

**India's Forest and Common Lands – Policy
Recommendations for Regulating Control and Minimizing
Abuse**



Impact of Mining on Environment

The question of land and control over it is dealt with in many different ways at various levels in India. Approaches based on political, economic security and environmental considerations are adopted by actors like political parties, social movements, development specialists and NGOs. Each one of these approaches tends to exclude the others treating them as mere externalities which need to be addressed and not as a part of the main issue while dealing with land and its control. Discourses based on these approaches are working against each other as a result of which it becomes difficult to get a holistic picture making it difficult to understand the situation and prepare a roadmap for the future.

A major gap in the understanding of the situation with respect to land and its control is the takeover of common lands which rarely figures in the discourses mentioned above.



Society for Promotion of Wastelands Development (SPWD) and Rights and Resources Initiative (RRI) commissioned case studies on the takeover of common lands in India in an attempt to fill this gap. Based on these studies an International conference was held in Delhi in December 2012 to reflect the overall situation and to discuss possible policy actions. The conference also attempted to bring in experience of other countries with respect to land acquisitions to inform the policy debate in India. A summary of the case studies undertaken is given in the Annexure-1. A compendium of the case studies is also available on request from SPWD.

The case studies show significant reliance on common resources by rural communities. Such dependence extends across community, class and regional distinctions, though the type of activity may vary. For instance, most adivasi communities depend on minor forest produce for a significant part of their livelihood. In the Northeast, Andhra Pradesh and Odisha, many communities practice shifting cultivation, in which the village rotates between areas of land for cultivation



(traditionally over a period of two or three decades), leaving each area to regenerate before returning to work on it again. On the other hand, the studies of Bellary in Karnataka and of the Kalpavalli eco-restoration project in Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh, show that settled cultivators in relatively “developed” States also depend on forest and common lands for grazing, fuelwood and water. In all these areas, the loss of forest and common lands is a major blow to the livelihoods and survival of rural communities. Forest and common lands are under constant threat. The case studies demonstrate, in some detail, the various forms of state-driven takeover of forest and common lands in India today, the impacts of these processes, and the nature of the forces that drive them. This takeover is part of a general trend towards increased expropriation of land in the country - particularly, though not only, by the state.

Takeover of land has two primary forms. The first is the reclassification of land under regulatory regimes intended to restrict use, which effectively curbs or destroys the rights of those who are using the land. The most common form of such takeover is conversion of land to forest land. Though this is a relatively unnoticed method, it is most likely larger in scope and size than any other form of land takeover since Independence. The area of land recorded as forest has increased from 41 million hectares at Independence to 76 million hectares at present an increase of 63 percent. Whether it is particular or common lands that were taken over in this manner, individuals and communities effectively lost most of their rights on such lands.

The second form of state-driven takeover is better known and far more discussed - the forced annexation of private and common lands for large projects. There are no consolidated figures available for such takeover at the national (or even at the State) level, but some indicative statistics exist for forest land. Between 1980 and 2011, 830,000 hectares of forest land were “diverted” or cleared for non-forest use by projects (this does not include the area of land that was diverted in order to “regularise encroachments”). Diversion has been rising steadily, with the number of clearances peaking in 2010 (1938 clearances given) and the area peaking in 2009 (87,884 hectares).

Future sectoral projections can be seen in Annexure-2. A simple total of all these forecasts results in an estimated 114,475,59 sq. km of land being required over the next fifteen years.

One major and obvious impact is the loss of livelihoods from the land areas that are taken over. This includes the loss of minor forest produce, the destruction or takeover of shifting cultivation lands, the loss of grazing areas, etc. Such damage does not always involve direct physical displacement; but the devastation it causes is no less severe. A particularly striking



example of this is the Polavaram Dam. The massive destruction of forest involved in this project will deprive hundreds of thousands of people of their livelihood, even as they will not be considered “affected” by the dam.

The case studies expose that it is extremely rare for any compensation, rehabilitation or other benefits to be provided for the loss of these forest and common lands and the livelihood resources they contain. In this sense, the takeover of forest and common lands hits the most marginalised and oppressed social sections in a more brutal fashion than the takeover of private land. Moreover, in effect, it is also a massive subsidy to the developer and/or the state at the expense of the local community.

Existing and proposed rehabilitation policies fail to deal with this issue and are usually restricted only to those that fall within narrow definitions of project-affected families; within such limited definitions, ambiguous language and overly broad restrictions offer many opportunities for administrative officials to exclude even those that such policies ostensibly intend to protect. For instance, the current Land Acquisition, Resettlement and Rehabilitation Bill has been referred to as a law that protects not only landowners but all those who depend on the area for their livelihood. Yet what its provisions actually state is that those who lose their primary livelihood and who have been living in the area for at least three years will be considered to be project affected. It is unclear what constitutes a “primary” livelihood. Further, with very high rates of seasonal migration among adivasi and Dalit communities (save those who are not settled agriculturists at all, such as nomadic communities and shifting cultivators), how is the three-year condition to be interpreted? In the absence of clear definitions or a transparent and accountable procedure for deciding such questions, the results will likely be exclusionary and discriminatory.

In several types of land takeover, the consequences extend well beyond forest and common lands and their direct uses. The effects include pollution, damage to the water table, additional resources taken from the surrounding area, changes in the ecosystem and so on. The loss of livelihoods from the destroyed lands is compounded by the fact that often those in the surrounding areas- whether on private or common land - are also damaged or destroyed.

Project developers often draw resources not only from the forest and common lands taken for the project, but from adjacent and nearby common areas as well. For instance, the case study on highway building notes how rocks and gravel were drawn from surrounding areas, damaging the soil and the watershed, without any kind of



permission, consultation or regulation whatsoever. It is common for project developers to take construction materials, water and wood from surrounding areas. Thus, the area of common land that is affected, or even destroyed, by the project can greatly exceed the area that is formally appropriated. Finally, this issue - the impact of projects outside their formal areas is totally ignored by current policies and laws.

Why does it appear so much easier to take over common lands? The obvious answer-that they lack sufficient legal protection-is only half true. For, on paper, several laws exist that purport to provide such protection. Common lands in forest areas are ostensibly protected by the Forest Rights Act; common lands in Fifth Schedule Areas are meant to be covered by the governance provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act and by the Fifth Schedule itself; and several State laws exist with similar provisions. Yet, in practice these laws hardly seem to matter. The discussions in the case studies reveal some strong indicators of the processes that are at work.

The issue is clearly not a lack of legal protection of common land rights. Notwithstanding various flaws, such protection often exists. Further, the issue is also not merely one of “non-implementation” as it is so often characterised. Rather, it reflects a specific structural problem at work. In most conflicts on these matters, in addition to a clash between local communities and the state machinery, there is also a clash between two sets of legal and institutional frameworks. Certain features broadly distinguish these frameworks from each other:

- There is a distinction between institutions of control that vest power in the state machinery and those that vest it in local democratic institutions. This difference emerges clearly between the FRA, the PESA Act, the Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act, etc., on the one hand, and the forest laws and most revenue laws on the other.
- Communities resisting expropriation most often try to use the laws that vest control in democratic institutions. Centralising laws and private property rights are generally of little avail in such situations. Indeed, out of the case studies presented here, only in Bellary has the centralised system been sought to be used by local communities, and this is an unusual case.
- When there is a clash between the two sets of laws, those that are built around the centralisation and expropriation approach are implemented even when they are inconsistent with, or in direct violation of, laws belonging to the other approach.
- Further, the laws that seek to create democratic institutions are not integrated into the current administrative structure. Such institutions are either not set up or are not respected. Records required by them are

maintained separately, outside the mainstream records, and are often poorly maintained, if at all. Regulatory procedures are established on the basis of the centralised laws, while the democratic ones are ignored. This is most clearly demonstrated when new policies are being instituted, such as in the case of the biofuel plantations or the Godavar man forest case.

RECOMMENDATIONS

First, there is a need for strengthening the implementation of laws that already provide for recording of collective and common rights. For instance, on forest land, the following measures can be considered on the Forest Rights Act:

- Provide instructions to forest officials regarding community rights: Direct forest authorities to respect the power of gram sabhas to manage land use and collection of forest produce, as well as to protect forests, wildlife, biodiversity, water catchment areas and the cultural and natural heritage of forest dwellers (Section 5).
- Clarify directions on evidence: Instruct authorities to accept all forms of admissible evidence and to strictly follow the procedure in the Act, pointing out that violation of this procedure is a criminal offence.
- Ensure transparency: Address the very high rate of rejection of claims for rights by holding public hearings, making all documents, decisions and status of claims public, and encouraging re-filing of claims to address illegalities and anomalies in decision making. This can include appointment of special officers for every state to begin the process of public hearing and report the status of current claims and the progress in re-filing and reassessment of claims in a time-bound manner.

Regarding the PESA Act in Scheduled Areas, similar methods could be:

- Asserting PESA's validity over conflicting state laws by amending the Act to clearly state that it overrides State laws that are inconsistent or in contradiction to its provisions (this is implied by Section 5 at present).
- Consolidating gram sabhas' powers over common resources through uniform and clear procedures established by Central and State governments for operationalising PESA's provisions that empower gram sabhas to manage water bodies, community lands, grazing areas, other community resources and adivasi lands.

In addition to the above, some steps are required to reduce the arbitrariness in

decision making on land takeovers. These could include:

- Gram sabha consent: It is important to recognise that any change of land use is a form of acquisition, since it results in a loss of traditional and livelihood rights, and all such acquisitions (as well as those of private land) should require the consent of the gram sabha. The PESA Act only provides for “consultation” at present, but the Ministry of Panchayati Raj has proposed amending this to require consent.
- Cumulative impact assessments at the district level prior to clearance: The Environment Ministry, as the agency that grants forest and environment clearances, is a key regulatory body in most takeover processes. At present, however, approvals are granted on a project-wise basis. This results in serious problems, as it makes it impossible for the cumulative impact of multiple projects to be considered; it also inevitably biases the process in favour of the project, since the State government and the project proponent have already committed themselves and can use pressure tactics to ensure the desired decision. Cumulative impact assessments of existing and proposed projects in all districts should be made available publicly and it should be ensured that this data is taken into account before any clearance is granted. There should be a moratorium on clearances until this is completed. While problems will continue, this may in a very small way contribute to a more coherent approach to project clearances.

All these measures should be made enforceable, and violations punished stringently through imprisonment . Clearances obtained through false or incomplete information should be automatically revoked and the responsible proponents prosecuted . Requisite amendments to the concerned statutes for this purpose should be put in place at the earliest .

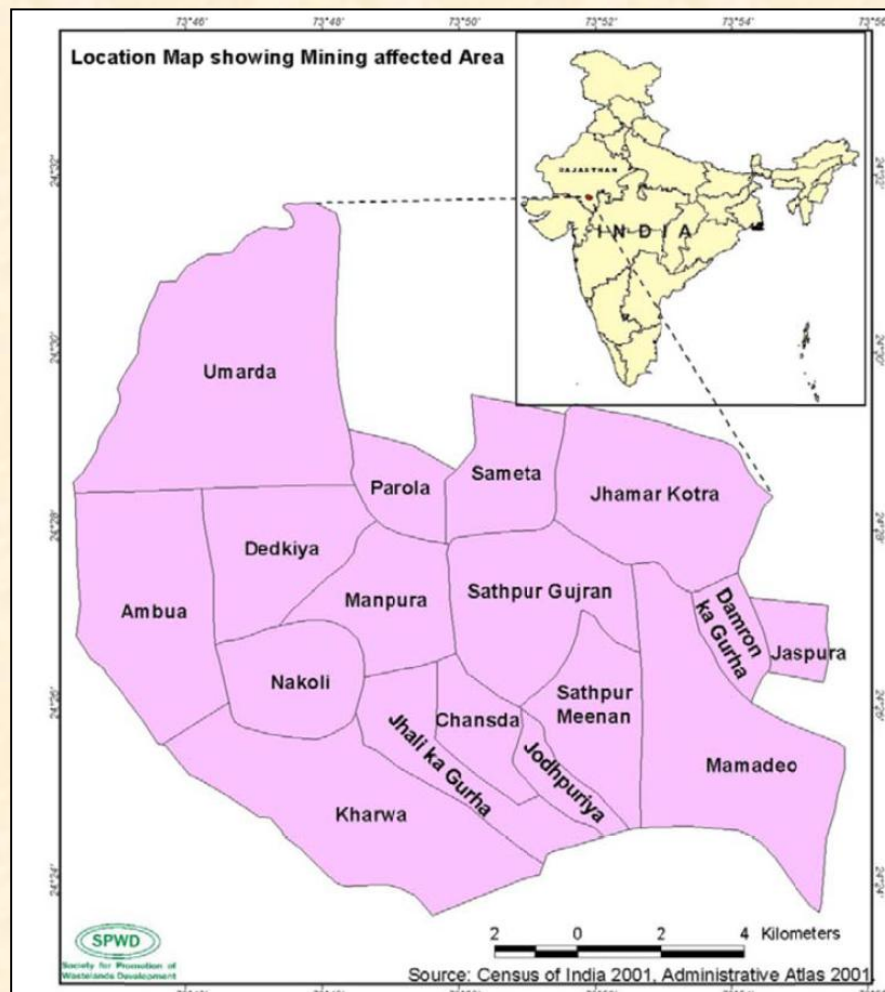
Further, in order to address the trend toward using land and natural resources for speculative purposes, certain other changes can be instituted:

- Alteration of SEBI regulations to require mandatory disclosure: SEBI regulations should be altered to require that companies publicise the status of all clearance applications and land acquisition proceedings in their documents. Companies should also be required to clearly state that proposed projects may not go ahead if these requirements are not met.
- Modification of RBI credit regulations: RBI should mandate more stringent requirements for loans to such projects. RBI regulations should also require that banks treat any project without clearances as high risk. Such projects should not be provided benefits applicable to infrastructure or similar categories.

- Rationalisation of clearances: Companies should not be granted additional clearances until they can show completion of projects based on earlier clearances given. Where the cleared capacity has exceeded the government's target by a significant margin (as is presently the case in coal mining and thermal power), no further clearances should be granted.



SPWD-RRI CASE STUDIES



Summary of SPWD-RRI Case Studies

1: Illegal Iron Ore Mining in Bellary, Karnataka

In the last ten years, Sandur Taluka of Bellary District in the state of Karnataka has seen a massive expansion in iron ore mining. Driven by the growing Chinese market, the liberalisation of mining regulations, and a decision by the Karnataka Government to denotify large tracts of notified forest land in the area, large companies, small contractors and even local farmers have begun ore extraction and trade. A major part of this activity has been illegal. Violations include mining without the required lease from the government; mining without obtaining environmental clearance (given after an impact assessment) or clearance for using forest land; mining even after leases have expired; mining beyond the lease area; failing to

Sl. No.	Name of Minerals	Place of occurrence
1	Iron Ore Deposits	Hospet, Bellary and Sandur Taluks
2	Manganese	Hospet and Sandur Taluks
3	Lead Ore	Metri, Devalapura Village in Hospet Taluk
4	Satellite, Talk Soapston	North west Swamihalli Village, Sandur Taluk
5	Graphite and Gold Deposits	North East of Sandur, Near Talur Village.
6	Yellow and Red Orches Deposits	Near Swamihalli in Sandur Taluk.
7	Quarts	Near Naduvi of Siruguppa Taluk
8	Moulding sand	All along Thungabhadra River
9	Ornamental stones	Pink and Grey granite at Siruguppa Taluk, Black Granite at Hospet Taluk.

Source: Interim report of the Karnataka Lokayukta on illegal mining in Karnataka (December 2008)

Details of Mineral Deposit in Bellary, Karnataka

comply with transport regulations; etc. The Lokayukta (ombudsman) of Karnataka State has estimated that 30.68 million tonnes of iron ore was illegally exported between 2003 and 2010, causing a revenue loss of Rs. 16,085 crore (approximately US \$3 billion). Much of the mining has occurred on forest and common lands. In the Bellary-Hospet-Sandur region, a total of 6,507 hectares of forest land (21 percent of the total recorded forest land) have been taken over for mining, at least 1,081 hectares of which were illegally occupied. Mining has also destroyed large areas of revenue land and agricultural fields (many of which have been dug up for ore). As a result, fertile lands have become scarce and topsoil has been permanently lost. The heavy air pollution from mining, in the form of dust and toxic chemicals, has damaged the health of surrounding communities, as well as harmed crops and affected livestock (yields have dropped by around 50 percent in hybrid corn). Indeed, even the mining companies have informally recognised the damage that they are causing and instituted the practice of paying a small amount of

“dust compensation” to surrounding farmers.

Mining has also lowered the water table and polluted surface water sources, reducing water availability in the area. Large areas of rich forest, in some cases inhabited by endangered species, have been destroyed. The enormous profits from legal and illegal mining have driven large-scale corruption in the area, with mining barons becoming immensely rich and powerful (the infamous Reddy brothers being the best known example). Though mining has provided temporary employment and incomes to some, the benefits have been unequally distributed, as seen by the fact that the district is now third richest in the State in terms of Net District Domestic Product, but 18th on the Human Development Index.

Mining has resulted in large-scale use of child labour, and most workers are hired on a casual daily-wage basis with no safety or health precautions. Following years of complaints and the Lokayukta's report, a local group known as the Samaj Parivartana Samudaya approached the Supreme Court in 2009. On July 29, 2011 the Court banned all iron ore mining in Bellary, pending an investigation into the violations of law occurring in the area.

2: Phosphate Mining in Rajasthan

Jhamar Kotra and Kanpur are two gram panchayats (village council areas) in Udaipur District of Rajasthan. The villages have a large population of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and lie within a Scheduled Area demarcated under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution. The surrounding area has the largest reserves of phosphate in the country. Since 1972, phosphate has been mined in this area by Rajasthan State Mines and Minerals Ltd. (RSSML), a Rajasthan Government-owned company. A beneficiation plant and fertiliser factories have been set up in nearby villages to process the phosphate into fertiliser. Phosphate mining is open cast in nature and requires large areas of land for dumping of material. In 1968, the government acquired land for mining and transferred it to RSSML; subsequently, RSSML has taken over both common and private land in these panchayats. Common lands have been handed over to the company on the signature of a local government official, the patwari (revenue inspector — the lowest rank in the Revenue Department hierarchy). Forest land has also been transferred for mining. The gram sabhas (village assemblies) have not been consulted regarding acquisition of land, transfer of common land, renewal of mining leases, or diversion of forest land, despite legal requirements under the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act. The claims of forest dwellers in these villages are still pending under the Forest Rights Act. As mining and industrial activity has expanded in the last decade, smallholding cultivators have also been repeatedly pressurised by agents to sell their land. Meanwhile, mining has had major environmental and health impacts. RSSML sells water that accumulates in its mine pits, reducing groundwater recharge and leading to wells in 15 villages in the area drying up. Studies have found high fluoride levels in

groundwater in the area. Cases of tuberculosis, malaria, diarrhoea and eye, ear and stomach diseases have increased. Availability of forest produce has declined with destruction of forests. Livestock and agricultural productivity have suffered severe damage from contamination, pollution and lack of water. Villagers have lost income as a result of these changes, while simultaneously facing higher expenses from having to purchase water and substitutes for forest produce. As a result, out of desperation for income, many villagers have either sold their land or are planning to do so.

3: Sand Mining in Rajasthan

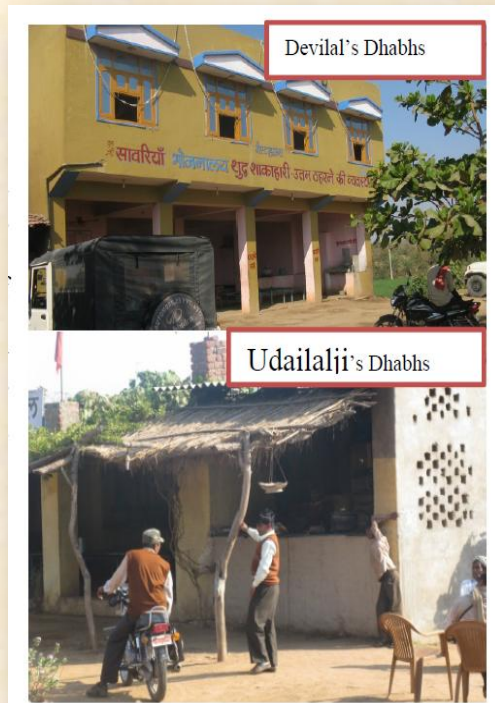
The Aavara river flows through Udaipur District in Rajasthan. For more than 30 years, stretches of the river in the villages of Bori, Aavara, Gudel, Kalodia and Dhimidi have been mined for sand. An estimated 19,200 tons of sand are removed daily from an area of around 1,000 hectares. Sand mining leads to a lowering of the river bed and widening of the banks; measurements show the river bed annually dropping by around 3.5 feet (approximately one metre) at some sites. The surrounding villages have suffered a series of impacts from this activity. As a result of the fall in the water level of the river, wells in the villages have lost water too, and some wells have also collapsed after sand was removed near their walls. With some fluctuations, measurements of the water level in the wells of Aavara and Dhimidi villages show a sharp drop between 2008 and 2011. Indeed, between 2009 and 2011, in Aavara, the well water level dropped from 35 to 5 feet in the dry season (October to December). As a result, due to lack of water, crop yields in the area have been falling. Grasses and other plants on the river banks have also disappeared in many areas due to the mining. While the mining has generated some employment for local workers, the amount of employment has fallen over the years with increasing mechanisation. Some individuals lease land to the sand miners; in most cases, this is actually common land that has been taken over by the individual concerned. Such sources of income are also not likely to last for the long term, as it is expected that sand yields will begin to drop after the next few years. Licenses and regulation of the

sand mining is done by the State government with no local involvement. However, recently the gram panchayat (village council) has taken steps to ameliorate the impact of



the mining by building check dams and water ponds. The villagers have also started planning to switch to alternative and more sustainable crops.

4: Highway Building in Rajasthan



Highways and other 'linear' projects (railway lines, transmission lines, pipelines, etc.) have received relatively less attention in discussions on land takeover and displacement. This case study looks at the Rajasthan State Roads Development Corporation's attempted redevelopment of a stretch of State Highway 53, between the towns of Keer Ki Chowki and Salumber. Construction is still underway. Within the case study area, common pasture land, revenue "wasteland" and private pasture and agricultural lands have all been acquired/taken over for the road project and associated toll plazas. It appears that, exploiting an ambiguity about the extent of land that fell within the "right of way" of the old road, some private lands have been appropriated without paying

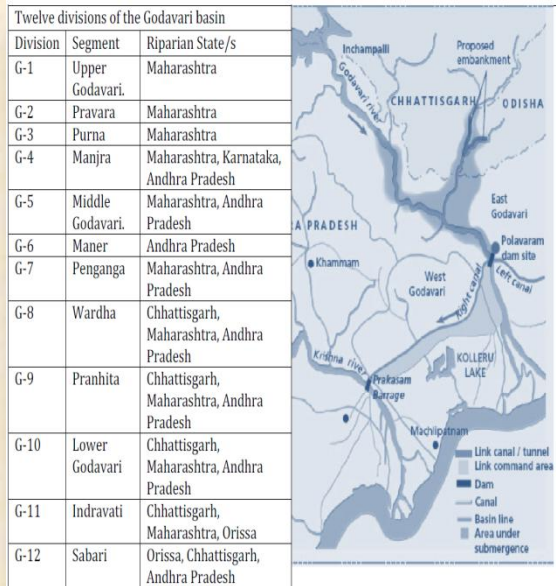
compensation at all. There has been neither payment nor consultation regarding takeover of common lands. Moreover, stone and quartz quarrying has occurred on common lands on the sides of the proposed new road, without any consultation with local communities or payment of compensation. With the entry of the road, restaurants and shops have also sought land in the area, with purchases being executed through local brokers and real estate agents. If the highway is further widened in future, it is estimated that another 364 hectares of land may be required on this stretch alone. The impact of this on livelihoods in the area will be considerable.

5: Polavaram Dam in Andhra Pradesh

The Polavaram project in the state of Andhra Pradesh is one of India's largest dam projects. Under consideration for over 70 years, the project involves a large dam on the river Godavari (India's second largest river) and a linked canal network, with the ostensible aim of irrigating agricultural lands in the area. If built, the dam will submerge an estimated 276 villages across three districts in Andhra Pradesh, along with 27 other villages in Chhattisgarh and Odisha. As per the 2001 census, 237,000 people will be displaced by the dam; more than half of those displaced will be adivasis (indigenous

communities). A similar, if not larger, number of people will be affected outside the submergence area as a result of loss of livelihoods and access to land. More than 45 percent of the land to be submerged is either village common lands (including pasture) or forest. Though the Forest Rights Act requires that any diversion of forest land be preceded by completion of the rights recognition process, the Central Government granted final forest clearance to the dam in July 2010 on the basis of a one line assurance from the Andhra Pradesh (AP) Government that “there are no forest rights that need to be settled...in the project area.” This statement was made doubly

unbelievable by the fact that in other parts of these three districts, despite severely flawed implementation, community and individual forest rights had been recognised under the Act (over 350,000 hectares and 160,000 hectares of land, respectively). The Central Government also ignored the requirement under the consent of gram sabhas prior to diversion of forest land. Similarly, the AP Government subverted the provisions of the PESA Act by consulting higher bodies (the mandal panchayats) instead of village assemblies prior to acquiring private land. As mandatory rules on public hearings were not complied with, the



National Environment Appellate Authority struck down the dam’s environmental clearance in 2011; the State Government won a stay order from the AP High Court on this judgement, allowing them to go ahead. However, the Environment Ministry at the Centre has requested the AP Government not to proceed with construction until questions about the environment clearance are settled. Petitions against the dam are pending before the High Court and the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, allegations of corruption in the tender process have surfaced and have led to a cancellation of tenders by the High Court in February 2012.

6: Kalpavalli Eco-restoration Project in Andhra Pradesh

Though historically an area of dense forest, Anantapur District of Andhra Pradesh is today an arid zone, with only two percent forest cover and persistent drought conditions. Under such conditions, a group known as the Timbaktu Collective undertook eco-restoration of forest and common lands from 1990 onwards, initially on a 32-acre patch of land and later among approximately 100 villages in the surrounding area. In

particular, in seven villages of Chennethapalli and Roddam mandals, the Collective has worked since 1992 to restore an area of around 3,400 hectares known as Kalpavalli. From a barren, stony and dusty area, the Kalpavalli landscape has now been transformed into a mixture of deciduous forest and grasslands, including a network of community tanks. Wildlife has returned to the area. The land is now used extensively by the



surrounding villages as pasture land, for collection of minor forest produce and fuelwood, and for water storage and distribution. However, on the revenue records, the land continued to be recorded as “unassessed waste” (a part may also have been declared to be forest land, though the records on this are not fully clear). On this basis, the State government therefore allocated 28 hectares of land in 2004 to a wind energy company — Enercon — to construct 48 wind turbines. The company went on to use almost 80 hectares of additional land for 40 km of roads. Though the area of land may seem small, it is in scattered patches, and the company has cut into the tops of almost every hillock in the area for turbine construction as well as building roads on their sides. Trees have been felled,

grasslands cleared and slopes destroyed; an estimated 400,000 litres of water have also been used from the local tanks and streams (not including future water for cooling). As a result, cattle are unable to move for grazing (with the slopes cut by roads), regenerated soil has been damaged, and water supplies are diminishing from overuse, reduced catchment areas and dumping of rubble. It is expected that land near the turbines will be cordoned off in future on grounds of safety. The loss of land, water and pasture will seriously affect livelihoods in the area. The continuous noise of the turbines is also expected to have an impact on people’s health, as it has in other parts of the world. The State made no attempt to consult communities regarding use of the common lands, and Enercon has disowned an agreement signed by its lawyer with the Timbaktu Collective. The Collective is continuing its fight to stop the expansion of the wind energy project, including by exploring legal options.

7: Biofuel Plantations in Rajasthan and Chhattisgarh

In recent years, there has been a global drive towards the use of agricultural crops, such as sugarcane and jatropha, for fuel production (though this has waned somewhat). This has also had an impact in India: from 2005 onwards, the Central Government and

several State governments have been actively promoting biofuel production. Two States in particular, Chhattisgarh and Rajasthan, have been at the forefront in this drive. In 2006 and 2007, respectively, these two governments notified new Rules under their respective Land Revenue Codes, mandating the identification and allocation of “wasteland” for biofuel plantations. In Rajasthan, plantations were to be done by the Forest Department, gram panchayats (village councils) or self-help groups (women’s saving societies formed under various government schemes); however, the State Government also invited private companies to engage in plantations, provided that they set up a biodiesel plant as well. From 2010 onwards, the Chhattisgarh Government invited the formation of joint venture companies to engage in biofuel plantations. In Chhattisgarh, 157,332 hectares of land has been classified as “wasteland” fit for biofuel allocation, while district authorities in Rajasthan have identified 41,127 hectares for the same purpose. However, most of this land is actually common lands, used for grazing, forest produce collection, etc.; some of it is under individual cultivation. The mis-identification of these lands as “wastelands” and their allocation to biofuel plantations, threatens to deprive large numbers of adivasis, forest dwellers and other marginalised communities of their livelihoods and basic resources. The process of identification and allotment has been done entirely by district authorities, without any consultation with local communities; laws such as the Forest Rights Act and the PESA Act have been grossly violated. As a result of the resistance and protests by those affected, in both States the biofuel policy has fallen far short of its production targets (achievement of plantation targets on paper notwithstanding). In Rajasthan, there have even been cases where villagers have planted jatropha during the day, in order to receive wages from the government, and uprooted the seedlings at night to reclaim the land. Despite a general slowdown in this programme in recent years, neither the Central nor the State Governments has shown any sign of responding to the resistance of affected communities. The mis-classification of “wasteland” remains on the records: even if it is not used for biofuels, the same classification can be invoked to divert it for other purposes.

SECTORAL PROJECTION

Annexure - 2

Sectoral Projections for Land Takeover

Estimation of Land Requirement for Emergent Sectors (in hectares)					
#	Sectors	Sub-sector	Current Area 2011	Estimated Requirement	Additional Land Required
1.	Agri-Fuel (Estimation for 2026)	Jatropha	500000	4400000	3900000
		Bio-Power(Agro Residue & Plantations)	273700	2000000	1726300
			773700	6400000	5626300
2.	Infrastructure (Estimation for 2026)	Roads	1816355	3117000	1300645
		Dams	2907000	3908171	1001171
		Special Economic Zones	86107	150000	63893
			4809462	7175171	2365709
3.	Extractive Activities (Estimation for 2026)	Coal	147000	535445	388445
		Iron	88065	320775	232710
		Bauxite	30059	109489	79430
		Limestone	144979	528083	383104
		Other Major & Minor Minerals	244301	889862	645561
			654404	2383654	1729250
4.	Non-Conventional Energy (Estimation for 2032)	Wind	180000	540000	360000
		Solar	76	100000	99924
			180076	640000	459924
	Total		6511266	17958825	11447559