



Research article

From Oral to Virtual Forms: Migration and Transformation of Garhwali Folk

Kritika Kshettri  

Assistant Professor, Department of English, Modern European and Other Foreign Languages, S.R.T Campus Tehri, Hemvati Nandan Bahuguna Garhwal University, India.

Abstract

Migration threatens the continuity of a region's indigenous literature by altering its demographic structures. Where individuals of productive age become disconnected from their native land and community, concerns emerge about the survival of local folk traditions. However, drawing on the definitions of folklorists such as Ben-Amos, Alan Dundes, and Richard Dorson, folklore is not a relic of the past but a dynamic expression of shared cultural and experiential knowledge. This paper argues that Garhwali folklore has adapted itself across generations and media, shifting from oral traditions to cassette recordings, music videos, and digital folk expressions like memes, proving that Indigenous literature remains dynamic through cultural hybridity and technological change. These transformations also reflect the evolving identities and hybrid cultural experiences of second and third-generation migrant Garhwalis. Although vastly different in medium, these modern expressions carry the same essence of collective experience, reinforcing the adaptability of folklore. This paper argues that instead of erasing cultural traditions, migration reshapes and transforms the forms of folklore in ways that find relevance in the times of globalization. By examining the visual and digital evolution of Garhwali folk expressions, this paper redefines Indigenous literature not as a vanishing tradition but as a continually evolving cultural experience, one that transcends geography, embraces hybridity, and asserts its relevance in the digital age.

Keywords: Migration, Folklore, Garhwali Khuded Songs, Digital Folklore, Indigenous Literature, Cultural Hybridity.

Conflicts of Interest: The author/s declared no conflicts of interest.

Funding: No funding was received for this research.

Article History: Received: 10 July 2025. Revised: 11 March 2026. Accepted: 16 March 2026. First published: 30 March 2026.

Copyright: © 2026 by the author/s.

License: License Aesthetix Media Services, India. Distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).

Published by: [Aesthetix Media Services, India](#) 

Citation: Kshettri, K. (2026). From Oral to Virtual Forms: Migration and Transformation of Garhwali Folk. *Rupkatha Journal*, 18(1). <https://doi.org/10.21659/rupkatha.v18n1.02>



1. Introduction: Migration in Uttarakhand, a Brief Historical Perspective

The history of Garhwal, the northwestern region of Uttarakhand (Figure 1 presents the plot map of Garhwal (Singh, 2016)), is deeply intertwined with recurring migratory movements. Historical and mythological sources, including several Puranic texts, refer to active patterns of pilgrimage and migratory movements in the region as early as the 7th century BCE, before the emergence of the Magadha Empire. These early migrations contributed to the settlement of various ethnic groups such as the Pulindas, Tangans, Khasas, Nagas, and Kunnidas in the Uttarakhand region (Kathoch, 2015, p. 15). Later, around the 12th century CE, following the invasion of Shahabuddin Ghorī, the region witnessed the in-migration of Chandela Rajputs from central India (Pandey, 1937, p. 231). These patterns of in- and out-migration intensified during the Gorkha invasions, compelling many Garhwali and Kumaoni communities to abandon their hill settlements in favor of the more secure foothills and Tarai plains.

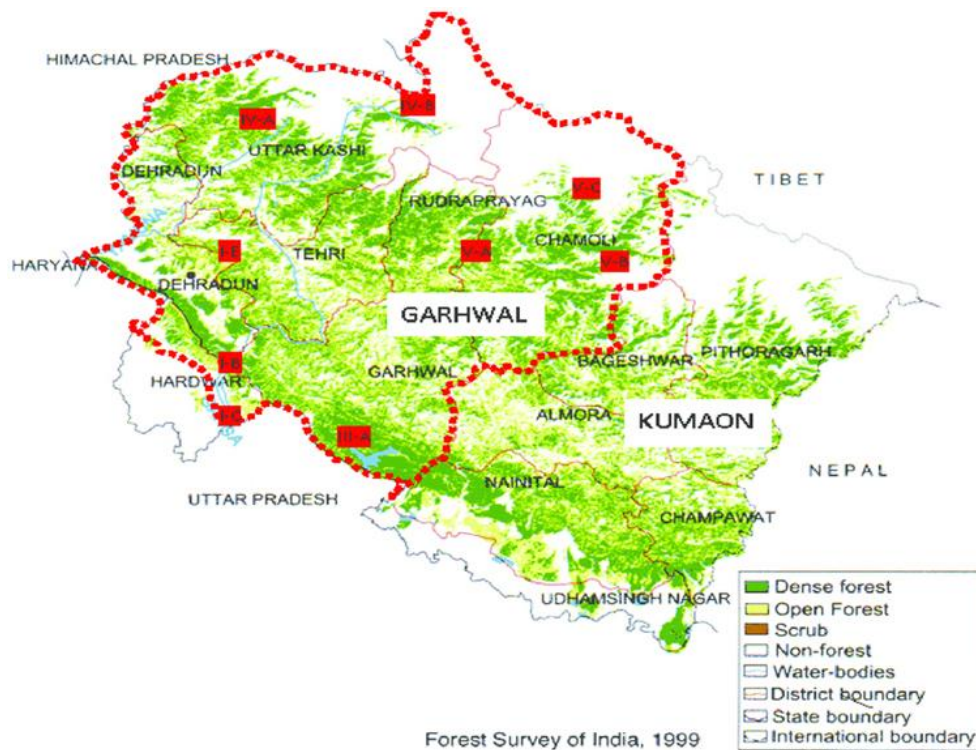


Figure 1: Map of Garhwal. Source: (Singh, 2016)

The region of Pauri Garhwal and Kumaon came under British colonial rule in 1815, after the Anglo-Nepalese War between the East India Company and the Gorkhas. The Tehri state continued to be a “native province” under the royalty. The formation of hill stations and Cantonments after the arrival of the British generated ample employment in the form of cooks, cobblers, rikshaw pullers, butchers, and shopkeepers. These hill stations were the centers of employment to countless Indians who worked as porters, merchants, government clerks, and carpenters (Mehra, 2005, p. 58).

On the one hand, there was certain in-migration from other states into Garhwal; on the other, over the centuries, inhabitants of the higher ranges, whose livelihoods depended solely on

movement with their pastures, gradually stopped pasturing, started applying for jobs, and moved to plainer areas. The tribes, such as Bhotia and Gujjar, who were largely pastoral people and goods traders, would come down to the foothills at the onset of winter lock, stock, and barrel and then retrace their steps back home once spring set in. The wealth and assets of Bhotia were the livestock they owned; the higher lands they owned in Garhwal and Kumaon had very little fertility. Shifting among their two residences (in winters, plains of Uttarakhand, and in summers, higher lands extending till Tibet), Bhotia men sold their goods in markets of Bhabhar, Kotdwar, Ramnagar, Haldwani, and even in cities like Delhi and Kanpur (Dangwal, 2009, p. 86).

1.1 Migration in Uttarakhand: Post-Independence

After the Independence, Garhwal, along with Kumaon, was merged with Uttar Pradesh to form a state in the Republic of India. The people from the hilly regions demanded the separation of hilly districts from Uttar Pradesh based on several reasons, mainly demanding a geopolitical and 'Pahadi Identity.' The formation of the new state brought hope for sustainable, far-reaching development in the hills, but the strategies and development plans to curb out-migration did not succeed. Contrary to expectations of job opportunities, self-employment, and reverse migration after the formation of a new state, out-migration from the hilly area (nine of thirteen districts of Uttarakhand are hilly) has increased. However, per capita income has increased, but that of hilly districts is nearly half that of plain districts. The attraction to cities arising due to hardships of village life in the hills, such as poor transport connectivity, lack of water, inadequate medical facilities, poor educational facilities, and inaccessible markets, has further accelerated the process of migration of youth.

The interim report released by the Rural Development and Migration Commission, Uttarakhand, for 2018-2022 shows the following data.

- 1) From 2018 to 2022, a total of 3.3 lakh people migrated from Uttarakhand, particularly from the hills.
- 2) Almora district witnessed the maximum permanent migration (5,926), followed by Tehri (5,653) and Pauri (5,474).
- 3) In the 6,436 Gram Panchayats of Uttarakhand, 3 lakh people have migrated temporarily, and 28,631 people from 2,067 villages have moved out permanently to other districts or states.
- 4) Half of the migrants have migrated for employment purposes, while others have migrated for various reasons, such as education, medical facilities, infrastructure, bad agricultural produce, etc.
- 5) The number of uninhabited villages in Uttarakhand increased by 24 to reach a total of 1,792.

Migration is becoming a serious concern in Uttarakhand day by day. The available human resources of Garhwal are decreasing with each passing year, making the societal structure of Garhwal unstable. In the age of globalization, many cities are developing better industrial and economic opportunities compared to rural and less-developed towns. These major industrial cities

form an economic hub, which encourages or forces a larger part of the working population to seek livelihoods and better living conditions in cosmopolitan cities.

2. Methodology

To examine the impact of migration on the folklore of Garhwal, this study employs an interdisciplinary approach combining thematic and visual analysis. The research focuses on identifying recurring tropes such as separation, dislocation, nostalgia, and emotional resilience as they appear in both traditional and contemporary narrative forms. These include orally transmitted Khuded songs, audio recordings, video cassettes, and digital formats such as YouTube music videos and social media content. The thematic analysis involves close reading and interpretation of lyrical content and narrative structure to explore how migration-related experiences—both voluntary and forced—are articulated within Garhwali folk traditions. Special attention is given to representations of longing, maternal grief, and fractured familial bonds that dominate the Khuded song tradition, especially as sung by women left behind. The visual analysis in this study encompasses a detailed examination of lyrics, videography, imagery, setting, costume, and symbolic elements in Garhwali folk music videos and meme culture. Through a combination of close reading and image analysis, these visual and textual components are interpreted together to explore how themes such as cultural hybridity, displacement, and identity reconstruction are represented. Together, these methods aim to trace the transformation of Garhwali folklore across generational, medial, and spatial shifts, thereby offering insights into how indigenous literature adapts and survives through cultural negotiation and digital innovation.

3. Migration in Garhwali Folklores: Khuded Songs

The first major effect of migration is that it alters the demographic structures within a society. When a significant portion of a community migrates, the cultural equilibrium of both the place of origin and the destination shifts (Bendix, 1997, pp. 13–14). In the originating region, migration can lead to the dilution or even loss of Indigenous traditions as younger generations move to urban centres or foreign lands, leaving behind the cultural custodians—typically women and the elderly (Bendix, 1997, pp. 18–19). In the receiving region, migrants often find themselves in a cultural minority, requiring them to adapt their traditions in a way that makes them more accessible or acceptable within their new social setting (Bendix, 1997, pp. 39–41). Over time, this demographic change impacts the transmission of Indigenous literature, especially in oral storytelling cultures where folklore is passed down through generations (Bendix, 1997, pp. 91–92). The impact of migration on Garhwali society is also reflected in its folk literature. One can observe a plethora of Garhwali songs, stories, proverbs, and narratives that communicate the feelings of Garhwali migrants and the 'left-behind' community.

The songs that express the pain of migration and separation are called "*Khuded Geet*". The word Khud meaning the remembrance/pain of the person/place far from reach. The old *Khuded geet* documented by the folklorists such as Taradutt Gairola, Dr. Govind Chatak, Dr. Shivanand Nautiyal, and Anjali Capila are traditionally sung by women who got married in a faraway village.

They sing these songs in the memory of their *Mait* or husband, who has migrated to the city. These songs that are sung by Garhwali women are a poignant description of the pathetic life led by the narrator in the absence of her husband. The narrator addresses the wind, trees, hills, or birds to convey her message to her *Mait* or her husband. *Khuded* songs that are sung by women portray the picture of the challenges caused by the people who are left-behind. These songs are sung by the women in remembrance of their parents' home. She looks at her surroundings, which have striking similarities with her parents' village, yet it does not give her the assurance and comfort of home.

डांडू फूले फ्यूनलड़ी,
गाडू बसे म्यौलड़ी,
मैनो आयो चैत को,
झुम झुन बासणि नुन्यारी डांडू की।
हरी हवैन डाली फूलों की,
मैं खुद लगी भूलूँ की।
कबी मैत में जांदू नी,
बाबा में बुलौंदु नी।
खुद लगी मैत की,
जौलू अब भै मु,
जैक खुद बिसरौलु,
छकी रोलु बै मु। (Chatak 195)

Fyunlis¹ are blooming on the mountains, Birds are chirping on the riverbank,
The season of spring is in its full beauty. Crickets are stridulating in the bushes,
The flower-climbers are flourishing with green leaves,
I haven't visited my Mait yet! (Chatak, 1956, p. 195) (Translated by the author)

The social constructs and patriarchal narratives highly influence the internalization of the idea of the ideal woman in a Garhwali girl's mind from her childhood. She watches her mother and grandmother living a life filled with hardships; the ways of life that get affirmation from the peers in her society (Urvashi, 2021; Patel, Santhya, & Haberland, 2021). She is supposed to walk

¹ A flower, very commonly found in the forests of Garhwal. *Fyunli* is an oft-repeated symbol in the folklores of Garhwal. Most of such references can be found in songs of migrated Garhwali populace, who sing about these symbols in remembrance of their land. Women start celebrating the arrival of spring with the blooming of these flowers and sing their woes to the birds as if their own.

on the path of an ideal woman fulfilling all her duties. She cannot escape from the hostile environment of her husband's home or speak against her in-laws. The only way to escape from such a life is either committing suicide or renouncing. She assumes the agency to articulate her feelings creatively in open spaces of nature when she goes to cut the grass. Like every other child, she has also grown up listening to the folklores. In Garhwali folklore, nature is perceived as a reflective space of its own society, where natural vegetation, animals, and birds are personified as living beings, forests and mountains are the abode of fairies and Gods, and rivers are the goddesses. Himalaya has always been depicted in Hindu scriptures as a space where a person can do *tapasya* (meditation) in order to seek God. It acts as a space where humans can meet the gods. Listening to the folklore, her understanding of the forests evolves as a place where she can express her feelings without any hesitation. The nature acts as a passive receptor of her feelings and a place of understanding friends, whether women like her, or demure *ghughuti* (which is an oft-repeated motif in *Khuded* songs), or mute Deodar trees and mountains themselves. For her, all the trees and birds are like the trees and birds of her mother's place; the wind can act as a messenger, and the space of the forest can be her friend. The act of singing and sharing experiences exerts a great emotional relief to these women after laborious physical work and a strenuous emotional state. The following song describes the conversational environment of grass-cutting activity.

भादों का महीना बडिक ऐगे,
 खुदेइ पराणि उलारी गैगे।
 द्वि दिन अव मैत मै जालू,
 में बैणो ते मिलिक औलू।
 मैत की ब्वारी सारा आली,
 सासु सैसरियों का हाल बताली।
 घास पात का जू बण जाली,
 बण म गीत मन का लाली।
 कन् बितऔला भादूँ को मैना,
 मेरी विपदा नी देखि कैना।
 क्या पाए दुन्या मा मैन ऐक,
 कबी भलो नी बोले कैन मैक। (Chatak, 1956, p. 200)

The month of bhadon has returned, My disturbed heart is filled with hopes.

I will stay at my mother's home for two days,

I will meet my sisters there. Every married girl will be there,

We will discuss about our mother and father-in-law For grass we will go to the jungle,

In the forest, we will sing our favourite songs. (Translated by the author)

In observing the act of migration, spatially, cities appear to be a male space, and the villages to be a female space because of their idleness and natural serenity. Samita Sen describes the marginalization of migrant women of Kolkata, Mumbai, and other urban cities. According to her, in most cases, women are left in villages while men leave for the cities, but in some cases, women are forced with no choice but to move to urban areas. The women who migrate are either widows, barren, deserted, or unhappy in their married life. Describing the position of women who are left behind in the village, she says,

Thus, migrant men were not one-time permanent migrants to the industrial centre; rather they were “peasant-proletarians,” circulating between town and country. By implication, then wives and children were left behind in the village to eke out subsistence from rural resources, since remittances from the city were sparse and sporadic. Peasant women were considered not only immobile but also “invisible” as a result of cultural norms of purdah, which required their segregation and seclusion (Sen, 2004, p. 78).

The absence of her husband for months, or even for years, and the rudeness of her in-laws towards her make her life miserable. The songs that she sings in memory of her Mait and husband are an expression of her mental and emotional state. Along with the reflections of how migration has affected her inner mental state, the songs also reflect how she manages to fend for herself and her home.

लौण भरे ढोण,
परदेस गैन स्वामी बीस गते सउन्न।
बाखरा की खाल,
तुम सांणी गया दुई हवैन साल।
सुपा लाई पीटी,
आफू भी नी आया , नी आई चीठी ।
हवा को रुख,
तुम बिना मेरा स्वामी बोहात छिन दुख।
गला को हार
खाणं नी देन्दु सेण घर म् सौकार
दूकानी को नफा
लाणू थेकली नी, खाणूक गफा।
सबरण को झाग
रूखा सूखा झँगोरा मा पौडी नी साग।

बासी त् कफू
गेऊँ सौकार दियाल्या कोदु खाँदा अफु।
रींगाली को पला
धोती केकु होण स्वामी टल्लों पर टला।
बाखरा की धोण
काकर टूटेगे स्वामी, कैन स्यो सल्योण।
औँलू को अचार
पौंगडी नी छन रई, टूटी गया पगार।
ऐसा ढली पैसी
मोल केकु होण स्वामी, गौड़ी नी न भेंसी।
मोटो बटयो रसा
तुमन क्या जानण, क्या च मेरी दसा।
नारंगी की दाणि
तुमारी माया को स्वामी, गोटयूं च पराणि ।
बखरा की गूदी
जवानी या आए स्वामी, कटेणे या सूदि ।
आटो च गीलो
जवानी चली गए स्वामी, तन होये क्वीलो ।
बूणि जाली माणि
ई अलसाई डाली उन्दु धोलि जबा पाणि। (Chatak 181-183)

Dear, it's been two years,

Since you left in twenty days past monsoon. You did not come neither you wrote me a letter. Dear, I am suffering a lot without you.

The moneylender does not let us have peace of mind.

We don't have clothes to wear or food to eat,

We have given our wheat to him, and we eat only Millet.

How will we get a new *dhoti*, dear? Every cloth has patches on them. The roof has also broken, and there is no one to repair it. (Translated by the author)

She addresses her worries and problems to her mother. She informs about her husband's migration in search of a job, her days in poverty, and her labours in the absence of her husband.

गागरी की डीली ब्वे, गागरि की डीली।"

बल विदेसू घूमिनै ब्वे, नौकरी नी मिली।

दंदाली को चालु ब्ये, दंदाली को चालु,

बजराम नौनजूं ब्ये, भां कुछ हे जालु।

कांसी की थकुली ब्ये, कांसी की थकुली,

पुटगी कु बेचे यलि ब्ये, नाक कि नथूली।

तिन्द्रों की ओट ब्ये, तिन्द्रे की ओट

मांगी कि पैर्यूं च ब्ये, सुसरा जी को कोट।

पकोडयूं की तौंकि ब्ये, पकोडयूं कि तैंकि,

मूडलि खुरसैंगै ब्ये, मजूरी कै कै कि। (Kaala, 2012, p. 242)

Dear mother, he (husband) has gone to foreign lands,

But he couldn't find any job.

Dear mother, even after knocking on every door,

He couldn't find a job.

My Children are eating millet bread, They are malnourished.

Because of hunger, mother,

I have sold my nosering.

I don't have any clothes, mother,

I am wearing an old coat of my father-in-law. Labouring from day to night,

I am losing all my hair. (Translated by the author)

Migration has played a crucial role in shaping *Khuded* Songs, the songs of remembrance, in Garhwali folklore, reflecting the deep emotional and cultural impact of displacement. As men from Garhwal migrated to cities in search of work, leaving behind their families and homeland, *Khuded* Songs emerged as an artistic and emotional response to this socio-cultural shift. These songs, often composed and sung by women, encapsulate the pain of separation, longing, and nostalgia for the homeland, turning personal grief into a collective cultural expression.

There are very few male narrators in the old documented *Khuded* Songs. However, the number of male narrators increases tremendously when we look at the songs available on cassettes or digital platforms. The digital platform has provided a platform to the migrated community of Garhwal and Uttarakhand to produce narratives that provides information from the 'other side' of the migration. This space provided by the internet and media has not only produced folklores that are in remembrance (*Khud*) of Garhwal but also helped the older 'folk forms' of Garhwal to evolve into newer forms that can be consumed by the Garhwali community worldwide.

4. Mediatization and the Evolution of the Media-Driven Rise in the Folklore

Folklores are narratives of people. They inform us about their social, economic, political, and emotional state. In modern times, migration has divided Garhwali society into different geographical locations. The lived experiences of migration are often articulated in the form of songs, stories, and, in modern times, through various forms of media. The internet came up as an open space for these minor linguistic cultures to bring forth their folk culture, turning them into media forms such as audio/ video cassettes. But before the internet, regional radio stations and television provided the 'space of representation' to the respective regional folk traditions. New media forms have emerged in the modern scenario; besides print-capitalism, the music and film industry has established its market in the Indian economy. Besides Bollywood, the Indian film industry and a variety of regional film industries entertain their limited regional audiences. The Garhwali film and music industry witnessed its boom in the late 1980s. According to Peter Manuel,

The years 1983-1985 were the period of most dramatic expansion when regional cottage cassette companies sprang up throughout the subcontinent, millions of rural consumers came to own Indigenous or imported 'two-in-ones,' [radio-cassette players] and all manner of regional genres and subgenres started appearing on cassette. By 1991 regional- music cassettes were estimated to account for 40 to 60 percent of the entire recording market in India. (Manuel, 1993, p.156)

This regional music was highly influenced by the Bollywood industry. We can observe the initial emergence of popular trends in these broadcast folk songs. Peter Manuel, who has done an extensive and detailed study on the popular and traditional music culture of India, has identified a kind of amalgamation of both musical genres to a broader and national culture. Quoting about the broadcasting of folk music on radio stations, he also explains how radio and multimedia itself have absorbed many popular elements.

Aside from reifications involved in disassociating folk music from its ritual and collective contexts, radio and television broadcasts do not always represent folk traditions in ideally authentic manners. Producers often add non-traditional instrumental accompaniment, particularly tanpura, sarangi, and table, which traditionally only accompanied classical and light classical music. (Manuel, 1993, p. 230)

In Uttarakhand, the establishment of local recording companies, like Rama video cassette, Neelam cassette, and Himalayan Films, to express and recreate the culture that can reach the vast ranges of the state and people beyond it but the use of modern technology in popularizing folk music raises a significant question about the effect of mass-mediated music on traditional folk music (Alter, 2018, pp. 75-76). The popular songs recorded are either a new version of older folk songs or contain lots of folk elements. It is interesting to notice how these folk songs have transformed and absorbed modern elements into it. The song "*Meri Sarela Surma*" (Rama Cassettes, 2020) is a dialogic duet between a couple in which the man persuades the woman to attend a fair in his village. This musical duel is the form of the oldest genre of Garhwali folk song called Bajuband, the oldest form in Garhwali folksongs. Bajuband songs are conversational songs. Most of these songs do not require a prerequisite time or place to sing, making them one of the most documented songs in Garhwal.

Studying 'folk' within media or the internet can raise the question of the boundaries that give a particular narrative the definition of 'folk.' When we think of folklore, we mostly associate our thoughts with the idea of old antiquities or the past and disappearing cultures. But the modern folklorists like Richard Dorson, Richard Bauman, and Alan Dundes do not restrict their study of folk to the traditional set of definitions. They have expanded the "boundaries" of folklore by ascertaining the conspicuous presence of folklore within modern urban communities. Folklore is passed on from person to person, and in that process, it gets transformed (or not) in accordance with the individual's needs. Discussing the presence of "folk" in the mass media, Alan Dundes states,

It has only recently been suggested that the mass media, radio, television, motion pictures, etc., have, by discouraging or impinging upon time formerly spent in reading, made us an oral rather than a written culture. (2007, p. 58)

The modern folklorist does not consider "folk" as a static and rooted art form. It is a dynamic and ever-growing living artefact, which grows and transforms along with the community. Talking about the post-industrialized era, when a large amount of rural population started shifting to cities in search of employment, Dorson emphasizes, if country folk move to the city — and in the past decades the metropolises of the world have swelled from the inflow of the rural population — they do not thereby forfeit the interest of the folklorist. Nor do generations born within city limits necessarily fail to qualify as folk groups, for their lives too may be shaped by traditional codes of behavior, dress, cuisine, expression, world view (Dorson, 2011, p. 23). So, when such a large population migrates from Garhwal, it does not leave its culture behind, but lives with it and even shapes it into new forms (such as song-tracks, memes, and blogs, etc.) that can be accepted in the new multicultural spaces, including virtual spatial platforms, like YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram.

5. Songs of Migration: A Transition from Traditional to "Modern"

The imagery in *Khuded* songs reflects the pathos and emptiness of the life of married Garhwali women. These songs have a folkloric structure and are usually sung in traditional style with or

without traditional music instruments. Whereas men (and families), who have moved into urban spaces, found articulation of their trans-cultural experiences after the evolution in the music industry in the country's capital. Many migrant labourers, or transferred families from rural areas, who spoke different dialects, were exposed in cities like New Delhi to homogenising national Hindi culture. While the comfortable life of urban cities attracted the rural populace, their nostalgia towards their homeland encouraged people to retain their traditions and cultural norms within multicultural spaces.

When talking about the survival of the folk-traditions in cityscapes before the cassette industry, Peter Manuel observes that rural folk genres were widely performed in cities, where performers of folk theatre and music (for example, *nautanki* and *birha*, respectively) find concentrated audiences nostalgic for aspects of their village life.' (Manuel, 1993, p.154) The regional film industry, after independence, till the late 1970s, targeted the larger language areas; hence, they were limited to either Gujarati or Punjabi audiences. This excluded the regions like Garhwal, Kumaon, Bundelkhand, Braj, Chhattisgarh, and Maithili-speaking Bihar. The cassette Industry, according to Manuel, decentralized the music industry by 'making the means of musical mass productions, as well as playback technology accessible to the unprecedentedly broad and heterogeneous public' (1993, p. 155-156).

Naturally, cassettes in lingua-franca tongues, especially Hindi, still abound, particularly as produced by the larger companies (T-Series, HMV, etc.). What is new is the flourishing of commercial tapes representing most of the larger regional dialects of North India. Hence, for example, Garhwali music cassettes have come to constitute a thriving industry, selling both in Garhwal itself and in North Indian cities (especially Delhi) where Garhwali migrant workers abound (Manuel, 1993, p. 156).

Narendra Singh Negi is one of the most prominent Garhwali singers and songwriters. He has become the voice of the Garhwali folk in the era of technological transition. He has a long career spanning over four decades in which he has sung on the radio, recorded his song tracks for cassettes, CDs, and DVDs, as well as produced several music videos that are now available on YouTube, uploaded by the respective production companies. His songs are mostly emotional in tone and descriptive of Garhwali culture. These sentiments are similar to the sentiments that are found in the *Khuded* songs; the only difference in both narratives is the imagery of the Garhwal hills. On one hand, the wife describes the dark clouds and gloomy hills in the monsoon in her *Khuded* songs, on the other, most of these recorded songs, with male narration, are descriptions of hills in their full glory. The songs produced by the music industry serve the migrated people as a sonic memory of the beautiful time of the Garhwal Himalayas. The song *Basant Ritu ma Jae*, which has become a classic in Garhwali song history, Narendra Singh Negi, is identified by other Garhwali migrants when he sings about changing seasons in his village, from a far distant urban city. Although, unlike folk songs, they have an individual writer and modern 'filmy' music, the feelings about their lands expressed by the singer in such cassettes are similar to traditional folk songs, as well as changing ideas and dilemmas are, in fact, communally accepted and empathized. Such songs are a perfect example of the psychological expression of migrant people.

If you want to go to the country of my mountains, Go in the spring season, Go in the spring season.

In the forests, the flower of *Rhododendron* will be blooming.

Besides the road, the flower of *Fyunli* must be rejuvenated in yellow colour.

And the flower of *Gweelraal* must be blooming in purple, go and the ornamented earth.

Go in spring season...(T-Series Regional, 2014) (Translated by the author)

After the introduction of the openly accessible internet, the cassette industry became almost obsolete. Most of the recorded songs were digitized and accessible by everyone. There is an abundance of Garhwali songs on the internet. These songs, while dealing with the same subject, i.e., Garhwal and its culture, vary in their themes, tones, and emotions. One can listen to songs that are sentimental, conversational, political, and descriptive in themes. Some Garhwali songs are paraphrased below.

- (1) *Tehri duban lagyun chha* (Rama Cassettes, 2007): A man is asking his son to take a longer leave from his work to visit home (Tehri) as it is about to be submerged for the dam. He reminds him of all the places where he used to spend his time, such as the market, the *ghantaghar* (clocktower), mango fields, *Singori* (a *Pahadi* sweet) shop. He asks him to visit all these places for the last time.
- (2) *Naucchami Narena* (Garhwali Tube, 2012): Sung in traditional *Jagartunes*, the song is a political satire on the blatantly corrupt government of Uttarakhand. This song had become so popular after it was released that the government even banned the song and its performances.
- (3) *Basant ritu ma jayee* (T-Series Regional, 2014): The narrator urges the listener to visit his village in the spring season. He describes the beauty of the Garhwal hills and the festival of Holi, which is celebrated in the spring season.
- (4) *Chali bhae motor chali* (T-Series Regional, 2014): Description of a journey in a crowded bus in the Garhwal Himalayas. The singer is returning home after a long time and is eager to meet his family. The song is packed with comic incidents, such as one passenger bringing jaggery and *chana* as a snack, and in the hurry of boarding the bus, he spills it. The plea of the passengers to the conductor to stop boarding the bus anymore, as there is no space left, goes unheard by the conductor.
- (5) *Ghughuti ghuron laigi* (T-Series Regional, 2014): A girl is lamenting in the memory of her *mait* (native village). She is wondering what changes the spring season might have brought to her village.
- (6) *Dur pardesh chhao* (T-Series Regional, 2014): A valedictory by a husband to his wife as he leaves for work in the city. He is asking her to keep writing letters and not to work too hard on fields.
- (7) *Phulari* (Pandavaas, 2017): A depressed Garhwali resigns from his job in the harsh city of Delhi to start his life fresh in his own village. He is requesting the listener to take him back to the time when he and his friends would get gifts in return for freshly plucked flowers on the festival of *Phuldei*. On his way back home, he is imagining all the varieties of flowers that must be blooming in the village. He is disheartened by the thought that

the children bringing flowers to his home will find only closed doors. When he reaches his village, with wet eyes, he sees that not only his home but the whole village is deserted.

- (8) *Chait ki Chaitwal* (Amit Saagar, 2018): Another modern recreation of a Garhwali folksong by famous folk-singer Chandra Singh Rahi. It is an *Acchari Jagar*, i.e., an invocation song of *Acchari*, mythical entities of Garhwal.
- (9) *Fwa bagha re* (Neelam Uttrakhandi, 2019): Among the most viral Garhwali songs, it is the modern recreation of a classic folksong by Chandra Singh Rahi. The song is describing the terror of a Man-eating tiger in Pauri Garhwal.

Song no. 1 mirrors the emotions of the protests of 1978 that were against the construction of the Tehri Dam. Ranked among the highest dams in the world, Tehri Dam is constructed on the Bhagirathi River; its reservoir covers 45 sq. Km vast and generates 1000 MW of power. The dam submerged 125 villages, displacing almost 8500 people to the outskirts and suburbs of Dehradun, Rishikesh, Haridwar, and New Tehri. Inundation of Tehri meant the loss of markets, homes, forests, water sources, and many more spaces that were part of a systematic culture developed after centuries of knowledge shared by generations. The concerns of environmentalists and the pleas of *Tehriyalis* went unheard by the government with utilitarian motives. This song also serves as a documentation of the emotions, pain, and trauma of marginalized residents of Tehri, as it is easier to forget the narratives of the marginalized with time. Songs nos. 3, 5, 6, and 7 have narrators who have experienced migration firsthand. Garhwali songs that have similar narrators are mostly similar in tone and imagery too. These songs are nostalgic in tone and are descriptive of the Garhwali scenery. They mostly describe the flowers, birds, and festivities of Garhwal in a reminiscent tone. Song no. 4 describes the poor transport connectivity of Garhwali villages in a comical tone. Song no. 2 is a political satire. Described as “the reason for the collapse of N. D. Tiwari’s Government” (Fiol, 2012, p.447), it also shows the influence of folk-narrative over the Garhwali people. From the second generation of Garhwali singers, we can see the shift in the songs from “description about Garhwal” to “embracing Garhwal.” These songs are a recreation of classic Garhwali songs. The rhythm and music instruments used in these songs are traditional with a modern style of music. Songs nos. 8 and 9 are such examples, where the former is a modern version of a *Jagar*, the latter is a recreation of a classic folk song. Song No. 7 incorporates the traditional *Phuldei* song in the chorus. It also brings the migration crisis of Garhwal and serves as a clarion call for Garhwali youngsters to return to their villages.

6. In Search of Lost Identities: Development of Garhwali Ethnicity in Second and Third-Generation Garhwali Migrants

A Garhwali, who has migrated from the village with his wife, gets occupied by his busy familial life. The children born in such families are preferred to be educated in the cities and are taken back to their village on their school vacations or on some festival. The children brought up in such families are exposed to multiple cultures. They have trans-ethnic identities, as living in a society with a larger and dominating culture has a strong influence on their lifestyle. Their exposure to Garhwali food, festival, language, attire, beliefs, customs, rituals, and arts is exclusively through his home.

According to Soehl and Waldinger, Homeland ties are likely to be an integral part of immigrant households. Parents' engagements with the homeland and the people still living there are likely to influence their children as they serve as examples within the family context, providing a critical pathway by which the native-born second generation acquires the competencies and loyalties that both motivate and enable homeland engagement (2012, p. 784).

Even their own home has a limitation to be an ideal representation of Garhwali culture. Their Garhwali identities are also shaped through the stories and narratives they hear from their parents and grandparents. These stories are painted in positive and nostalgic shades (Peltola, 2009, p.23). While living with their memories of their homeland, they not only preserve but also pass the cultural knowledge and sense of belonging to the next generation. The other factors that contribute to the identities of second and third- generation immigrants are school, society, and friends. Hence, the offspring of immigrant parents retain both identities, the Garhwali identity at home and urban identity in society. They can adapt to the larger national culture, withholding their Garhwali identity; in other words, a migrant Garhwali can also be a Garhwali of Delhi. The continuous marginalization in the urban society, as well as segregation within the Garhwali community, as Shehri Pahadi (a *Pahadi* who belongs to the city), makes their identity hybrid, i.e., they selectively choose or discard the elements of both cultures and incorporate them in their lifestyle. This hybridity in identity is more prominent in the second or third generation than in their immigrant parents.

7. Changing Narratives: 'Folk' in Memes

Nowadays, the internet and social media have provided a common space for people with mutual interests. This space, although virtual, provides a free space for people to express themselves. Many community sites like Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, Telegram, etc., host many pages that post and share digital narratives that are culture-centric. When interviewed, Manoj, one of the members of eUttaranchal, a site dedicated to *Uttarakhandi* culture, which posts 'Pahadi content' on social media sites, said that the main aim of the site was to establish *Uttarakhandi* identity on the online platform and to "unite all the *pahadis* all around the world" (2018).

"Collective identities are formed through the validation of mutual experiences, beliefs, norms, and emotions" (Gal, 2016, p.1699). The dawn of the internet has provided new forms of personhood, social positioning, and new modes of connection. For migrant Garhwali communities, virtual space acts as one such linkage, which attaches the metropolitan cities to the ethnic, cultural, and traditional spaces. In such cases, the role of virtual space in forming personal and communal identities is a time and again discussed topic among scholars. The new version of the internet, i.e., Web 2.0, has made the internet more user-oriented and dynamic in nature; it has resulted in better participation of users in the creation and reception of web pages and other forms of digital narratives. Through new user-involvement strategies, digital technologies have opened the public discourse, which is accessible to everyone. In recent decades, virtual public spaces have become significant sites for collective identity formation. According to Peter Bennet,

If one effect of the proliferation of media culture has been to increase the prevalence of a 'sense of identity' in the way we think about everyday existence, then the study of the exchange

and reception of cultural products must be concerned with this interplay- this constant sense of being- between the embedding of identity in everyday life and the way that media material connects more or less to other parts of the life world (2011, p. 102).

'Participatory media, relatively accessible, mutual, less mediated, and less supervised, have raised the expectation for diversified representation of identities' (Gal, 2016, p.1699). Memes about Garhwali life that are viral on social media these days have created another narrative space for the migrated Garhwali community to remember, share, and connect with the homeland and their people at home. Memes have transformed the Garhwali narratives and representations while absorbing the social, demographic, mythical, folk, and cultural milieu into this extremely arresting social media form.

In the words of Ben-Amos, "folklore is artistic communication in small groups" (1971, p.13), deliberately omitting the words "traditional" and "oral" from the definition. According to him, the folk culture, often understood as the culture of the masses, has adapted to the trends and technologies of the New Age. From the broadcasting of folk songs to radio stations to YouTube uploads with several remixes, these narrative forms have gone through conspicuous transformations. The world witnessed an internet sensation of memes on social media platforms, such as Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, etc., in the past few years. Memes are widely circulated web material, which is humorous in nature; it can be a humorous picture, a strange human or animal reaction, a joke, or a funny GIF. Like literature, cinema, or any form of art, memes are also created with some inherent idea, which has a different effect on the targeted audience. They are used as a communication tool, which transmits the message from one person to another with either a humoristic or satirical tone. They are also culture-specific; the message or the humour intended in the meme can only be achieved if the receptor has knowledge of the culture.

Memes on social media from the Garhwali community are also being used to establish a connection between the migratory and the left-behind community. It transmits cultural codes and tropes into a completely concise yet expressive form of visual and verbal narrative. These memes have playfully depicted the core of Garhwali society and culture. From the surface, where these memes may appear as lacking complexities, but on deeper inspection, we can find even mythological and historical knowledge simply executed in these pictures. These image-narratives are humorous stories with a hint of reality, and are received as a series of elements (such as character, place, expressions, emotions, etc.) and lived not only in Garhwal but also in other places. These 'strips of reality' are the little cultural portions of Garhwal to be received and lived by the modern internet-consuming young generation.

Memes perfectly fit into the term 'Mediascape' defined by Arjun Appadurai. According to him, the disjunctures between homogenization and heterogenization in any culture can be explored through the five dimensions of global cultural flow. Among, Ethnoscape, the movement of groups of people or individual; Technoscape, the distribution of technological advances throughout the world; Finanscape, connected economic interests of many countries; and ideoscape, political concatenations of ideologies, mediascape is a "capability of distributing knowledge through technological advances and are like images of the world created by media. It can provide a "large and complex repertoire of images, narratives and 'ethnoscaapes' to the viewers throughout the world" (1990, p. 299).

Like mediascape, memes, too, can distribute cultural knowledge through a digital platform. These visual narratives have been used as representations of Garhwali 'ethnoscape' to the Garhwali populace spread across the world. Memes also require basic cultural knowledge to understand the humour or the narrative. Considering the influence of national culture on the new Garhwali generation, the page also provides information about the cultural and historical facts of Garhwal.

8. Memes: A Cultural Symbol on Virtual Space

In the context of the Garhwali migrant community, memes serve as a recreation of Garhwali culture, food, and memories. They also provide a virtual space for their migratory and trans-cultural experiences. For example, Figure 2 is the mascot of the page eUttaranchal, an animated form of child Nanda. Nanda, the most prominent Goddess, worshipped in Garhwal and Kumaon, in this new avatar, is received as the representative of the whole community and Uttarakhand itself (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2019d). In this meme, Nanda is wearing traditional jewellery, especially a traditional nose pin (called Nathuli) and the iconic attire of Uttarakhandi women. In current times, many pages that are culture-centric create a mascot that strictly indicates the limitations and the target consumers of these pages, i.e., the people who can identify with the humour and the imagery in their feed.

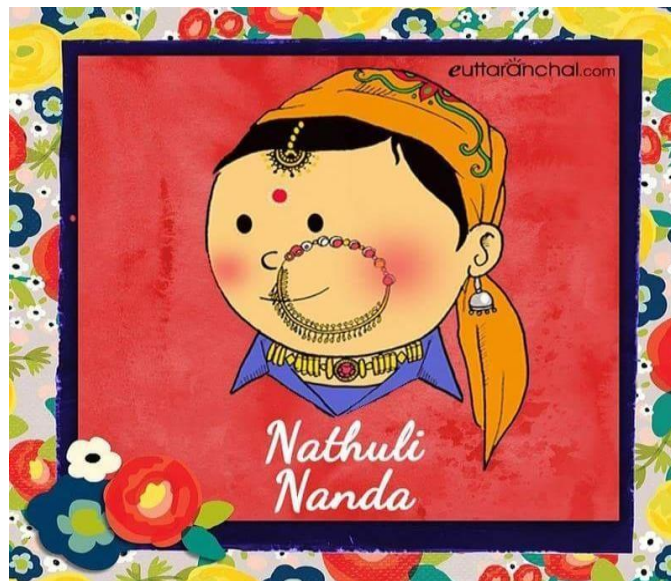


Figure 2: The mascot of the page dressed in traditional attire of Uttarakhandi women. Source: (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2019d)

These pages embody the ethnic and cultural representations and celebrate them in a variety of formats, including the format of a meme, which is one of the most popular formats. Figure 3. is a series of memes created on World Food Day, highlighting the authentic and much-loved cuisine that has become a staple food in Pahari culture (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2019a). As mentioned earlier, displacing from one place to another can affect three sets of people. These displaced communities try to re-live their cultural experiences. Here, the virtual space provides these communities a free space to recreate those experiences into a format that, when created,

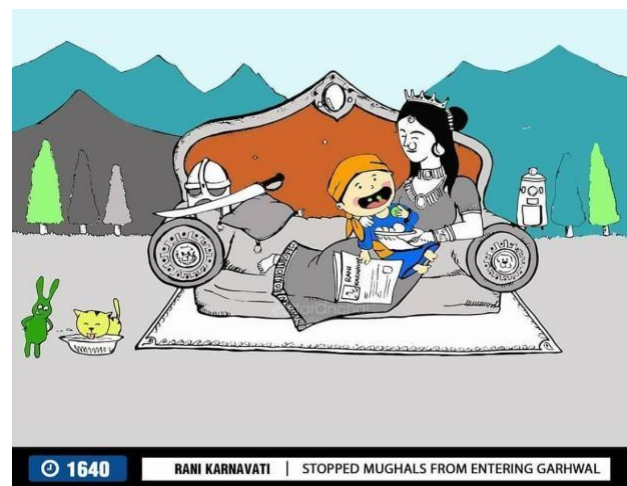
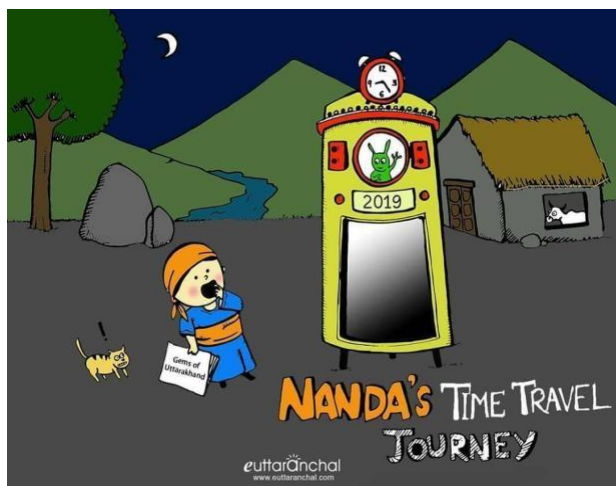
can be associated with and shared further in the community. This act of sharing memes and finding affirmation (of feelings and experiences) is similar to the activity that creates folk literature. These virtual pages retain their ethnicity through the identification and incorporation of Pahari spatial and temporal activities. By celebrating the day-to-day meals, in the form of memes, the migrated, as well as the left behind Garhwali community, embraces the minute parts of Garhwali culture that were hardly recognized by them before.



Figure 3: Authentic Food of Uttarakhand. Source: (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2019a)

These memes also serve as alternative histories to the national metanarratives. The purpose of these memes is to provide knowledge of Garhwali history and evoke feelings of pride within one's culture. These memes transition beyond humor or visual play to embody shared

meanings of identity, heritage, and pride. The meme series present in Figure 4, establishes a cultural symbolic continuity through the recurring figure of Nanda that links disparate historical episodes and personalities, transforming her into an icon that mediates between tradition and modernity (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2019b). She starts her journey by meeting Rani Karnavati, who successfully stopped the army of Shahjahan from entering Garhwal. She then models for Mola Ram, the founder of the Garhwal School of Art and Painting. Moving forward in time, she learns mapmaking from Nain Singh Rawat, who mapped the entire Himalayan region on foot, keeping his pace constant for the whole time. Next, she consoles Gabar Singh Negi, a Victoria Cross recipient, the highest medal of valour given by the British to the Commonwealth. She also cries for Sri Dev Suman, who fought for democracy in Tehri. He was a follower of the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence and died after the 84th day of his hunger strike. She reads with Sumitranandan Pant, Padma Bhushan Hindi writer, and joins the Chipko movement with Gaura Devi. In doing so, the memes reassert Garhwali distinctiveness while situating it within the broader fabric of Indian cultural history.



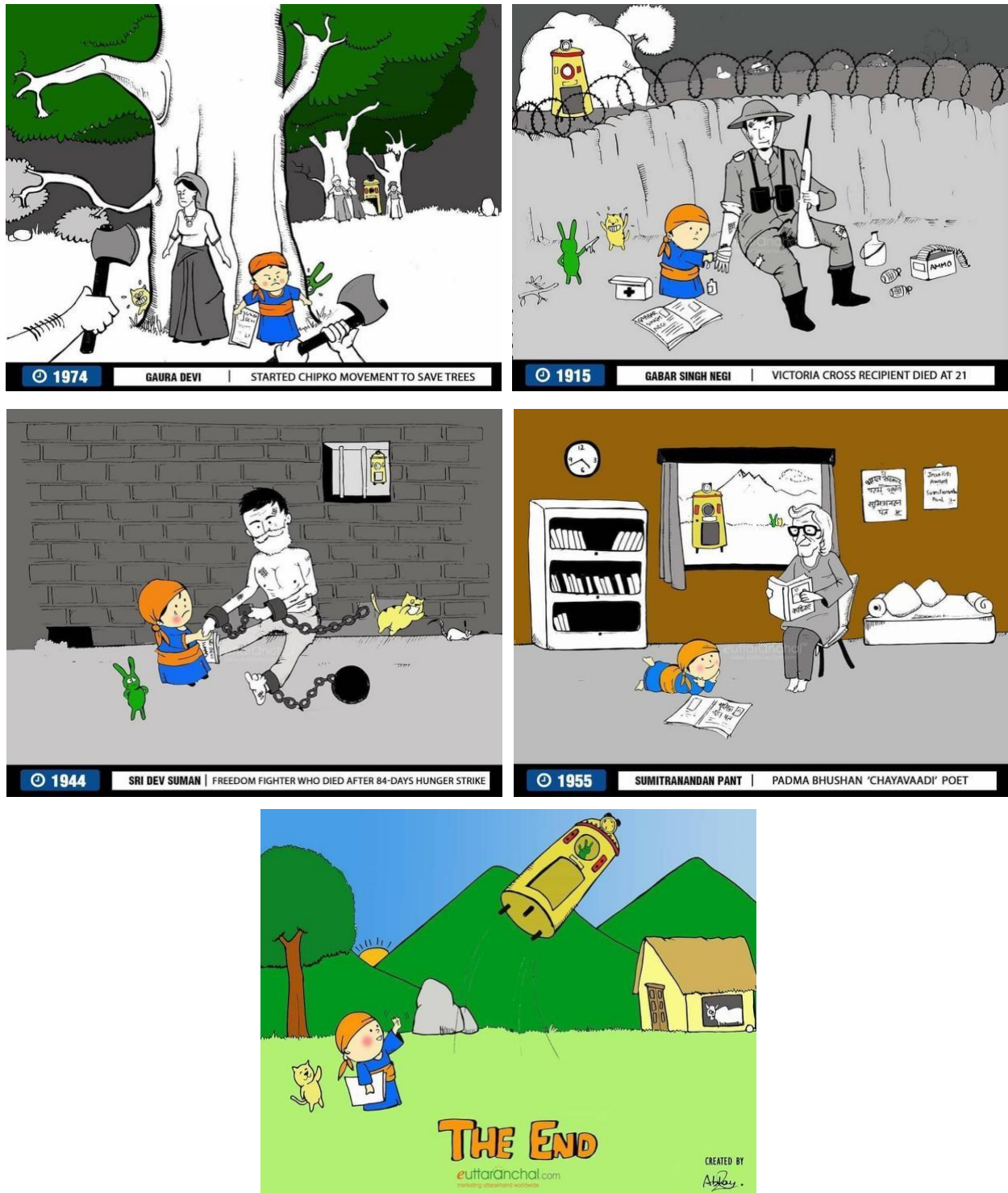
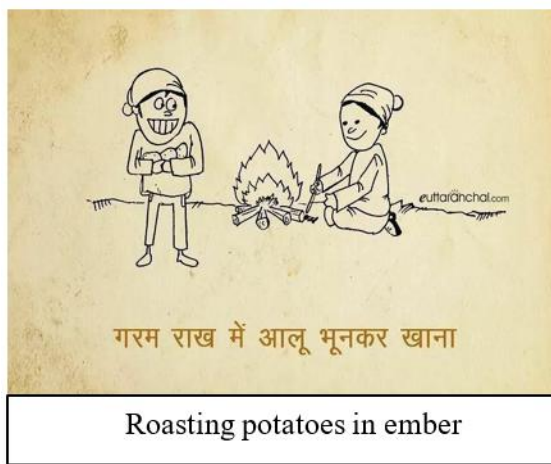


Figure 4: Nanda's (symbolically, Uttarakhand) journey as a state through time. The image represents the significant persons and events that can help in establishing a strong cultural identity. Source: (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2019b)

8.1. Mediatising the Everyday: Rechronicling the memory

Besides history, memes represent the everyday life of a Garhwali village. When a minute but significant daily activity of a Garhwali village is produced as a meme, it impacts the memory of the migrated first-generation and infuses interest in the next one. For example, in these memes (Figure 5), the winters of a Pahadi culture are depicted through the instances of the warm feeling of the quilt with kittens and pups, picking out lice in a sunny afternoon, forceful bathing of kids by their mothers, love for rum, making Garhwali snowmen, knitting sweaters and conducting classes out in the sun when it's too cold inside (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2017). All these memes have added comic elements to it through the expressions of children (when taking the size for the sweater), the accurate depiction of objects such as *Angeethi* made out of the tin canister, *Thaali* (steel plate) used as a sledge, or the absurdity of the situation itself, e.g., Teacher asking the student to get out of the class when the class itself is outside. These memes are creative expressions of everyday life experience and spatial practices of a Garhwali village. The pictures in the meme present different spaces like school, market, farms, and water sources and how they are lived through locals. The act of receiving and sharing these memes on social media makes a redefining cultural experience for the migrated and displaced population, creating a unique lived experience for them too. It creates much-desired warmth and proximity to the distant people, places, and memories yearned for by the migrant populace. The memes recreate their past experience.





अंगीठी की आग तापना

Warming oneself from *Angeethi*'s fire



बोड़ाजी ने सुलगाई रजाई

Burned quilt from cigarette ash



“Snowmen” बनाना !

Making snowmen



रम चढ़े झम

Drinking rum



धूप में जूवे निकालना

Picking lice in sunny afternoons



“भट्ट” भूनकर खाना

Roasting Bhatt (a type of lentil)

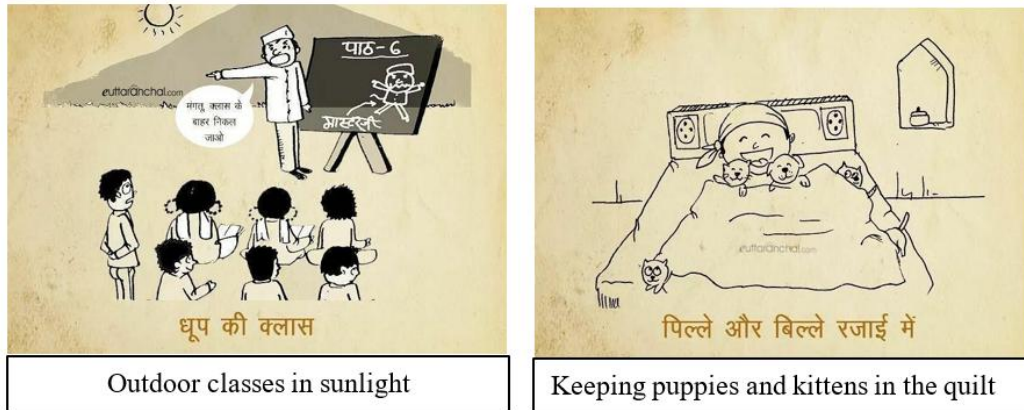


Figure 5: Memes as Memoryscapes: The images reflect the lived experience of winters in Pahadi culture.
Source: (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2017)

They also successfully sketch the impressions of migrated Garhwali onto the native ones and vice versa; in other words, the complex problems of identity crisis and cultural conflict on the space of social media (especially memes) is seen through both perspectives in one single picture. In these memes, we can find the migrated generation making resolutions to learn *Pahari* culture and the native not understanding the norms of other cultures, finding it funny as presented in Figure 6 (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2018a). In the image, we can see the migrant boy resolving to learn the "*Pahari*" language on the one hand. On the other hand, the locals make fun of his appearance in *Garhwali*, which he is unable to understand. In another Figure 7 (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2016), we can see the influence of city culture on the younger generation, which does not want to be recognised as a *Pahari* person. In the Image, a boy is depicted wearing fashionable (and not traditional) clothes, saying, "Don't call me *Pahari*, I belong to Dehradun." This line is also an allusion to Narendra Singh Negi's Song *Dehradun wala Hun*. On the other hand, the meme presented in Figure 8 depicts the mindset of the rural *Pahari* population that encourages them to migrate to urban metropolises, where the youngsters make resolutions to move/visit Delhi or to get a job desperately.



Figure 6: The image represents the clash of ethnic and trans-ethnic identities. Source: (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2018a)



Figure 7: The image represents the adaptation of city culture by Pahadi youngsters. Source: (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2016)

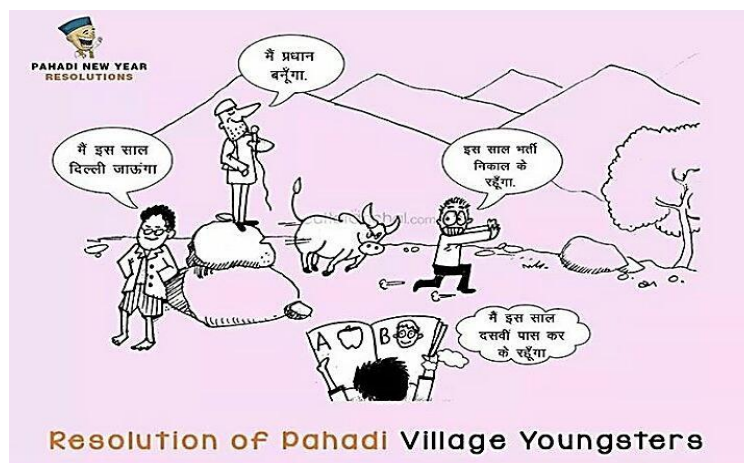
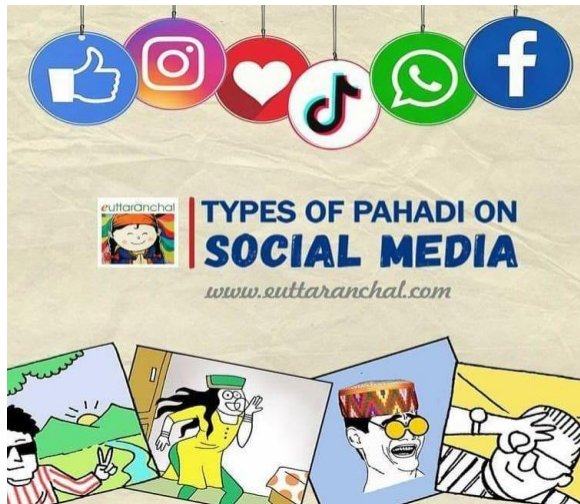


Figure 8: The picture shows multiple stories into one; the desire to earn a living is most prominent, which can be achieved by leaving the village. Source: (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2018b)

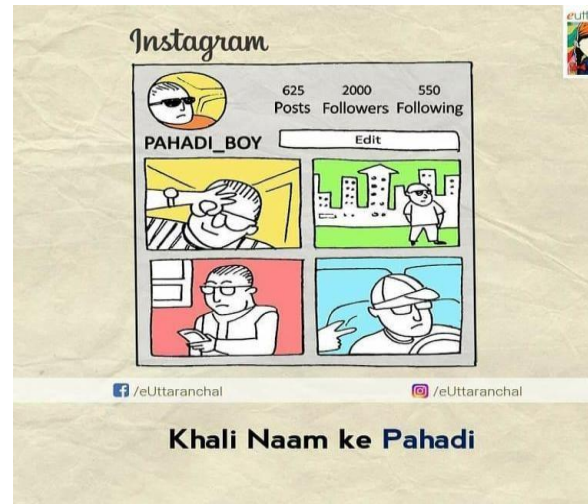
8.2. Memes: Representational Space for Migrated Garhwali Demography

Other than celebration and representation of Garhwali culture, memes, like any other folk-form, are also becoming a medium that depicts the true form of the demographic situation. They also represent how the social media platforms are used by the Garhwali population (migrated as well as non-migrated) to mark their cultural identification. To some extent, virtual space has become an alternative space for some migrated Pahari people, where they can re-live their Pahari identity residing in their urban locale. The series of memes demonstrated in Figure 9 is one such observation on “types of Pahari” (the term Pahari in Uttarakhand includes Garhwali and Kumaoni people) on social media. Figure 9(b) is the representation of the type of Garhwali (*Pahari*), who takes pride in calling themselves Pahari, and their social media page represents the landscape of the hills. In contrast with these people are the people who are represented in Figure 9(c). The people represented in the image do like to be identified as a *Pahari* person, but enquiring further into their social media pages, one can observe that their posts are filled with cityscapes because they have rarely spent any time in their native places.

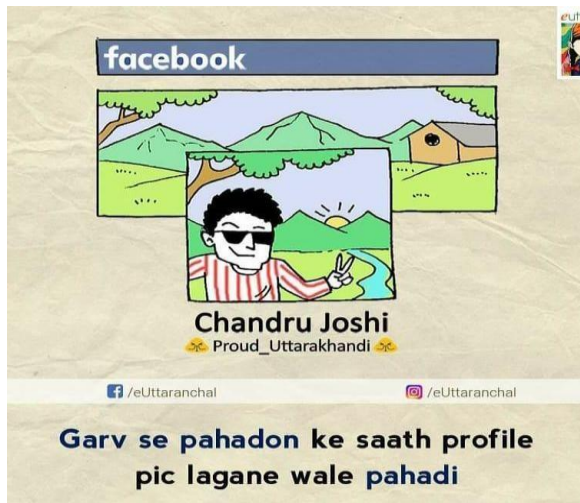
Observing astutely, these memes also highlight the hypocrisy of some of the migrated people, who spread awareness on social media about the out-migration in Garhwal, but themselves do not visit their village on vacations and like to spend their time in foreign lands Figure 9(d). Figure 9(e), and Figure 9(f) represent the Pahari who use the space provided by social media to empower their Garhwali identity, the former using the medium of TikTok to celebrate Garhwali folk-songs and popularize them; the latter who circulate Garhwali Memes on social media (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2019c).



a) Pahadi people on different social media platforms

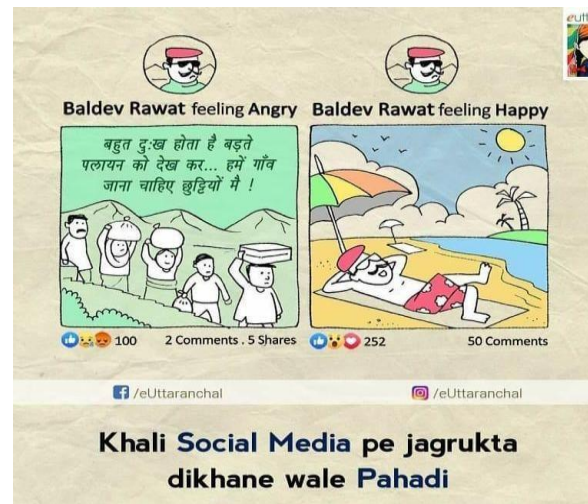


c) Meme on people who only like to call themselves Pahari.
The Caption reads "Pretentious Pahari."



b) Meme on the Facebook page of a proud Uttarakhandi.

The caption reads, "the people who proudly put their profile picture with the hills."



d) The meme represents the hypocrisy of some Pahari people.

The caption reads, "the Pahari who only show awareness on social media."



- e) The meme represents the type of Pahari people who popularize Pahari songs on social media platforms like TikTok.

The caption reads, "TikTok dancers Pahari."



- f) The Image represents the people who like Pahari Meme, which describes the local ironsmith as Iron Man.

The caption reads, "The Pahari who love Pahari Meme."

Figure 9. Meme series categorizing the type of Pahadi people on social media. Source: (Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal, 2019c)

9. Conclusion

Our study of the interrelation of Migration and Garhwali Folk reveals how migration has worked as a catalyst in the evolution of its literature. The explorations of this study indicate that migration, rather than erasing Indigenous literature, plays a role in reshaping and sustaining it in new forms. A significant example studied in this paper is the evolution of *Khuded Songs*, originally sung by women in Garhwal as they mourned the absence of migrating men. These songs, rich in themes of longing and nostalgia, once served as emotional and historical records of migration's impact. In the late 20th century, cassette culture altered this tradition, as migrant men themselves began recording these songs, shifting the medium from intimate oral traditions to widely distributed music. The same songs that once echoed in village courtyards later found new life in music videos catering to the Garhwali diaspora, proving that folklore adapts rather than disappears. The influence of migration extends beyond first-generation migrants. The second and third generations, raised in urban and global settings, engage with folklore in new ways. Instead of traditional songs, they express cultural identity and nostalgia through digital media, visual storytelling, and social media discourse. This paper focused on one such digital narrative form, Meme; detailed analyses of memes reveal how these digital folk forms, while modern, retain the core elements of shared experience and cultural continuity within them. The transformation of *Khuded Songs* and Garhwali Folk into recorded music, videos, and digital media highlights how Indigenous literature adapts across generations. Rather than fading, it finds relevance in new contexts. Migration does not signify an end but a reimagining of tradition, ensuring folklore thrives in an interconnected world.

References

- Amit Saagar. (2018, March 25). *Chaita Ki Chaitwali* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qhJ2htuDjlg>
- Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 7(2–3), 295–310.
- Alter, Andrew. (2018). Encoding spatial experience in Garhwali popular music cassettes. *Himalaya*. 38. 71–80.
- Ben-Amos, D. (1971). Toward a definition of folklore in context. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 84(331), 3–15.
- Bendix, R. (1997). *In search of authenticity: The formation of folklore studies*. University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bennett, P., Kendall, A., & McDougall, J. (2011). *After the media: Culture and identity in the 21st century*. Routledge.
- Bhandari, M. (2018, January 30). *Personal interview*.
- Bhattacharya, N. (1995). Pastoralists in a colonial world. In D. Arnold & R. Guha (Eds.), *Nature, culture, imperialism: Essays on the environmental history of South Asia* (pp. 49–85). Oxford University Press.
- Chatak, G. (1956). *Garhwali Lokgeet*. Jugal Kishore and Company.
- Dangwal, D. D. (2009). The lost mobility: Pastoralism and modernity in Uttarakhand Himalaya (India). *Nomadic Peoples*, 13(2), 84–101.
- Dorson, R. M. (2011). (Ed.). *Folklore in the modern world*. Walter de Gruyter.
- Dundes, A. (2007). *The meaning of folklore: The analytical essays of Alan Dundes* (S. J. Bronner, Ed.). Utah State University Press.
- Fiol, S. (2012). Articulating regionalism through popular music: The case of Nauchami Narayana in the Uttarakhand Himalayas. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 71(2), 447–473.
- Gal, N., Shifman, L., & Kampf, Z. (2016). "It gets better": Internet memes and the construction of collective identity. *New Media & Society*, 18(8), 1698–1714.
- Garhwali Tube. (2012, June 15). *Nochami Narayana* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4CHRMpPUf2k>
- Handa, O. C. (2002). *History of Uttaranchal*. Indus Publishing Company.
- Himalayan Films. (2016, June 20). *Dehradun Wala Hun* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pq7kgolubyE>
- Neelam Uttrakhandi. (2019, July 13). *Fwa Bagha Re* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6jMJCe2_9Vk
- Pandavaas. (2017, February 26). *Phulari / Time Machine 2* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1G00xtHUfm4>
- Rama Cassettes. (2017, July 5). *Tihri Duban Lagu Cha*. [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CofL05QgSN8>

- Rama Cassettes. (2020, February 24). *सूर्मा सरैला* [Video]. YouTube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eTCiC1VOt48>
- Rural Development and Migration Commission, Uttarakhand, Pauri Garhwal. (2022, April). *Interim report on the status of migration in gram panchayats of Uttarakhand*.
- Kaala, J. P. (2012). *Garhwali Bhasha aur Uska Lok Sahitya*. Samaya Sakshya Publication. Kathoch, Y. S. (2015). *Uttarakhand ka Naveen Itihas*. Winsar Publishing Co.
- Manuel, P. (1993). *Cassette culture: Popular music and technology in North India*. University of Chicago Press.
- Mehra, M. (2005). *Ranikhet: A study of historical perspective* (Doctoral dissertation). Kumaon University, Nainital.
- Pandey, B. D. (1937). *Kumaon ka Itihas*. Shyam Prakashan.
- Patel, S. K., Santhya, K. G., & Haberland, N. (2021). What shapes gender attitudes among adolescent girls and boys? Evidence from the UDAYA Longitudinal Study in India. *PLOS ONE*, *16*(3), Article e0248766. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0248766>
- Peltola, M. (2009). *Intergenerational relations in families with an immigrant background*. Nuorisotutkimusseura.
- Sen, S. (2004). "Without his consent?": Marriage and women's migration in colonial India. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, *65*, 77–104.
- Singh, Arun & Sondhi, Sanjay. Butterflies of Garhwal, Uttarakhand, Western Himalaya, India. *Journal of Threatened Taxa*, vol. 8, No. 4, 2016, pp. 8666-97.
- Soehl, T., & Waldinger, R. (2012). Inheriting the homeland? Intergenerational transmission of cross-border ties in migrant families. *American Journal of Sociology*, *118*(3), 778–813.
- T-Series Regional. (2014, June 4). *Basant Ritu Maa Jaiyee* [Video]. YouTube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aU-2XjLTSWw>
- T-Series Regional. (2014, June 10). *Chali Bhai Motar Chali* [Video]. YouTube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OyNnQI1bCzg>
- T-Series Regional. (2014, May 12). *Door Pardesh Chhazoo* [Video]. YouTube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gEiiGwAvm58>
- T-Series Regional. (2014, June 13). *Ghuguti Ghuraona Laigi* [Video]. YouTube.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AwESlAx6py8>
- Urvashi. (2021). Women of Garhwal: Re-conceptualizing the idea of being a woman. *Global Media Journal – Indian Edition*, *13*(1), 1–8.
<https://gmj.manipal.edu/issues/JUNE2021/6Women%20of%20Garhwal%20Re-conceptualizing%20the%20idea%20of%20being%20a%20woman.pdf>
- Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal. (2016, May 13). *How many of you have similar thoughts about Paharis? Comment and share your thoughts with us*. [Image attached to a post]. Facebook.
<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10154227783243336&set=pcb.10154227785693336>
- Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal. (2017, January 16). *Pahadi Winter Memories!* [Image attached to a post]. Facebook.
<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10154955507113336&set=pcb.10154955513938336>

Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal. (2018a, January 1). *So what is your new year resolution?* [Image attached to a post]. Facebook.

<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10156060271203336&set=pcb.10156060273518336>

Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal. (2018b, January 1). *So what is your new year resolution?* [Image attached to a post]. Facebook.

<https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10156060271518336&set=pcb.10156060273518336>

Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal. (2019a, October 17). *Cuisines of Uttarakhand - Dishes of Uttarakhand. Belated World Food Day* [Image attached to a post]. Facebook.

<https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10157782960343336&set=pcb.10157782961868336>

Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal. (2019c, May 14). *Join Nanda in her epic "Time Travel" journey into Uttarakhand's glorious past* [Image attached to a post]. Facebook.

<https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=10157352177348336&set=pcb.10157352178198336>

Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal. (2019d, October 11). *Types of Pahadi on Social Media* [Image attached to a post]. Facebook.

<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=10157762002088336&set=pcb.10157762004918336>

Uttarakhand by eUttaranchal. (2019d, October 8). *गोरी मुखड़ी सजली, नाक माँ की नथुली, भली सजली* [Image]. Facebook.

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10157750093858336&id=111852983335&set=a.447606533335>