

LOCATING THE BREACH

FEBRUARY 2020

Mapping the nature of
land conflicts in India



Land Conflict Watch

Supported by:





LOCATING THE BREACH

Mapping the nature of
land conflicts in India



Authors: Thomas Worsdell and Kumar Sambhav

Data research: Thomas Worsdell, Mrinali Karthick, and Moushumi Sharma

Case studies: Nihar Gokhale, Bhasker Tripathi, and Manira Choudhury

Case studies supervision: Ankur Paliwal

Data collection and field documentation: Field researchers (Appendix 1)

Editor: Nitin Sethi

Layout Design: Naveed Dadan

Cover Design: Aashna Gupta

Maps: Pradeep Koulgi

Copyediting: The Clean Copy (www.thecleancopy.com)



Copyright: The report, its contents, or a part of them, may be republished or reproduced for non-commercial use with full citation and reference to the original as “Worsdell, T. and Shrivastava, K. (2020). Locating the Breach: Mapping the Nature of Land Conflicts in India. New Delhi: Land Conflict Watch.”

Publishers: Nut Graph LLP, Rights and Resources Initiative, and Oxfam India

Contents

Acknowledgements

1	Background	01
2	A Quick Glance at the Principal Findings	03
3	Methodology	06
4	Data Analysis	09
5	Thematic Analysis and Emerging Policy Issues	32
6	Research Agenda for the Future	37
7	Appendices	38

List of Tables

Sectors and their Sub- Sectors	10
Number of Conflicts and People Affected Across Different Tenures	14
Conflicts Classified by Types of Common Lands	16
Sector-wise Number of Conflicts in Fifth Schedule Districts and Those Affected by Left-wing Extremism (LWE)	20
Conflicts by Tenure Type in Districts with LWE	21
Conflicts by Different Common Land in Districts with LWE	22
Parties Opposed to the Communities in Conflicts	22
Conflicts by Type of Common Land in Fifth Schedule Districts	22
Regions and Their Corresponding States and Union Territories (UTs)	30
Share of Conflicts in Each Sector in the Six Regions	30

List of Figures

The Spread of 703 Land Conflicts across Sectors	10
The Eight Sub-sectors (Excluding Land Use) Which Are Most Embroiled in Land Conflicts	11
Sector-wise Number of People Affected by Land Conflicts	11
Number of People Affected by Land Conflicts in Various Sectors, Averaged Over Number of Cases	12
Sector-wise Investments Affected by Land Conflicts	12
Sector-wise Areas Affected by Land Conflicts	13
Number of Conflicts by the Second Party Involved	13
Investments Affected by Land Conflicts across Tenure Types	15
Areas Affected by Land Conflicts across Tenure Types	15
Number of People Affected by Conflicts Involving Different Sectors in Fifth Schedule Districts and those with LWE	20
Investments Affected by Conflicts Per Sector in Fifth Schedule Districts and those with LWE	21
Sector-wise Distribution of Number of Conflicts Involving the Non- implementation or Violation of the FRA	24
Sector-wise Distribution of Number of People Affected by Conflicts Involving the Non-implementation or Violation of the FRA	25
Sector-wise Distribution of Investments Affected by Conflicts Involving the Non-implementation or Violation of the FRA	25
Sector-wise Land Area Affected by Conflicts Arising from the Non- implementation or Violation of the FRA	26
Sector-wise Distribution of Number of Conflicts Involving Acquisition of Private Land	27
Top Three Sub-sectors Embroiled in Conflicts over Acquisition of Private Land	28
Sector-wise Distribution of People Affected by Conflicts Involving Acquisition of Private Land	28
Sector-wise Distribution of Investments Affected by Conflicts Involving Acquisition of Private Land	28
Sector-wise Distribution of Area Affected by Ongoing Conflicts Involving Acquisition of Private Land	29
Number of Conflicts by Their Starting Year	31

List of Maps

District-wise Distribution of Number of Land Conflicts and the LWE Areas	5
District-wise Distribution of Number of Land Conflicts and the Fifth Schedule Districts	18
District-wise Distribution of Number of Land Conflicts in India	19

Acknowledgements

This report is the result of three years of data collection and documentation work by the Land Conflict Watch's network of researchers and writers. Data collection was supported by the Rights and Resources Initiative. The analysis of these data and the preparation of this study were supported by Oxfam India.

We would like to thank Arvind Khare, Senior Director at the Rights and Resources Initiative (RRI); Dr Kundan Kumar, Asia Director at RRI; and Dr Geetanjoy Sahu, Associate Professor at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Mumbai, for their valuable guidance in conceptualising this study. We also appreciate the inputs provided by Sharmistha Bose, Economic Justice Lead Specialist, and Sreetama Gupta Bhaya, Programme Coordinator with Oxfam India, in preparation of the report.

We thank Dr Nikita Sud, Associate Professor of Development Studies, at the University of Oxford, and Dr Namita Wahi, Fellow at the Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi, for reviewing the draft of this report and providing an invaluable critique of it. Their comments helped us considerably improve our initial drafts. This final version of the report incorporates their suggestions and addresses their queries. The two also gave recommendations on how to take the research forward in future.

Finally, we are grateful to all the readers and the users of Land Conflict Watch, whose interest in our work motivated and encouraged us to carry out this study.

1 Background

In India, conflicts over land can have deep and far-reaching implications for the well-being, development, and identities of communities. A land conflict can be defined as any instance in which two or more parties contest the use of, access to, or control over land and its associated resources. Land conflicts permeate rural and urban areas across all Indian states. Resolving land conflicts in India's developing economy is essential to reducing inequality and the inequities that an isolated focus on growth can exacerbate.

Land Conflict Watch (LCW) has investigated the reasons for, and the impact of, land conflicts across the country over the last three years.

At the time of publication, LCW had identified 703 ongoing land conflicts; more are being reported every week. With the help of over 42 researchers across the country, LCW has analysed and assessed land conflicts based on the different sectors involved, social factors at play, laws involved, and land types under contestation. These 703 conflicts impact over 6.5 million (65 lakh) people, 2.1 million (21 lakh) hectares (ha) of land, and locked-in investments amounting to over ₹13 trillion (₹ 13 lakh crore). Most of these conflicts were triggered by infrastructure-related projects and many involve common lands and not just private lands.

LCW's research contributes valuable quantitative and qualitative data on these land conflicts. These data will help policymakers, academics, and citizen groups better understand and address systemic issues that underlie land conflicts, such as insecure tenures and landlessness.

Three years of fieldwork by LCW shows that land conflicts are more pervasive than previously hypothesised or assessed. Existing research, such as one study on land acquisition cases in the Supreme Court, highlights the intensity and spread of land conflicts in India.¹ Yet, so far, no study has been able to assess and capture data on these conflicts across the country with accuracy across different geographies, languages, social and land systems. This documentation process is an arduous task requiring long-term engagement. Realising this, LCW began its methodical mapping exercise three years ago. Our coverage of land conflicts is expanding rapidly to cover all geographies in detail. The 703 conflicts mapped and analysed in this report indicate consistent patterns and trends. Yet, the data captured so far by LCW present a conservative picture – many ongoing land conflicts are being mapped as we write this report.

Existing discourse on land conflicts has been limited by the paucity of data and analysis on the full range of factors and

¹ Wahi, N., Bhatia, A., Gandhi, D., Jain, S., Shukla, P., and Chauhan, U. (2017). "Land Acquisition in India: A Review of Supreme Court Cases from 1950 to 2016", New Delhi: Centre for Policy Research.

dynamics that make land conflicts such complex phenomena. LCW's research tries to address this lacuna. It identifies important underlying factors in order to segregate their respective impacts on the intensity and spread of land conflicts. The research dives into how the implementation or non-implementation/violation of different laws – for instance, the Forest Rights Act (FRA), 2006, and other land acquisition laws – provide a basis for the conflicts. It distils data based on regional political-economic realities, such as the existence of Left-wing extremism (LWE) in some regions of India. It also examines whether or not Scheduled Areas, which theoretically provide marginalised tribes more secure rights over land and resources, are functionally worse off. These findings alone require serious consideration at the policy level.

Addressing such systemic issues underlying land conflicts is central to establishing more

equitable political, economic, and social trajectories which reduce the vulnerabilities of a vast number of India's multicultural citizenry. When considered within the context of emerging concerns such as climate change, this analysis could help in developing better strategies to address the new and emerging vulnerabilities of those living on India's economic and social margins.

Through this research initiative, LCW intends to fill knowledge gaps, and by doing so, empower victims of conflict as well as lawmakers, researchers, academics, civil society, and industries. Closing these gaps is essential in re-evaluating land conflicts, and it is a step towards inducing positive change for the country's most vulnerable communities.

LAND CONFLICT WATCH PORTAL

Land Conflict Watch, a research-based institution, is committed to reporting, documenting and analysing conflicts over land across India. Since its inception three years ago, over 700 land conflicts, spanning India's 28 states and eight Union Territories (UTs) have been registered. This has made LCW the biggest database on Indian land conflicts to date.

These conflicts have been mapped on the LCW portal (<https://www.landconflictwatch.org>), which is continually updated with new and refreshed data by the LCW team.

Users and researchers can customise the portal's filters for targeted datasets specific to their needs and interests. LCW is in the process of expanding this portal to incorporate new tools that will improve existing data analytical processes. In doing so LCW hopes to improve its accessibility, analysis of conflicts, and, incorporate new variables that can inform policy at both regional and national levels.

2 A Quick Glance at the Principal Findings

India has an array of legislations and regulations to settle land and resource rights, to resolve disputes over access and ownership, and to facilitate more equitable negotiations for transferring rights and access between different parties. Various progressive reforms have also been undertaken since Independence at both the state and central levels. Yet, conflicts and contestations over land continue to imperil India's growth and put communities at considerable economic and social risks, as shown by LCW's study.

Long-standing land conflicts remain unresolved for years even while new arenas for intense contestation are being created as a result of post-liberalisation economic growth. On one hand, the need for infrastructural enhancement has become the leading reason for new conflicts; on the other, conflicts have emerged from unexpected economic activities, such as the state's conservation and forestry initiatives.

LCW's research also provides, arguably for the first time, a granular and highly representative data set to corroborate what researchers had previously inferred about the nature of land conflicts in India. Marginalised communities – such as tribes and those living in resource-rich but violence-afflicted areas – are disproportionately impacted by land and resource conflicts.

A complex land tenure system, historical inequity in distribution, and unequal access to resources across the socio-economic spectrum have always been challenges for the state, even when it's acting with the best intentions to alleviate

the problems associated with resources and land rights. But LCW's research shows that the state is still failing to implement the progressive laws and regulations it established – such as the Forest Rights Act (FRA) and the new Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act – in the face of emerging conflicts. This bodes ill for both communities and businesses that seek secure access to land resources. The impacts are visible in the unprecedented quantum of investments that are getting locked in disputes over land and resources.

The headlined data analysis provides an overview of how conflicts are impacting lands, lives, and investments. It also highlights the specific triggers, geographies, activities, and socio-economic conditions that lead to the intensification of land conflicts in India.

Land Conflicts

- LCW has documented a total of 703 ongoing land conflicts over the last three years. Conflicts were registered from across 332 of the 733 districts in the country (see Map 1)
- Over 2.1 million (21 lakh) ha of land is locked in these land conflicts.
- Infrastructure development, led by townships and real estate schemes, along with roads and irrigation projects, are causing the highest number (43%) of land conflicts, followed by conservation and forestry related activities (15%), such as compensatory afforestation plantation and wildlife conservation schemes.

Lives Imperiled by Land Conflicts

- These 703 conflicts have affected the lives and livelihoods of 6.5 million (65 lakh) people.
- Infrastructure projects leading to land conflicts affect people the most. More than three million (30 lakh) people have been impacted by 300 infrastructure-related conflicts. Land conflicts over mining projects are the second highest cause of distress, with 852,488 citizens affected.
- On average, each land conflict impacts 10,668 people. Land conflicts involving mining projects affect the highest number of people; on average, each one affects 21,312 people.

Investments Embroiled

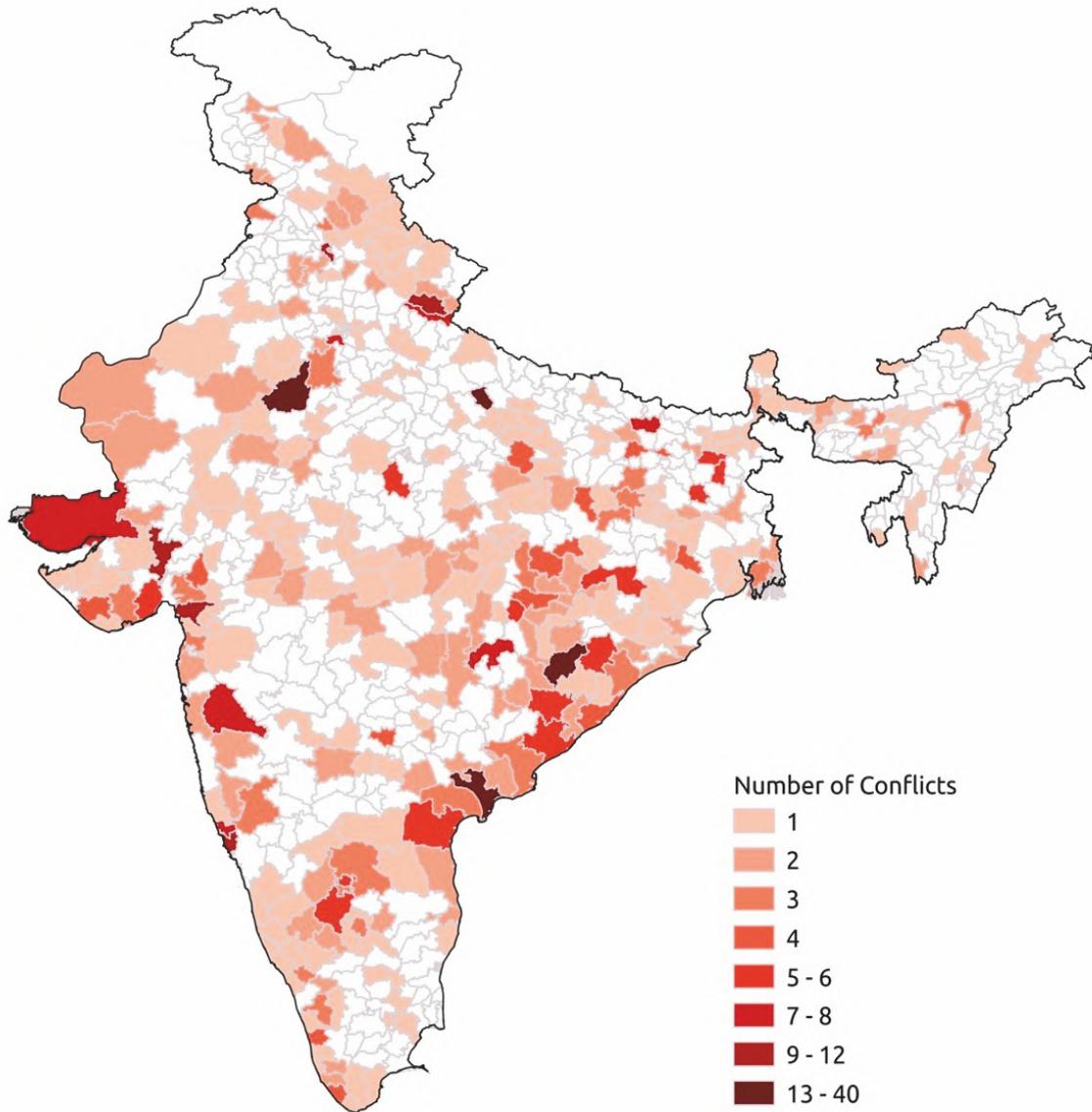
- ₹ 13.7 trillion (₹ 13.7 lakh crore) of committed, earmarked, and potential investments were found embroiled in 335 of the 703 land conflicts. This constitutes 7.2% of the revised estimate of the country's GDP for 2018–19. Investment data for the rest of the cases is not ascertainable. The total quantum of investment locked in all the documented conflicts is likely to be substantially higher.
- Indeed, investments in infrastructure-related projects worth over ₹ 7 trillion (₹ 7 lakh crore) have been embroiled in land conflicts. Investments worth ₹ 2.8 trillion (₹ 2.8 lakh crore) in the power sector and ₹ 2.7 trillion (₹ 2.7 lakh crore) in the industrial sector are stuck in land conflicts. These are conservative figures as ascertainable data are not available for all 703 cases.

Pain Points

- Sixty-eight percent of land conflicts relate to common lands. Conflicts over common lands impact 79% of all people affected by land conflicts (5.14 million; 51 lakh).
- Twelve percent of India's districts are officially affected by Left-wing extremism (LWE). But these districts account for 17% of the total conflicts, constitute 31% of the conflict affected area, and 15% of the people impacted by conflicts. Fifth Scheduled Areas overlap with just 13.6% of India's districts², but 26% of the country's land conflicts occur in these districts. These cases impact 28.5% of the 6.5 million (65 lakh) people affected, and account for 41% of the total area impacted by land conflicts.
- Sixty percent of all mining related conflicts are found in Fifth Schedule districts.
- Seventy-five percent of all conservation and forestry related conflicts, and 51.4% of mining related conflicts, involved the violation or non-implementation of the FRA, 2006.
- Acquisition of private lands is a reason for conflicts in 37.8% cases. Such cases impact over three million (30 lakh) people and contribute to 71.4% of all investments locked in such conflicts.
- In 104 cases, the dispute has been going on for at least two decades, and in another 149 conflicts, the case has remained unresolved for at least a decade.

² According to the most updated records of the Fifth Schedule Areas available on the websites of the Ministry of Tribal Affairs and the Ministry of Panchayati Raj. Some of these districts are only partially covered under the Fifth Schedule.

Map 1 : District-wise Distribution of Number of Land Conflicts in India



3 Methodology

LCW has developed peer-reviewed protocols, standards, and methodology for data collection, research, and analysis. These were fine-tuned with the help of researchers, academics, and institutions.

LCW collects data on 84 different parameters for every land conflict it maps. The parameters include information on the number of people impacted, investments associated with the land conflict, the type of economic activity undertaken on the land, and area under conflict. The mapping exercise also captures information on the tenure systems associated with the land under conflict and other location-specific characteristics. LCW gathers and maintains requisite evidence to support the data; this includes official, administrative, and legal records pertaining to the conflict. This information is supplemented by interviews carried out by LCW field researchers, who source additional information from affected parties.

The LCW team consists of field researchers, coordinators, reviewers, and data analysts. Each of them have clearly defined roles in the process of conflict identification, data collection, verification, and analysis.

Definitions

The research uses specific terminology and definitions oriented towards field research and the subsequent analysis of land conflicts.

Land conflict: A land conflict is defined as any instance in which the use of, access to, and/or control over land and its associated resources are contested by two or more parties. Land conflicts between two private parties are excluded unless the particular conflict has a larger underlying public interest. The LCW database records only those conflicts for which textual and/or audio-visual verification is viable.

Affected area: The land area in hectares (ha) which is under contestation.

Affected population: For private lands, those who hold or claim legal and rightful tenure over the conflict affected land, or depend on it for their livelihood, are considered affected. For common lands, people who have a stake in the contested land parcel and the services it provides are considered the affected population.

Investments: Investment data are based on evidence available in the public domain, as cited by project developers or authoritative government records. Data include the proposed investments locked in the project inducing conflict or actual investments made in a project at the time of recording the conflict, and, in some cases, projected investment figures announced by authorities or project developers. LCW tends to take a conservative approach in tagging capital investments to conflicts. Capital costs are recorded at the time of documenting the research and are updated if they are subsequently reassessed by project

proponents or authorities. Capital costs are not adjusted according to current price levels.

Household: For all calculations, a “household” comprises an average of 4.8 individuals, as per Census 2011 data.

Areas with Left-wing extremism: Areas impacted by LWE are classified as such by the Government of India. In its latest assessment, the Union government has identified 90 districts of the country as impacted by LWE.

Scheduled Areas: The Indian Constitution enshrines a special legal and administrative framework for the land rights for Scheduled Tribes in geographically demarcated areas known as “Scheduled Areas”, in 10 peninsular and four northeastern states. Areas within the northeastern states are demarcated under the Sixth Schedule, and those in peninsular India are demarcated under the Fifth Schedule. For this report, LCW has restricted its analysis to Fifth Schedule districts. The expansion of the LCW database to Sixth Schedule Areas in India's northeastern region is underway; it was considered prudent not to use a partial database for analysis at this stage.

Conflict Identification

LCW has a team of 42 field researchers – in 26 of the 28 states and five of the eight union territories – working to identify and report land conflicts. LCW has two or more researchers in several large states to cover the region. However, some states and regions are under-reported either due to difficult terrain or the periodic absences of the affiliated researchers. LCW's researchers include academics, lawyers,

and research scholars, all of whom either come from or have specialised professional experience in their respective geographic areas.

Data sources: Researchers based in different states draw upon local and regional sources to identify potential conflict leads, follow them up, and verify and report them to the core team based in Delhi. They collect information from a mix of primary and secondary sources. Correspondents are encouraged to verify details about conflicts by collecting evidence from multiple sources:

Regional and local news sources: Researchers monitor at least three local and regional newspapers for initial registrations of potential land conflicts. (see Appendix 4) These necessarily include newspapers published in regional languages.

Google Alerts: Google Alerts are a useful tool for identifying potential conflicts. Alerts can be used to track specific issues, industries, and districts in national and regional news reports.

Official documents: Official documentation available on public record is used to ascertain details, whenever viable. Such documentation can include, but is not restricted to, environmental impact assessments (EIAs), affidavits, court case transcripts, government documents, police reports, petitions, village assembly resolutions, and any other official documentation that confirms the presence of a conflict.

Primary sources: First-hand accounts, videos, audio recordings, and photographs often form part of the evidence gathered regarding a case.

Researchers are encouraged to build networks with locals, grassroots organisations, activist groups, peasant movement leaders, government officials, industry leaders, and NGOs which are active in their region of focus.

LCW's group of regional researchers and correspondents, combined with a wide network of informed citizens, groups, and resource people, is essential to the effective, accurate, and detailed identification of land conflicts.

Data Collection, Verification, and Analysis

Documentation: LCW equips all researchers with a research manual which gives them the necessary context and instructions. Researchers are provided access to LCW's online database platform, Airtable. To file a conflict, researchers fill an online form, with quantitative and qualitative questions, which automatically organises the data on Airtable and prepares it to be exported for analysis.

Verification: In the review phase, the reviewers' team verifies and cross-references all the data and citations that the researcher provides and edits the case summaries. After verification, the conflict is published on Airtable, and it is uploaded on LCW's website.

Preliminary data analysis: Following data collection and verification, a team of data analysts conducts a simple preliminary statistical analysis by forming comparison groups, and summarising, grouping, and visualising the data.

Updating conflicts: As land conflicts are constantly evolving, the reviewers' team

periodically reviews and updates LCW's records. The team reviews the provided sources, conducts online searches for the latest information, and makes phone calls to the resource persons and the representatives of the parties involved.

Data sharing: Data on each conflict are made available to the public on an open platform. Personal data about the people and communities involved in the conflicts are kept confidential. Aggregate data on basic trends across geographical regions, industrial sectors, and land types can also be analysed through the interactive data explorer. Interested parties can request access to the LCW database or segments of it for further research.

Caveats and Limitations

LCW faced certain constraints during the three years of data collection. Coverage in Scheduled Areas and those affected by civil unrest, LWE, and inter-ethnic conflicts has been relatively limited. Many of these factors are red flags for the presence of potential land conflicts. However, these factors also make accessing information difficult. India's northeastern region still has the potential for better coverage by LCW.

When available, data for the fields of "affected population", "area", and "investments", are retrieved from official reports and independent studies. LCW relies on media reports and other secondary sources – often more conservative ones – when primary sources are unavailable. When data differ across sources, LCW relies on government sources.

4 Data Analysis

This analysis pivots on three key parameters for which data were collected using a robust peer-reviewed methodology. The three parameters are:

- Number of people affected
- Land area under contestation
- Existing or potential capital investment embroiled in the dispute

For the analysis, data on these three key parameters were parsed to understand the geographical, regional, and sector-wise impact of land conflicts across the country and the economy. Additionally, the analysis aggregated and reviewed data based on the type of land laws at the heart of the conflicts.

This quantitative analysis revealed certain trends, which were then investigated qualitatively by looking at the case-specific details that the LCW database captures.

These trends, LCW believes, provide early warning signals for researchers, governments, and other public-interest agencies to intervene in and understand in-depth the underlying systemic challenges.

To ensure the robustness of the data, calculations excluded data points for which solid evidence about the number of people affected, the total area impacted or the investments locked was unavailable. For this, and several other reasons mentioned earlier, the data and analysis present a conservative, but evidence-based, macro picture.

The following results are based on data from 703 ongoing land conflicts across India.

- These conflicts have affected 6.5 million (65 lakh) people and involve over 2.1 million (21 lakh) ha of land.
- Evidence-based data on investments locked in land conflicts were available for only 335 of the 703 documented cases.
- The total existing, earmarked, and potential investments involved in these 335 cases alone add up to ₹ 13.7 trillion (₹ 13.7 lakh crore). This constitutes 7.2% of the revised estimate of the country's GDP for 2018–19.³

Conflicts by Sector

Ongoing documented land conflicts were categorised into six broad sectors: infrastructure, power, conservation and forestry, land use, mining, and industry (see Table 1). “Sector” is not used in the way it is classically deployed in economic analysis. Instead, LCW identifies and distinguishes between economic and social activities which impact contests over lands and are found to crop up in the recorded cases. This classification of “sectors” may or may not be used similarly in the government's economic data sets and reports.

A more in-depth review of the documented cases helps to highlight specific activities within these six categories. These specific activities, such as airports, plantations, and coal mining, were used to further sub-categorise the data for analysis.

³ Government of India (2020). “Budget at a Glance, 2019–2020”. Available at: https://www.indiabudget.gov.in/doc/Budget_at_Glance/bag1.pdf (accessed on October 10, 2019)

Table 1 : Sectors and their Sub-sectors

Sector	Sub-sectors
Infrastructure	Airports, education, defence, health, irrigation dams, multi-purpose dams, ports, railways, roads, special economic zones (SEZ), smart cities, townships/real estate, other kinds of infrastructure
Power	Hydroelectric dams, nuclear power plants, renewable power, thermal power plants, and transmission lines
Conservation and Forestry	Forest administration, plantations, and protected areas
Land Use	Non-industrial, non-developmental, and non-conservational land use processes, such as natural disasters, inter-caste and communal conflicts, and the creation of land banks
Mining	Bauxite, coal, iron ore, and other kinds of mining
Industry	Commercial agriculture/agri-business, manufacturing, finance, petroleum and gas, pharmaceutical, steel, tourism, other industries

Figure 1 shows the distribution of conflicts across sectors, while Figure 2 highlights the eight sub-sectors that are most embroiled in land conflicts. Overall infrastructural development, led by townships and real estate schemes, along

with roads and irrigation projects, are causing the highest percentage (43%) of land conflicts, followed by conservation and forestry related activities (15%), such as compensatory afforestation plantations and wildlife conservation schemes.

Figure 1 : The Spread of 703 Land Conflicts across Sectors

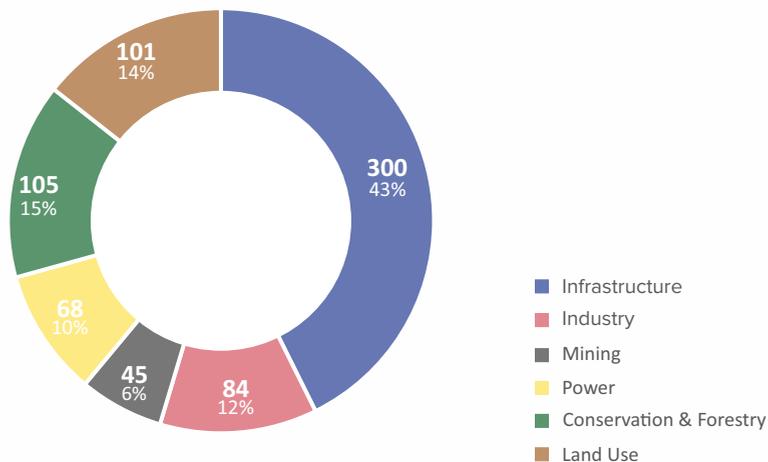
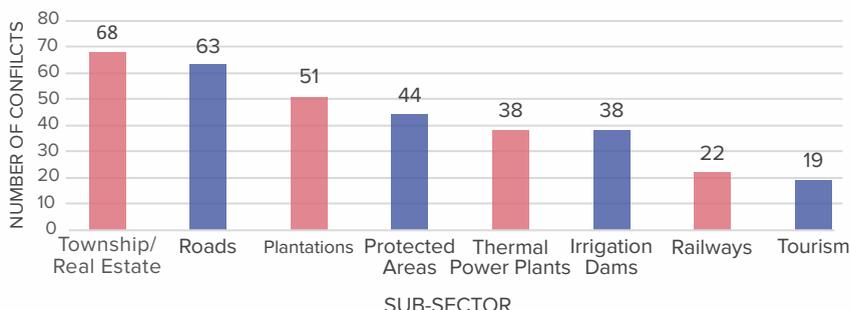


Figure 2 : The Eight Sub-sectors (Excluding Land Use) Which Are Most Embroiled in Land Conflicts

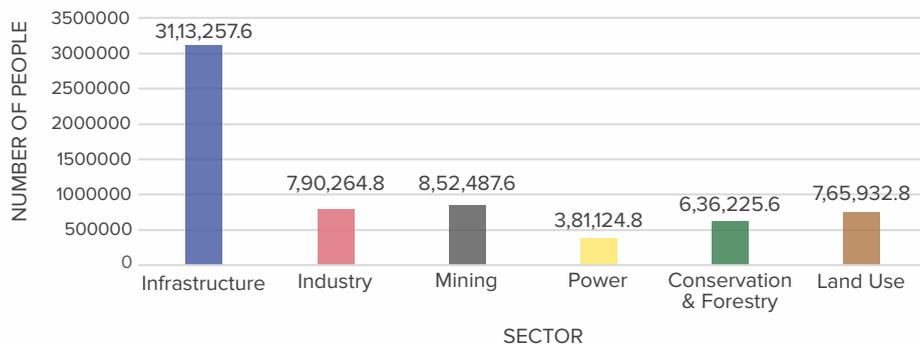


Based on this sectoral classification, LCW mapped out the number of people affected by land conflicts that are caused by different economic activities and projects.

Figure 3 shows the sector-wise number of people affected by land conflicts. Over 6.5 million people have been impacted by the

703 land conflicts analysed in this report. The total distribution of affected people at the national level is shown in Figure 3. Land conflicts caused by infrastructure projects affect more than three million people; mining related land conflicts have the second-biggest impact, affecting 852,488 citizens.

Figure 3 : Sector-wise Number of People Affected by Land Conflicts



LCW also looks at the average number of people impacted by sector-specific land conflict cases. Averages are a good metric to consider the sector-wise impact of land conflicts in order to determine the number of people affected; LCW research calls this the “intensity” of conflict in each sector. All averages in this study are calculated after excluding the cases that do not have data on the particular field for which the average is calculated.

Overall, an average of 10,668 people have been affected by each conflict. Mining related cases impact 21,312 people, on average, which is the highest among the sectors (see Figure 4). Each infrastructure project caught in a land conflict impacts the lives of 12,354 people, on average. Land conflict cases related to industry impact an average of 11,453 people, while power projects that are locked in land conflicts impact 6,050 people on average.

Conservation and forestry cases affect 6,362 people, on average, and land use related cases impact an average of 6,806 people.

Figure 5 shows investments affected by land conflicts by sector. Infrastructure-related conflicts affect the highest quantum of investments – over ₹ 7 trillion (₹ 7 lakh crore) – followed by power- and industry-related conflicts that affect ₹ 2.8 trillion (₹ 2.8 lakh crore) and ₹ 2.7 trillion (₹ 2.7 lakh crore) of investments, respectively.

Neither the government nor any of its agencies maintain a centralised database of projects, activities, or investments stuck

in land conflicts. Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE), a private statistics agency, does so, but its paywalled information and method of capturing data differ from LCW's practices. Further, CMIE does not collect associated data on the same parameters as LCW.

Figure 6 shows the area affected by land conflicts across various sectors. Again, infrastructure related conflicts are spread over the largest area, 1.56 million ha, which is almost equal to the area of Nagaland. While conservation and forestry and land use related conflicts affect fewer investments, they are spread over much larger areas than conflicts in other sectors.

Figure 4 : Number of People Affected by Land Conflicts in Various Sectors, Averaged Over Number of Cases



Figure 5 : Sector-wise Investments Affected by Land Conflicts

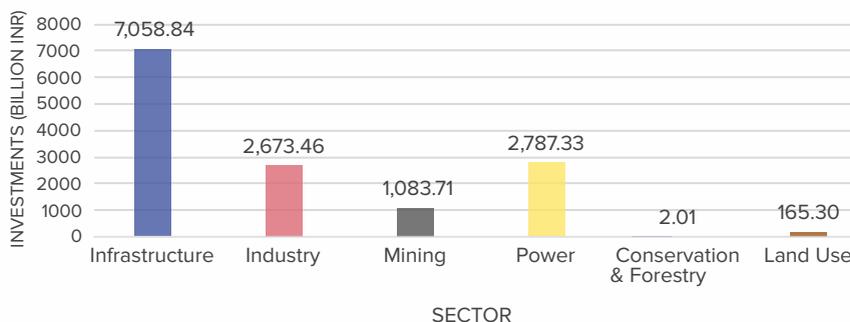
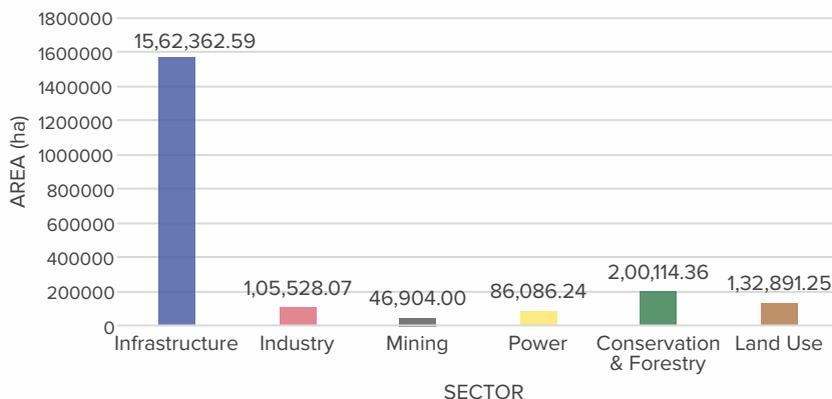


Figure 6 : Sector-wise Areas Affected by Land Conflicts

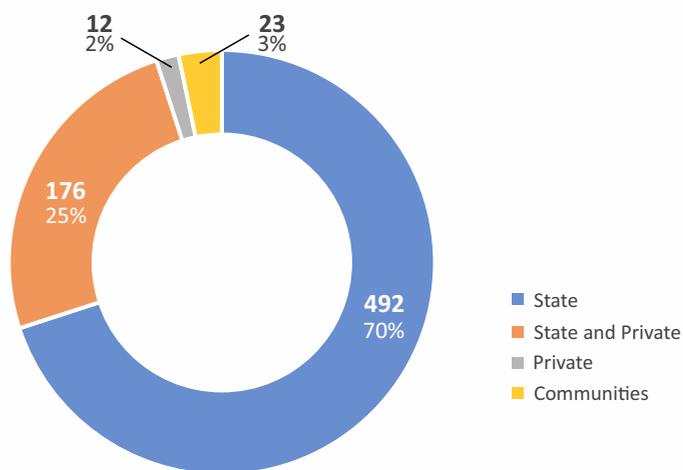


Conflicts by Parties Involved

This report considers only those conflicts in which citizens, either as a group of individuals or as communities, comprised at least one party involved in the conflict. Of the 703 cases, in 667 (95%) cases, the state comprise the second party in the

conflict (see Figure 7). In these 667 cases, government agencies or public sector undertakings are interested parties either as project promoters or as mediators of the conflict as regulators. In 188 cases (27%), private companies or businesses are involved in the conflict. In 23 (3%) cases, the conflicts are between different communities.

Figure 7 : Parties Opposed to the Communities in Conflicts



Land Conflicts over Lands with Different Tenurial Rights

LCW's data show that the majority of land conflicts involve common lands. In most cases involving common lands, as opposed to private lands, citizens do not own private individual titles to these lands. The title, control, and ownership over these lands can be held collectively by communities, villages, municipal authorities, different levels of local elected bodies, and/or state governments. While the government defines many types of common lands as "wastelands", most of these common lands are heavily used by citizens, particularly those from the marginal communities. Communities and citizens often have either state-recognised or traditional rights over these commons. Though the laws such as the FRA and the Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act, 1996, mandate the state to recognise the traditional land rights of communities in forested and Scheduled Areas, the state has continued to ignore them, even when

the communities' usufruct access to these lands has persisted. This would automatically enable a higher potential for conflict, particularly if a contesting economic activity or project entity tried to acquire rights over the land.

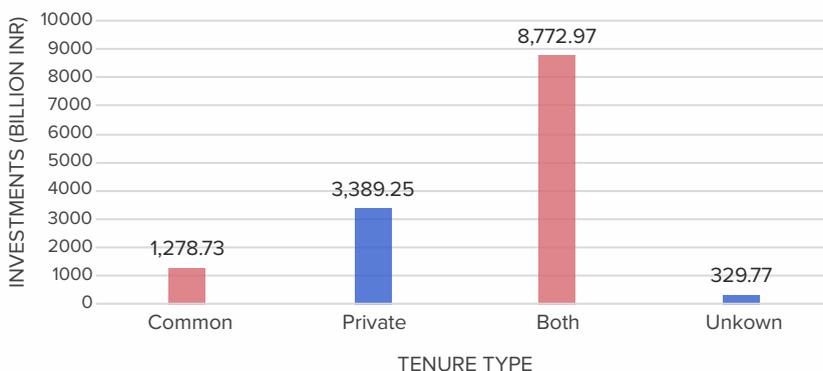
Table 2 shows the number of conflicts documented for each tenure type as well as the number of people impacted, by land type. Thirty-six percent of the conflicts were exclusively about common lands, 29% of land conflicts involved only private lands, and the remaining 32% of the conflicts involved both common and private lands.

Figures 8 and 9 show the investments and area affected by land conflicts across tenure types. Conflicts that involve both common and private lands are spread over the largest area – 1.45 million (14.5 lakh) ha – and affect the highest investment of ₹ 8.8 trillion (₹ 8.8 lakh crore). Conflicts that involve common lands affect a larger area than those involving private lands. However, affected investment is higher in case of conflicts that involve private lands as compared to those that involve common lands.

Table 2 : Number of Conflicts and People Affected Across Different Tenures

Type of Land	Number of Conflicts	Conflicts as a Percentage of the Total	Number of People Affected	People Affected as a Percentage of the Total
Private	205	29%	1,213,116	19%
Common	256	36%	1,500,554	23%
Both	224	32%	3,644,468	56%
Unknown	18	3%	181,155	3%
Total	703	100%	6,539,293	100%

Figure 8 : Investments Affected by Land Conflicts across Tenure Types



To investigate further, LCW divided the land conflicts over common lands into cases involving forestlands and non-forested commons (see Table 3). The data show that the majority of conflicts involving common lands centre on non-forested commons. Thirty-eight percent of conflicts over common lands conflicts

involve only non-forested commons, while 25% involve only forestlands. Our qualitative understanding from a closer reading of these cases suggests that the levels of legal protection available for the traditional rights of communities in non-forested commons are lower than those available in most forestlands.

Figure 9 : Areas Affected by Land Conflicts across Tenure Types

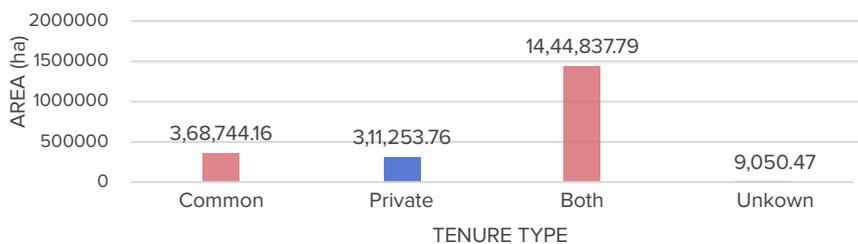


Table 3 : Conflicts Classified by Types of Common Lands

Common Lands	Number of Conflicts	Conflicts as a Percentage of the Total	Number of People Affected	Affected People as a Percentage of the Total
Forestlands	123	25%	530,791	10%
Non-Forested Commons	187	38%	1,574,247	31%
Both	156	32%	2,961,550	57%
Unknown	22	5%	84,958	2%
Total	488	100%	5,151,546	100%

Key Findings on How Conflict Impacts Lands with Different Tenures

- 1 Sixty-eight percent of land conflicts are related to common lands and impact 79% of all affected people
- 2 Conflicts that involve both, common and private lands, impact the most people
- 3 There were more conflicts in non-forested commons than forestlands
- 4 More people were affected by conflicts over non-forested commons than those over forestlands
- 5 Fifty-seven percent of all people impacted by conflicts over common lands were impacted by conflicts that involved both, forested and non-forested commons
- 6 On average, each conflict involving forestlands impacted 4,650 people; each land conflict involving non-forested commons impacted an average of 9,901 people; and every conflict that involved both kinds of commons impacted 20,856 people, on average

Land Conflicts in Fifth Schedule Areas and Areas Affected by Left-wing Extremism

The Union Ministry of Home Affairs currently identifies 90 districts in 11 states as being affected by LWE. These 11 states are Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, and Kerala. LWE refers to the violence caused by armed rebellious groups waging war against the state and claiming adherence to extreme-Left ideologies. The influence of these armed groups over people's lives and the administration in these districts varies. The government claims that, in 2019, their impact was more serious in 30 districts as compared to others. Other non-governmental accounts present a different picture.

LCW reviewed cases of ongoing land conflicts in these LWE-affected areas, particularly because their management and resolution styles present a different challenge to affected citizens, the private sector, and the state.

LCW also analysed the nature of land conflicts in Fifth Schedule Areas, which have a preponderance of tribal populations with relatively higher levels of economic backwardness. The Constitution provides special administrative dispensation for these "Scheduled Areas". According to Ministry of Tribal Affairs records, the Government of India recognises Fifth Schedule areas in 100 districts across 10 states. These states are Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Odisha, Rajasthan, and Telangana.

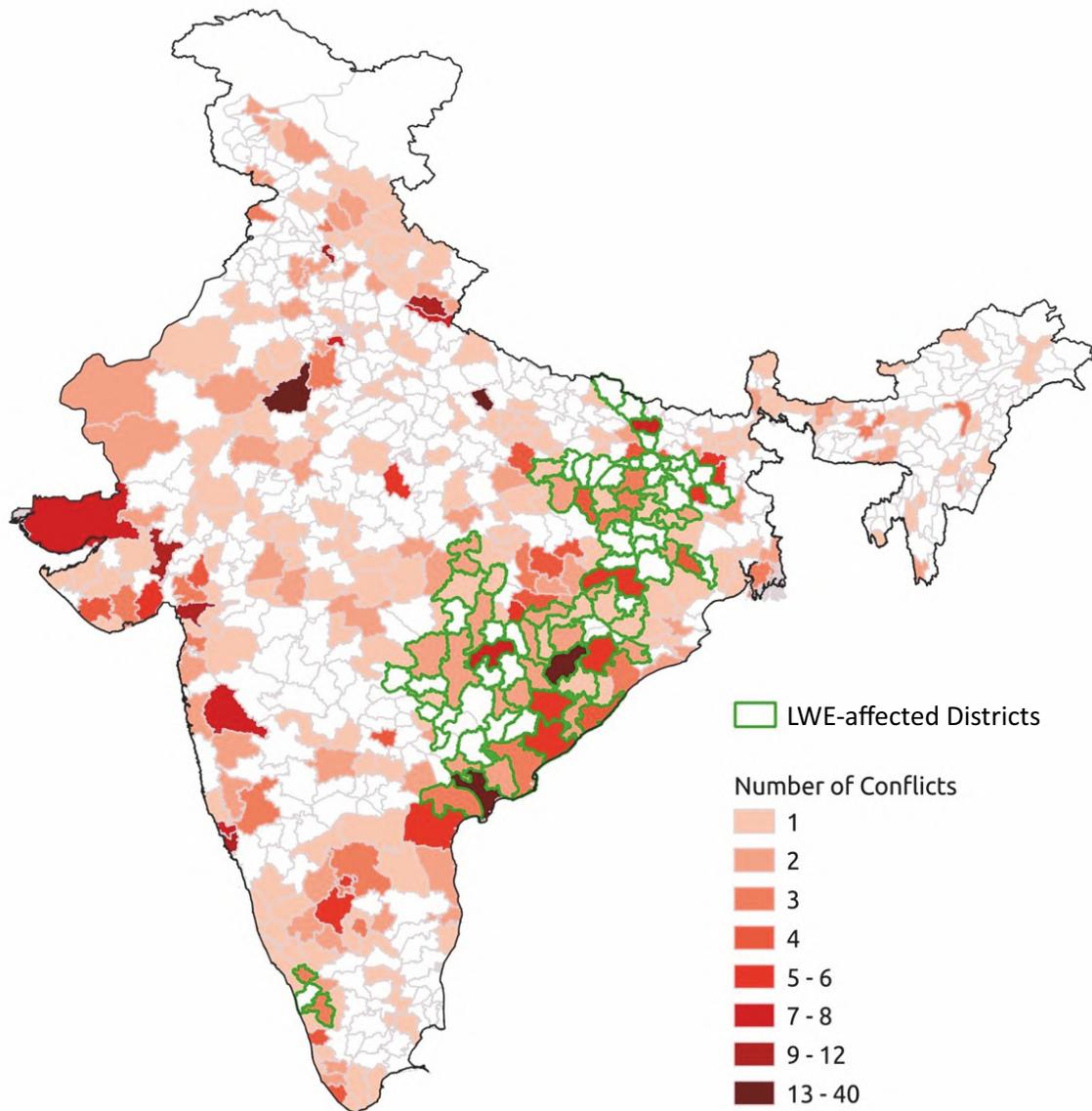
Some Fifth Schedule districts also overlap with LWE-affected districts. There are 21 such districts.

For this report, LCW has restricted its analysis to Fifth Schedule districts. The expansion of the LCW database to Sixth Schedule Areas in India's northeastern region is underway; it was considered prudent not to use a partial database for analysis at this stage.

The database has 121 registered land conflicts in 47 of the 90 LWE-affected districts. It also has data on 182 land conflicts in 77 out of the 100 Fifth Schedule districts spread over 10 states.

While 12% of India's districts are affected by LWE, these districts are the sites of 17% of the conflicts documented by LCW; they impact 15% of all people affected by conflict and 31% of the total recorded area under conflict. Similarly, Fifth Schedule Areas are spread over 13.6% of India's districts, but these districts are home to 26% of all conflicts documented by LCW, 28.5% of all people impacted, and 41% of the recorded area under conflict. This shows that these areas have higher concentrations and intensities of land conflicts. Table 4 shows the sector-wise distribution of land conflicts in districts affected by LWE and in Fifth Schedule districts and their respective percentages as compared to the national figures.

Map 2 : District-wise Distribution of Number of Land Conflicts and the LWE-affected Districts



Map 3 : District-wise Distribution of Number of Land Conflicts and the Fifth Schedule Districts

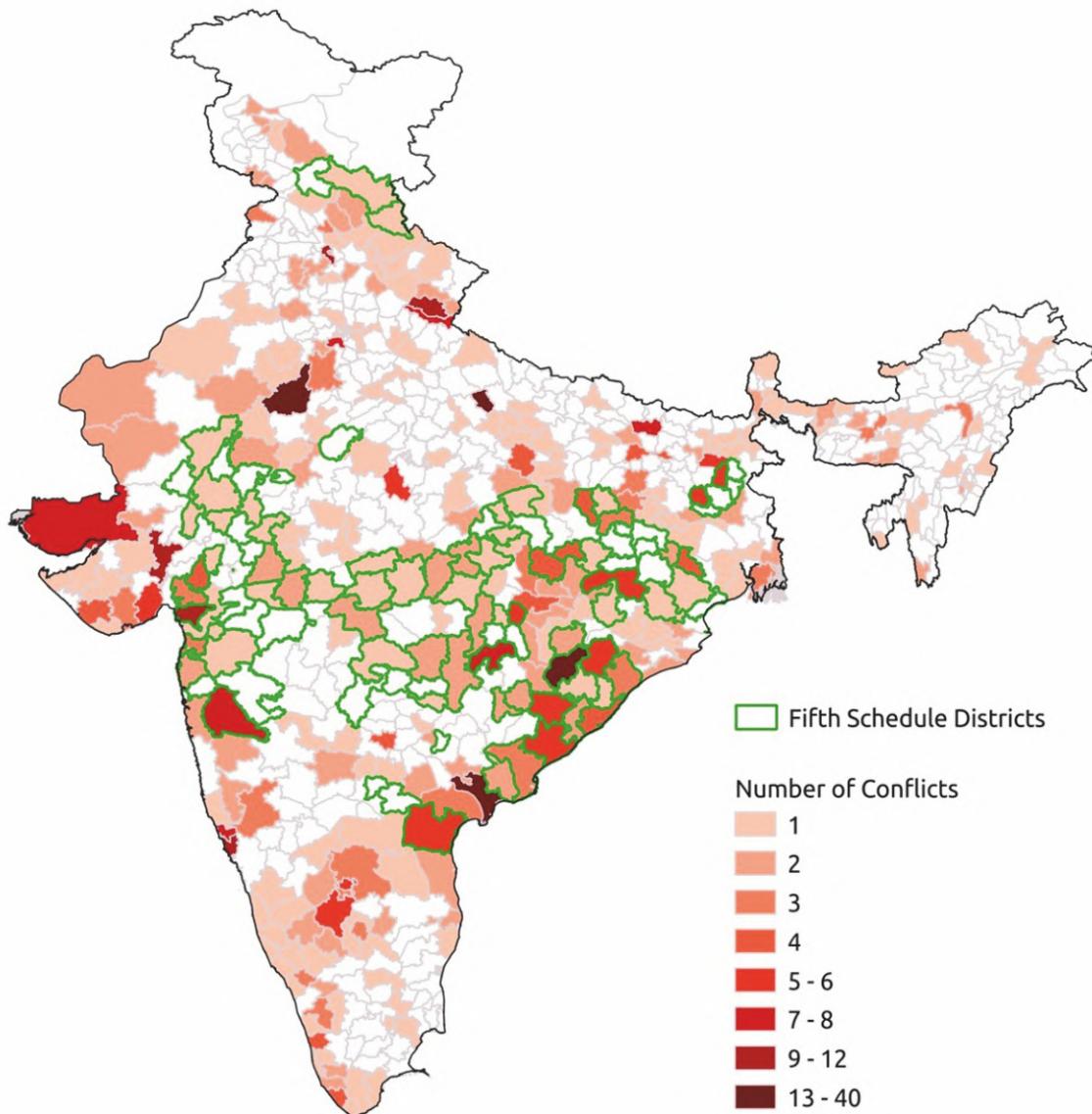


Table 4 : Sector-wise Number of Conflicts in Fifth Schedule Districts and Those Affected by Left-wing Extremism (LWE)

Sector	Number of Conflicts in Fifth Schedule Districts	Number of Conflicts in Fifth Schedule Districts as a Percentage of the National Total	Number of Conflicts in LWE-affected Districts	Number of Conflicts in LWE-affected Districts as a Percentage of the National Total
Infrastructure	61	20%	36	12%
Power	19	28%	10	15%
Conservation and Forestry	38	36%	45	43%
Land Use	13	13%	7	7%
Mining	27	60%	16	36%
Industry	24	29%	7	8%
Total	182	26%	121	17%

Figure 10 : Number of People Affected by Conflicts Involving Different Sectors in Fifth Schedule Districts and Those with LWE

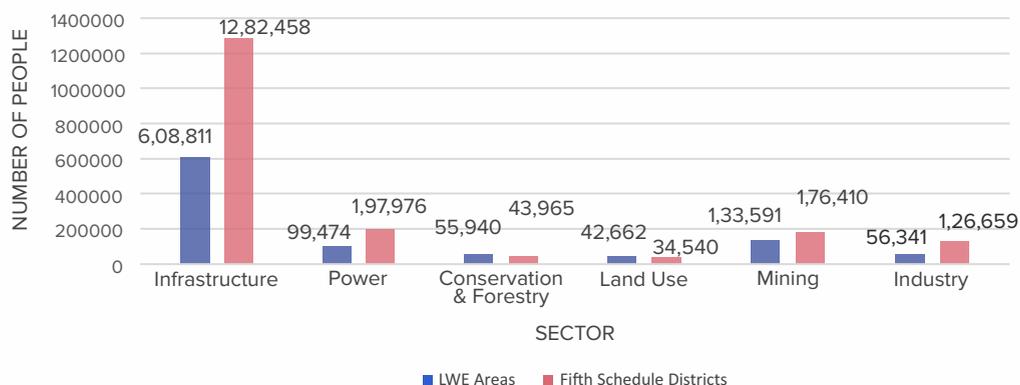


Figure 11 : Investments Affected by Conflicts Per Sector in Fifth Schedule Districts and Those with LWE

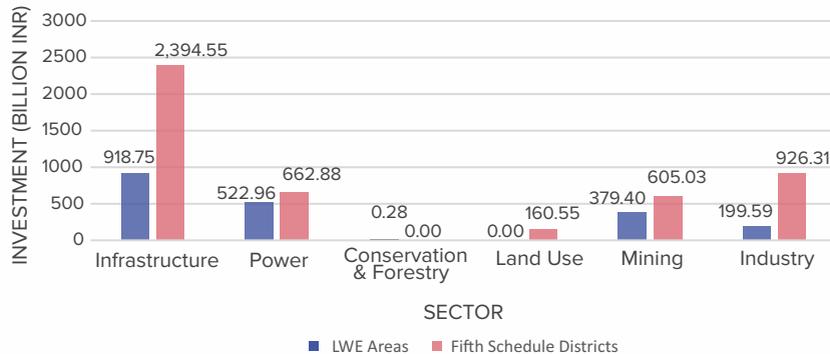


Table 5 : Conflicts by Tenure Type in LWE-affected Districts

Tenure Type	Number of Conflicts	Number of Conflicts as a Percentage of Total	Affected Population	Affected Population as a Percentage of Total
Common	58	48%	150,224	15.1%
Both	49	40%	839,892	84.3%
Private	10	8%	3,986	0.4%
Unknown	4	3%	2,717	0.3%
Total	121		996,819	

Figures 10 and 11 show the sector-wise distribution of the number of people and investments affected by land conflicts in Fifth Schedule districts and districts affected by LWE.

LCW also analysed conflicts by tenure type in both districts with LWE and Fifth Schedule districts.

Tables 5 and 6 show the distribution of conflicts over lands of different tenure types in districts with LWE. Forty-eight percent of conflicts in areas affected by

LWE involve only common lands and 8% involve only private lands; a total of 88% of conflicts occurring in areas with LWE involve common lands. Conflicts over private lands impact only 0.4% of the people affected by conflicts in such areas. Eighty-four percent of people affected by conflict in areas impacted by LWE were connected to conflicts over both common and private lands. In total, 87% percent of conflicts in areas with LWE involve forestlands.

Table 6 : Conflicts by Different Common Land Types in LWE-affected Districts

Type of Common Land	Number of Conflicts	Number of Conflicts as a Percentage of Total	Affected Population	Affected Population as a Percentage of Total
Forested	51	48%	131,724	13.3%
Both	42	39%	702,277	7.9%
Non-Forested	12	11%	154,416	15.6%
Unknown	2	2%	1,699	0.2%
Total	107		990,116	

Tables 7 and 8 show the distribution of conflicts and affected populations across lands under different types of tenures in Fifth Schedule districts. Forty percent of conflicts in Fifth Schedule districts involve only common lands and 13% involve only private lands. In total, 86% percent of conflicts involve common lands.

Conflicts over private lands impact only 9% of all people affected by conflicts in Fifth Schedule districts. Seventy-four percent of those impacted by conflicts in Fifth Schedule districts were connected to conflicts over both, common and private lands. Thirty percent of all conflicts in Fifth Schedule districts were over only forestlands.

Table 7 : Conflicts by Tenure Type in Fifth Schedule Districts

Tenure Type	Number of Conflicts	Number of Conflicts as a Percentage of Total	Affected Population	Affected Population as a Percentage of Total
Common	69	40%	219,863	12%
Both	79	46%	1,378,441	74%
Private	24	14%	161,902	9%
Unknown	10	6%	101,803	5%
Total	172		1,862,009	

Table 8 : Conflicts by Type of Common Land in Fifth Schedule Districts

Type of Common Land	Number of Conflicts	Number of Conflicts as a Percentage of Total	Affected Population	Affected Population as a Percentage of Total
Forested	44	30%	143,796	9.0%
Both	64	43%	1,191,023	74.5%
Non-Forested	35	24%	233,527	14.6%
Unknown	5	3%	29,958	1.9%
Total	148		1,598,304	

Findings on Land Conflicts in Districts with LWE and in Fifth Schedule Districts

- 1** The percentage of mining and conservation and forestry related conflicts in areas with LWE was more than double the national average
- 2** While they represent only 12% of India's districts, areas with LWE accounted for 43% of all conservation and forestry conflicts and 36% of all mining conflicts
- 3** Forty-one percent of conflicts in areas with LWE involved non-implementation or violation of the FRA, 2006
- 4** Fifth Schedule districts had higher incidences of mining conflicts; indeed, 60% of all mining conflicts occurred in Fifth Scheduled districts
- 5** More people were impacted per conflict in Fifth Schedule districts than the national average for people affected per conflict

Conflicts Involving Land Related Legislation

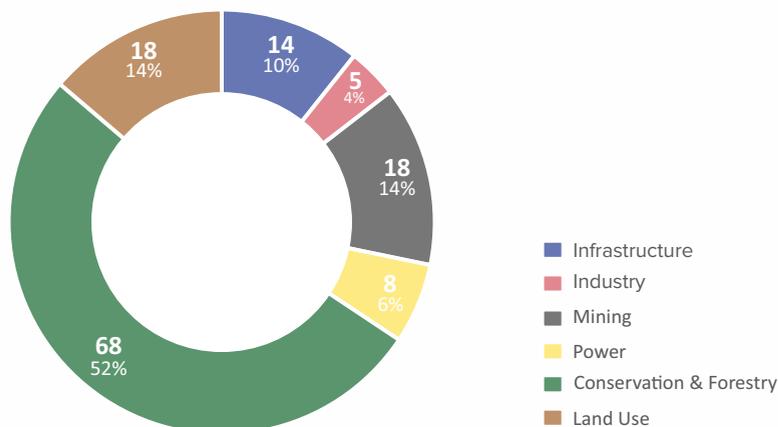
Land conflicts were analysed to understand which land related laws underlie the recorded 703 contestations, and how frequently issues related to their implementation is at the heart of the conflicts.

The state's acquisition of revenue lands is governed by either the Land Acquisition Act of 1894 (now repealed), the Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 (LARR), or state laws specifically enacted to enable the acquisition of land for certain categories of projects.

The lands designated by the government as forestlands, or those deemed to be forestlands following Supreme Court

orders, are diverted for non-forest purposes and handed over for different economic activities and projects to private or other organisations under the Forest Conservation Act (FCA), 1980. Historically, most forestlands are held by the state. Some are held as private or community lands, particularly in the northeastern region of the country. Till the FRA 2006 was legislated, only provisions of the FCA applied to the diversion of forestlands. The FRA was enacted to recognise the rights of forest-dwelling communities that had traditionally inhabited those areas. Since the legislation of FRA, the diversion of forestlands has also required compliance with the provisions of this act. Adherence to the FRA requires fulfilling certain conditions, including the complete settlement of the rights of claimants over traditional forestlands and their subsequent consent for diversion of such

Figure 12 : Sector-wise Distribution of Number of Conflicts Involving the Non-implementation or Violation of the FRA



lands to any other purpose at the village assembly level. The acquisition of these traditional lands of forest dwellers then needs to be completed following the provisions of the LARR.

LCW reviewed the involvement of the LARR and the FRA in ongoing land conflict cases documented in the database. Analyses of these two legislations indicate the need for further research. For example, for all forestlands, 52% of conflicts did not have reference of the FRA. In cases involving revenue lands, 62% did not make references to the two land acquisition laws of 1894 and 2013. In all, 308 land conflicts did not include references either to the FRA or revenue land acquisition laws. Whether this exclusion is due to the involvement of extra-legal processes or cases being contested over the application and provision of other laws is yet unknown and warrants further investigation.

Land Conflicts Involving the Violation or Non-implementation of the Forest Rights Act, 2006

All conflicts that involved forestland were considered for this analysis. Only 272 conflicts fit this criterion. Of the 272 eligible conflicts, 131 included the violation or non-implementation of the FRA as a cause of conflict. These comprised 48% of all conflicts involving forests and 18.6% of all 703 documented conflict cases. A total of 1.2 million (12 lakh) people have been impacted by conflicts involving the FRA, on a total land area of 368,138 ha. Data for 36 of these conflicts involving the FRA included investments that totalled ₹ 2.24 trillion (₹ 2.24 lakh crore); this comprises 16% of all the recorded investments locked in conflicts. Figures 12, 13, 14, and 15 show the sector-wise distribution of land conflicts involving the FRA, the affected population, area, and investments, respectively.

Figure 13 : Sector-wise Distribution of Number of People Affected by Conflicts Involving the Non-implementation or Violation of the FRA

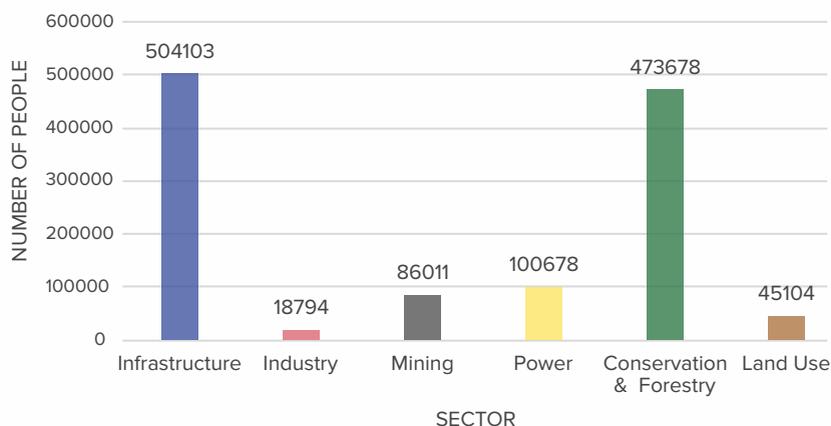
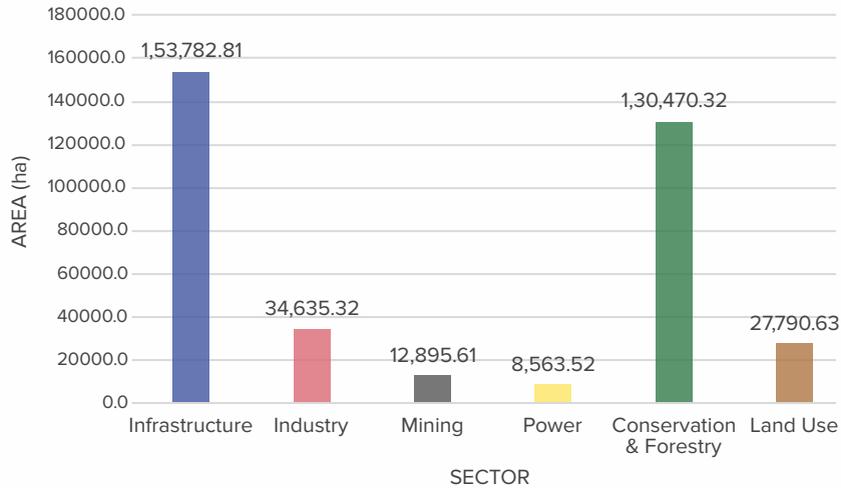


Figure 14 : Sector-wise Distribution of Investments Affected by Conflicts Involving the Non-implementation or Violation of the FRA



Figure 15 : Sector-wise Land Area Affected by Conflicts Arising from the Non-implementation or Violation of the FRA



Key Findings on Land Conflicts Involving the FRA

1 More than half of the conflicts involving the violation or non-implementation of the FRA are caused by conservation and forestry related activities. This is followed by mining and land use activities, each of which underlie 14% of such conflicts

2 Infrastructure projects embroiled in the violation or non-implementation of FRA affect 500,000 people; this figure is followed closely by conservation and forestry activities, which affect over 473,000 people

3 Investments worth over ₹ 821 billion (₹ 82,100 crore) are locked in infrastructure-related conflicts that involve the violation or non-implementation of the FRA, followed by conflicts caused by the industry (₹ 543.72 billion or ₹ 54,372 crore), mining (₹ 486.55 billion or ₹ 48,655 crore), and power sectors (₹ 385.14 billion or ₹ 38,514 crore)

4 FRA-related conflicts involving infrastructure activities affect 153,783 ha of land area, followed by conservation and forestry projects, which affect 130,470 ha

Land Conflicts Involving Acquisition of Private Lands

While the FRA is the predominant law involved in conflicts over common forested lands, land acquisition laws remain central to conflicts involving private lands. LCW recorded 266 such conflicts involving land acquisition. Both, common and private lands, were involved in 138 (52%) of these cases. In 126 (47%) cases, only private lands were involved. Land ownership could not be ascertained in two cases. Though conflicts involving land acquisition comprised only 37.8% of all conflicts mapped, they locked in 71.4% of all documented investments, pegged at ₹ 9.82 trillion (₹ 9.82 lakh crore). This locked-in investment has been calculated based on land acquisition related conflicts for which data were available (200 of the

266). According to our data, more than 3 million people are affected by ongoing conflicts involving land acquisition. Figures 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 below show the sector-wise distribution of the conflicts, affected population, area, and investment for conflicts that involve acquisition of private land.

Figure 16 : Sector-wise Distribution of Number of Conflicts Involving Acquisition of Private Land

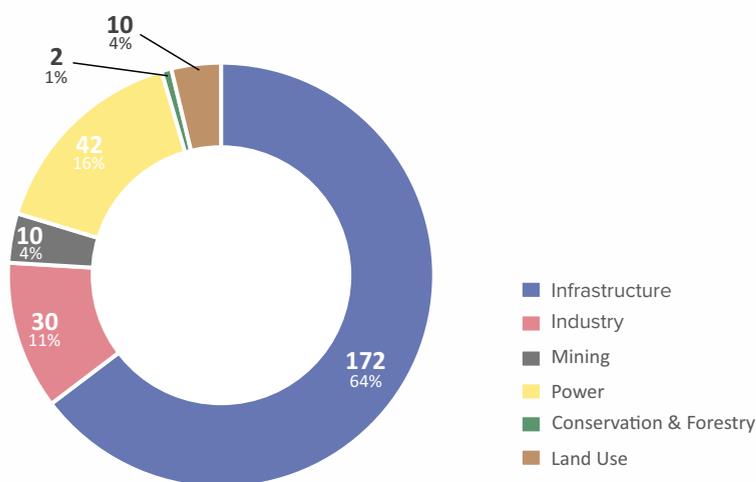


Figure 17 : Top Three Sub-sectors Embroiled in Conflicts over Acquisition of Private Land

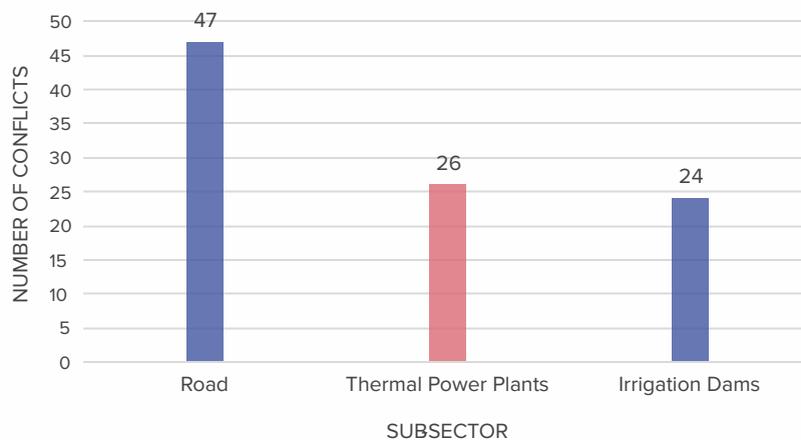


Figure 18 : Sector-wise Distribution of People Affected by Conflicts Involving Acquisition of Private Land



Figure 19 : Sector-wise Distribution of Investments Affected by Conflicts Involving Acquisition of Private Land

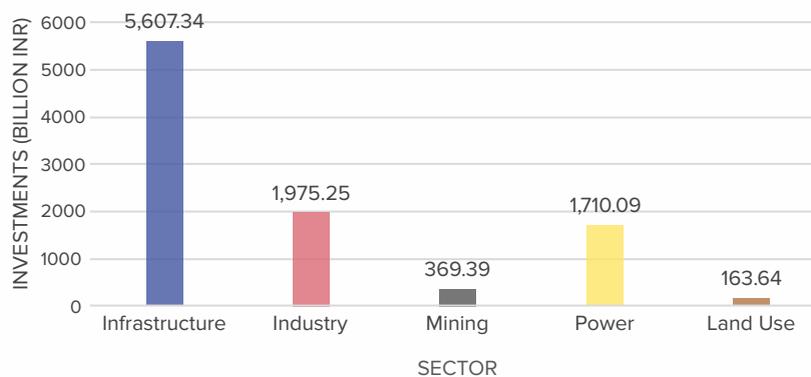


Figure 20 : Sector-wise Distribution of Area Affected by Conflicts Involving Acquisition of Private Land



Key Findings on Land Conflicts Involving Acquisition of Private Land

- 1 Infrastructure projects comprise close to two-thirds of the conflicts that involve acquisition of private land. These are followed by power projects, which account for 16% of such conflicts
- 2 Among the sub-sectors, roads caused the highest number of land acquisition related conflicts, followed by thermal power plants and irrigation dams
- 3 Infrastructure projects affected the highest number of people and the largest share of investment, followed by industry and power projects

Conflicts by Region

The Republic of India is a federal union comprising 28 states and nine union territories (UTs). These states and UTs are subdivided further into districts. LCW has registered conflicts from all 28 states and two of the nine UTs, across 332 of the 733 districts in the country. To identify trends in land conflicts across regions, the 28 states and eight UTs were grouped into six geographical areas (Table 9). Conflicts were then grouped according to their

regions and sectors (Table 10). Not only has this allowed LCW to identify patterns across both regions and sectors, but it has also enabled LCW to identify gaps in the data and which regions are under-represented. The under-representation is partly due to a lack of reporting from the regions in media and partly due to difficulties in accessing information from these regions.

Table 9 : Regions and Their Corresponding States and Union Territories (UTs)

Region	States and Union Territories
North	Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Punjab, Haryana, Delhi, Chandigarh, Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh
West	Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Goa
Central	Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh
East	Bihar, West Bengal, Jharkhand, and Odisha
South	Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Kerala
Northeast	Manipur, Mizoram, Sikkim, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Nagaland

Table 10 : Share of Conflicts in Each Sector in the Six Regions

Sector	North	South	Central	East	West	Northeast	All India
Infrastructure	93 (58%)	55 (43%)	25 (31%)	50 (34%)	67 (45%)	10 (26%)	300 (43%)
Power	14 (9%)	12 (9%)	16 (20%)	13 (9%)	10 (7%)	3 (8%)	64 (10%)
Conservation and Forestry	15 (9%)	11 (9%)	13 (16%)	47 (32%)	15 (10%)	4 (11%)	105 (15%)
Land Use	29 (18%)	16 (12%)	4 (5%)	10 (7%)	27 (18%)	15 (39%)	101 (14%)
Mining	2 (1%)	7 (5%)	16 (20%)	13 (9%)	6 (4%)	1 (3%)	45 (6%)
Industry	6 (4%)	28 (22%)	6 (8%)	14 (10%)	25 (17%)	5 (13%)	85 (12%)
Total	159	129	80	147	150	38	703

Key takeaway points from the data analysis:

North: The region registered 159 conflicts, more than any other region. Fifty-eight percent of these conflicts were related to infrastructure projects. The North accounted for the largest share of conflicts related to the land use and infrastructure sectors.

South: A majority of the conflicts related to infrastructure projects. But the region

also stood out for having more industry related conflicts than any other region.

Central: Forty percent of land conflicts in India's Central region were related to the power and mining sectors. Both sectors registered 16 conflicts each, more than any other region.

East: Close to a third of all conflicts in the East were related to conservation and forestry. The region accounted for 45% of India's conservation and forestry conflicts.

West: A total of 150 conflicts were registered in the West, 45% of which were linked to infrastructure projects, 18% to land use, 17% to industry, and 15% to conservation and forestry. The West contained the second-highest number of conflicts for each of the sectors.

Northeast: Of the 38 conflicts registered across the Northeast, 39% related to land use. This suggests that conflicts involving land banks and other non-industrial and non-developmental conflicts, such as displacement due to natural disasters and territorial and ethnic disputes, accounted for the majority of the conflicts in the region.

Conflicts by the Year of Inception

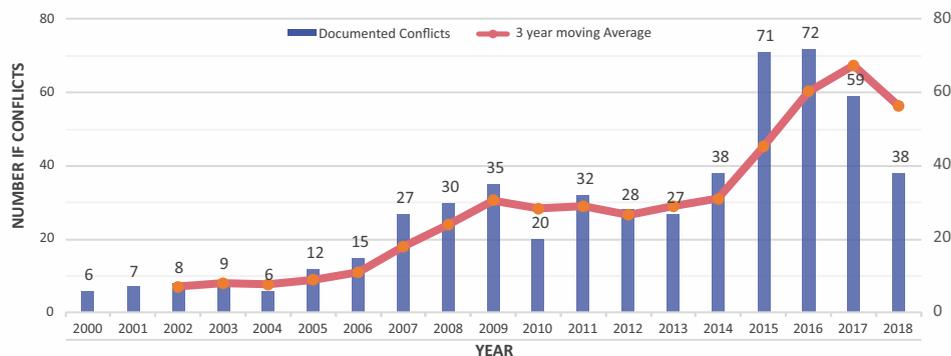
LCW has been documenting land conflicts since 2016. There are 42 researchers in different states across India independently documenting these land conflicts. Where data are available, researchers include the “starting date” of every conflict. LCW has documented 104 ongoing conflicts between 1912 and 1999 as well as 540

conflicts dated between 2000 and the present day. Data for the starting date of 59 conflicts were not available. A three-year average has been included in the analysis to correct for any anomalous years as seen in Figure 21.

It is instructive to note that in 104 cases, the conflicts have been going on for at least two decades, and in another 149 conflicts, the case has remained unresolved for at least a decade. The destruction of livelihood opportunities, capital, and investment caused by these prolonged cases has had a debilitating impact on the lives of the citizens caught in the conflict as well as on the economy at large.

Figure 21 shows a spike in conflicts prior to 2016 and what appears to be a dip in incipient conflicts after 2016. The reason for this is not yet clear. It could be due to factors such as India's economic slowdown,⁴ the under-reporting of conflicts, or a series of other factors yet to be determined. Further research into the correlations between contemporary Indian politics, policy changes, and land conflicts is needed to understand this trend. Continued data collection over the long term may explain these patterns.

Figure 21 : The Number of Conflicts by Their Starting Year



⁴ Kapoor, A. (2019). “The Dynamics of India's Growth Slowdown.” The Economic Times, 9 September. Available at: <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/indicators/the-dynamics-of-indias-growth-recession/articleshow/71020942.cms> [Accessed 25 Sep. 2019].

5 Thematic Analysis : Land Conflicts and Emerging Policy Issues

LCW has, from time to time, taken a deep-dive into data to understand some of the key policy issues that influence land conflicts. Here, we provide an analysis of five such themes that we have looked into over the past three years.

Land Conflicts due to the Creation of Land Banks

Several state governments in India began creating land banks in the 1990s. Land banks create avenues for the immediate diversion of land to private investors, bypassing lengthy bureaucratic processes such as those under land acquisition laws. According to state government websites, up to 2.68 million (26.8 lakh) ha of land – an area larger than the state of Meghalaya – has been set aside for land banks in eight states. These states are Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, and Uttar Pradesh. Most Indian states either already have sizable land banks or are in the process of creating them. However, only the eight aforementioned states have provided details regarding them in the public domain as of September 2017.

Though it may sound like a rational strategy to have land parcels free of encumbrances readily available for prospective projects,⁵ land banks also act

as a bypass mechanism to deny the rights of communities.

In September 2017, LCW analysed⁶ eight cases of conflicts caused by the creation of land banks, which together involve more than 3,600 ha of land and affect 148,000 people. These cases involve lands which were initially allotted for industrial and infrastructure projects. When these projects were shelved due to local opposition, the state hoarded these lands for itself. LCW's data shows that these lands were predominantly common lands or forests to which communities had traditional rights. Instead of giving conflicted lands back to the people and to the communities who had opposed these projects, states have “banked” these lands, locking it away for potential future use. In most cases, the initial conflict was never resolved.

This practice generates grave issues for communities that lose their livelihoods, connection, and physical possession over the lands. There is also the potential risk of future investments on banked lands facing conflicts similar to those that prevented the previously planned projects. In addition to the industry, the government has now started banking land even for the plantations under the compensatory afforestation scheme.

In many cases, common lands over which communities had traditional rights have been set aside as part of land banks. Such

⁵ Business Standard (2015). “Competition among States to Get Investments Will Rise with New Land Law: India Inc,” Business Standard, 7 July. Available at: https://www.business-standard.com/article/companies/competition-among-states-to-get-investments-will-rise-with-new-land-law-india-inc-115071601188_1.html [Accessed 5 Oct. 2019].

⁶ Tripathi, B. (2017). “Conflicts Across India As States Create Land Banks For Private Investors,” IndiaSpend, 19 Sept. Available at: <https://archive.indiaspend.com/cover-story/conflicts-across-india-as-states-create-land-banks-for-private-investors-12188> [Accessed 5 Oct. 2019].

lands are often targeted for creating land banks because citizens do not have clear titles over them. Once the land is banked, it becomes even more difficult for communities to claim rights over it under laws such as the FRA. In addition to usurping common lands, land banks violate laws that protect private lands, particularly in cases where land from cancelled projects are diverted to land banks rather than the previous tenure holders. The LARR Act of 2013 leaves options open for states in such cases. As per the LARR, if the land acquired remains unused for more than five years, the state government can either put it in its land bank or give it back to the people. Most states are using the first option.

Land Conflicts due to Violation of Consent for Development Projects

The FRA was enacted to recognise and protect the traditional rights of tribals and forest dwellers over forestlands. The law stipulates that forestland cannot be diverted for non-forest use without first settling the rights of the forest dwellers and then taking their consent. An investigation⁷ by LCW in January 2019 found that this provision is being violated by project developers to gain access to forestlands.

The LCW database includes 38 cases where tribals and forest dwellers have been protesting the diversion of forestland for industrial projects. These cases are spread across Chhattisgarh, Odisha, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh, and Karnataka. Together, these conflicts affect close to a million people

and involve over 173,400 ha of land parcels.

Of these 38 cases, only 23 projects have updated forest clearance documents on the Ministry of Environment, Forests, and Climate Change's website, even though disclosure of these documents is mandatory. When LCW reviewed these documents, it found that in 13 of these cases, the word "consent" was missing. In the remaining 10 cases, local authorities claimed that there were no tribals or forest dwellers living in the project-affected area, or they issued false certificates claiming that forest rights have already been settled and that the project was unopposed. In a few cases, the communities allege the authorities forged the village assembly certificates to falsely claim that the forest dwellers have consented to the project. In all of these cases, villagers were protesting the cited projects.

These LCW findings were raised in the Indian Parliament through a "Special Mention" in the Rajya Sabha on July 17, 2019. Following which, on August 8, 2019, the Union Ministry of Tribal Affairs initiated an inquiry with the state governments into the cases mentioned in the findings, government documents reviewed by LCW show.

Consent is a central pivoting provision of the FRA, and yet, it is regularly violated, as is evident from both official records and the testimonies of communities. The law requires that the village assembly, not the panchayat, decide on matters concerning forest rights. LCW found that authorities often subverted the process of consent-seeking by getting panchayat members to pass a resolution that countered dissent by village assemblies.

⁷ Chaudhary, M. (2019). "Government, Industries Nationwide Dodge Law, Take Over Forest Land Without Consent of Tribal Communities," IndiaSpend, 5 Jan. Available at: <https://www.indiaspend.com/government-industries-nationwide-dodge-law-take-over-forest-land-without-consent-of-tribal-communities/> [Accessed 6 Sep. 2019].

Dalits Continue to Struggle for Land Rights

Dalits are the largest landless social group in the country. According to the India Land and Livestock Holding Survey, almost 60% of Dalit (officially classified as Scheduled Castes) households did not own any farmland in 2013. Land ownership is substantially lower in this group⁸ compared to Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, and General category households.

Landlessness among Dalits has deep roots. The ancient caste system banned Dalits from owning land, which forced them to work in hereditary occupations determined by their caste and their status as “untouchables”. Ending landlessness is thus a critical component in breaking this vicious cycle and in making Dalits self-sufficient. Dalit thinkers since BR Ambedkar have advocated that it is the government's responsibility to grant agricultural land to Dalits.

After India's Independence from British rule in 1947, granting land rights to Dalits was put into action by states which had powers under the Constitution to legislate on land. States introduced laws, collectively known as land reforms, which limited the extent of land an individual could own and enacted legislation to distribute excess lands to the landless, with priority being given to Dalits.

As the government's landholding data shows, the land reforms did not deliver. Data gathered by LCW shows that Dalits continue to be excluded from owning

property, an issue that greatly contributes to inequality and land conflicts across India.⁹

LCW has documented 31 ongoing conflicts involving at least 92,000 Dalits in 13 states. The conflicts cover a total area of 39,400 ha – equivalent to the area of Chennai city. The states where these conflicts were reported, such as Punjab, Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, and Kerala lie at dramatically varying ends of social and economic parameters but are united by their poor implementation of land reforms and a high incidence of landlessness among Dalits. In 21 cases, the conflicts stemmed directly from the poor implementation of land reforms. Land was either not allotted to eligible Dalits, or the allotted land was encroached upon by higher-caste farmers.

Dalits have begun occupying public lands in an attempt to claim what they feel is their right, become autonomous, and break the cycle of discrimination that they have faced for generations. LCW has reported such cases from Punjab, Maharashtra, and Kerala, and the media recently reported some cases from Tamil Nadu.¹⁰ In central Maharashtra, some 11,000 Dalits have occupied public grazing lands in their villages, where they cultivate small two- or three-acre plots to grow food and some cash crops. This “Occupy” movement was initiated by BR Ambedkar in the 1940s. In 1991, the Maharashtra government promised to regularise the “occupations” by granting land titles, but many were left out. LCW research found in 2019 that the Maharashtra Government has done little to achieve this goal, and

⁸ Anand, I. (2016). “*Dalit Emancipation and the Land Question*,” Economic and Political Weekly, 19 Nov. Available at: <https://www.epw.in/journal/2016/47/commentary/dalit-emancipation-and-land-question.html> [Accessed 5 Oct. 2019].

⁹ Gokhale, N. and Land Conflict Watch (2019). Dalit Battles For Promised Lands Rage Across India I. [online] IndiaSpend. Available at: <https://www.indiaspend.com/dalit-battles-for-promised-lands-rage-across-india/> [Accessed 18 Feb. 2020].

¹⁰ Chandran, R. (2018). “*Denied Land, Indian Women Stake Claims in Collectives*,” Reuters, 10 Jan. Available at: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-india-women-farming/denied-land-indian-women-stake-claims-in-collectives-idUSKBN1EZ1TD> [Accessed 19 Feb. 2020].

instead, began evicting occupants in 2017; it has earmarked the grazing lands for its “Mission Plantation” programme to plant 330 million (33 crore) trees across Maharashtra.

Violation of Consent in Afforestation Plantations

India has undertaken “plantation drives” across the country, through state forest departments, to increase the country's green cover.¹¹ These afforestation projects are, in part, supposed to help meet India's commitments under the Paris Agreement on Climate Change. As part of the agreement, India has pledged to increase its forest cover by 5 million (50 lakh) ha by the year 2030.¹² However, LCW research suggests many of these drives are being carried out on community forestlands that are being used by forest dwellers who have rights over these lands.

The FRA empowers village assemblies to manage forest resources that were traditionally used by forest-dwelling communities. It does not allow any activity, even initiated by the government, on these lands without the consent of the people. Forced dispossession of tribal people from their land is punishable under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Act, 2015.

In November 2017, LCW analysed¹³ 45 conflicts across India, where forest officials had undertaken plantation drives in villages without obtaining the mandatory consent of the village assemblies. Most of these plantations

have been taken up under the Compensatory Afforestation Fund Act, according to which projects that use forestland are required to plant trees to make up for the loss of forests. Often, these plantations do not survive; comprise of monoculture tree species that do not make up for the loss of the biodiversity of natural forests; and take away communities' access to traditional forests. Conflicts were recorded in Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Uttarakhand, and Telangana, covering over 100,000 ha of land. These lands were home to 56,480 forest dwellers who have claimed traditional rights over these parcels.

Out of these 45 cases, LCW analysed 22 cases in depth. In 80% of these cases, the state forest department did not take consent from the village assembly. Instead, traditional lands were fenced off. In more than half of these cases, the communities had already received titles under the FRA, affirming their land rights, before the plantation drive began. In all the other cases, title claims remain pending before authorities.

In testimonies, affected people, activists, and lawyers have claimed that the state forest departments have strategically used afforestation as a tool to gain control over tribes' community lands.

Land Conflicts around Protected Areas

The government's effort to create protected areas without human habitation by sequestering and fencing away forests

¹¹ Press Information Bureau (2019). “Centre Releases Rs. 47,436 Crores for Afforestation to Various States,” Government of India. Available at: <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleaselframePage.aspx?PRID=1583452> [Accessed 18 Feb. 2020].

¹² The Government of India (2015). “India's Intended Nationally Determined Contribution: Working Towards Climate Justice,” Government of India. Available at: <https://www4.unfccc.int/sites/ndcstaging/PublishedDocuments/India%20First/INDIA%20INDC%20TO%20UNFCCC.pdf> [Accessed 18 Feb. 2020].

¹³ Tripathi, B. (2017a). “Pushed Out of the Woods,” Businessline, 12 Jan. Available at: <https://www.thehindubusinessline.com/todays-paper/tp-others/tp-blink/pushed-out-of-the-woods/article9735441.ece> [Accessed 6 Sep. 2019].

has rendered tribal families living near and in these protected areas homeless. LCW has documented 131 conflicts involving violation or non-implementation of the FRA, 68 (51%) of which are related to conservation and forestry efforts. These conflicts impact close to 500,000 tribal and forest-dwelling people. Of these conflicts, 28 were related to the management of protected areas by the forest departments and affect over 200,000 people. Such conflicts have been recorded in Odisha, Assam, and Chhattisgarh, in addition to other states. This exclusionary model of wildlife conservation practised by the government has led to mass relocations without due regard to laws.

The FRA requires the government to first recognise the rights of tribal and other forest-dwelling people by giving them land rights before embarking on any relocation plans. Under the FRA, the government is also required to identify “critical wildlife habitats” through a consultative process. It needs to furnish scientific studies to show that people and animals cannot co-exist in those habitats and therefore relocation is required. The Ministry of Environment, Forests, and Climate Change is yet to implement this provision in letter and spirit. The forest departments currently follow the National Tiger Conservation Authority (NTCA) rules, which prescribe relocating families from the core areas of all tiger reserves for a standard compensation package. The NTCA rules also prescribe that forest dwellers forfeit their forest rights if they relocate.

While in some cases the forest departments have forcefully evicted forest dwellers, in others, they have destroyed

crops and burnt houses to force people to relocate. In a few others, there have been fatalities in the violence that followed the eviction drives. For example, two people were killed in an eviction drive by the forest department near the Kaziranga National Park in Assam in September 2016.¹⁴

The above thematic analysis not just highlights the emerging issues around land governance, which have deep implications for people in India, but also shows the potential of the LCW database to inform deeper research on several such policy issues. When the trends emerging from the quantitative analysis of the LCW data are merged with qualitative investigations, they can lead to better understanding of the root causes behind conflicts and can pave the way to minimise and resolve such conflicts in the future.

¹⁴ Chakravarty, A. (2016). “Two Die During an Eviction Drive in Kaziranga National Park, Down To Earth, 20 Sept. Available at: <https://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/wildlife-biodiversity/two-die-during-an-eviction-drive-in-kaziranga-national-park-55738> [Accessed 19 Feb. 2020]

6 Research Agenda for Future

Land Conflict Watch was conceptualised as an interactive database to help researchers investigate the political economy of land and natural resources and to create awareness among the masses about land and livelihood issues. Disputes over land and natural resources in India have generated an incredible amount of research interest. But, often, such research was produced over long gestation periods and was limited to academic circles. We felt that land conflicts were taking place at such a frequency that a large number of them remained unaddressed by researchers and policymakers, and that the voices of those affected by such conflicts remained unheard. India lacked a comprehensive database that documented such cases. We decided to build one.

The database records specific cases for researchers and policymakers to pursue with rigour. It also helps them distil patterns and trends in land conflicts across India. Consequently, many researchers and academics have utilised this feature of the database over the past three years to inform their work. In addition to this, many journalists have also used the database to do case-specific reportage on land and natural resources with greater accuracy and depth. They have also been able to report the big picture stories emerging out of the database.

LCW has conducted several training programmes to extend the use of this database in different parts of the country. It is proactively working to enhance its training and dissemination programme across the country. The data has generated extensive media coverage (Appendix 2) and has triggered parliamentary action on addressing the conflicts.

The database and analysis has created a platform on which further targeted research can take place, saving time and resources for others investigating the issues surrounding land conflicts in India. The combination of mapping, data collection, and research through the use of technology is unique and creates many possibilities for the continued evaluation and monitoring of land conflicts across India.

Moving forward, LCW intends to drill down deeper into the nature of land conflicts and study them through specific lenses. We will look at existing and newly mapped conflicts from five perspectives in greater detail:

- Evolving legal issues, jurisprudence, dispute settlement practices, and litigations surrounding land conflicts
- The economic impact of land conflicts at different scales for various actors and stakeholders
- The impact of climate change on land and resource conflicts
- The gender dimensions of land conflicts
- The nature of land conflicts in urban areas

Work has been initiated on the first two and will be taken up in the near future on the remaining three in collaboration with other research entities and organisations that help us generate data from ground-up, distil the information through research and analysis, and then disseminate it in meaningful ways. LCW remains committed to enhancing society's understanding of the political economy of land and resources.

7 Appendices

Appendix 1 : Extracts from Critiques by Reviewers

Reviewer: Dr Nikita Sud

Associate Professor of Development Studies
University of Oxford

I commend Land Conflict Watch on its long-term work on land, and land related conflicts in India. The report goes well beyond exploring the concerns of land owners. It considers more marginal sections of land users, and those otherwise affected by transitions in land use. It is on this basis that a key finding of the report is that conflicts over common land affect a larger area in India than those over private land. A broad idea of land and its access and use has become the analytical window through which the report studies conflict over land – including common land, forestland, the enduring denial of land rights to Dalits, the politics of the creation of land banks by states, etc. It is also admirable that despite the resource constraints that on-the-ground reporters and aggregating projects face in India and globally today, LCW has determinedly kept its databases open access. This is a genuine public service. As far as I am aware, and as the report also underlines, the only other comparative project in India is behind a paywall.

I also have critical feedback for the report writers. I hope this is considered for future versions of the report, and for the LCW project more broadly.

While coverage of conflicts in districts affected by LWE, as also conflicts related to historical marginalisation in the case of Adivasis and Dalits is appreciated, the study will need to keep in mind conflict points that are emerging. For instance, future reports can consider territorial conflicts related to struggles around citizenship. As India lurches towards authoritarianism, much like other authoritarian states globally, it will seek to tighten its borders and ideas of belonging therein. Land will undoubtedly be drawn into the mix. Whose land, who has rights over it, and where should “doubtful” and unwanted populations be parked will become a bigger issue in the years to come. Would LCW want to cover this area? And if so, how will it do so quantitatively, qualitatively, and in terms of timeline?

As a final point, I have to add that towards the end, the study reads like a whole lot of quantitative data, but which needs more “life”. Diversifying the reporting, even in this publication, with qualitative information and the voices of people involved in conflicts, would have made for a richer read. It may also have been good to hear some voices from among the reporters. Overall, this is a wonderful project, with vast public use for a range of stakeholders in India and abroad. Thank you.

About the reviewer: Nikita Sud teaches on the MPhil and PhD programmes in Development Studies at the University of Oxford. She is a Governing Body Fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford. Her thematic areas of interest are the postcolonial state, the politics of economic

liberalisation, political authoritarianism, and the many lives of land. She is the author of the book *Liberalization, Hindu Nationalism and The State: A Biography of Gujarat* (Oxford University Press, 2012). Her book *The Making of Land*, and the *Making of India* is forthcoming. She has also authored many journal articles on the subject for leading international publications including *World Development*, *Development and Change*, *Environment and Planning*, *Geoforum*, and *The Journal of Peasant Studies*. She has also written critically on land acquisition, land liberalisation, land grabbing, and the lives of land for *The Wire*, *Scroll.in*, *The Conversation*, and Thomson Reuters' land rights portal *Place*.

Reviewer: Dr Namita Wahi

Fellow

Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi

Despite methodological constraints, what your report clearly brings out is that land conflict where the state is a party to the conflict is a significant source of conflict in India, affecting millions of people, both privately owned and common lands, and large amounts of development investments. The largest share of land conflicts is with respect to commonly owned lands, and there are a disproportionate number of conflicts in Scheduled Areas relative to percentage of geographical areas.

I think in the Conclusion section, you can offer some thoughts on what can be done to reduce the incidence of conflict, such as ensuring land reforms take place, progressive laws are implemented, and particularly, ensuring that the consent provisions in applicable laws are not violated. But perhaps some thoughts on the larger development trajectory with respect to infrastructure is needed. Who is it benefiting, and who is paying for the same? Also, it would be great to have thoughts on the way forward for both policy interventions and research interventions in these areas. What could you not do, but would like others to do in the future? What would be useful for the government to implement to reduce land conflict?

Congratulations on an enormous amount of work for LCW. It's great to have seen this grow and evolve over the years, and to have been part of the journey.

About the reviewer: Namita Wahi is a Fellow at CPR, where she leads the Land Rights Initiative, and a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Law and Social Transformation in Bergen. She holds an SJD (doctoral) degree from Harvard Law School, where she wrote her dissertation on "The Right to Property and Economic Development in India". Namita's doctoral dissertation traces the historical evolution of the right to property in the Indian Constitution from the colonial period until 1967.

Namita's research interests are broadly in the areas of property rights, social and economic rights, and eminent domain or expropriation law. Namita has taught courses in these areas at Harvard University, both at the Law School and the Department of Government, and at the National University of Juridical Sciences, Kolkata.

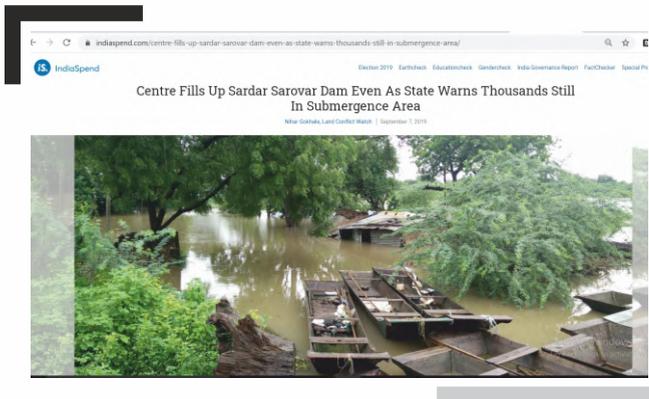
Appendix 2 : Reportage based on LCW's research



More than 30,000 tribespeople from Chhattisgarh fled the Salwa Judum, a state-sponsored militia, and settled in Andhra Pradesh (including parts now in Telangana). At least 500 of these families have applied for land titles in their adoptive states by invoking a special provision of the FRA, which has never been used before.

The central government introduced the Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act in 2013 to protect the rights of landowners by ensuring fair compensation and transparency in land deals. But Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Tamil Nadu have, since 2014, bypassed the central law and use archaic state laws to acquire land for high-profile projects.





In August 2019, the centre decided to completely fill up the Sardar Sarovar Dam, despite a warning by the Madhya Pradesh Government in May that some 6,000 families were still living in the submergence zone. However, the central government claimed that since 2014, every single family from the dam's submergence zone has been rehabilitated.

Brutal and wrongful evictions of thousands of tribespeople in 2002 led to the formulation of the FRA to safeguard their land rights. Ironically, 13 years later, the same act is being used to evict two million indigenous people in the country. On February 13, 2019, the Supreme Court ordered 21 states to evict those families whose applications under the FRA had been rejected.



At least 92,000 Dalits, India's most landless community, are involved in 31 land conflicts across 13 states. Even though states in Independent India introduced laws aimed at distributing surplus land to the landless, including Dalits, the implementation of land reform laws has been poor. As a result, Dalits across the country continue to fight for land rights.

The Bhil farmers in Madhya Pradesh invented the Ratlami sev, a traditional snack, more than 200 years ago. Today, ironically, farmers from the same community are being evicted from their agricultural lands to make way for an industrial cluster, primarily to manufacture the sev. The struggle of the Bhil farmers points to a larger struggle of ownership over common land, which is not covered under the LARR Act.





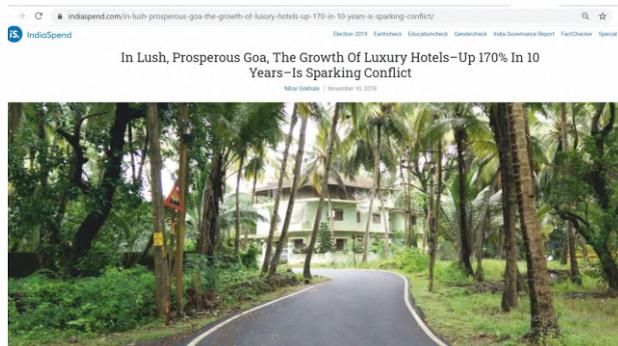
Following widespread protests and criticism from tribal groups and activists on the Supreme Court ruling to evict forest dwellers whose claims were rejected under the FRA, the apex court stayed its order and directed 21 states to explain how the FRA claims were rejected. Ground reportage revealed that a large number of the rejections were illegal and arbitrary.

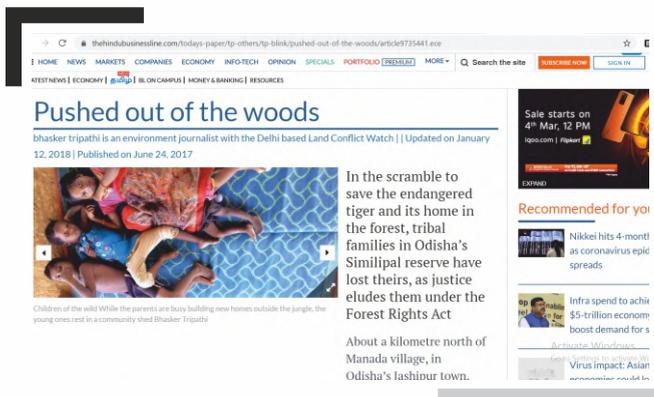
The FRA mandates that forest dwellers cannot be evicted from forests without their consent and unless their land rights are recognised and settled. But consent is one of the most commonly violated provisions of the law. Across India, there are at least 38 cases, spread across eight states and affecting close to a million people, where forestland has been diverted for development purposes without the consent of tribal communities.



The Compensatory Afforestation Fund by the central government is pitting forest departments against tribals. While the fund is meant to be used for plantations to compensate for the loss of forests that are cut down for development projects, testimonies of tribespeople reveal that forest departments are using afforestation as a tool to exert control over forestlands traditionally cultivated by them.

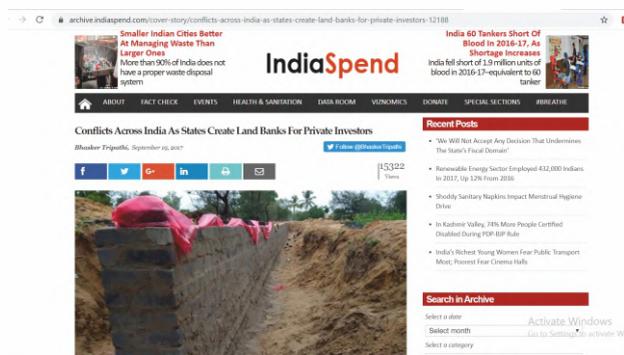
Between 2008 and 2018, Goa, one of India's smallest states, witnessed a 170% increase in the number of luxury hotels and resorts. But this economic boom has come at multiple costs: encroachment of common land, takeover of the community's ecological resources and, in some cases, violation of land and environmental laws, resulting in opposition to tourism projects.





In January 2016, the Forest Department of Odisha forced tribal families living in the core zone of the Similipal Tiger Reserve to relocate, following orders from the National Tiger Conservation Authority. The order undermined the rights of forest dwellers, who are dependent on the forest for shelter, food, and medicines. In the process of saving the endangered tiger and its home in the forest, tribal families have lost theirs.

As state governments rush to build land banks, using both private and common lands, to attract investment in manufacturing and infrastructure, farmers are fighting to get their land back. The banked land was allotted for industrial and infrastructure projects, which were shelved due to local opposition. But instead of returning it to the farmers, states have locked the land away.



State governments acquire forestland for development projects, but a large number of these acquisitions take place in violation of the FRA. These violations include forged consent of tribespeople, delays in processing forest rights claims, rejection of forest rights, forceful plantation on agricultural land, and evictions, to name a few, showing the poor implementation of the FRA.

Nomadic groups comprise 7% of India's population but almost all of them lack land rights. Over the last few decades, they have begun settling down in cities, where they live by the roadside and face repeated evictions from the government. In Delhi, about 25,000 Gadia Lohars, a nomadic blacksmith community, have organised since 2018 to demand housing and an end to evictions.



Appendix 3 : List of Researchers Who Were Involved in Data Collection

Aditi Patil	Abdul Kalam Azad
Bijayani Mishra	Nupur Sonar
Ayushi Jain	Seethalakshmi
Devyani Chhetri	Jonah
Aashish Deep	Lakhwinder Singh
Alok Gupta	Pushpendra Singh
Sanghamitra Dubey	Shivam Mogha
Rahul Maganti	Sumana
Asish Gaur	Athar Parvaiz
Elizabeth Mani	Mir Farhat
Riddhi Pandey	Sapna Yadav
Purna Chaurashe	Satyendra Singh Narwaria
Sandeep Pattnaik	Sooraj H.S.
Nihar Gokhale	Sundara Babu Nagappan
Surabhi Bhandari	Shalim Muktadir Hussain
Mitali Biswas	Manasi Karthik
Furkan Khan	Basudev Mahapatra
Tarun Joshi	Rakesh Agarwal
Damandeep Singh	Ishan, Himdhara
Dr. K.H. Amitha Bachan	Video Volunteers
Asha Verma	Ashmita Bhattacharya
Eleonora Fanari	Thokchom Seema
Rama Shanker Singh	Stella James
Sibasish Ray	Siddhant Kalra
Arpit Deshmukh	Pravin Mote
Bhaskar Tripathi	Jyotsna Singh
Bimla Vishwapremi	Ankur Goswami
Deepak C.N.	Alinery Lalngilneii Lianhlawng
Gourav Jaiswal	Yadavindu Ajit
Manish Tiwari	Flavia Lopes

Appendix 4 : Regional Newspapers Tracked in Each State by LCW Researchers to Identify Conflicts

States	Newspapers /News Websites / Other Media
Himachal Pradesh	Amar Ujala, Dainik Bhaskar, Divya Himachal, The Tribune, Himachal Watcher, Punjab Kesari, Himachal Dastak, The Economic Times, The Statesman, Down To Earth, News18, The Citizen
Telangana	The Hindu, The New Indian Express, Deccan Chronicle, Telangana Today, Sakshi, Andhra Jyoti, Deccan Herald, The News Minute
Kerala	Malayala Manorama, Madhyamam, Mathrubhumi, The Hindu, The Indian Express
Haryana	Caravan, Down To Earth, Mongabay, IndiaSpend, NewsClick, Scroll.in, The Wire, GroundXero
Uttar Pradesh	Hindustan, Divya Sandesh, Amar Ujala, The Indian Express
Bihar	Prabhat Khabar, Dainik Jagaran, Hindustan
Assam	The Assam Tribune, Amar Axom, Assamiya Khabor, Dainik Gana Adhikar, The Hindu, The Indian Express
Punjab	The Tribune, The Indian Express, Hindustan Times, Ajit, Jagbani
Meghalaya	Down To Earth, Economic & Political Weekly, The Assam Tribune, The Shillong Times, Scroll.in, The Wire, EastMojo
Uttarakhand	Firstpost, The Hindu, The Times of India, Deccan Herald, The Week
Mizoram	Vanglaini, Hindustan Times, The Times of India
Jharkhand	Down To Earth, The Hindu, The Telegraph, The Indian Express, Hindustan Times, Hindustan, The Times of India, Ranchi Express, Jharkhand Express
Andhra Pradesh	The Hindu, Deccan Chronicle, Times of India, Visalandra, Sakshi, Vaartha, Andhra Jyothi, Eenadu, Prajashakthi, Andhrabhoomi, Andhra Prabha, Swatantra Vaartha
West Bengal	Anandabazar Patrika, The Statesman, The Telegraph, The Times of India, Uttarbanga Sangbad, Ei Samay, Business Standard, Hindustan Times

States	Newspapers /News Websites / Other Media
Karnataka	Firstpost, The Hindu, The Times of India, Deccan Herald, The Week
Gujarat	Amar Ujala, Dainik Jagaran, Divya Bhaskar, Down To Earth, The Indian Express, The Times of India, The Hindu, Hindustan Times, Gujarat Samachar
Jammu and Kashmir	Daily Excelsior, Rising Kashmir, Greater Kashmir, The Tribune, Kashmir Reader
Delhi/NCR	The Indian Express, The Hindu, Livemint, Livehindustan.com, Down To Earth, CPR India, Rights + Resources
Manipur	Imphal Free Press
Arunachal Pradesh	The Arunachal Times, Eastern Sentinel, The Indian Express, The Hindu, RAIOT
Sikkim	ThePrint, Sikkim Express
Rajasthan	Rajasthan Patrika, Dainik Bhaskar, The Times of India, Hindustan Times
Chhattisgarh	Patrika (Bastar and Chhattisgarh editions), Jan Chowk, The Indian Express, Scroll.in, Chhattisgarh Basket, The Times of India, Apna Morcha, Business Standard, Dainik Bhaskar, Navbharat Times
Tamil Nadu	Dinamalar, Dinamani, Dinathanthi, The Hindu
Madhya Pradesh	NewsClick, The Wire, Scroll.in
Maharashtra	Lokmat, Sakal
Odisha	Sambad, Dharitri, The Samaja, The Hindu, The Times of India, The Pioneers, Pragativadi
Ladakh	Daily Excelsior, Reach Ladakh Bulletin, Stawa magazine, JUNGHWA Magazine, State Times, The Indian Express, The Hindu, The Times of India, The Economic Times, Livemint
Goa	O Herald, Navhind Times, Gomantak Times, The Times of India, The Hindu, The Indian Express, The Economic Times

About the Authors:

Thomas Worsdell

Thomas is an ethnobotanist. He is interested in how power shapes global governance discourses particularly in the context of environmental justice, biodiversity conservation, community tenure rights, and natural resource extraction. He has worked in South America and South Asia, and he is expanding his research in Southeast Asia and the Congo Basin.

Kumar Sambhav

Kumar Sambhav is a New Delhi based independent journalist and co-founder of Land Conflict Watch. He writes on issues at the intersection of public policy, business and social justice in India. He has received awards from Press Council of India, Global Investigative Journalism Network, the Thompson Foundation of the United Kingdom, among others.

Land Conflict Watch

Land Conflict Watch is a network of researchers spread across India, who combine academic rigour with factual reportage to collect data that answer questions about land conflicts and their impact on the environment, industrial investments and people. The network is building the first and the largest online database of land conflicts in India.

For more information, visit www.landconflictwatch.org

Rights and Resources Initiative

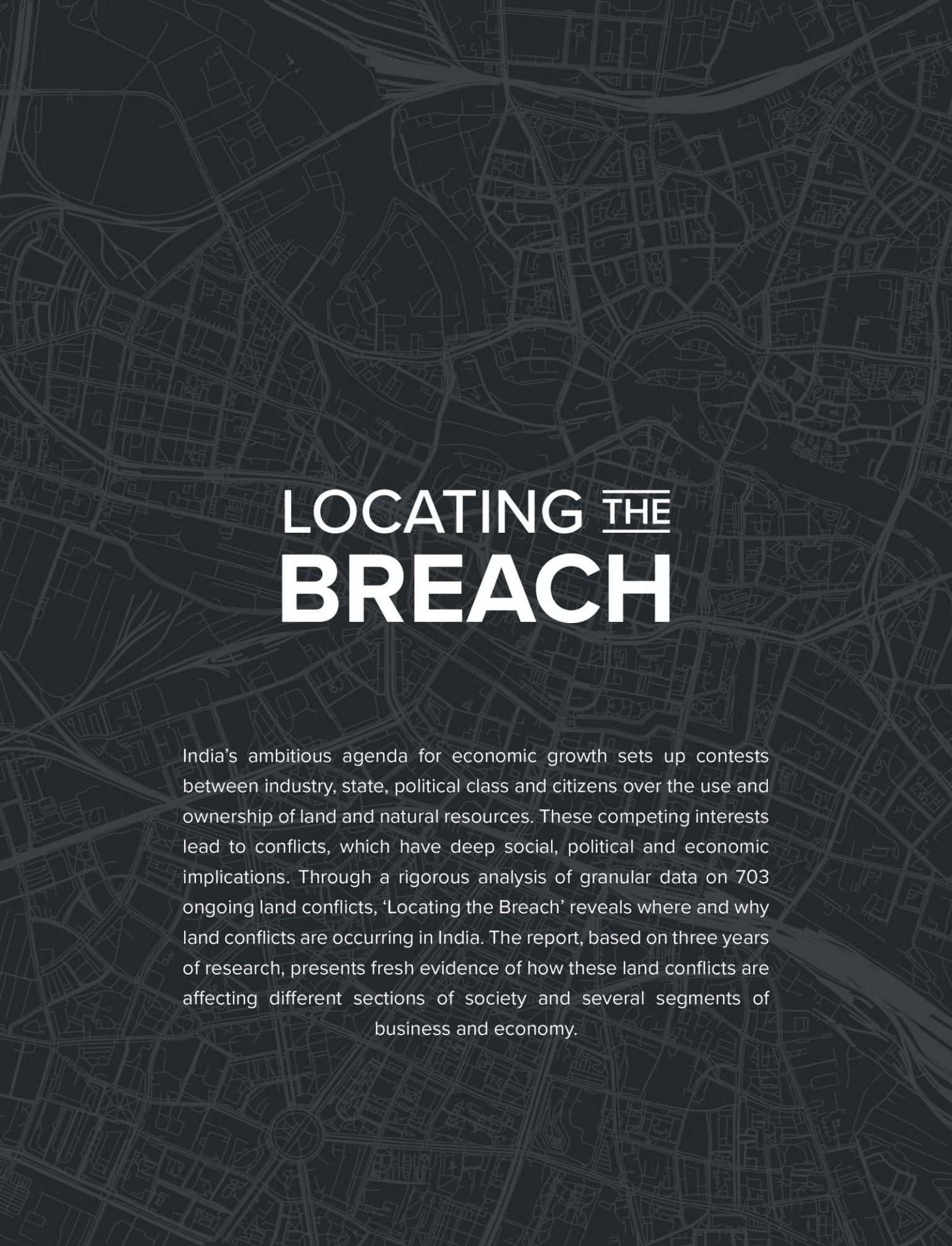
The Rights and Resources Initiative is a global Coalition of more than 200 organizations dedicated to advancing the forestland and resource rights of Indigenous Peoples, local communities, and the women within these groups.

For more information, visit www.rightsandresources.org

Oxfam India

Oxfam India, a fully independent Indian organisation, is a member of an international confederation of 20 organisations. The Oxfams are rights-based organisations, which fight poverty and injustice by linking grassroots interventions to local, national and global policy developments.

For more information, visit www.oxfamindia.org



LOCATING THE BREACH

India's ambitious agenda for economic growth sets up contests between industry, state, political class and citizens over the use and ownership of land and natural resources. These competing interests lead to conflicts, which have deep social, political and economic implications. Through a rigorous analysis of granular data on 703 ongoing land conflicts, 'Locating the Breach' reveals where and why land conflicts are occurring in India. The report, based on three years of research, presents fresh evidence of how these land conflicts are affecting different sections of society and several segments of business and economy.