

The New Narrative of Mob Lynching in India

Beyond the lens of Caste and Religion

Tarakeshwari D. Bulusu

Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda and Ph.D. Scholar, School of Law, Galgotias University, Uttar Pradesh.

Dr. Shweta Thakur

Associate Professor, School of Law, Galgotias University, Uttar Pradesh.

1. Introduction:

Twenty-two-year-old Ajmal Vahoniya and his friend Bharu Mathur were beaten up by a mob of twenty-three people with sticks on 29 July 2018 on suspicion of committing theft in Dahod district, Gujarat.¹ Twenty-nine-year-old Nilotpal Das, a sound engineer from Mumbai and thirty-year-old Abhijeet Nath, had gone to a picnic spot Kangthilangso in Karbi Anglong to record the sounds of nature on the night of 8 June 2018. The villagers suspected them to be child lifters and thrashed them to death.² Twenty-four-year-old Tabrez Ansari was caught by a mob and accused of stealing a motorcycle on 17 June 2019 in Saraikela Kharsawan District of Jharkhand. He was tied to an electric pole and beaten mercilessly for hours with rods by the mob. He succumbed to his injuries after a few days in the hospital.³

The National Newspapers have been abounded with stories of lynch mob attacks on persons suspected to be Child Lifters, Rapists, Murderers and Thieves. While the Indian society was still reeling from the shock and horror orchestrated by lynch mobs on Mohammad Akhlaq, Hafiz Junaid, Pehlu Khan and many others in the name of the cow, a new narrative was being woven in the form of vigilante justice. A narrative where the private citizens felt it righteous to apprehend a suspected criminal and beat him to death. A narrative where the private citizens chased a murderer and lynched him to death. A narrative where the private citizens entered the Dimapur Jail, dragged the alleged rapist, beat him up and hung him in the town square.

The new narrative of the lynching saga is beyond religion, caste and political considerations. While lynching in the name of cow have reduced, the new narrative of vigilante justice is weaving a new story each day. This has posed a new challenge to the Criminal Justice System and Rule of Law. The writers of the present paper seek to identify the triggers and causes of mob lynching which lie beyond the lens of caste and religion and also suggest measures to combat this threat to the Rule of Law.

2. Extent of Mob Lynching in India

Twenty-three states and the Union Territories of Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir have witnessed a spate of mob lynchings. A cursory look at Figure 1 will reveal the that mob lynching incidents span the length and breadth of India.

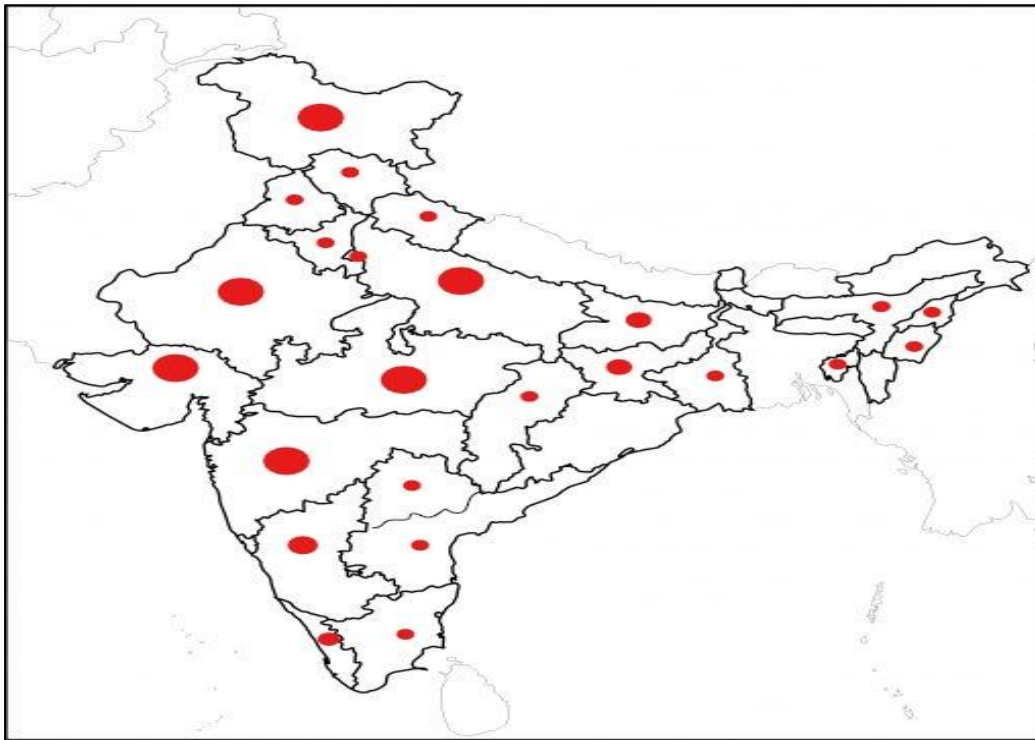


Figure 1: Extent of Mob Lynching in India

Figure 1 only reveals that mob lynching has become a national phenomenon and mobocracy has become the new norm.

3. Mob Lynching Incidents - A Statistical Take:

With the rise in mob lynching incidents in 2015-16, the Ministry of Home Affairs had directed the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) to keep a separate record of such incidents. **The NCRB collected and compiled the data under the sub-head of Mob Lynching. However, the same has not been published by the Ministry of Home Affairs.** In its absence, the writers have relied upon various national and international newspapers, both print and online to compile the statistics. Based on the reports of the Uttar Pradesh Government on Mob Lynching, Times of India, Indian Express, The Hindu, Quint, Newslaundry, etc., the data pertaining to mob lynching incidents is presented hereunder:

According to the report of the State Law Commission set up by the Uttar Pradesh Government in 2019, more than 250 incidents of Mob Lynching have occurred in India.⁴ 38% were related to suspected cow-slaughtering and 50% of the victims were Muslims.

Between 28 September 2015 to 22 September 2019, 266 incidents have been reported to have occurred in India.⁵ Of these figures, five cases pertain to witch-hunting.

Post 22 September 2019, till 16 March 2021, 37 more incidents have been reported to have occurred by the leading newspapers.⁶ The possibility of more incidents having occurred cannot be ruled out as some of the incidents may have been reported in local newspapers of which the writers have had no access to.

Around 301 incidents of Mob lynching have occurred in India between 2015 and 16 March 2021.

Prior to 2015, from 2012 to 2014, seven incidents of Mob Lynching were reported. Of these seven incidents five were related to cow.⁷ A significant rise in mob lynching cases in India is seen from September 2015. The statistics are depicted in the form of Table 1.

Table 1: Incidents of Mob lynching

Sr. No.	Period	No. of Incidents
1	Prior to September 2015	07 ⁸
2	28 September 2015 – 22 September 2019	262
3	23 September 2019 – 16 March 2021	39
Total		308

Source: Writers' own compilation from The Quint, Times of India & other newspapers

4. Anatomy of Mob Lynching Cases:

The writers have studied 187 incidents of the 301 cases of Mob Lynching between the period 2004 and March 2021. An analysis of these cases gives an insight into the impact of mob lynching on the victims, their religion or caste and the triggers of mob lynching. The same ensues in this segment of the study.

Effect of Mob Lynching on the victims:

Of the 187 mob lynching cases analyzed, 39.84% of the victims lost their lives while a staggering 55.94% sustained serious injuries. Only 4.22% of the victims were either rescued or had escaped unhurt. The number of victims involved and the impact of mob lynching is presented below in the form of Table 2:

Table 2: Effect of Mob Lynching on Victims

Sr. No.	Effect on Victims	Numbers
1	Dead	151
2	Injured	212

3	Rescued or escaped unhurt	16
Total		379

Source: Writers' own compilation from The Quint, Times of India & other newspapers

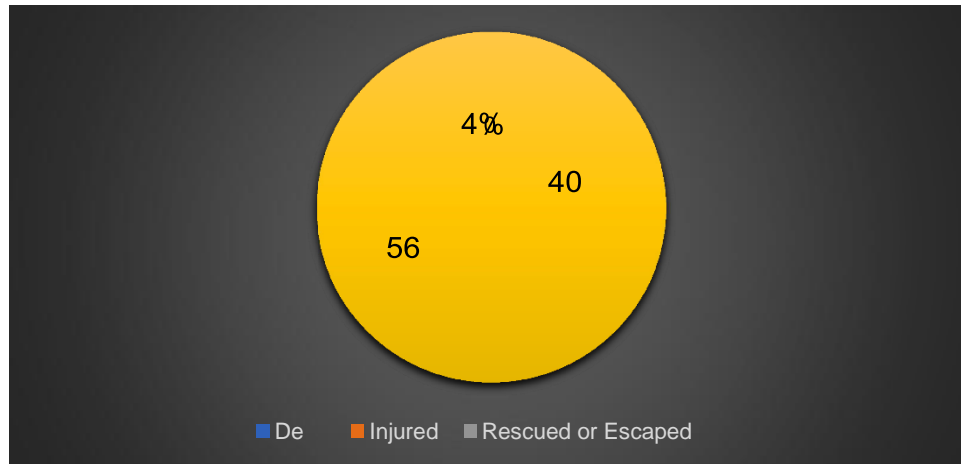


Figure 2: Impact of Mob Lynching on the Victims

Religion or Caste of the Victims:

Indian society being a pot-pourri of different religions, castes, cultures and languages, an analysis was made to discern if these had any linkages to mob lynching incidents. Prima facie, the data reveals that there are almost equal number of victims from the Hindus and Muslims. The cow-related incidents have seen a majority of Muslims and a small number from amongst the Christians and Dalits being targeted. Whereas, lynching due to Theft or suspicion of theft, Child lifting, Rape, Murder has seen more victims from amongst the Hindus. The lynchings of the latter kind cannot be said to be religious or caste-centric.

However, it is difficult to allude mob lynching cases to a particular religion or caste as the identity of ninety-six victims is either not known or not revealed. The break-up of the religion or caste of the victims of mob lynching is depicted as under in the form of Table 3:

Table 3: Religion/Caste of Mob Lynching Victims

Sr. No.	Religion/Caste	Number of victims
1	Muslims	123
2	Hindus	125
3	Dalits	20
4	Christians	15
5	Unknown/Identities not revealed	96
Total		379

Source: Research Scholar's compilation from The Quint, Times of India & other newspapers

Triggers of Mob Lynching

The incidents of mob lynching have been triggered due to various factors. The triggering or precipitating events have their undercurrents in religion, social and political conditions, law and order system in India. Suspicion of cow-slaughter, theft or smuggling of cows, suspicion of consumption of beef, suspicion of theft, child-lifting or suspicion of child-lifting, commission of murder or rape, inter-faith or inter-caste relationships and prejudices have been the various triggers of mob lynching in India.

A break-up of the various triggers of 187 incidents of mob lynching that have taken place is given as under in the form of Table 4:

Table 4: Break-up of Triggers of Mob Lynching Incidents

Sr. No.	Triggers of Mob Lynching	No. of Incidents
1.	Cow Slaughter, Cow Smuggling, Beef Consumption or suspicion thereof	68
2.	Child Lifting/Suspicion of child-lifting/Child Trafficking	35
3.	Theft or suspicion of theft	27
4.	Commission of crime or suspicion thereof (Rape, Murder, Drug Peddling, Extortion)	41
	Crime-related (Total of 2, 3 & 4)	103
5.	Religion & Caste	16
	Total	187

Source: Writers' own compilation

The three main triggers for mob lynching have been suspicion of cow slaughter and/or cow related, child lifting or suspicion of child lifting and Theft-related. Apart from these, on commission of crimes like rape, murder, extortion, the mobs have rallied within a few minutes and lynched the culprits while they were trying to escape. These incidents have only revealed that people took law into their own hands as they felt that the culprits would escape the clutches of law. The various triggers of Mob Lynching can be subsumed and shown as under:

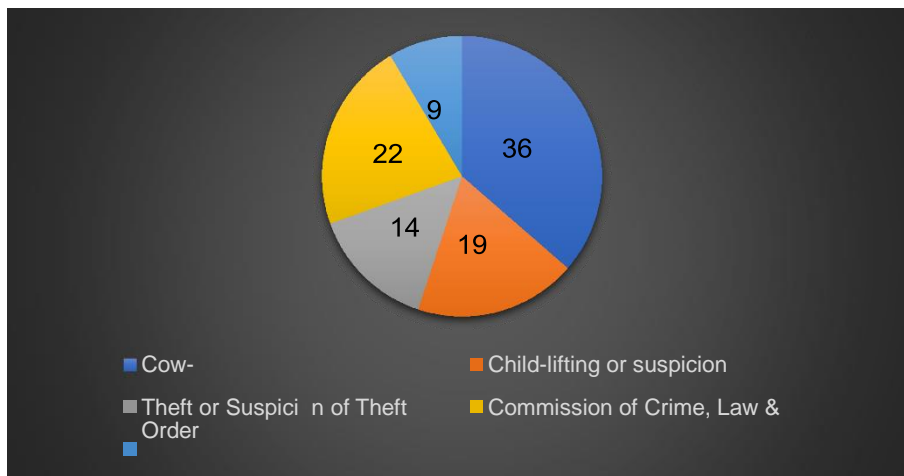


Figure 4.2: Triggers of Mob Lynching Incidents in India

Trajectory of Mob Lynching Incidents vis-à-vis Triggers:

As pointed out above, cow slaughter and other cow-related incidents, child lifting or suspicion of child lifting incidents and theft-related incidents have been the three main triggers of mob lynching in India. However, analysis of the 187 incidents reveals an inconsistent pattern of occurrences vis-à-vis the period between September 2015 and March 2021. The analysis of the same is presented hereunder:

T able 5: Year Wise Mob Lynching Incidents vis-à-vis Triggers

Period	No. of Cow-related incidents	No. of incidents related to Child lifting	No. of incidents related to Theft
September 2015	03	Nil	Nil
2016	12	Nil	Nil
2017	24	02	03
2018	15	21	08
2019	07	10	06
2020	05	02	05
2021	02	Nil	05
Total	68	35	27

Source: Writers' own compilation

M

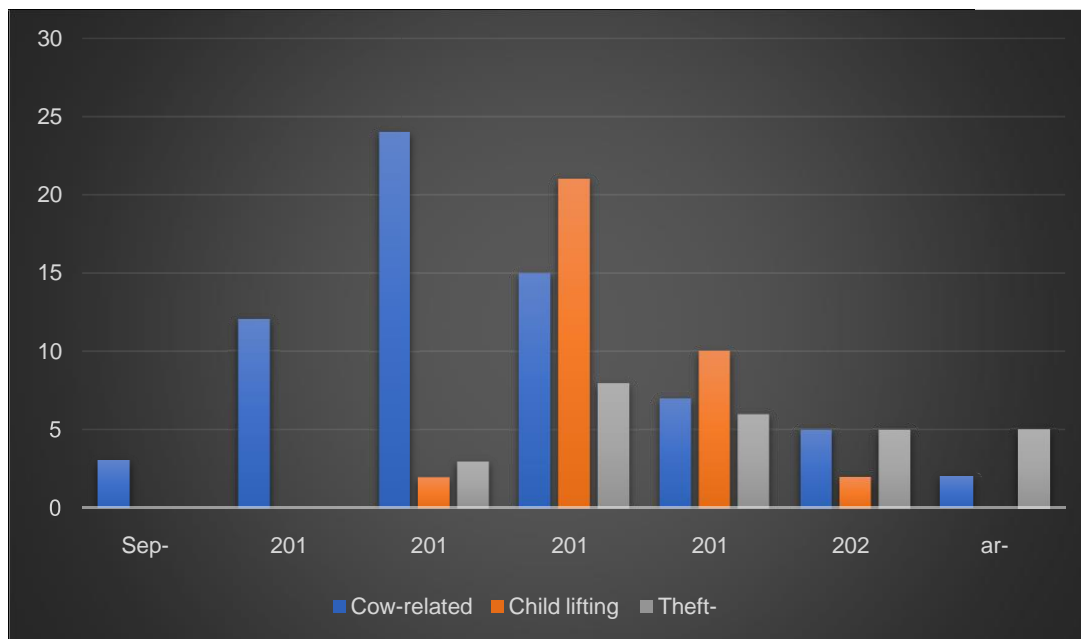


Figure 4.3: Year Wise Mob Lynching Incidents vis-à-vis Triggers

Table 5 and Figure 4.3 reveal the following:

Trends pertaining to Cow-related incidents: Mob lynching incidents related to cow slaughter, cattle smuggling, consumption of beef,

etc. were fewer in the year 2015. The numbers increased post Mohd. Akhlaq's lynching in Dadri, Uttar Pradesh in September 2015. Rather, the Dadri lynching triggered a spate of such incidents across the country. The years 2016 - 2018 saw a dramatic rise in such incidents with a peak in 2017 where twenty-four (24) such incidents took place. The year 2018 saw the continuance of the mob lynching incidents. However, with the intervention of the Supreme Court of India and issuance of preventive, punitive and remedial measures to the Central and State Governments led to a decline in the number of incidents.⁹ The years 2019 and 2020 show a steady decline in the Mob lynching incidents related to cow. Till 16 March 2021, two incidents have been reported.

Trends pertaining to Child Lifting incidents: The Mob lynching narrative pertaining to rumours of child lifting began only in the year 2017 in which two incidents had occurred. Suspicion of Child lifting and cases where victims were caught while attempting to kidnap children spiralled in the years 2018 and 2019. Maximum number of cases were reported in the year 2018 wherein Twenty-one (21) such incidents took place. The year 2019 saw a decline wherein Ten (10) such incidents took place. Only two incidents took place in the year 2020 and no incidents reported till 16 March 2021.

Trends pertaining to Theft-related incidents: Mob lynching incidents due to suspicion of theft or where the victim was caught stealing became a part of the lynching narrative only in the year 2017. The numbers saw a peak in 2018 wherein eight (8) incidents took place. In the year 2019, the numbers fell to six (6) incidents and five (5) incidents in the year 2020. Till 16 March 2021, five new incidents have occurred.

5. Discerning the causes of the new narrative of Mob Lynching in India:

India has witnessed collective violence in the form of Riots and Massacres since the Medieval period. Manifestation of vigilantism in the form of mob Lynching is a new and recent phenomenon in the Indian context. A study into the various incidents of mob lynching, not limited to the above-mentioned 187 incidents, has found its genesis in social and political factors, religion and caste-based prejudices apart from lack of faith in the administration of criminal justice system. The narrative of collective violence in India has more often than not been based on religion, caste-based divide and prejudices. Lynching of perpetrators of crime or suspected perpetrators by mobs is a new chapter added to its narrative. As the scope of the paper is limited to mob lynching incidents emanating from commission of crime or suspicion of commission of crime, the religious and caste-based perspectives have been omitted. The various reasons for the rise in mob lynching incidents related to crime are discussed as under:

Crime and Punishment:

Amongst the various incidents of mob lynching, most of them are related to cases pertaining to commission of theft or suspicion of commission of theft, Child lifting or rumours of child lifting, Commission of Murder, Rape, Extortion and Drug peddling. In most of these incidents, mobs got together and beat up the suspected offender. Instances are not wanting when a Murderer or Rapist was lynched to death by an irate mob. Pappu Kumar, a youth from Punjab was lynched to death for raping a ten-year-old girl.¹⁰ In February 2019, an Assamese youth was tied to a tree and beaten to death in Vellore, Tamil Nadu for suspected theft. On receiving the news, the police rushed to the spot and retrieved the body. The three perpetrators of the crime were arrested. When questioned by the press reporters, the police rationalized the act of the perpetrators as a reaction to the spate of robberies by North Indians in the area.¹¹ Ariman Yadav was lynched by a mob in Uttar Pradesh for killing a Teacher in September 2020.¹² Gurpreet Singh and his grandfather in Tanda, Punjab were beaten up by a mob when the half-burnt body of a young missing girl was found in their house. The accused admitted to raping and killing the girl. The police rescued both the accused. The mob insisted that the accused be handed over to them so that they could give justice to the young girl and her family.¹³ Biswajit Das and Hardhan Das, history-sheeters were released on bail by the government to decongest the prisons due to Covid in April 2020. However, they were lynched to death by villagers. The villagers perceived that the history-sheeters did not deserve to be out on bail and that they would commit crimes again.¹⁴ The fear that the perpetrators of crime would escape punishment and that the victims would have to wait for justice interminably has propelled the common people to take law into their own hands.

The efficacy of the administration of criminal justice system is reflected in its ability to curtail the crime rate, increase the conviction rate and reduce the pendency of cases. According to the NCRB Report 2019, the crime rate was 385.5% and the conviction rate was 50.40%.¹⁵ Almost 3.8 crore cases are pending in various courts across all levels of hierarchy in the country.¹⁶ The same has been depicted in the form of Table 6.

Table 6: State of Administration of Justice

Sr. No.	Subject	Statistics
1	Crime Rate	385.5%
2	Conviction Rate	50.40%
3	No. of cases in pending in all courts	3.8 crores

Source: Writers' own compilation based on NCRB Report 2019, Supreme Court and Hindustan Times

The above statistics paint a dismal picture of the administration of criminal justice system. These do not instil confidence in law enforcement or justice dispensing system. The lack of faith in the Police is evident in most of mob lynching incidents that have taken place. Even in cases where the Police reached the spot to rescue the victim, the mobs demanded that the victim be handed over to them and attacked the Police. In some of the incidents like the Palghar mob lynching case, the Police stood as mute spectators while the victims were bludgeoned to death.

The audacity shown by the mobs stems from the fact that victims of crime have had to wait for justice for years together while the perpetrators are either out on bail or are acquitted by courts on technical grounds. The feeling that the criminal justice system has failed to punish the guilty has led the people take law into their own hands. This is evident from the fact that out of 187 cases of mob lynching studied by the writers of the present paper, 103 cases relate to suspicion of theft, Child lifting and commission of crimes like, Rape, Murder, etc. A cursory look at the break-up is depicted in Table 7.

Table 7: Break-up of Mob Lynching Incidents vis-à-vis Crime

Sr. No.	Triggers of Mob Lynching	No. of Incidents
1	Child Lifting/Suspicion of child-lifting/Child Trafficking	35
2	Theft-related	27
3	Commission of Crime, Law & Order	41
	Total	103

Source: Writers' own compilation

The above figures are a testimony to the fact that people have lost faith in the criminal justice system and it has a direct co-relation to state of administration of criminal justice system in India. The Police and Judiciary are the most important organs of the administration of criminal justice. If these organs fail, the entire justice system fails. However, these organs are beseeched with various problems leading to the incidents of mob lynching in India. Therefore, it is pertinent to discuss the same at this juncture and the same ensues as under:

Problems of the Indian Police Force:

The Police-to-population ratio in India is 144 policemen per 1,00,000 people while the recommended ratio by the United Nations is 222 policemen per 1,00,000 people. There exists an overall vacancy of 30% in the Indian Police Force.¹⁷ The under-staffed police force finds it difficult to grapple with the ever-increasing crime rate. The executive interference in policing functions, over-burdened and under-staffed police force, out-dated weaponry, lack of adequate training in criminal investigations, etc., plagues the Indian Police Force. These have directly impacted the crime and conviction rates, thus, rendering the criminal justice system handicapped which have been depicted in Table 6. Apart from these, corruption, custodial deaths, religious biasness, lack of empathy shown by the police has led to loss of credibility and trust in the eyes of the general public. This has further fomented the people to take law into their own hands.

Problems of the Indian Judiciary:

As pointed out in Table 6, there is an overall pendency of 3.8 crores in the various courts of the country. The pendency of cases is directly linked to vacancies in judiciary.

Table 8: Judicial Vacancies in various courts in India

Date	Court(s)	No. of Vacancies
As on 1 March 2021	Supreme Court of India	04 ¹⁸
As on 1 March 2021	High Courts	419 ¹⁹
As on February 2018	District & Subordinate Courts	5133 ²⁰

Source: Supreme Court Observer and Department of Justice, Government of India

In the light of the above, the Indian Judiciary is unable to dispose of the various cases filed before it.

Apart from judicial vacancies, the problem of mandatory transfers of Judges every three years hampers the disposal of the cases. Likewise, non-availability of witnesses and evidence, protracted proceedings all add to factors leading to pendency of cases. Corruption in judiciary and delay in justice delivery has led to loss of credence in the judiciary. This has further led the people take law into their own hands when faced with infractions of law.

5.5 Unenlightened and Apathetic Citizenry:

The Indian Constitution protects the fundamental rights of every citizen and in some instances that of non-citizens too. However, none of the rights are absolute. Article 14 guarantees the right of equality and equal protection of law; Article 15 prohibits discrimination against individuals on the basis of caste, creed, religion, etc. Article 21 protects life and liberty of citizens as well as non-citizens. Articles 20 and 22 confer certain rights on the accused and procedural safeguards in case of arrest of an accused, respectively. The preamble of the Indian Constitution emphasizes equality and fraternity as its cherished values. Protection of these rights and values is not merely the task of the Judiciary and the Police but is also the duty of every citizen.

However, all these rights and values have merely become ornamental. Every citizen has to imbibe and practice the spirit underlying the values of our constitution. However, citizens have not risen above their vested and selfish interests, regionalism and religious differences. The overall literacy rate in India is 73.2 percent.²¹ There are 313 million people who are illiterate.²² This poses as a major obstacle in understanding and respecting democratic values. Even where people are educated, the awareness as to the constitutional values is either lacking or they are indifferent to them. This pettiness only makes up for an unenlightened and apathetic citizenry which can only subvert our constitution. Enlightened citizenry will ensure that people do not perceive caste, cultural, religious differences as a threat to their own caste, religion and culture. Respect for democratic values and fundamental rights of others would be fostered. It is only an enlightened citizenry that can make the Indian democracy truly a unity in diversity.²³ The various incidents of mob lynching have revealed the lack of respect for fundamental, democratic and constitutional values by the perpetrators. It is this disregard and disrespect for the rights of others by the perpetrators that has led to the birth and rise of vigilantism in India.

5.7 Technology and Dissemination of Rumours:

In the various incidents of mob lynching, it has been found that dissemination of rumours through WhatsApp and Facebook have enabled the mobs to rally within a span of few minutes and play out the macabre story of lynching. Videos of hate speeches and fake videos of children kidnapped have been circulated on various social media platforms. Rumours of cow slaughter or consumption of beef have been disseminated through WhatsApp and Instagram. Misuse of these social media platforms have played a very important role in the incidents of mob lynching. Unfortunately, these social media platforms are largely unregulated and the Indian Laws are not adequate to tackle the problem. Besides, the social media companies do not take adequate steps to curb misinformation and rumours in the name of freedom of speech and expression of its users. The fear of losing users and business, prevents the social media companies from making stringent policies vis-à-vis dissemination of information through their platforms.²⁴ Thus, misuse of technology has led to the execution of many a mob lynching incident. Of course, it is not the technology that has to be abandoned but it the misuse and failure to check its misuse that it is to be condemned. It is the regulation of social media platforms which is necessary to prevent dissemination of misinformation and disinformation.

6. The Impact of Mob Lynching

Mob Lynching has far-reaching consequences on the victims, state and society. These consequences have been classified and discussed

as under:

Impact on Victims of Mob Lynching:

Physical & Psychological Health: Mob Lynching is nothing but extra-judicial killing of offenders or suspected offenders. It has resulted into loss of life and caused grievous injuries to many victims. Table 4. Figure 4. reveal the same. Apart from physical injuries, the victims have also suffered from psychological problems. The families of the victims too have suffered a psychological blow. Loss of life and psychological health cannot be quantified and state compensation only acts like a band-aid to a cancerous wound.

Violation of Constitutional Rights: In a civilized society, the state alone has the right to deprive the citizen of his life and liberty, albeit, according to the procedure established by law. The Constitution of India vide Article 21 guarantees this right to every individual, whether a citizen or a non-citizen. Lynching a person thus, entails violation of this fundamental right guaranteed by the Constitution of India. Likewise, targeting an individual on the basis of religion and caste violates Articles 14 and 15 of the Constitution of India which guarantees right of equality and equal protection of law and prohibits discrimination against individuals on the basis of caste, creed, religion, etc., respectively. Extra-judicial killing violates the right of an accused to defend himself and right to fair trial. Thus, Mob Lynching violates the constitutional rights of the victim.

Impact on the State:

When citizens disregard the democratic values and take law into their own hands, it leads to subversion of the constitution. It undermines the sacrosanct principle of rule of law and places people above the law. Mob lynching leads to anarchy in any state that tolerates it. It threatens the very tenets of a democracy and the very existence of a state.

Impact on the Society:

Citizens of a state are entitled to live in peace and tranquillity. When unruly mobs attack people and lynch them, there is an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty created. People live in constant fear as the state machinery is not able to control the vigilantes which in turn leads to loss of faith in the various organs of the state. This loss of faith in the state creates discontent amongst the masses and can lead to fall of the government as well as the state. The various incidents of mob lynching have also eroded the confidence of the people in the institution of State. This is a dangerous sign.

7. Conclusion:

The rise in the incidents of mob lynching since 2015 has been posing a new challenge to the criminal justice system and to the rule of law. Suspicion of cow slaughter, consumption of beef, child lifting or suspicion of child lifting, theft or suspicion of theft, commission of rape, murder, peddling drugs have been the various triggers of mob lynching incidents in India. As pointed out in the paper, the trajectory or the pattern of lynching has changed. Till early 2018, the lynchings were cow-related and these declined steadily in the subsequent years. The year 2017 witnessed the birth of lynchings across the country related to suspicion of child lifting and theft. These incidents spiralled in 2018 and occurred consistently over the years. The analysis by the writers of the present paper (Table 4) has revealed that mob lynching incidents due to commission of crime or suspicion thereof have increased in comparison to cow-related incidents. The change in the pattern and trajectory of lynching point to a failed criminal justice system, a system where the procedures have been agonisingly slow and cumbersome, a system which failed to deliver justice. The wait for justice for the victims and their families has been interminably long and this wait has even transcended generations in some cases. Adding insult to injury is the acquittal of perpetrators of crime on technical grounds or due to lack of evidence. People have lost faith in the criminal justice system. This loss of faith in the criminal justice system has led the private citizens to take law into their own hands. And thus, a new narrative of lynching is being woven into the lynch-scape of the Indian society which is beyond the lens of religion and caste.

Rule of Law is the hallmark of a civilized society. The acts of the governed and the governing should be guided by this sacrosanct rule. When the organs charged with the responsibility of implementing and administering law, falter or fall short of fulfilling their duties, faith of the masses in them, wanes. Remedial measures in the form improving Police-to-population ratio, building an efficient and empathetic police force, imparting training in scientific investigation, modernizing the weaponry, filling in the judicial vacancies, setting timelines and ensuring time-bound disposal of cases and improving the conviction rate should be brought in at the earliest. The citizens too, have to uphold the rule of law and respect the constitutional rights of the alleged perpetrators of crime. If these remedial measures to the criminal justice system are not made, the new narrative of lynching will only subvert the rule of law and usher in anarchy.

References:

- 1 India Today Web Desk, A 22-year-old tribal man was allegedly lynched to death by a mob in Gujarat's Dahod, INDIA TODAY (July 29, 2019), <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/gujarat-mob-lynching-man-beaten-to-death-by-mob-in-dahod-district-1299553-2018-07-29> (Last visited on Feb 19, 2021).
- 2 Outlook Web Bureau, Assam Shocker: Two Youth Lynched On Suspicion Of Child Lifting, OUTLOOK (June 9, 2018), <https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/assam-shocker-two-youth-lynched-on-suspicion-of-child-lifting/312385> (Last visited on Feb 19, 2021).
- 3 S. Kumar, Jharkhand HC grants bail to 6 accused in Tabrez Ansari Mob lynching, INDIA TODAY (Dec 11, 2019), <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/tabrez-ansari-mob-lynching-jharkhand-high-court-six-accused-bail-1627205-2019-12-11> (Last visited on Feb 22, 2021).
- 4 State Law Commission, Seventh Report of VII Law Commission Report of Mob Lynching (July 2019).
- 5 The Quint, Hunted: India's Lynch Files, THE QUINT (2018), <https://www.thequint.com/quintlab/lynching-in-india/>, (Last visited on March 16, 2021).
- 6 Compiled by the Research Scholar from The Times of India, The Indian Express, The Hindu, Hindustan Times & DNA.
- 7 H. Tabassum, 88 Incidents Of Cow-Related Violence Since 2012; 86 Of Them During BJP Rule, NEWS 18 INDIA (July 19, 2018), <https://www.news18.com/news/india/88-incidents-of-cow-related-violence-since-2012-86-of-them-during-bjp-rule-1817051.html> (Last visited on March 16, 2021).
- 8 There could have been more incidents of Mob Lynching. However, the available data suggests the above figures.
- 9 Tehseen S. Poonawalla v. Union of India and others, 10 SCC (498), Supreme Court of India (2018).
- 10 G. Dheer, Minor raped in Punjab, accused lynched to death, DECCAN HERALD (Jun 2, 2019), <https://www.deccanherald.com/national/north-and-central/minor-raped-in-punjab-accused-lynched-to-death-737736.html> (Last visited on Feb 19, 2021).
- 11 DT Next, Assamese youth caught for theft lynched in Vellore, DT NEXT (Feb 6, 2019),

<https://www.dtnext.in/News/TamilNadu/2019/02/06044551/1105644/Assamese-youth-caught-for-theft-lynched-in-Vellore.vpfb>(Last visited on Feb 19, 2021).

12 P. Chakraborty, Uttar Pradesh: Man shoots teacher to death in Kushinagar, lynched by mob in presence of police, THE TIMES OF INDIA (Sep 7, 2020), <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/77983069.cms> (Last visited on Feb 19, 2021).

13 IANS, Mob attacks 6-year-old Hoshiarpur girl's rapist and his grandfather, THE TRIBUNE (Oct 23, 2020), <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/punjab/mob-attacks-6-year-old-hoshiarpur-girls-rapist-and-his-grandfather-159993>(Last visited on Feb 22, 2021).

14A. Saha, Assam: Two brothers released as part of prison decongestion killed by mob, THE INDIAN EXPRESS (Apr 22, 2020), <https://indianexpress.com/article/north-east-india/assam/assam-two-brothers-released-as-part-of-prison-decongestion-killed-by-mob-6373893/> (Last visited on Feb 22, 2021).

15 The National Crime Records Bureau, Crime in India 2019 (September 2020), <https://ncrb.gov.in/> (Last Visited on Jan 26, 2021).

16 BQ Desk, India's Pending Court Cases On The Rise: In Charts, THE QUINT (Sept 29, 2020),

<https://www.bloomberquint.com/law-and-policy/indias-pending-court-cases-on-the-rise-in-charts> (Last Visited on Jan 26, 2021).

17A. Chaturvedi, Police Reforms in India, PRS LEGISLATIVE RESEARCH (Jun 2017), <https://www.prsindia.org/> (Last visited on Jan 26, 2021).

18 Department of Justice, Vacancy positions, <https://doj.gov.in/appointment-of-judges/vacancy-positions> (Last visited on Mar 23, 2021).

19 Ibid

20 <https://www.scobserver.in/court-case/judicial-vacancies-in-the-lower-courts>, (Last Visited on 23/03/21).

21 T. Chandra, Literacy in India: The Gender and Age Dimension, OBSERVER RESEARCH FOUNDATION (Oct 2019),

<https://www.orfonline.org/research/literacy-in-india-the-gender-and-age-dimension-57150/> (Last visited on Mar 23, 2021).

22 Ibid

23 Tarakeshwari Bulusu, A Lynch Mob State: The New Identity of the Indian Democracy?, Lex Et Societatis, Vol II, Pp 542-543, Infinity Publishing, New Delhi.

24 Avinash Bhai Patel, Is Mob Lynching a Contemporary Social Problem in India?, International Journal of Criminology and Sociology, 315, 320-321 (2020).