

‘Patwari Policing’ in Uttarakhand : A Study of Continuity and Change

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Abstract:

The structural pattern of the police organization in Uttarakhand at both the district and state levels is an extension of the arrangements evolved before the creation of the state. Uttarakhand is known for a unique police system in which civil officials of the Revenue Department were entrusted with powers and functions of Police by different provisions of the British Rule. Although regular police is established in the state, yet in some hill areas, jurisdiction of the police is yet to be extended to and the revenue officials perform functions of police like arrest of offenders and investigation. As much as 60 per cent of the remote terrain in Uttarakhand is still manned by these officials. With their limited manpower and resources they are doing this for more than a century. In this paper, an attempt has been made to discuss the law which authorizes the revenue officials to perform police functions. Besides this, related history has also been touched in brief. Importance and effectiveness of working of Patwari policing in Uttarakhand is an interesting subject of study to whether these institutions are an effective mechanism for the hilly state.

Keywords: Policing, Patwari, Kanungo, Revenue Police, Uttarakhand.

The state's first and foremost job is to provide safety and security of the people living in it. The responsibility for providing safe and secure environment for the people devolves upon the body of men and women called 'the police' - the active arm of the state and the first line of defense against law-breaking, external threats and disturbances. Maintenance of law and order at a satisfactory level is a basic pre-requisite to development. In the midst of political and socio-economic changes, administering law and order and maintaining internal security have increasingly becoming complex and challenging. In such an environment, the police force has not only to confine itself to performing the traditional duty of maintenance of law and order but to ensure the conditions for smooth development and to fight with the new challenges in their re-defined roles which are inevitable in a developing society. Since idea of the democracy was conceptualized, one of its major criterions has been the maintenance of law and order. The Hobbesian paradigm which lays down the rationale for establishment of 'state' and democracy being its modern adaptation, the role of Police or an enforcement agency has remained at the centre of discourse. Police is that branch of the administrative machinery of government which is charged with the preservation of public order and tranquility, the promotion of the public health, safety, and morals, and the prevention, detection, and punishment of crimes. It is considered as the custodian of peace and maintenance of law and order. Seen in the Indian context, police, public order, prisons, reformatories, borstal and other allied institutions under the Constitution of India are state subjects. In consonance with the ideals of the Constitution, all states have their individual police laws. That is not to say that the Union Government does not have any say in police governance, Article 355 of the Constitution enjoins upon the Union to protect every state against external aggression and internal disturbance. It also imposes the duty upon the Union Government to ensure that that government of every state is carried on in accordance with the Constitutional provisions. The Police Act, 1861 is still the basic instrument which governs the functioning of the Indian Police. Besides the Indian Penal Code, 1862, the Indian Evidence Act, 1872 and the Criminal Procedure Code of 1973 also governs the functioning of the police. The police force in India, as it now exists, is an exotic institution created by the British, retained by the independent India and developed by slow degrees for ensuring public order.

Introduction

The legitimacy and effectiveness of the state is directly related to the capacity of its police to provide security to the people and their property, maintain law and order and play an active role in the administration of justice. Their role of creating political stability, industrial

security and social mobility helps the process of democratization, development and social empowerment. The Police constitute a special body within the state, its visible shield guarding it and through it, the whole of society as such, against threats. It is meant to provide a special kind of service for the whole society besides its basic rendering of security. The structure and organization of police administration determine the character of society and government in the state. The administration of law and order which even today provides the very foundation of community life presents its policemen as the limb of law and guardian of peace on behalf of the state. Its structure and organization determines the socio-political dynamics of the state. The structure of police administration at different levels provides insight to understand its functioning.

The term 'Police'- derived from the Greek word 'Politeia' or its Latin equivalent 'Politia'- refers to that executive civil force of the state to which is entrusted the duty of maintaining order and of enforcing regulations for the prevention and detection of crime. In a democratic society, the police are a living expression, an embodiment and an implementing arm of democratic law. The legitimacy and effectiveness of the state is directly related to the capacity of its police to provide security to the people and their property, maintain law and order and play an active and fair role in the administration of justice. The failure of the police in playing of these important tasks reflects directly upon the authority of the state.

The police force in India, as it now exists, is an exotic institution created by the British, retained by the independent India and developed by slow degrees for ensuring public order. Since the formal structure of the police was developed by the British on the foundations of the police act of 1861, an overwhelming and entirely new dimension was added when the country became independent and opted for a democratic and welfare form of government and an egalitarian society. Article 246 of the Constitution of India designates the police as a *state subject*, which stipulates that the state governments frame the rules and regulations that govern each police force. These rules and regulations are contained in the police manuals of each state force. The hierarchical structure of the police in India follows a vertical alignment consisting of senior officers drawn, by and large, from the Indian Police Service (IPS) who do the supervisory work, the upper subordinates (inspectors, sub-inspectors, and asst. sub-inspectors) who work generally at the police station level, and the police constabulary who are delegated the patrolling, surveillance, guard duties, and law and order work. The constabulary accounts for almost 88% of total police strength.

The Police Act of 1861 remains the central piece of legislation that governs all aspects of policing in India. Much of police work is also administered by the Indian Penal Code (IPC), the Code of Criminal Procedure (Cr.P.C) and the Indian Evidence Act, 1872. In fact, the 1861 Act instituted a police system designed to be absolutely subservient to the executive and highly authoritarian. The advent of Indian independence transformed the political system, but the police system retained its colonial underpinnings. The managerial philosophy, value system, and ethos of the police remained militaristic in design, and suppressive in practice. Uttarakhand is known for a unique police system in which civil officials of the Revenue Department were entrusted with powers and functions of Police by different provisions of the British Rule. Although regular police is established in the state, yet in some hill areas, jurisdiction of the police is yet to be extended to and the revenue officials perform functions of police like arrest of offenders and investigation. As much as 60 per cent of the remote terrain in Uttarakhand is still manned by these officials. With their limited manpower and resources they are doing this for more than a century.

Patwari Policing' in Uttarakhand

The structural pattern of the police organization in Uttarakhand at both the district and state levels is an extension of the arrangements evolved before the creation of the state. Uttarakhand –bifurcated as the Kumaun and the Garhwal- has been an administrative unit of Uttar Pradesh since Independence. The Police Act of 1861, the Police Act of 1888, the Police (U.P. Amendment) Act, 1939, the Police (U.P. Amendment) Act, 1944, the Police Act, 1949,

the U.P. Pradeshik Armed Constabulary Act, 1948 and the U.P. Pradeshik Vikas Dal Subordinate Service Rules, 1980 were the important historical guidelines to regulate the newly created Police force in Uttarakhand on the eve of its creation. On November 9, 2000, Uttarakhand was created as a new state and some of the above cited provisions came in force in toto in Uttarakhand. Today, the hilly state of Uttarakhand presents a unique mixture of regular police and revenue police. As much as 61 per cent of the remote terrain in Uttarakhand is currently manned by revenue officers (patwaris), who have been notified as police sub-inspectors. Uttarakhand is the only state in the country to have the age-old concept of revenue police under which revenue officials like kanungo and patwaris have power and functions of police. Revenue police operates in 61% of Uttarakhand, while regular police functions in the remaining 39% areas. Though the area under revenue police is larger, it covers only one-third of the total population. Revenue police operates in far flung and hill areas.

The Revenue Police system is specific to the local needs of a hilly region, evolved by the British administration, as it did not admit of a complex nature of polity as exists in the plains part of our country or now even in some parts of Uttarakhand also, where people are known to be peace-loving by nature, where the geographical terrain does not admit of crime being committed easily and culprit successfully effecting an early or easy escape, where poverty levels are so deep and endemic that there is not much to attract those elements in these parts for controlling whom regular police is really required or advocated. Revenue Police also deserves the various reforms which the Supreme Court had recommended for the 'regular police' and what is required is to ensure that proportionate, timely and requisite reforms are brought about in all streams of 'policing', not excluding either the 'revenue' or 'forest' police, if one may term it so.

Various factors have created an environment in which a new spate of crime, hitherto not known in the hilly society, is gaining ground. Also democratic governance and social change (including maldevelopments and distortions) have generated certain dilemmas and conflict within the revenue police organization. Revenue policing in Uttarakhand is perennially under discussion and always a red hot social and political topic.

Historical Background

Early British administration of British Kumaon was perhaps the most innovative and obviously highly cost-effective. Unusually long tenures of administrators who served here tended to provide a certain maturity to their innovative methods, thus making it very difficult for those who came later to undo what they inherited. The revenue police system of Uttarakhand certainly one such example of good governance introduced by the administrators of British Kumaon.

The main architect of the revenue police or the Patwari police system was George William Traill, the second Kumaon Commissioner (1815-1835). His two decade long stay as its commissioner including the British Garhwal saw many new initiatives which have endured till the present times. The British appointed "Patwari" for maintaining land records and collection of revenue in the hilly regions of Kumaon and Garhwal. This new system worked effectively and resulted in good revenue generation. These land revenue officers or Patwaris were then given additional police responsibilities. Since the crimes were negligible, it saved the additional financial burden on government exchequer. Patwari, in a specific area which consisted of 60 to 80 villages, was responsible for police duties. Eventually, Patwari acted as a station Officer of police for executing crime investigation and maintaining law and order in his area. Henceforth, this system came to be known as "Patwari-Police System" in hills.

Before the advent of British, the duties of police officers were vested in Gram Pradhan and Thokdar. Gram pradhan was responsible for law & order and Thokdar used to supervise work of Gram Pradhan and was answerable to King. Thokdhar, often had to pass the judgment in which mainly financial penalty was given as sentence. In 1815, British rule was established over Garhwal. Consideration for establishment of police Station was not

made by British as the crime reported was negligible in the region. Kumaon Commissioner was vested with police power along with other responsibilities. Initially, Army Contingent which was based at Srinagar entrusted for internal security and police order. However, Gram pradhan was given police power. Along with Pradhan and Government officer's the Thokdar remained important for maintenance law & order. But later on they started misusing police power and hence were stripped off from the conferred said right.

The British appointed "Patwari" for maintaining land records and collection of revenue in the hilly regions of Kumaon and Garhwal. The new system functioned efficiently and generated good revenue. These land revenue officers (Patwari) were then given additional Police responsibilities. Commissioner Traill had found the system or the new institution of Patwari quite useful, as it resulted in a reduction of migration of zamindars (cultivators, not landlords). They had found using their good offices in resolving petty disputes, which in the past had led to serious dissensions. Encouraged by the response of the Western board to his recommendations in 1825, he added 16 more Patwari and surrendered 24 Tehsil peons making their numbers to 33. Their duties were specifically mentioned. Since the crimes were negligible and it saved the additional financial burden on government exchequer, it was found most suitable system for hilly region of Garhwal. Atkinson in 1880, also wrote that the police system prevalent in plain was not suitable for hilly region. In 1889, Chamoli became 'Tehsil' Headquarter with appointment of a deputy collector in 1889 and the rights conferred to Pradhan and Thokdhar were as per the provisions of Rule 49 of Kumaon Rules 1894, and section 6 of Scheduled District Act 1874. As per the Act mentioned latter, the police rights were given to Deputy Commissioner, Tehsildar, Peshkar Kanungo and Patwari in their respective regions. Patwari, in a specific area which consisted of 60 to 80 villages, was responsible for police duties.

The State of Uttarakhand may be classified into three regions wherein three different enactments are in force which give the revenue officials powers of police to arrest and investigate etc. These three regions are:-

- (a) Hill Patis of Kumaon and Garhwal Division which once formed part of British India.
- (b) Hill Patis of district Tehri and Uttarkashi.
- (c) Jaunsar-Bawar region of district Dehradun.

Till 1790, Kumaon was ruled by the Chand dynasty and during the period, the Thokdars and Padhans used to perform functions of police. Chands were ousted by Gurkhas who ruled Kumaon through military officers in 1790. Finally in 1815 A.D., the British ousted the Gurkhas and as per the famous treaty of Sugauli, river Kali became the international border of then British India and Nepal. It is said that the then rulers of Tehri who had lost their territories to Gurkhas requested British to oust the Gurkhas from Garhwal and promised to pay Nazrana in return. However, after the war they could not pay the same and in lieu of the Nazrana promised, the British kept western part of the Garhwal which they started calling British Garhwal. It consisted of present day districts of Pauri, Chamoli and Rudraprayag. As the British Garhwal was merged with Kumaon for administrative purpose and became part of the then Kumaon Commissioner, for sake of convenience we may call the Kumaon and Garhwal which came under the British, the then British Kumaon. Britishers who came to India as traders and later became rulers, were smart enough to appreciate the then peculiar geographical, demographical and socio-economical features of hill patts of British Kumaon. Therefore, when G.W.Traill, then second Commissioner of Kumaon who served as such from 1816 to 1830, wrote that no special police was required as crimes were very rare in Kumaon, it was decided that no regular police was needed except in towns like Almora, Ranikhet and Nainital etc.. Although Kumaon had come under the British rule, but due to its distinct geographical, demographical and socio-economical features, it remained a non-regulated area where as compared to his counterpart of the plain, the Commissioner had more powers and autonomy. In non-regulated area, special rules and regulations could have been framed and under the very such special rules, regulations and administrative instructions, Patwaris were given powers and functions of the police officer. Besides this, the

conventional posts like Thokdars and Padhans were not abolished, but they continued in the roll of the Government and were also given limited functions of police like arrest of offenders and forwarding them before a Patwari.

Thus, a special police system started functioning in British Kumaon in which the revenue officials with the help of Thokdars and Padhans had the powers to apprehend offenders, investigate the offences and perform related activities. The System was functioning under the special rules and administrative instructions and there was no superior law to the contrary having simultaneous extension in British Kumaon. In this context, noteworthy is the point that at the same time regular police was also raised and police stations were established in towns like Almora, Ranikhet and Nainital. The first police station was established at Almora in 1837. Another police station was set up at Ranikhet in 1843, six years later. Although regular police was working in towns where police stations had been established, a large part of the Commissioner was still under the revenue police.

Although, the Police Act which provides for establishment of regular police had come into force in 1861, but it was extended to the British Kumaon i.e. then Almora, Garhwal and Nainital district in the year 1892 vide Notification issued in August 1892. Thus, it appears that after coming into force of the said two enactments, it became necessary to give the existing revenue police system a legal basis which could confirm to the said two laws. Fortunately, in the year 1874 Scheduled Districts Act had come into force. One of the objects of this Act was to make special provisions for such parts of British India which due to their distinct geographical, demographical and socio-economic features were never brought under the general laws or for the same reason could not be. Section 6 of the Act accordingly provides that the local government within the scheduled district (districts enlisted in schedule of the Act), may appoint officers to administer civil and criminal justice and prescribe procedure to be followed.

Accordingly, in the year 1916, in exercise of Section 6 of the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874, rules were made for appointing police officers, regulating their procedure and prescribing the powers and duties to be exercised and performed by them in the districts of Almora, Garhwal and hill patts of Nainital. The said rules are known as ‘Kumaun Police’ and were published in March 1916. In rule 1 of the said rules, various revenue officials like Peshkars, Kanoongo, Superintendent of Patwaris and Patwaris and conventional posts such as Thokdars, Padhans and village headmen under the roll of the Government were given various powers and functions of police. Further, whereas the revenue official were given wide powers of police including powers of officer in charge of the police station to register the report and investigate, powers of conventional posts which now have almost become redundant were limited only to arrest the offenders and report the matter to revenue officials. In this context, it very important to see that the opening words used in rule 1 of the rules ‘In addition to the police enrolled in Act V of 1861...’ appears to give an idea that revenue police system is in addition to and not in derogation of the regular police and shall work where jurisdiction of the regular police does not extend.

The rules known as ‘Kumaun Police’ framed in exercise of powers conferred by Section 6 of the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874 in the year 1916 are still in force. They confer powers and functions of police and officer in charge of the police station to such revenue officers as are mentioned therein. Revenue officials perform police functions in such areas of present districts of Almora, Bageshwar, Champawat, Chamoli, Pithoragarh, Pauri, Rudraprayag and hill patts of district Nainital where jurisdiction of the regular police does not extend. Further, since Police Act of 1861 has been repealed and replaced by the Uttarakhand Police Act, 2007 in Uttarakhand, and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 by the new Code of 1973 in the country, therefore, in the said rules of 1916 wherever the words ‘Police Act, 1861’ or ‘Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898’ occur, as per sub-section (1) of section 8 of General Clauses Act, 1897, they shall respectively be read as ‘Uttarakhand Police Act, 2007’ and ‘Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973’.

Though, the erstwhile Princely State of Tehri had its own systems, yet it usually followed the criminal justice system as was prevalent in British India. Like neighbouring British Garhwal, in Tehri also revenue officers like Patwaris had police powers. After independence when this princely state merged with Union of India, since the 'Kumaun Police' rules had extension to then district Garhwal only, to continue with the revenue police system and to make uniformity in all hill pattis of State, a special enactment was necessary which could confer upon the revenue officials powers and functions of police. Accordingly, the Tehri Garhwal Revenue Officials (Special Powers) Act, 1956 was enacted. This Act does not itself give the revenue officers namely Lekhpal, Patwari etc. police powers, but vide section 2 which provides that the State Government may do so by issuing orders in this behalf. In exercise of such power, the State Government issued orders dated 04.3.1958 where under Patwaris of hill pattis of present districts of Tehri and Uttarkashi have been given powers and functions of officer in charge of police station to arrest and investigate. In this context, noteworthy is the point that the orders dated 04.3.1958 is very similar to the 'Kumaun Police' rules framed in 1916 under the Schedule Districts Act, 1874. The Jaunsar-Bawar parganas of Dehradun region has the same geographical, demographical and socio-economic features as those of the other hill regions of the state. In fact, till 1958, revenue police system was working in this region which like the districts of Almora, Garhwal and Nainital was also under the British Administration. Under the Bengal Regulation XI of 1831 Tehsildar Chakrata was empowered with powers of police in Jaunsar Bawar areas of district Dehradun. It appears that soon after commencement of the Tehri Garhwal Revenue Officials (Special Powers) Act, 1956 necessity of a similar enactment was also felt for Jaunsar-Bawar area for two probable reasons. The first was that under the Bengal Regulation XI of 1831, only Tehsildar of Chakrata was empowered with the police powers and it might have been very difficult for him to exercise such powers in the whole of the Jaunsar-Bawar area, and the Government might have appreciated that like the other hill pattis of the State, other revenue officials particularly Patwaris should be given powers and functions of the police to arrest and investigate. Secondly, Bengal Regulation XI of 1831 was not an enactment and under the Code read with Police Act, it was possible for a police officer only to exercise powers and functions of police. Accordingly, the Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana (District Dehradun) Revenue Officials (Special Powers) Act, 1958 was passed which is very similar to the Tehri Garhwal Revenue Officials (Special Power) Act, 1956.

Thus, in the state of Uttarakhand, the laws which confer upon the revenue officials the powers of police to arrest and investigate are not one. There are three such laws. Whereas 'Kumaun Police' rules of 1916 made under the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874 are applicable in present districts of Almora, Bageshwar, Champawat, Chamoli, Pithoragarh, Pauri, Rudraprayag and hill pattis of district Nainital, the Tehri Garhwal Revenue Officials (Special Powers) Act, 1956 and the Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana (District Dehradun) Revenue Officials (Special Powers) Act, 1958 operate in the districts of Tehri and Uttarkashi, and the Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana of district Dehradun, respectively. However, there is one thing common among all the three. It being, that, for the purpose of investigation and allied matters relating to the offences, the revenue officials mentioned therein shall deemed to be a police officer so competent under the Code. Further, such powers and functions of the revenue officials are in effect in only those areas where the jurisdiction of regular police does not extend.

Police stations were established at Almora (1837), Nainital and Ranikhet (1893). Since incidents of loot were reported along Char Dharma Yatra routes, regular Police was deployed along these routes besides Gram Chowkidars for patrolling during Yatra season. Need for deployment of regular police was felt especially after "Forest Movement" in 1920. Police Stations were set up at Joshimath and Ukhimath whereas police check posts were established at Badrinath, Chamoli, Karanprayag and Mehalchauri. In 1938, police station was established at Badrinath in place of Joshimath but again Joshimath Police Station was restored after ten years. Uttar pradesh Government letter ,dated 12th November, 1938 stated – although government is determined to keep revenue police in hills but Joshimath, Mana under

police station Badrinath and areas along ' Yatra Routs ' shall be under regular police. In 1938, there were 17 police stations under Kumaon division. Under this district, Badrinath and Ukhimath were police station and Joshimath, Chamoli, Karnprayag were chowki of Badrinath police station. Gradually, more area under regular police came up. Chamoli and Joshimath police station were notified in 1960. More and more villages were included under regular police by 1963 but still today about 80 percent of total geographical area of district is under revenue police. Chamoli as an independent district came into existence on 24th February, 1960 as a result of upgradation of Chamoli Tehsil.

As far as investigation and other allied duties are concerned, in the Code, they have been given to the police or more particularly to the officer in charge of police station. Police was defined and established by century old enactment known as Police Act, 1861. In the State of Uttarakhand, the Uttarakhand Police Act, 2007 has been brought into force and by which, the Act of 1861 has been repealed in context of the State. However, there is one peculiar thing in Uttarakhand. In the Hill Patis of the State, certain revenue officials such as Kanoongo, Lekhpal and particularly Patwari have been conferred upon the powers and functions of the police officer to investigate the offences. As the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 which extends to this State also, provides that investigation may only be done by police officer,

Although in the hilly areas of the State, powers have uniformly been conferred upon the revenue officials to investigate offences, but the special enactments, where-under such special powers have been given are not one.

Assessment of Patwari Policing in Uttarakhand

At present 61 per cent of the hill State is being monitored by revenue police (revenue officials such as patwaris or village accountants doubling as police officers). Uttarakhand is the only place in India where the Patwaris do the work of both the police and Revenue department. In a major policy shift, the Uttarakhand government has decided to phase out the revenue police system — replacing it with regular police to enable prompt response and better management of calamities. In a recent judgement, the Supreme Court has said that villagers in the hilly districts of Uttarakhand should have the 'protection and services of the regular police' instead of prevailing system of village police under a 'patwari'. 'It is really strange that the four districts which are in the plains have the advantage of the police system while in remaining districts, the distant part of those districts should be deprived of police system,' said the apex court bench of Justice V.S.Sirpurkar and Justice A.K.Patnaik in their judgment delivered. The judges said: 'Such deprivation undoubtedly results in affecting the law and order situation, the detection of crime and protection of poor villagers. In fact, effective policing is the need of the whole society, urban as also rural'.

The Revenue Police system is specific to the local needs of a hilly region (as was the case of forest management in Van Panchayats), evolved by the then administration, as it did not admit of a complex nature of polity as exists in the plains part of our country or now even in some parts of Uttarakhand also, where people are known to be peace-loving by nature, where the geographical terrain does not admit of crime being committed easily and culprit successfully effecting an early or easy escape, where poverty levels are so deep and endemic that there is not much to attract those elements in these parts for controlling whom regular police is really required, or advocated. It is really surprising that such requests should be made so repeatedly, knowing fully well the dominant sentiment of people who instinctively abhor any violence. Certainly, wherever the so called 'progress and advancement' (as these terms are understood in certain sections of this country) so demand and the depravity levels of such elements have accumulated beyond a tolerable threshold level, such limited 'urban areas' must be provided the blessings of a 'modern and people friendly' regular police. This is already being done over the years and there is no dispute about that approach. Revenue Police also deserves the various reforms which the Supreme Court had recommended for the 'regular police' and what is required is to ensure that

proportionate, timely and requisite reforms are brought about in all streams of 'policing', not excluding either the 'revenue' or 'forest' police, if one may term it so.

Even as policing methodologies across the world are becoming high-tech with focus on dealing with cyber crimes as well as modern-day criminals, Uttarakhand remains perhaps the only state in the country to stick to the antiquated British-era concept of 'patwari police' – wherein revenue collection officials like patwaris and kanungos are also tasked with the job of maintaining law and order especially in the hill regions of the state. The system was introduced in 1861 by the British and has remained in place in Uttarakhand since then even though other states where it was in vogue have discontinued with the practice. Incidentally, the Nainital high court had last year directed the Uttarakhand government to replace the revenue police with regular police force. However, the government approached the Supreme Court for a stay on the HC order as a result of which the matter has been in limbo for the past few months. Interestingly, even the Supreme Court in its observation in 2010 had stressed on the need for regular police in the hill areas of Uttarakhand. The apex court had observed, "A time has come when village police system prevalent in the state of Uttaranchal in respect to distant areas would have to be changed and the distant villages would have to be given the protection and services of regular police." The court further said that "it is really strange that four districts which are in the plains have had the advantage of the police system while in remaining districts, the distant parts have been deprived of a police system." "Such deprivation undoubtedly results in affecting the law and order situation, the detection of crimes and the protection of the poor villages. In fact, effective policing is the need of the whole society, urban as also rural."

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