case sparked intense communal tensions, with right-wing groups protesting and Muslim residents being targeted. The situation escalated to the point where some Muslim families were forced to flee the town, while others were compelled to sell their properties.

In the wake of the incident in Purola, Chief Minister Dhami said that background checks will curb incidents of “love jihad”. He reportedly said, “People will be able to live in Uttarakhand only after verification.”

The communal tensions were further exacerbated by the fact that a Hindutva Maha Panchayat was called in Purola, which was seen as an attempt to whip up communal sentiments.

The Uttarakhand High Court intervened in the matter, directing the state to take necessary steps to maintain peace and order in the region. The court emphasized that it is the paramount duty of the state to ensure that law and order are maintained, and that there is no loss of life or property.

In early 2024, the Uniform Civil Code of Uttarakhand Act, 2024, was enacted by the Dhami government in the state. The Act aimed to establish a uniform civil code for all citizens of Uttarakhand, regardless of their religion, caste, or community. The Act covers various aspects of personal law, including marriage, divorce, inheritance, and adoption. It raised concerns among minority communities, particularly Muslims and Christians, who feared that the Act would undermine their right to practice and follow their own personal laws and customs. The Act’s provisions may override existing personal laws and impose a uniform code that may not be in line with the cultural and religious practices of minority communities. This could lead to a loss of autonomy and cultural identity for these communities.

Furthermore, the enactment of the Act was followed this year by its amendment, along with the passage of two more contentious laws, all of which are named:

- Uniform Civil Code (UCC) (Amendment) Bill, 2025
- Freedom of Religion and Prohibition of Unlawful Conversion (Amendment) Bill, 2025
- Minority Educational Institutions Bill, 2025.

The UCC (Amendment) Bill increases the quantum of punishment for unregistered live-in relationships. The changes include imprisonment of up to seven years and a fine for forcing individuals into relationships by pressure or fraud. The amendment also empowers the Registrar General to cancel any registration related to marriage, divorce, live-in relationships, or inheritance. The amendment in the anti-conversion law seeks to enhance the punishment for “forced conversions” from a maximum of 10 years to a life term. It defines “allurement” as “any gift, gratification, easy money, or material benefit, whether in cash or kind, employment, or by invoking divine displeasure”. Making a false promise of marriage and hiding one’s religion with the intention of getting married will be punishable by a jail term of 3 to 10 years and a fine of Rs. 3 lakh. Also, speaking ill of one religion and praising another or spreading propaganda on social and digital media will come under the ambit of participation in religious conversion. Both the UCC, with the regulations it imposes on live-in arrangements, and the anti-conversion law are

seen as a deterrent to interfaith relationships. The official line of ruling party members, including Dhama himself, is that steps need to be taken against “love jihad”, a term used by right-wing groups to allege that Muslim men are conspiring to convert non-Muslim women to Islam.¹

As for the law concerning minority educational institutions, it seeks to extend the minority status to institutions of the Sikh, Jain, Christian, Parsi, and Buddhist communities; on the other, the legislation will also make it mandatory for all madrasas in the State to seek affiliation from the Uttarakhand Education Board and apply for minority status to the Uttarakhand State Authority for Minority Education. Unrecognised madrasas will be shut down.

Now, a controversy has also erupted at the prestigious Doon School in Uttarakhand after a centuries-old ‘mazar’ within the school premises was demolished. The demolition was reportedly carried out by a group of people linked to a Hindutva outfit, who claimed that the ‘mazar’ was an example of “land jihad”. The school authorities initially denied any breach of security, claiming that the structure was erected by a contractor without permission and was subsequently removed. However, the incident has raised concerns about the safety and security of minority communities in the state, particularly in the context of the ongoing “Mazar Jihad” campaign launched by Uttarakhand Chief Minister Pushkar Singh Dhama.

UMMEED Portal in Uttarakhand

The UMMEED portal digitization deadline of June 2025 created a legal trap specifically designed to target Muslim religious properties in Uttarakhand. The government established a six-month deadline for all “waqf” properties; Islamic endowments including mosques, dargahs (Muslim shrines), and prayer halls to register on an online portal or face automatic classification as “disputed” and “illegal.” The system was deliberately structured to fail. The portal itself was fundamentally broken, crashing repeatedly and taking 10-15 minutes per property entry. More critically, the deadline required documentation that centuries-old mosques simply do not have. Many of these properties have been standing for 200 years or longer without surviving original deeds or legal papers. In Uttarakhand specifically, 75 percent of waqf properties remained unregistered by the December deadline not because they were actually disputed or illegally built, but because the system made registration impossible for ordinary communities without technical expertise, access to historical documents, or resources to hire lawyers. The government knew this would happen. When the deadline passed, these legitimate, functioning mosques and dargahs were automatically classified as “disputed” properties, converting thousands of registered religious institutions overnight into legal targets.

Once properties were labeled “disputed” and “illegal,” the Uttarakhand government launched a demolition campaign. Between June 2025 and November 2025, over 300 Muslim shrines and dargahs were demolished using bulldozers. Some were genuine illegal constructions, but many were longstanding, registered properties that had been functioning for decades. The Hazrat Kamal

1 T.K. Rajalakshmi, “Uttarakhand UCC, Anti-Conversion, and Minority Education Laws,” Frontline, December 28, 2025, <https://frontline.thehindu.com/politics/uttarakhand-ucc-anti-conversion-minority-education-laws/article70007469.ece>

Shah Dargah in Dehradun, registered with the waqf board since 1982, was bulldozed at night in April 2025 without warning, prompting the Supreme Court to issue a contempt notice against the state government. A mosque in Haridwar described as Uttarakhand's largest was halted under construction for lacking District Collector permission, even though no similar permissions are demanded of Hindu temple expansions in the same areas. The Jamiyat Ulum Madrasa in Sahaspur had floors sealed by administration. Across Haridwar, Dehradun, Nainital, and Udham Singh Nagar, notices accumulated accusing mosques and dargahs of "illegal encroachment," using the unregistered classification as legal cover. What made this discriminatory was the selectivity: only Muslim religious properties received these notices. Hindu temples and Christian churches in the same districts were not subjected to similar scrutiny, demolitions, or accusations of encroachment. The "illegal encroachment" terminology masked a religious targeting campaign.

The targeting extended beyond demolitions into everyday exclusion and harassment of Muslim communities. After the UMMEED deadline, police and vigilante Hindu nationalist groups began using the "disputed property" and "illegal encroachment" labels as justification for harassment. Muslim prayer meetings were raided and dispersed, with police claiming the venues were now "illegal" because the properties were unregistered. Muslim vendors and shop owners in commercial areas received notices stating they could not operate "near temple zones" or could only continue business if they identified as Hindu. In one documented case, a Muslim gym trainer was jailed after being beaten by Bajrang Dal members (a Hindu nationalist organization), while the attackers faced no charges, the police sided with the vigilantes. Muslim food vendors accused of selling beef were arrested while mobs that raided their shops were not prosecuted. These weren't isolated incidents. Multiple documented cases from August to November 2025 show a pattern: Muslim vendors were forced to chant "Jai Shri Ram" (a Hindu nationalist slogan) to be allowed to work, Muslim families were required to produce documents proving their "Indianness" to operate businesses, and Muslim women were harassed for wearing headscarves in public spaces. Police response was systematically one-sided; enforcement against Muslims but inaction against Hindu nationalist groups. This created a system of economic exclusion where Muslim livelihoods were under constant threat based on religious identity.

The fundamental violation was that this system targeted Muslims as a religious group while leaving other communities untouched. Under Articles 14, 15, and 26 of the Indian Constitution, the state cannot discriminate based on religion or interfere with a community's right to establish and manage religious institutions. Yet the UMMEED portal rules applied only to Muslim waqf properties. No similar digitization deadline was imposed on Hindu temple endowments or Christian charitable trusts, despite these holding comparable amounts of property across India. When implementation occurred, the enforcement was exclusively against Muslims. The "disputed property" mechanism became a tool to selectively target minority religious spaces while leaving majority community spaces untouched. Chief Minister Pushkar Singh Dhami's rhetoric reinforced this targeting, using inflammatory language like "land jihad" to describe Muslim property ownership and associating Muslim presence with illegal activity and encroachment. This language framed Muslim communities not as Indian citizens with constitutional rights, but as threats to be removed.

What happened in Uttarakhand illustrates how administrative systems can be weaponized for religious persecution. The UMMEED portal was presented as a neutral modernization measure, digitizing old property records for transparency. In practice, it functioned as a mechanism to classify Muslim religious properties as illegal and create government cover for their demolition. The broken portal, impossible documentation requirements, and selective enforcement created a cascade where legitimate mosques and dargahs were automatically converted into “disputed” properties, giving authorities and vigilante groups legal justification to demolish them, harass their communities, and push Muslims out of commercial and public spaces. The Supreme Court eventually tried to stop the most egregious denotifications, but by then hundreds of structures had been demolished and thousands of families had been intimidated. The pattern documented across Uttarakhand connects to a broader national campaign targeting Muslim cultural and religious spaces, 58 mosques across India facing “disputed” status, over 400 cases of mobs attacking historic mosques claiming they were built on ancient temples, and systematic demolitions of Muslim shrines and dargahs while Hindu temples in the same areas remain untouched. This is not incidental discrimination. It is systematic exclusion of Muslims from public space, religious practice, and economic participation, executed through what appears to be neutral administrative policy but functions as targeted religious persecution.²

Uttarakhand Minority Educational Institution Bill 2025

The Uttarakhand Minority Educational Institution Bill 2025 dissolves the Muslim-controlled Madrasa Education Board (where Muslims held 9 of 13 seats) and replaces it with a government body (USAME) where Muslims hold only 1 of 12 seats. This transfers all control over Islamic curriculum, teacher qualifications, and school recognition from Muslim educators to the Hindu-majority government. The bill is presented as educational reform but functions as a mechanism to subordinate Muslim religious education to state control.

The Targeting Mechanisms: The bill shifts curriculum design, teacher standards, and recognition from the Muslim-led board to the state education authority. All madrasas must adopt the National Curriculum Framework and government policy by July 2026, making secular government policy the foundation of Muslim religious schools. Section 14(k) prohibits activities against vague “communal harmony” standards, undefined language giving officials unlimited discretion to deny recognition and creating perpetual self-censorship. All 452 madrasas must re-register under the new system with recognition granted only for three-year terms and withdrawal possible for any violation. Hindu temples receive permanent recognition without similar scrutiny. The implementation deadline of July 2026 is deliberately short, less than a year giving madrasas insufficient time to comply or challenge the law.

The Administrative Context: Between January-April 2025, the government sealed 214 madrasas.

2 S. M. A. Kazmi, “Targeting of Muslims Continue Unabated in Uttarakhand, Himachal Pradesh,” *The Northern Gazette*, November 18, 2025, <https://thenortherngazette.com/index.php/2025/11/18/targeting-of-muslims-continue-unabated-in-uttarakhand-himachal-pradesh/>

The bill was then introduced as a “reform” to address the chaos created by these sealing operations. This created a pattern: create crisis, then pass legislation presenting government control as the solution. The bill violates Article 30(1), which guarantees minorities the right to establish and administer their own educational institutions. The Supreme Court’s TMA Pai judgment held that state regulation must be “reasonable” and “proportionate” and cannot transfer core control from minorities to the state. This bill dissolves an entire minority-controlled board, transfers all functions to government, and applies only to Muslim institutions, not Hindu temples or Christian institutions.

The bill converts madrasas from institutions of Muslim religious education into secular institutions with government-approved religious content. It strips Muslim communities of educational autonomy, the primary mechanism for cultural transmission and maintaining community identity. Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind has challenged the bill, noting this is the third anti-Muslim legislation in Uttarakhand (after the Uniform Civil Code and anti-conversion law), representing a coordinated assault on Muslim religious freedom. For a community already facing mosque demolitions and public space exclusion through the UMMEED waqf portal, loss of educational autonomy means loss of the institution through which Muslim identity is transmitted to the next generation. The bill presents itself as inclusion and modernization but functions as a tool for subordinating Muslim education to government control.

UTTARKASHI

On 24 October 2024, right-wing groups led by Swami Darshan Bharti, head of Devbhoomi Raksha Abhiyan, took out a rally demanding the demolition of the mosque in Uttarkashi. Five police personnel and more than 30 people were reportedly injured after the rally turned violent. We found that the mob vandalised the shops of Muslims during the rally.

On December 1, defying the BJP Government's assurance to the Uttarakhand High Court, a Hindutva Mahapanchayat was organised in the Uttarkashi district, demanding the demolition of mosques in the state. Far-right Hindutva leaders across India gave hate speeches against muslims, including BJP MLA from Hyderabad, T Raja. Appealing to the crowd, Raja said, "Those who don't listen to words have to be taught with a bulldozer."

The Uttarakhand High Court on 22nd November had emphasized that India is a country governed by the rule of law, not a theocracy. "No one should indulge in hate speech or threats of destruction," the High Court said when the state government gave a written undertaking that no permission would be granted for the Mahapanchayat. Yet the Uttarkashi administration permitted the Mahapanchayat.



Uttarkashi market after the protests.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

Testimonies

Monty Ahmad, spokesperson of the Uttarkashi mosque committee: “The information officer did a mischievous act. When the Hindutva groups filed an RTI asking if the mosque is on government land, he just replied no. He didn’t add that the mosque is on private land. This gave rise to the present controversy on the legality of the mosque.

However, this is not new. Earlier, there was no question about the legality of this mosque. Lately, Hindutva groups are trying to stoke this baseless controversy. In September 2024, when they took out a rally against slaughterhouses, they raised slogans to demolish the mosque. What was the relation between the slaughterhouses and the mosque? But this is how they deliberately try to create tensions among communities.”

He showed the legal papers of the mosque’s ownership.

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Upon speaking to the Muslim shopkeepers whose shops were vandalized and looted by right-wing protesters on the day of the protest, more details came to light.



Uttarkashi town at night.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

Reshma Hussain*, 37, ran a fruit shop and is the only earning member of the family of four. Her father and mother are old. She takes care of them as well as of her younger sister. She told us, “They looted all my fruits and the Diwali gift items. They broke the lock of my shop and barged in. I suffered a loss of around 1 lakh rupees. It will take time for me to stand again on my feet. I will have to borrow money from others to restart my business. What option do I have?”

Sahib Khan*, 32, came to Uttarkashi from Hardoi in Uttar Pradesh. He had a fruit shop at Hanuman Chowk in Uttarkashi. He told us, “The mob broke the lock of my shop, entered, and looted all my stuff. They also vandalised the board of my shop. I suffered a loss of Rs. 50 thousand. But I consider myself lucky that I was not in the shop that day; otherwise, I would have been in the hospital.”



The mosque in Uttarkashi under the Hindu right wing scanner.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

SRINAGAR

Srinagar-based BJP leader Lakhpat Singh Bhandari was blamed by the local Muslims for provoking their exodus from the neighbouring Kirti Nagar and Chauras areas. From both these areas, at least 15 Muslim shopkeepers were evicted and had to go back to Najibabad.

We met a government school teacher based in Srinagar who told us how communal propaganda has reached the schools. “Lakhpat Bhandari was invited as a chief guest in our school after he led the exodus of Muslim shopkeepers from Kirti Nagar and Chauras. Nobody even knew about him before. This proves that spreading hate against Muslims has become the most rewarding act,” the teacher, Shoaib Ahmed, 47, told us. He further informed us about the communal speeches made at the event. “At the event, the principal was talking about love jihad and land jihad. If a principal talks like this in a public event in school, what impression will this leave on kids?” Ahmed said.

Ahmed also shared that this hate against Muslims and labeling them as outsiders is not new. “This sentiment has increased since the BJP government came to power in the state,” he said and recalled, “Once a girl from class 12th asked me where I am from.” He said he replied that he is from Srinagar only. “No sir, where do you originally belong to? Aren’t you from UP?,” the girl asked. “Yes,” Ahmed nodded. “Then, you are taking our job which could have been given to some of our own,” the girl replied.

“I try to avoid conversation with my colleagues at school. The most highly qualified English teacher in our school once asked me why “people like me” are capturing land and building illegal mosques. Which land have I captured? I feel targeted,” Ahmed told us.

Mukesh Semwal, a social activist based in Srinagar, gave us the political background of the whole controversy. “Lakhpat Bhandari wants the councillor ticket from BJP. That’s why he suddenly picked up these issues,” he said. “I also believe that communal unrest is being created by the right wing forces to benefit BJP in the Kedarnath by polls. After losing Ayodhya and Badrinath, it is important for the BJP to win Kedarnath and they won’t leave any stone unturned,” he added.

CHAURAS

The communal tension worsened in Chauras in the Kirtinagar block in August 2024 after right-wing groups discovered a relationship between a Hindu woman and a Muslim man who came from Najibabad. They accused the Muslim man of committing “love jihad”. We found that at least 5 Muslim shopkeepers fled Chauras after their landlords were pressured by the right-wing groups to vacate the shops.

Testimonies

We spoke to Wasim*, 45, father of the Muslim boy who was accused of “love jihad”.

Wasim said, “They were friends. Is friendship a crime? Will our kids see religion before befriending someone? They instigated our exodus based on baseless rumours. Even the girl’s family never filed a complaint against my son.” Wasim ran a salon in Chauras for 13 years.

Akram, 38, pressed clothes in Chauras for 15 years. “We have returned to Najibabad. My landlord asked me to vacate the shop. He feared some untoward incident might happen to me. I was nowhere near the incident. Still, I faced consequences. This trend of collective punishment is growing in our society.”

Similarly, in Kirti Nagar, we found that at least five Muslim shopkeepers running salons and meat shops were evicted in October 2024 after a “love jihad” allegation. It was alleged that a Muslim man eloped with a Hindu girl. However, later, a man named Rakesh Bhatt was arrested for allegedly helping the Muslim man and Hindu woman flee. We found that some of the shopkeepers in Kirti Nagar have returned.

Gauchar is a town within Chamoli district on the Badrinath road between Rudraprayag and Karnaprayag. On 15th October 2024, a brawl took place between a Muslim man and a Hindu man over a parking issue. The Muslim man allegedly asked the Hindu man to park his scooty somewhere else as he claimed it was parked in his premises. After this, a physical brawl took place, injuring both parties. The right-wing groups jumped into the matter and evicted at least 10 Muslim shopkeepers from Gauchar.



A market in Chamoli district headquarters.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

Testimonies

50-year-old Taseem Ahmed was living in Gauchar for 45 years. He came from Najibabad at an early age. He set up a spice shop in Gauchar. The Muslim man with whom the brawl took place was his brother.

He told us, “Can you imagine these Hindutva people forced 10 Muslim shopkeepers to flee over such a small issue. It was shocking for me how such a small fight over parking led to our lives being changed for the worse. We lived there for 45 years. Everybody in the locality knew us by name. But nobody supported us.”

“We left Gauchar at midnight. You can understand our situation,” he added.

Tasim elaborated on the situation and said, “When my brother was admitted to the hospital, the right-wing goons surrounded the hospital and started sloganeering. They were protesting against the hospital and the doctors for treating my brother. The policemen stationed there helped us very much. They had to lock the main gate of the hospital. Such was the situation. We were locked inside for 5-6 hours.”

Tasim also shared that the right-wing mob vandalised the salon of his son. “We are now sitting in Najibabad, thinking what to do with our lives. Our future seems dark.”



View from a local household in Chamoli.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

NANDA GHAT

Nanda Ghat near Nandprayag in Chamoli district saw a brutal eviction of at least 15 Muslim shopkeepers. The anti-Muslim violence in Nanda Ghat was not new. Locals told us that in June 2023, a right-wing mob vandalised a makeshift mosque, but the police took no action. In August-September 2024, the anti-Muslim campaign took a violent turn after eve-teasing allegations against a Muslim barber. On 22 August, the barber was asked to vacate his shop by his landlord. He went back to Najibabad.

Testimonies

Uthman Hassan*, 49, runs a drycleaning shop in Nanda Ghat for 20 years. He lived there since 1975 when his grandfather came there from Najibabad. He told us that on 3rd September, all the 15 Muslim families had to flee Nanda Ghat overnight.

He explained the series of events, “On 31st August, the locals held a meeting and filed an FIR against the Muslim barber for eve teasing. On 1st September, the vyapar mandal gave a call to protest in front of Nanda Ghat police station. We, Muslims, also went to the protest. We thought we should support our businessman community. Little did we know that there was no solidarity among businessmen. We were targeted based on our religion. There were anti-Muslim slogans such as “Mullon ke dalaalon ko joote maaro saalon ko” raised at the protest despite the fact that we went there to participate in the protest.





Footage of vandalism at Nanda Ghat.

Photos arranged from locals.



Talking to us about the vandalism, he said, “I locked my shop. A mob of hundreds came and started pelting stones. They broke the shutter of my shop and stole Rs. 4 lakh in cash kept in the shop. They looted all the stuff and threw some of the stuff and my board in the river.” He showed us the photos of his vandalised shop.

He blamed Darshan Bharti, the Hindutva leader who led the Uttarkashi rally against the mosque. “Darshan Bharti came on 2nd September and gave a provocative speech. After this, the mob went on a rampage and vandalised and looted our shops. They threw the car of a Muslim barber into the river. And they destroyed the makeshift mosque on that day. We had to hide from the mob on the second floor. They were pelting stones at us. I still get shivers recalling that incident. Then, on the night of 2nd September, the police told us that we must leave or some violence might happen against us. The police escorted us into their vehicles. 30-35 of us were crammed up in three police vehicles and were escorted to Nandprayag, after which we reached Najibabad on 3rd September.”

Hassan decided to fight back and filed a plea in the Uttarakhand High Court asking for protection. The court ordered the SSP to ensure that no untoward incident takes place against any community. Despite that, none of the Muslims have felt safe enough to return. Only Hassan returned on 16th October and opened his shop.

“They have spread so much fear that no worker is ready to even repair our shop. They told me they have been instructed by the Hindutva groups not to serve the Muslims. Now my business is completely destroyed. I saw that a new dry cleaning shop had opened when I came back. Nobody comes to my shop now. Locals don’t support us. They are not even talking to us as if we are criminals,” he said and asked, “We have been living here since 1975. How unfair it is to call us outsiders!”

Now Arshad is the lone Muslim man living in Nanda Ghat.



View of town after Diwali, a hindu festival celebrated to mark the return of Lord Rama from exile.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

We also spoke to Irfan*, Arshad's brother. He ran a salon for 20 years before his landlord asked him to vacate the shop. "I had a very good relationship with my landlord. But after this incident, he told me that he is being pressured to evict me," Irfan told us.

We also spoke to Harun Ansari, 30, who was brutally thrashed by the mob in the 1st September protest in front of the Nanda Ghat police station. He ran a garment shop. Like Arshad, Harun's grandfather also came from Najibabad and settled in Nanda Ghat. Harun was born and raised in Nanda Ghat. He suffered from head injuries. He told us, "The mob was raising anti Muslim slogans. Suddenly, they got a hold of me and started beating me. I could not understand what was happening. All this happened in front of the police. After a while, the police came and rescued me. I am still recovering from my head injuries."

"We went to the protest so that locals don't think that we support criminals. Still, they did this with us. My landlord threatened that he would throw my stuff away if I didn't vacate my shop. The lock of my shop was broken. I left Nanda Ghat on the night of 2nd September," he added.

Talking about the mental toll on his family, he said, "My five-year-old son asks me what I did to be thrashed like this. Now you tell me, did I do anything wrong? What should I reply to him?"



A township in the district at dawn.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

NAINITAL

Communal tension erupted in Nainital, Uttarakhand, after a 12-year-old girl was allegedly sexually assaulted by 60-year-old Mohammad Usman, a contractor by profession. The incident occurred on April 12, but it came to light on April 30 when the victim's family filed a police complaint, leading to Usman's arrest. Members of some right-wing Hindu outfits staged protests outside the police station, demanding strict action against the accused, which eventually turned violent. Shops owned by Muslims were vandalized, with stones thrown at a nearby mosque.

Several videos went viral on social media in which people were thrashing Muslims on camera and vandalising their shops.



The neighbourhood of Nainital that was vandalised by Hindu far-right vigilantes.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

The police registered an FIR against Usman under section 65 (1) of the Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita (BNS) and relevant sections of the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (POCSO) at Mallital police station.

During our fact-finding, we found that this was not the first communal incident in Nainital. Several anti-Muslim incidents led up to this vandalism.



Nainital Lake.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

Testimonies

Shuaib Ahmad, a 63-year-old businessman associated with Anjuman Jamia Islamia, shared his account of two incidents.

Aftermath of the Pahalgam Incident

He alleged that a group of 7-8 men provoked Muslim taxi drivers, demanding to see their Aadhaar cards, and started beating them until the police arrived. An FIR was filed against Manoj Kumar from Haldwani, but Ahmad said the police forced a compromise.

April 30 Incident in Nainital

A mob, including the BJP district president, Shiv Seva Dal, and Vicky Verma, took out a procession after allegations of rape against Usman, a PWD contractor. The mob targeted eateries, particularly those serving biryani. Around 250 people participated in the violence, which included stone-pelting and sloganeering, including “Set the mosque on fire.” The police presence was inadequate, and despite requests for help, no additional forces arrived. The mob damaged shops, including breaking shutters, fridges, and microwaves. The next day, Nainital observed a bandh, and two days later, the VHP organized a procession with around 200 people.



Jama Masjid of Nainital

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

On the night of 30th April, a 19-year-old waiter at a restaurant sought refuge in the mosque, which had around 17-18 people, including guests and locals. According to Ahmad, the mob attacked the mosque, manhandling police officers and demanding that Usman be handed over. The situation was intense, with slogans and stone-pelting. Members of the mob tried to break down the gate of the mosque, but were unsuccessful. They damaged some windows of the mosque. The police eventually managed to calm the situation down around 2:30 am.

“We kept requesting the police to deploy more forces, but for 3-4 hours, no adequate force was present,” said Ahmad.



Nainital Mosque is immediately next to Mallital police station in Nainital, however, Ahmad claimed there was no force deployed.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

Aftermath

Local women protested in Nainital's bus stand, calling for peace and condemning the violence against Muslims. Shuaib Ahmad expressed anxiety and disappointment, feeling that the incident was targeted and pre-planned. Despite multiple hearings, no FIR was registered for the mosque's damage. He is now planning to move to the High Court, demanding that an FIR be registered.



Photo of a bystander against backdrop of Jama masjid of Nainital in background with Hindutva flags on foreground.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

Tensions in the neighbouring Haldwani

After the communal incidents in Nainital, right-wing groups became active in the neighbouring city of Haldwani. They started asking Muslim shops to change their names. We met one such shop owner.



Saina Sweets shop and his owner.

Photo credit: Srishti Jaswal

Nawab Miya, 37, ran a sweet shop named Sai Sweets for 25 years. He told us, “A few men came and scanned my Paytm. Upon learning my name, they threatened to change the name of my shop. When I went to the police, they also didn’t help.”

Finally, he added “na” to his shop’s name, and Sai sweets became Saina sweets.

He also gave us the context for why the name of his shop was Sai Sweets. “My father was popular as a local healer, and people called him Sai-aa. Therefore, we kept the name as Sai Sweets,” he said.

Kashipur in Udham Singh Nagar district witnessed heightened tension on 21 September 2025 following an “I Love Mohammad” religious procession taken out in the Alikhan area. While the police termed the procession unauthorised and violent, local residents insist it was peaceful and had already dispersed when police intervened. What followed, according to residents, was not just police action but a sustained administrative crackdown concentrated entirely in a Muslim-majority ward. Shop demolitions, arrests, and repeated official surveys have created an atmosphere of fear, with people reluctant to speak to the media or pursue legal remedies. Locals repeatedly described this as a “Haldwani model” of collective punishment.

Testimonies

Community members said the procession on 21 September followed the same route as one held peacefully on 19 September. After it ended, around 20–30 minor boys stayed back near the Wasfodan intersection. Residents allege that a police patrol vehicle arrived and began abusing and lathi-charging the boys, using derogatory language. Panic followed, and a brief clash broke out.

People from the area stressed that the confrontation was limited and spontaneous, involving minors reacting to police behaviour, not an organised attack on police as claimed in the FIR. “The procession was already over. Adults had gone home. Only boys were there,” one resident said. Several families claimed their children, some as young as 10 or 12, were picked up later, beaten in custody, and sent to juvenile homes in Rudrapur. Parents said their children were too scared to speak openly in front of police but privately described assaults.

Aftermath and collective action

From the next day onwards, residents said the administration launched a wave of actions aimed solely at their locality. Bulldozers demolished 20–25 small shops and stalls without prior notice, including vegetable vendors’ counters. Electricity officials forcibly installed smart meters and new cables. Government staff went door to door checking ration cards and warning of cancellations. Sudden house tax notices were issued with strict deadlines.

Police presence remained heavy and intimidating. Shopkeepers said they were not allowed to even assess damage to their demolished shops. Arrests continued over the following days, including of a minor and his father, reinforcing fear in the area. Though people have photos and proof of demolitions and forced surveys, they said the constant police pressure has made it impossible to file complaints.

Police version

According to the FIR lodged at Kotwali Kashipur, police received information about a crowd of 400–500 people allegedly taking out a procession without permission. The FIR claims police officers were assaulted, government vehicles were damaged, and the crowd carried sticks. Cases were registered against named individuals and around 500 unnamed persons under multiple sections of the Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita.

DHARALI

A devastating cloudburst and flash flood struck Dharali village in Uttarkashi district on August 5, 2025, at approximately 1:45 PM, triggering what officials now describe as a flash flood event (though glacial lake outburst flood, GLOF, or glacier collapse remain under investigation).³ The disaster left at least 5 confirmed dead, 43–100+ missing, and destroyed the commercial and residential heart of the village within minutes.

Physical Destruction:

- ✎ 25 homestays destroyed
- ✎ 35 hotels destroyed
- ✎ 35 homes destroyed
- ✎ Gangotri Highway sections submerged
- ✎ Market area buried under 40–60 feet of sediment
- ✎ Fan-shaped debris field spanning 20 hectares at the Kheer Gad-Bhagirathi River confluence

Estimated Casualties:

- ✎ Confirmed deaths: 5–7
- ✎ Missing: 43–100+ (authorities dispute exact count)
- ✎ Rescued: 825+ by August 8, 2025 via helicopter operations
- ✎ Victims included local residents, tourists, and migrant workers (primarily Nepalese and Bihari laborers)

Within hours of the disaster, social media users across Facebook, X (formerly Twitter), and other platforms began celebrating the floods through an explicitly communal lens.

Posts employed the phrase “कुदरत का बुलडोज़र” (nature’s bulldozer), a calculated reference to Chief Minister Pushkar Singh Dhami’s administration’s anti-encroachment campaigns using physical bulldozers.⁴ The posts reframed the flood as:

3 Prashant Rahi, “Disaster as Policy: Dharali Flash Floods Reveal the Making of a Himalayan Catastrophe,” The Polis Project, December 18, 2025, <https://thepolisproject.com/read/dharali-flashfloods-reveal-himalayan-catastrophe/>

4 “Uttarakhand Police Book 3 for Offensive Posts on Dharali Cloudburst Tragedy,” *India Today*, August 9, 2025, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/uttarakhand-police-registers-case-under-sections-of-bns-against-several-people-for-objectionable-comments-2768617-2025-08-09>.

- ✎ “Allah’s vengeance” against Devbhoomi (Hindu-majority state)
- ✎ Divine retribution for the government’s bulldozer demolitions targeting unauthorized Islamic structures (mosques, dargahs, madrassas)
- ✎ A cosmic punishment matching the state’s perceived religious targeting
- ✎ “Ye aapda hai ya bulldozer chal raha hai?” (Is this a disaster or a bulldozer at work?)
- ✎ “Khuda ki laathi mein awaaz nahi hoti” (God’s stick makes no sound—invoking divine justice)
- ✎ Posts suggesting this was “Allah’s justice” against perceived mistreatment of Muslims

Ideological Context:

The posts did not emerge in isolation. Since 2022, Chief Minister Dhami’s administration has:

- ✎ Launched large-scale anti-encroachment campaigns using bulldozers to demolish unauthorized structures
- ✎ Passed a Uniform Civil Code (February 2024) replacing religion-specific personal laws
- ✎ Expanded anti-conversion legislation (August 2025)
- ✎ Implemented selective demolition that critics argue disproportionately targets Islamic structures⁵

NewsLaundry’s July 2025 documentary documented what it termed a “trifecta of propaganda: Love Jihad, Land Jihad, and Business Jihad,” alleging systematic marginalization of Muslims through state policies and communal narratives.⁶ Whether the targeting is actually disproportionate or justified, Muslim communities perceived the bulldozer campaign as religiously motivated; a grievance that social media users mobilized post-disaster.

Police Response and Criminalization

Recognizing the divisive content, Uttarakhand Police rapidly registered FIRs against multiple individuals for the social media posts under Sections of Bharatiya Nyaya Sanhita (BNS) for: (1) hurting religious sentiments, (2) promoting communal hatred, (3) spreading false information intended to incite violence. Senior Police officials stated that such posts would “not be tolerated” and “stern action” would be taken against “fake news”.⁷

5 Amnesty International, “India: Authorities Must Immediately Stop Unjust Targeted Demolition of Muslim Properties,” February 27, 2024, <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2024/02/india-authorities-must-immediately-stop-unjust-targeted-demolition-of-muslim-properties/>.

6 “Devbhoomi’s Descent: State Complicity Is Clear in Uttarakhand’s Siege on Muslims,” *NewsLaundry*, July 16, 2025, <https://www.newsLaundry.com/2025/07/16/devbhoomis-descent-state-complicity-is-clear-in-uttarakhands-siege-on-muslims>.

7 PTI, “Four Booked for Objectionable Social Media Posts About Dharali Disaster,” *The Week*, August 9, 2025, <https://www.theweek.in/wire-updates/national/2025/08/09/des17-ukd-uttarkashi-firs.html>

HALDWANI

Between late April and May 2025, a systematic campaign to force Muslim-owned shops in Haldwani and surrounding areas of Uttarakhand's Udham Singh Nagar and Nainital districts to rename themselves or publicly disclose the religious identity of their owners unfolded with apparent impunity. Despite multiple complaints being filed, law enforcement authorities failed to register First Information Reports (FIRs), revealing a troubling pattern of police negligence or inaction in cases targeting religious minorities.

The campaign was primarily orchestrated by Vipin Pandey, a BJP leader and former member of the Bharatiya Janata Yuva Morcha (BDC member) in Haldwani. Pandey coordinated with members of Hindu nationalist organizations, including the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) and Bajrang Dal, to systematically target Muslim-owned commercial establishments. The campaign affected “nearly half a dozen shops,” as you indicated, though exact documentation of affected businesses remains incomplete in public sources.

Timeline and Specific Incidents

Early April 2025 – Ram Navami Campaign: Before the more widely documented May incidents, Pandey led a broader campaign during Ram Navami (a major Hindu religious festival) where over 15 Muslim-owned businesses were forced to shut down or publicly declare their faith. During this period, a Muslim biryani seller named Irshad became a specific target. Despite his shop being legally registered as “HM Hotel,” Pandey demanded Irshad disclose his religious identity and explicitly threatened violence, warning he would “throw away his goods” if the vendor did not comply. This set the template for what would follow.

May 3, 2025 – Rudrapur Campaign Begins: Hindu nationalist members in Rudrapur (Udham Singh Nagar district, adjacent to Haldwani) threatened Muslim shopkeepers, demanding they rename their stores to explicitly reveal their religious identity so customers could identify their faith before making purchases.

May 6, 2025 – False Allegations and Nainital Escalation: During a VHP and Bajrang Dal protest responding to an alleged sexual assault case, Vipin Pandey made inflammatory false allegations that Muslim juice vendors were deliberately spitting into drinks they sold, a claim he absurdly attributed to religious instruction in the Quran. This incitement triggered communal tensions and laid the groundwork for escalated targeting of Muslim vendors.

May 7, 2025 – Official Memorandum: Vipin Pandey submitted a memorandum to district authorities (documented by the Saffron Monitor as coming from May 7) in which he alleged that “Muslims from outside the area were working locally by concealing or changing their names.” This systematically targeted Muslim-run businesses, framing identity disclosure as an administrative necessity while actually promoting religious profiling of vendors.

May 10, 2025 – Identity Markers and Religious Segregation: Referencing the Pahalgam terror attack (which occurred on April 22, 2025), Vipin Pandey explicitly urged fruit and vegetable vendors to identify themselves as Hindu vendors and wear a gamchha (towel) or other religious symbols on their stalls as visible religious markers. His rationale claimed without evidence was that Muslims “deliberately avoid naming their shops to conceal their identity,” while Hindu vendors must “visibly mark their faith to attract buyers.” This campaign effectively encouraged a boycott of Muslim vendors while injecting religious segregation into everyday commercial transactions.

The most critical aspect of your inquiry concerns the failure of police to register FIRs despite complaints. Available documentation from the Saffron Monitor and other sources consistently notes that despite these systematic threats, intimidation, and forced identity disclosure campaigns:

- No FIRs were registered against Vipin Pandey or his associates for these activities during April-May 2025
- Police presence was limited to conflict management meetings rather than proactive registration of complaints
- The district administration’s response focused on marking operations and crackdowns (for other violations) but did not specifically target the shop renaming threats
- As of the documentation available, affected shop owners appear to have had their complaints effectively ignored by law enforcement

This pattern of police inaction is not unique to this incident. A December 2025 complaint filed with India’s National Commission for Minorities documented systematic failures across the country: “At the time of documentation, no publicly available information indicated whether police action was taken against those who enforced the closures or whether any protective measures were extended to the affected vendors.”

On November 4, 2025, a Muslim cleric travelling on a public road in Kathgodam, Haldwani, was stopped by two individuals riding a motorcycle. According to video documentation, the individuals demanded that the cleric chant the religious slogan “Jai Shri Ram.” When the cleric refused to comply, he was verbally threatened with harm. The incident was recorded and circulated on social media platforms. At the time of documentation, no information was available regarding police action taken against the individuals who issued the threats.⁸

On the evening of November 16, 2025, around 7:30 PM, residents near the Ujaleshwar temple in Ujala Nagar/Banbhoolpura area of Haldwani discovered the severed head of a newborn calf. The discovery was made near both the temple and Aligarh Public School on Bareilly Road. Within hours, rumors spread wildly across social media claiming that the calf’s head was actually a

⁸ Hindutva Watch (@hindutvawatchin), post no. 3219, Telegram, time of post <https://t.me/hindutvawatchin/3219>

cow's head that had been deliberately placed there by Muslims to insult Hindus. A social media influencer specifically linked these rumors to Shama Deluxe Hotel, a Muslim-owned meat restaurant in the area owned by Amir Hamza, one of the oldest and most popular restaurants in Haldwani, operating since the 1970s.⁹

The false narrative traveled like wildfire through WhatsApp, Facebook, and Instagram. Hindu nationalist groups quickly mobilized, and by late evening, approximately 20-30 people associated with Hindu outfits gathered at the scene. What followed was organized violence: the mob pelted stones at Shama Deluxe Hotel, damaged five vehicles, targeted other Muslim-owned shops in the area, and attacked a bearded man, leaving him with a head injury so severe he required hospitalization and was covered in blood. Police had to use lathi charges (mild force) to disperse the mob, and over 40-50 unidentified persons were booked in FIRs for rioting and vandalism.

When police conducted their investigation, including reviewing CCTV footage from the surrounding area, they discovered something crucial: a stray dog had carried the calf head from a nearby forest and dropped it near the temple. There was no slaughter, no deliberate placement, and no communal motive whatsoever. The entire incident that sparked the violence was based entirely on a completely false rumor. Police and forensic teams confirmed that the remains were animal matter naturally dragged by a dog, not evidence of ritual cow slaughter or an intentional insult to Hindus.

Nainital SSP Dr Manjunath TC confirmed there was “no criminal or communal motive found.” The head was seized for testing and the actual cause of the disturbance was revealed to be misinformation that had spread unchecked through social media.¹⁰

The primary target was Shama Deluxe Hotel, owned by Muslim entrepreneur Amir Hamza. The restaurant was heavily vandalized through stone-pelting, and bikes parked outside the property were damaged. Hamza praised the police for acting quickly in restraining the protesters through lathi charges, but he expressed concern about his property damage and reputation loss, questioning what would be done against the social media influencers and political figures who provoked the violence. The impact extended beyond property damage.

9 PTI, “Haldwani Hotel Vandalised After Discovery of Calf Head Outside It,” *The Tribune*, November 18, 2025, <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/uttarakhand/haldwani-hotel-vandalised-after-discovery-of-calf-head-outside-it/>

10 *In Haldwani, Hindu Mob Vandalises Muslim Eatery Over Calf Head Rumour Later Proven False*, Hindutva Watch, November 17, 2025, <https://www.hindutvawatch.org/in-haldwani-hindu-mob-vandalises-muslim-eatery-over-calf-head-rumour-later-proven-false/>.

Khusro Alam* shared about the latest happenings in the state. He said that due to the ongoing situation of cloudburst and flooding, the incidents of communal hatred, discrimination, and violence have gone down since everyone in the state is dealing with the natural calamity at hand. In Chamoli, nearly half a dozen people got swept away in the floods and have died. However, there are noticeable trends of exclusion and selective relief assistance even in the rehabilitation and rescue efforts. In the shelters set up by Christian communities for relief and aid, the Hindutva groups and their members are nowhere to be seen, lending a hand in the efforts. However, they are undeniably active in disrupting the prayers of other communities and creating a ruckus. In Rishikesh, Muslims were reading the Friday namaaz at their home on 19th September, when members of Hindu outfits barged in and began creating a ruckus, disturbing the prayers. Alam frustratedly said, “Tell me, when the namaz of two rakaats¹¹ takes just five minutes, why do they have to create a disturbance in that small time too? On the other hand, if the namaz is not performed, one is labelled a *kaafir*.”

Alam also shared that the Van Gujjar community in Uttarakhand has not been spared this ordeal either. In Uttarakhand, there is a strong drive to displace the nomadic pastoral tribe of Van Gujjars. ‘Van’ means forest. It was an identity conceived by a group belonging to the larger Gujjar community, to protect land rights during the formulation of the Rajaji National Park in 1992¹². In Uttarkashi, some members of the community who were going uphill with their animals were beaten up without any reason. As of now, a case has been registered against seven persons who beat them up.

In Tiuni village near Uttarkashi, the land belonging to the Van Gujjars has been snatched from them. The government wants to take over the Van Gujjars’ graveyard land, claiming it to be forest land they want to dig up the graves and use the land for their own purposes.

Similar harassment, despite legal land rights, is well documented. Under The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act 2006 or the Forest Rights Act (FRA), the Van Gujjar are specifically entitled to, ‘...seasonal use of landscape in the case of pastoral communities, including reserved forests, protected forests and protected areas such as Sanctuaries and National Parks to which the community had traditional access.’ In reality, though, this is often ignored.

11 In Islamic prayer (namaz or Salah), a rakat is a single unit or cycle of prayer, consisting of a series of specific physical movements and recitations, such as standing, bowing (ruku), and prostration (sujud). Each rakat involves standing, reciting from the Quran, bowing, performing two prostrations, and then sitting before the next rakat begins. The number of rakats varies for different obligatory and optional prayers, with the five daily prayers each having a distinct number of rakats, such as two for Fajr or three for Maghrib.

12 Aditi Tandon, “*Van Gujjars: People of the Forest or Nowhere?*” Mongabay India, May 28, 2021, <https://india.mongabay.com/2021/05/van-gujjars-people-of-the-forest-or-nowhere/>

Certain serial offenders who incite communal tensions, give hate speeches, and promote violence were also named by Alam. He said, “Rakesh Kumar Tomar ‘Uttarakhandi’ motivates people to oust Muslims and has strengthened the narrative that Muslims don’t belong to this land. He belongs to the Hindutva organization *Rudra Sena*. I believe that people from Dehradun go to Uttarkashi to do all this. Similarly, there is Swami Darshan Bharti, who has wreaked a lot of communal havoc in the hills and is one of the main motivators and inciters of communal discord and violence in Uttarakhand. He has a hand behind many such instances in Kumaon and other regions.

Similarly, Rashad¹³, a 52-year old migrant worker and Muslim driver originally from Chhutmalpur, Saharanpur, Uttar Pradesh, shared the grave and brutal ordeal he had to undergo.

The incident is that of 15th August 2025, evening 4 pm. 15 kilometres further from Srinagar is a village called Dhumripanth. There is a famous temple there of Ghaari devi. There’s a railway project there by/in the name of Ritwik. I have been working there for five years, would take the truck and go. I went to the tea shop nearby around four in the evening. They were sitting there - the teaseller and three other people. Two were sitting on one side and the third one was sitting in front of them. I placed an order for one tea, as soon as I did, the people sitting there said “*mulla katua*¹⁴ aa gaya”. Anyway people say such things casually walking around in the hills anyway. Keep teasing/annoying needlessly.

Anyhow, they said “*mulla katua aa gaya, aaj pandraah agast hai aaj khushi ka din hai. Aaj (bolo) bharat mata ji ko jai shree ram*” (*mulla katua* is here, today is fifteenth August and a day, a cause for happiness. Today, say to *bharat mata, jai shree ram*). I said “*mera kya maqsad bharat mata ki jai, jai shree ram kehne ka? Zabardasti aap kyun bulwaaoge? Main chai pii raha thha, mereko chai piine de bhai*” (what is my purpose for saying “*bharat mata ki jai, jai shree ram*”? Why would you forcibly make me say it? I was drinking tea, let me drink tea brother). They replied and said “*tune awaaz kara*” (you made a noise).



After that, Rashad said that these people started beating him up. One Mukesh Bhatt, took out his mobile to record the entire incident. The narrative they wanted going in the video was “this guy is from Himachal, all these *mulla-katuas* come from there”, Rashad shared, grimacing at the filth of the curse words used against him. Finally, Rashad said “Jai Shree Ram” (and he noticed the tea seller laughing at him), but he was asked to say it again. He retorted by saying that I have already said it, but then at his refusal he was beaten again, and this time another person joined in. This one punched Rashad in the

13 Name changed for privacy

14 A derogatory slur used for Muslim men, roughly means “mullah/muslim circumcised”

nose which led to a heavy nosebleed. Someone brought an axe from inside the counter of the tea seller at this point. The tea seller was laughing at this point and saying “it’s fine, let him go”. They then threatened and demanded Rashad be placed on the table and chopped like wood. One man, Rashad is not sure whether he was from Punjab or Bihar, but he came running to stop this from happening. Mukesh Bhatt then went out and got a 4-foot rod from outside, the kind that is put in plants.

While giving mother-sister curses, he said he will beat up this man (Rashad). Rashad, while sharing all this with us, said coldly that there were 3-4 people outside the hut but not one came to his aid. Rashad then shared that the video was shot in a way that these people do not come into the frame at any point, it’s only the beating that is shown. One of them started pulling Rashad’s beard at this point, and one punching his chest, one kicking his back. They brought out a knife and cut Rashad’s beard. One boy tried to show Rashad a way through the forest, saying “run from here and hide there otherwise they will kill you”. The mob planned on killing Rashad, who is thankful that that boy showed up at that point. Rashad went and hid in the forest and, using the support of the shrubs, began climbing up the forest path to safety. By the point he reached a flat rock, his head scarf and clothes were soaked in blood. He finally reached his vehicle, washed the head scarf nearby, and wore it inside out so that the blood was no longer starkly visible. A driver was sitting there, he said that at 2 pm, the same thing had happened with him - he had been asked to chant these things, but he was not beaten up. He was a local driver, maybe that’s why his life was spared. Rashad shared the pictures and videos of his injuries with us. Rashad shared these with a known policeman as well, but the latter did not undertake any investigation. The next night, the video went viral. From that, people somehow traced Rashad’s exact home location. But then the known policeman came and nothing untoward happened, the next evening around 4 pm the FIR was registered, but no sections were mentioned in it, only a plea to save Rashad. Rashad was also forced to sleep in the car during this process, and on the day of the FIR filing, Rashad was alone at the police station and the goons had also come to the station at that point. But no specific sections were written as charges against the perpetrators.

Rashad proclaimed that he knows he is illiterate and unread, but he knows enough to know that he can speak and record his side of the story on video. But yet, his side of the story was not fully included in the FIR, and only his name and his father’s name was asked in the process of registering the FIR.

On November 14, 2025, individuals identified as leaders of the Kali Sena visited a dry-fruit stall operated by a Muslim contractor in Dehradun, Uttarakhand. The individuals accused the contractor of engaging in what they described as “mungfali jihad,” alleging that Hindu vendors and the display of a calendar featuring a Hindu deity were being used to mislead Hindu customers. Video documentation shows the individuals confronting the contractor at his place of business and making communal allegations. At the time of documentation, no information was available regarding any police action taken in response to the intimidation or public harassment at the stall.¹⁵

A particularly significant case involving Hazrat Kamal Shah Dargah registered with the Waqf Board in 1982. On April 25-26, 2025, district authorities demolished the structure at night using bulldozers despite its registered status, allegedly in response to a complaint filed on the Chief Minister’s portal. On May 13, 2025, the Supreme Court issued a contempt notice to Uttarakhand officials, noting that the Union Government had assured the Court on April 17, 2025, that “no Waqf’s character or status will be changed” pending the outcome of constitutional challenges to the Amendment Act.¹⁶

15 Hindutva Watch (@hindutvawatchin), post no. 3281, Telegram, [date of post], time of post (if known), <https://t.me/hindutvawatchin/3281>

16 Debby Jain, “Plea in Supreme Court Alleges Demolition of Registered Waqf Violating Union’s Undertaking in Waqf Amendment Act Challenge,” **LiveLaw**, May 13, 2025, <https://www.livelaw.in/top-stories/supreme-court-plea-assailing-registered-waqf-dargah-demolition-in-uttarakhand-despite-union-undertaking-april-17-notice-292018>

PACHWA DOON

In October 2025, unverified reports claimed that 28 villages in Uttarakhand's Pachwa Doon region experienced dramatic demographic shifts, with Muslim populations surging and Hindu populations collapsing. Specific villages supposedly went from 60-70 percent Hindu to just 4-20 percent Hindu in 14 years. The reports blamed fraudulent family registers, fake Aadhaar cards, and forged voter IDs, claiming Muslims were illegally infiltrating Hindu villages. The Uttarakhand government launched state-wide investigations, and Hindu nationalist media outlets framed this as evidence of "demographic takeover."

These claims are false. The reports compare 2011 census data (the last official census) with invented 2025 estimates from unknown sources. Official census records show Dehradun district's Muslim population was 11.91 percent in 2011 and projected to remain at approximately 11.9 percent in 2026 with no dramatic shift. Independent fact-checkers at Factly.in debunked similar viral claims that Muslim populations grew from 1.5 percent to 16 percent, confirming they actually grew only 2 percentage points between 2001-2011. For Haldwani, claims of growth from "less than 1,000 to over one lakh" were false; census data showed absolute numbers actually declined from 80,436 to 67,559 Muslims.

The government's own investigation revealed minimal fraud. Only 2 percent of family register applications were rejected between April-December 2025, with 97.8 percent approved. This is a normal administrative rate and doesn't support claims of systematic demographic manipulation. Importantly, the Haldwani fraud case involved a Muslim CSC operator using a Hindu couple's documents to forge certificates, contradicting narratives that blamed Muslim communities exclusively.

These demographic claims follow a five-year pattern in Uttarakhand. Since 2021, the state has repeatedly launched fear campaigns: "Land Jihad" (2021-2022), "Love Jihad" (2022-2023), targeting of Muslim nomadic communities (2023), and forced expulsion of Muslim shopkeepers from Purola (May 2024). Each narrative uses inflammatory language about "invasion" and "cultural threats" through Hindu nationalist media outlets like Panchjanya (RSS-affiliated). The real purpose is transparent: create fear of Muslims among the majority population to justify aggressive targeting.

The October 2025 demographic claims directly enabled the simultaneous UMMEED portal campaign against mosques and dargahs. After spreading unverified claims about Muslim "infiltration," the government classified thousands of unregistered waqf properties as "disputed" and began demolitions. Over 300 Muslim shrines were razed between June-November 2025, including the Hazrat Kamal Shah Dargah (registered since 1982), demolished at night without notice. These demolitions and the demographic narrative worked together: the fear narrative made the demolitions seem like "defensive" measures protecting Hindu communities.

The targeting extended to everyday life. Muslim vendors received notices prohibiting operation “near temple zones” or requiring them to identify as Hindu to work. Muslim prayer meetings were raided as “illegal encroachments.” Muslim gym owners were jailed after beatings by Hindu nationalist vigilante groups (Bajrang Dal) while attackers faced no charges. Muslim women wearing headscarves were harassed. Police consistently sided with Hindu nationalist groups and arrested Muslim victims. This systemic one-sided enforcement created economic exclusion and daily intimidation based on religion.

The demographic narrative contradicts itself. The reports claim Muslims are fraudulently registering as Hindus to infiltrate villages, yet simultaneously claim visible Muslim population increases. Both can’t be true. This logical inconsistency reveals the real goal wasn’t fraud investigation but creating a sense of Muslim “infiltration” regardless of factual accuracy. The government’s modest findings, isolated CSC fraud, nowhere justified the dramatic 28-village demographic claims that were circulated.

Civil rights organizations documented the consequences. The Peoples Union for Civil Liberties filed a petition with Uttarakhand High Court showing systematic targeting of Muslims using “Vyapar Jihad” (Business Jihad), “Love Jihad,” and “Land Jihad” rhetoric. Result: Muslim communities fled towns entirely, shopkeepers abandoned businesses, interfaith couples faced harassment, and vendors endured economic restrictions and forced chanting of Hindu nationalist slogans. The Supreme Court questioned the government’s approach, including prosecution of interfaith marriages based on name changes alone.

The demographic claims represent a deliberate misinformation strategy. False narratives create majority community fear, which generates support for government actions against Muslims, making opposition harder because public opinion is already shaped. The October 2025 claims followed this template perfectly: unverified data created panic, justified demolitions and harassment, and enabled systematic exclusion of Muslims from public space, religious practice, and economic participation.

HARIDWAR

On **November 4, 2025**, the Haridwar district administration, acting under Chief Minister Pushkar Singh Dhami's directives, conducted a significant enforcement operation resulting in the demolition of an illegally constructed mazar (Islamic shrine) situated on 2 bighas of Uttar Pradesh Irrigation Department government land in Suman Nagar, Ranipur police station area. The action followed a meticulously executed legal protocol initiated on October 16, 2025, when the Irrigation Department issued a formal notice demanding ownership documentation or removal of the structure within 15 days. Upon non-compliance, the administration proceeded with demolition on November 4, executing the operation jointly with police and department officials without any reported resistance.

CM Dhami articulated the government's enforcement philosophy during the special session of Uttarakhand Assembly (November 3, 2025), stating: "No one can encroach on government land by simply spreading a sheet. Uttarakhand has zero tolerance for land jihad, love jihad, and spit jihad." He further emphasized: "No one can misuse faith as a cover for illegal occupation. The law is the same for everyone and we will reclaim every inch of government land." His position clearly established that the government's anti-encroachment drive operates without exemptions based on religious considerations.¹⁷

Congress MLA Adesh Chauhan from Jaspur district raised objections during the Uttarakhand Assembly's special session (November 3, 2025), alleging that the government's demolition drive selectively targeted Muslim religious sites. He criticized the focus on demolishing mazars while questioning whether comparable action was taken against other communities' unauthorized structures. Chauhan further alleged that the bureaucracy ignored grievances from people's representatives regarding unequal enforcement.¹⁸

Chief Minister Dhami directly responded to opposition criticism, unambiguously stating: "The government functions strictly according to law and due procedure no encroachment made on government land, whether covered by a green, blue, or yellow sheet, would be tolerated." This response attempted to frame the enforcement as content-neutral, applying identical standards regardless of the occupant's religious affiliation.

17 *Uttarakhand: CM Dhami Strikes Hard on Encroachments, Illegal Mazar Demolished in Haridwar under Zero-Tolerance Action*, **Organiser**, November 6, 2025, <https://organiser.org/2025/11/06/324404/bharat/uttarakhand-cm-dhami-strikes-hard-on-encroachments-illegal-mazar-demolished-in-haridwar-under-zero-tolerance-action/>

18 Arun Pratap Singh, "Anti-encroachment Drive Continues, Illegal Mazaar in Haridwar Demolished," *Garhwal Post*, November 5, 2025, <https://garhwalpost.in/anti-encroachment-drive-continues-illegal-mazaar-in-haridwar-demolished/>

Muslim organizations, including Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind and All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat, later condemned demolition actions, describing the pattern as selective targeting of minority communities' religious sites. These organizations acknowledged that illegal constructions should be addressed by law but stressed the importance of respecting religious sentiments and ensuring due process.¹⁹

Hindu Raksha Sena chief Swami Prabodhananda Nandi Giri, in contrast, issued an ultimatum demanding stricter and faster action against “all illegal mazars and dargahs” in Uttarakhand. This statement positioned the organization as advocating for more aggressive enforcement

19 *Authorities in Haridwar Demolish ‘Illegal’ Mazar Amid Tight Security (Clarion India)*, **Hindutva Watch**, October 19, 2024, <https://www.hindutvawatch.org/authorities-in-haridwar-demolish-illegal-mazar-amid-tight-security-clarion-india/>

VAN GUJJARS IN UTTARAKHAND

The Van Gujjars, as a community, have a long and well-documented history of identity, migration, and forest-dependent livelihood that extends far beyond the narrow and distorted narratives currently circulating about them. Members of the community associated with the All India Union of Forest Working People (AIUFWP) shared the following insights, excerpts of which are presented here.

Historical Recognition and Legal Identity

If we look at our earlier history, the Van Gujjar community gained formal recognition in 1857, when the British government recorded us in its documents as Forest-dependent Forest Gujjar Tongia. Forest Department records and Government of India documents, some dating back hundreds of years, continue to bear witness to the presence of forest-dwelling, migrant Tongia communities in the Shivalik foothills.

The sustained struggles of forest workers' unions, intellectuals, and community voices, including leaders such as Iqra Hasan, eventually compelled Parliament to enact the Forest Rights Act in 2006. This law explicitly states that it exists to ensure the rights of all forest-dependent communities living in India's forests. Ironically, when the community was asked to submit proof spanning three generations prior to 2005, we returned to the same historical records from 1857 that establish our identity as a forest-dependent community. By that measure, the documents we presented were 148 years old, not merely three generations.

Despite this extensive documentation, the Van Tongia and Van Gujjar communities continue to live with deep poverty, social injustice, and persistent institutional neglect.

Traditional Migration Routes and Administrative Disruption

The Van Gujjar community is traditionally migratory. Since 1857, three established migration routes have been used to move from Uttar Pradesh to the hills of Uttarakhand:

01. From Vikas Nagar to Kiwani, and onward into Himachal Pradesh
02. From Vikas Nagar to Chakrata, and then to Uttarkashi
03. From Rishikesh via Tehri to Rudraprayag, and further to Uttarkashi

These routes are historically documented in British-era records, including detailed accounts by Commissioner Champion, who recorded passage taxes and migration details. However, in the current year, administrative authorities forcibly disrupted these traditional routes, compelling the community to abandon its way of life.

A review of data collected by our team indicates severe devastation across three forest divisions:

- Rudraprayag Forest Division: 4 families and 222 buffaloes were denied entry
- Chakrata Forest Division: Permits of 10 families were revoked, affecting 600 buffaloes
- Uttarkashi Forest Division: 30 families with 1,800 buffaloes were stopped

In total, 44 families and 2,622 buffaloes were prevented from migrating.

Economic Losses and Threat to Livelihood

According to MBBR records, all buffaloes reared by Van Gujjars in 2026 were registered under the MBBR breed by the Animal Husbandry Department of the Government of India. This breed is inherently migratory; if Gujar buffaloes do not migrate, they cannot survive.

If 2,622 buffaloes are lost, and if even one buffalo is conservatively valued at ₹40,000, the community has already suffered an estimated loss of ₹104.88 million. Beyond livestock loss, crores of rupees worth of milk production has been disrupted, posing a fundamental threat to the community's existence and future.

It is particularly ironic that these restrictions have been imposed at a time when the United Nations has designated 2026 as the international year for nomadic communities, a declaration also endorsed by the Government of India.

Contribution to Regional Economies

The Van Gujjar community plays a substantial role in the regional economy of both Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh. Every day:

- Approximately 2,200 quintals of milk are supplied to cities in Uttar Pradesh, including Behat, Mohand, Najibabad, Bijnor, and Afzalgarh.
- Around 5,800 quintals of milk are sent daily to Uttarakhand towns such as Dehradun, Vikasnagar, Rishikesh, Purola, Uttarkashi, Srinagar, Kotdwar, Haldwani, Ramnagar, and Khatima.

In addition to milk, products such as mawa and cheese are supplied across hill towns. Following bans by governments and the Supreme Court on burning paddy straw, the Van Gujjar community began purchasing straw from farmers in Punjab and districts such as Saharanpur, Bijnor, and Rampur in Uttar Pradesh, providing farmers with additional income. Local grass is also purchased during hill migrations, further strengthening village-level economies.

The community also contributes through horse transport services, including ferrying people and goods and serving pilgrims at religious sites such as Badrinath by providing horseback services to devotees.

Communal Targeting and Breakdown of Social Harmony

These long-standing economic, social, and cultural relationships were severely disrupted by Rakesh Tomar, an individual associated with the BJP, who allegedly formed a gang and unleashed communal hostility against the Van Gujjar community. This campaign not only spread communal venom but directly obstructed the migration of 2,622 buffaloes, effectively destroying the community's livelihood for an entire year.

There is an acute fear that the community may be forced to slaughter its animals due to prolonged obstruction. Despite repeated appeals to administrative officials, emphasising that migration is a centuries-old tradition and an integral part of the cultural diversity of Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand, no meaningful action has been taken.

Cultural Erasure and Future Threats

The Van Gujjar community has also become the subject of extensive academic research, with hundreds of university students and scholars pursuing PhDs on its history and culture. Administrative efforts to restrict the community threaten not only its survival but also the continuation of this body of knowledge.

Historically, this tribe has not depended on government schemes or assistance. Instead, it has sustained itself through mobility, labour, and economic interdependence across regions, embodying the cultural and ecological diversity of the Shivalik Hills and the western Himalayan belt.

Today, anti-social elements—often enjoying political protection—are openly demanding the removal of Forest Gujjars from forests, mountains, and Bugyals. As a Muslim community, the Van Gujjars now face intensified communal targeting. While some families managed to reach the hills, 2,622 buffaloes and at least 44 families remain stranded.

Call for Justice and Restoration

We strongly condemn the systematic and diplomatic conspiracy unfolding in Uttarakhand to disrupt social harmony and defame an entire community. The relationships of love, trust, and economic cooperation between the Van Gujjars and local populations must be restored. Concrete action must be taken against those spreading hatred and misinformation.

This struggle is also a declaration: the Van Gujjar community has launched a renewed campaign to preserve its traditional identity, dignity, and right to exist as a forest-dependent nomadic community within the diverse social fabric of Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Legal and Policy Solutions

01. **Enforce Supreme Court Guidelines:** Hon'ble Supreme Court in the case of Tehseen Poonawala v. Union of India, including the appointment of a Nodal Officer for prevention of cases of mob violence.
02. **Enforce Hate Speech Laws:** Ensure that existing laws against hate speech are enforced effectively, and perpetrators are held accountable.
03. **Strengthen Anti-Discrimination Laws:** Take special note of routine calls for boycott of Muslim shop keepers and residents in different parts of Uttarakhand, and to prosecute the groups and individuals behind such calls that violate articles 14, 19 and 21 of the Constitution of India. Enact and enforce comprehensive anti-discrimination laws to protect marginalized communities in Uttarakhand.
04. **Criminalise Individuals spreading Hate Speech on Social Media:** Identify and prosecute individuals and groups that regularly incite violence against minorities through spreading hate speech and misinformation on social media platforms.

Education and Awareness

01. **Critical Thinking and Media Literacy:** Integrate critical thinking and media literacy into school curricula to empower citizens to discern fact from fiction.
02. **Human Rights Education:** Promote human rights education to foster a culture of respect, empathy, and inclusivity.
03. **Counter-Narrative Campaigns:** Launch counter-narrative campaigns to challenge hate speech and promote positive, inclusive messaging.

Police and Administrative Reforms

01. **Sensitize Law Enforcement:** Provide training and sensitization programs for law enforcement officials to handle hate crimes and protests effectively.
02. **Establish Community Policing:** Implement community policing initiatives to build trust and foster cooperation between law enforcement and local communities.
03. **Administrative Accountability:** Ensure administrative accountability by holding officials responsible for preventing and responding to hate speeches and protests.

Relief and Rehabilitation

01. **Alternative Housing:** Provide alternative housing options for those who were evicted, ensuring they have access to basic amenities like water, sanitation, and electricity.
02. **Financial Assistance:** Offer financial assistance, such as compensation or subsidies, to help evicted individuals and families rebuild their lives.
03. **Employment Opportunities:** Create employment opportunities for evicted individuals, either through government schemes or partnerships with private organizations.
04. **Access to Education and Healthcare:** Ensure that evicted individuals and families have access to education and healthcare facilities, including scholarships and medical assistance programs.
05. **Community Rehabilitation:** Foster community rehabilitation by promoting social cohesion and inclusivity, encouraging community members to support and reintegrate evicted individuals and families.

Addressing Underlying Issues

01. **Land Rights:** Address the issue of land rights, ensuring that marginalized communities have secure access to land and resources.
02. **Discrimination:** Combat discrimination and prejudice against marginalized communities, promoting equal opportunities and social justice.
03. **Inclusive Urban Planning:** Encourage inclusive urban planning, ensuring that urban development projects prioritize the needs and rights of marginalized communities.

Ensuring Accountability

01. **Investigations:** Conduct thorough investigations into the evictions, holding accountable those responsible for any human rights violations.
02. **Compensation:** Provide compensation to evicted individuals and families for any losses or damages incurred during the eviction process.
03. **Reforms:** Implement reforms to prevent similar evictions in the future, ensuring that the rights of marginalized communities are protected and respected.
04. **Strengthening Institutional Mechanisms for Peace:** Establish and empower institutions that can address grievances and promote social cohesion, such as district-level peace committees.



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