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## Relationship between outcome of election results (both the loksabha election of 2019 & bidhan shabha elections of 2016 & 2021) with factors of political social movement “save hill movement” at Barrah Gram Panchayat region, Kashipur block, Purulia.

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### Abstract

*Electoral politics and its outcomes (mainly referred to election results and governance) have distinct spatial significances and different socio-economic and political factors can influence the election results and decision of the government. Dialectics of political space and its political outcome are influenced by spatial reasons embedded both in its physical and cultural place and signified by the psychological notion of emotion about any one's dwelling place or immediate surroundings. In this paper, an attempt has been made to explain the relationship between election results and political outcome of save hill movement at the villages of Barrah gram panchayat region, Kashipur block, Purulia, West Bengal. Entire paper is developed on the basis of intensive field work, household survey, interviews and secondary electoral data to analyze opinion of people on local save hill movement and its resultant effects and its relation with election results at the booth level of this gram panchayat region. My paper is also explored that whether this political action of local save hill movement has any influence on decision of the state government and try to investigate the reasons behind it.*

**KEYWORDS:** “Topophilia”, “Topophobia”, political social movement or PSM, save hill or “pahar bachao” movement, “Sarna or Sari Dharma”, swing factor, split factor, Index of opposition unity (IOU), % of vote of winning party, % of total opposition votes, % of margins or M, change of margin or “COM”

### INTRODUCTION

In many parts of the world different types of physical Geographical expressions have recognized as sacred place for different communities particularly among indigenous and tribal communities. Physical space is symbolized as sacred physical entity with emotions on his/her own place or “topophilia” and recognized as place for mass mobilization for public protest. If these sacred places are threatened by the external socio-economic factors due to systematic change of decision of the government, then the feeling of “topophobia” creating anxiety and fear among indigenous communities and developed place of mass mobilization in favour of both the protection and

preservation of sacred place. According to Yi Fu Tuan place represents human emotions, attachments, anger & behavioral values. The concepts of “Topophilia” & “Topophobia” introduced by Tuan are designated as important components for the construction of eco-humanistic structure of a Geographical space. Tuan identified several components of place which are as follows – 1. Home / “places within home” 2. City 3. region 4. Nation state (152-156). Tuan then correlates between place and politics as he said “Politics creates place by making it visible. Home is a place. The family is the smallest political unit. Its form of government is traditionally authoritarian. Home has boundaries that need to be defended against the intrusion of outsiders. Home is a place because it encloses space & thereby creates an “inside” and an “outside. The more the storm rages outside the more cozy the home feels inside, the more family is united, and the more the home itself is a unit, not an arrangement of separate rooms” (163). If this protected place is attacked due to political disturbances, if the comforts of “inside” is threatened by political forces, what will be the human response. Answer lies in the formation & development of social / socio-political movement with its vivid academic discussion.

### PHYSICAL SETTING OF THE STUDIED AREA

Entire gram panchayat area of Barrah is a erosional undulating peneplain surfaces with few residual hills (Machan pahar {23° 25 mint. 39” north of latitudes and 86° 46 mint. 35” east of longitudes}, Nara- pahar {23° 24mint. 23 “north of latitudes and 86°46 mint. 33” east of longitudes}, Ban –pahar {23°23 mint.05” north of latitudes and 86°46 mint. 10” east of longitudes} and numerous granite outcrops or “pathhar chattan (known in local Manbhumii Bangla language). Dynamic land use pattern is derived from local Geomorphologic features of Barrah gram-panchayat which is shown in the table below:

**Table no: 1**  
**Nature of different physical Geographical features of Barrah gram panchayat region, Kashipur block, Purulia**

Nature of Physical Geographical feature	% of total physical Geographical landscape
TAHR/ DANGA LAND ( UNDULATING HIGH WITH LESSER SOIL COVER )	12%
BAID LAND ( UNDULATING LAND WITH MEDIUM HEIGHT WITH LITTLE SLOPE )	19%
KANALI LAND ( FERTILE LOW LAND )	33%
BAHAL LAND ( FERTILE LOW LAND NEAR RIVER BASIN )	07%
DUNGRI ( RESIDUAL HILLS )	18%
PATHAR CHATTAN ( LARGE GRANITE OUTCROP )	11%
Total:	100%

(SOURCE- FIELD SURVEY IN DEC. 2017 & NOV.2018)

## OBJECTIVES OF THIS PAPER

- 1.a) To explore the relationship between attachment of space and place with save hill movement of Barrah gram panchayat region.
- 2.a) To examine the relationship between elections results of 2019 & 2021 with components of save hill movement.

## DATABASE AND METHODOLOGY

1. Detailed archival study of above mentioned objectives and their background.
2. Entire paper is mainly developed by primary data which is comprised with individual interviews, group interviews, and household survey.
3. Household survey was conducted on the basis of sample method (social cluster method).
4. Analysis of electoral data obtained from the website of election commission of India & correlate with components of save hill movement.

## INFLUENCE OF “SARNA OR SARI DHARMA” ON SAVE HILL MOVEMENT OF BARRAH

Majority of Santal and Bhumij communities are the followers of “Sarna Dharma” or Sarna religion in my studied areas. Tribal people of Barrah G.P. are also believed various sects of Hinduism, recognized as co-believers of both Hindu and Sarna dharma. “Concept of sacred place” in Sarna Dharma is associated with different physical and Bio Geographical features such as small residual hills or “monadnocks”, forest, water bodies, sacred grooves, sacred trees, “barges” or “kitchen gardens” behind the Santal home. And any intention to destroy these sacred places may create deep feeling of both fear (“topophobia”) and anger instrumental for sudden mass mobilization for public protest.

## GENESIS OF SAVE HILL MOVEMENT OF BARRAH GRAM PANCHAYAT REGION

In between 1995-2012 numerous pathar khadans/ small stone mines /quarries’ were developed in eight mouzas of Barrah G.P mainly in the S.W. corner, southern part, eastern and north-eastern parts. These pathar khadans were constructed on numerous granite outcrops of these villages. These small stone mines were developed due to some reasons:

1. Barrah region is agriculturally backward with dearth of extensive irrigation facilities as one of the common response in interviews is “Chas-Basee Akash Bharsha” (Sky is the main source of agriculture. Actually rainfall in the rainy season is the main source of water resource for agriculture).
2. Majority of people are engaged in informal labour market and other labour intensive wage economy.

So working as mining workers in the pathar khadans are the alternative employment opportunities. Situation was changed after 2012 due to the sudden change in stone

mining policy. Due to excessive demands of finished stones in real estate business all over the country suddenly state govt. of West Bengal wanted to take the opportunity to take part this business when a state govt. subsidiary West Bengal mineral development corporation ( WBMD ) took a initiative to develop mechanized large stone mine projects over three residual hills of Barrah G.P. namely ( Machan pahar { 23° 25 mint. 39" north of latitudes and 86° 46 mint. 35" east of longitudes }, Nara-pahar { 23° 24mint. 23 " north of latitudes and 86°46 mint. 33" east of longitudes}, Ban-pahar {23°23 mint.05" north of latitudes and 86°46 mint. 10" east of longitudes} at Palsara-Dhanurdi mouza. These project has been in PPP model (Public-Private-Partnership) and local people particularly Santal, Bhumij and indigenous communities took as serious offence as these residual hills are sacred place for them. And local mining operators were not used these residual hills as their base for mining till date. WBMD totally ignored these local spatial sentiments and continued to carry out their preliminary field instrument survey works at these hills developed deep public anger to initiate save hill movement at Barrah G.P. Spatial pattern of "Save Hill "movement. It is already discussed that how the land use principles of " Sarna Dharma " has influenced to create popular sentiments in fovour of save hill movement at Barrah region. We already knew that how these sacred spatial influences (feeling of both " Topophobia" and " Topophillic " ) such as a) concept of sacred space ( hills ), b) concept of sacred forest ( mainly sal ), c) concept of water bodies , d) concept of sacred plants and animals, e) religious concept of sacred places ( dwelling place of " Marang Buru " ),f) concept of natural beauty, g) sacred land use methods ( such as concept of " Barge " ) have played very important part to crystallize this social political movement through the popular mass mobilization of tribal and indigenous communities.

### CHRONOLOGY OF SAVE HILL OR "PAHAR BACHAO "MOVEMENT AT BARRAH GRAM PANCHAYAT REGION

Table no: 2

#### Zonation of save hill movement of Barrah gram panchayat region

Name of booth area with booth number ( updated in 2021)	name of mouzas in the booth area	spatial structure of "save hill movement" or " pahar bacho movement "
1. Rajra (81)	a) Rajra ,	places of origin of the movement
2. Palsara (82)	a) Palsara b) Dhanurdi	places of origin of the movement
3. Palsara-1 (82-A)	Ramonigora	places of origin of the movement
4. Paharpur (83)	a) Paharpur, b) Gayapahari c) Nischintapur	places of origin of the movement
5. Murulu ( Murlu ) (84)	Murulu or Murlu	places of origin of the movement
6. Sirjam ( 85)	a) Sirjam	places of 2 <sup>nd</sup> diffusion of the movement
7. Sirjam ( 85-A )	a) Mahojora b) Bhabanipur	places of 2 <sup>nd</sup> diffusion of the movement

8. Jinamanipur (86)	Jinamanipur	places of 2 <sup>nd</sup> diffusion of the movement
9. Rangamatia ( 87)	a) parts of Rangamatia b) Mosla	places of 1 <sup>st</sup> diffusion of the movement
10. Rangamatia ( 87-A)	parts of Rangamatia	places of 1 <sup>st</sup> diffusion of the movement
11. Barra-1 ( 88)	a) parts of Barrah-1 b) Bharatdih	places of 1 <sup>st</sup> diffusion of the movement
12. 11Barra/ Barrah-1 ( 88-A)	parts of Barrah-1	places of 1 <sup>st</sup> diffusion of the movement
13. Barrah/ Barra -2 ( 89)	a) Barrah 2 b) Dhulapahari	places of 1 <sup>st</sup> diffusion of the movement
14. Kadori ( 90)	Kadori	places of 1 <sup>st</sup> diffusion of the movement
15. Chapri ( 91)	Chapri	places of 1 <sup>st</sup> diffusion of the movement
16. Shayambathan ( 92)	a) Shayambathan b) Dejori	places of 1 <sup>st</sup> diffusion of the movement

( This table is tabulated and calculated by the author and the data input is derived from a) official website of Election commission of India, b) official website of West Bengal state election commission)

### Temporal chorology of save hill movement is shown below:

1. Formation of save hill committee (Barrah Anchan Pahar Bacho Committee or BAPBC [“Barrah region save hill movement”]) - February 2015 (main demand is to stop the mechanized stone mine project of WBMDP at Barrah region).
2. 1<sup>st</sup> stage of movement at places of origin- from February 2015 to March 2016
3. 2<sup>nd</sup> stage of the movement (places of 1<sup>st</sup> diffusion): from June 2015 to March 2016.
4. 3<sup>rd</sup> stage of the movement (places of 2<sup>nd</sup> diffusion): from September 2015 to March 2016.
5. Duration of the movement: 14 months (this movement was successfully ended when due to intervention of present chief minister Smt. Mamata Banerjee, WBMDP scrapped their stone mine project at Barrah region in March 2016)

### MAIN TOOLS FOR PUBLIC MOBILIZATION FOR SAVE HILL MOVEMENT AT BARRAH GRAM PANCHAYAT REGION

1. Organize numerous meetings public gatherings, public demonstrations and road blockades to create favourable public opinion for save hill movement in the entire Barrah gram panchayat area of Kashipur block, of district of Purulia.
2. Tried to get support from other social movement organizations or SMOs, cultural organizations such Santal cultural organization “Bharat Jakat Maji Pargana Mahal” ( BJMPM), both major and minor opposition political parties, some section of ruling parties, local clubs etc.

Based on this situational background I put forward some **research questions** of this paper as follows:

3. What are the local public opinion on the save hill movement of Barrah region?
4. What are the electoral outcomes (electoral results) of entire Barrah region during the period of 2016 to 2021?
5. Is there any correlation between election results and components of save hill movement?

## 1. WHAT ARE THE LOCAL PUBLIC OPINION ON THE SAVE HILL MOVEMENT OF BARRAH REGION?

In this sub section, my intension is to access the local public opinion on save hill movement and related matter. According to my opinion after two extensive field and household survey in this area that there is a close relationship between opinion on save hill movement with public opinion on performance of local gram panchayat offices and their relational expressions are spatial in nature with variability of opinion at different zones of save hill movement.

**Calculation tables showing sample households and % of different social communities in the total voters (as per voters list of 2021) at booth areas of zones of save hill movement of Barrah gram panchayat region, Kashipur block, Purulia**

**Table: 3a**

Name of booth area	Sample households	% of total voters per booth	Name of booth area	Sample households	% of total voters per booth
1.Rajra ( 81)	SC =26	45.61	6. Sirjam (85)	SC =8	44.44
	ST= NIL	NIL		ST =1	5.56
	OBC-B=29	50.88		OBC-A = 4	22.22
	HC= 2	3.51		HC = 5	27.78
2.Palsara (82)	SC =9	12.33	7.Sirjam-1 (85A)	SC =10	24.39
	ST= 60	82.16		ST =21	51.22
	OBC-B=4	5.51		OBC-A = 1	2.44
3.Palsara -1 (82A)	SC =9	12.33		OBC-B =8	19.51
	ST= 60	82.16		HC =1	2.44
	OBC-B=4	5.51	8. Jinamanipur (86)	SC= 21	35
4.Paharpur ( 83)	SC 5	5.1		ST = 10	16.67
	ST= 54	55.1		OBC-A = 6	10
	OBC-B=39	39.8	TOTAL	OBC-B =23	38.33
5. Murulu (84)	SC=2	4.44		SC =39	32.77
	ST= 16	35.56		ST = 32	26.89
	OBC-B =26	57.78		OBC-A = 11	9.24
	HC= 1	2.22		OBC-B = 31	26.05
Total	SC = 51	14.74		HC = 6	5.05
	ST= 190	54.91			
	OBC-B= 102	29.48			
	HC = 3	0.87			

(This table is calculated by the author on the basis of field survey in December 2017 & November 2018 with the data input from the website of election commission of India)

**Table: 3b**

Name of booth area	Sample households	% of total voters per booth
<b>8. Rangamatia (87)</b>	SC = 6	10.17
	ST = 19	32.32
	OBC-B = 34	57.63
<b>9. Rangamatia-1 (87A)</b>	SC = 1	4.55
	ST = 14	63.64
	OBC-B = 5	22.73
	HC=1	9.08
<b>10. Barra 1 ( 88)</b>	SC = 19	24.68
	ST = 9	11.98
	OBC-A = 2	2.6
	OBC-B = 35	45.46
	HC=12	15.58
<b>11. Barra 1 ( 88-A)</b>	SC = 19	19.79
	ST = 28	29.17
	OBC-A = 2	2.08
	OBC-B = 35	36.46
	HC=12	12.5
<b>12. Barra2 (89)</b>	SC = 29	44.04
	ST = 9	8.26
	OBC-A = 2	1.84
	OBC-B = 38	34.86
	HC=12	11
<b>13. Kadori (90)</b>	SC = 15	36.59
	ST = 13	31.71
	OBC-B = 13	31.7
<b>14. Chapri (91)</b>	SC= 33	57.9
	ST = 16	28.07
	HC = 8	14.03
<b>15. Shayambathan (92)</b>	SC = 8	20
	ST = 20	50
	OBC-B = 11	27.5
	HC = 1	2.5
<b>TOTAL</b>	SC = 130	27.03
	ST = 128	26.61
	OBC-A = 6	1.25
	OBC-B = 171	35.55
	HC = 46	9.56

(This table is calculated by the author on the basis of field survey in December 2017 & November 2018 with the data input from the website of election commission of India)

### Major findings from table no 3a & 3b

- a) Majority of voters in the places of origin of save hill movement ( red coloured villages) are ST communities ( Santal + Bhumij ) with moderate presence both in places of 1<sup>st</sup> ( blue coloured villages) and 2<sup>nd</sup> diffusion ( green coloured villages).

- b) Highest concentration of OBC-B voters (Kudmi-Mahato + Gorai + Karmakar) are found in places of 1<sup>st</sup> diffusion with moderate presence both at places of origin and places of 2<sup>nd</sup> diffusion.
- c) Highest concentration of SC voters (Bauri+Rajwar+Suri-Mondal + other SC communities) is recorded at places of 2<sup>nd</sup> diffusion with moderate presence both at places of origin and places of 1<sup>st</sup> diffusion.
- d) Both the voters belong to OBC-A (Muslim) and higher caste (Oriyya Brahmin+Sarak or Bengali Jain + other higher caste) are low in percentage at all zones of save hill movement.
- e) So any political decision of people is determined by internal political actions of ST, SC & OBC-B communities at this gram panchayat region.

#### A. OPINION OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS ON SAVE HILL MOVEMENT

In this sub section I try to access the popular support of save hill movement of Barrah gram panchayat region through specific questionnaire and enquire the opinion of sample households associated with different zones of save hill movement. In this regard I conducted two household surveys both November 2018 and in December 2019. Main questions are as follows;

- a) Are you fully supported the save hill movement of Barrah gram panchayat region? –yes/no
- b) Are you partially supported the save hill movement of Barrah gram panchayat region? –yes/no
- c) Are you partially opposed the save hill movement of Barrah gram panchayat region? –yes/no
- d) Are you fully opposed the save hill movement of Barrah gram panchayat region? –yes/no
- e) No response / don't know.

On the basis of primary response from sample households I then construct calculation table showing opinion on both total support (full support + partial support) and total opposition (full opposition+ partial opposition) of sample households as shown below;

**Table: 4**  
**Response of sample households of different zones of save hill movement of Barrah gram panchayat region, Kashipur block, Purulia**

Name of booth area	% of TS IN 2018	% of TS IN 2019	MEAN	% of TO IN 2018	% of TO IN 2019	MEAN 2
1 Rajra (81)	100	76 (-24)	88			
2.Palsara (82)	100	100	100			
3. Palsara-1 (82-A)	100	100	100			
4. Paharpur (83)	100	100	100			
5. Murulu ( Murlu ) (84)	100	100	100			



Total in % at places of origin	100	95.20(- 4.80)	97.6			
6.Sirjam ( 85)	50	40 (- 10)	45	50	40	45
7. Sirjam ( 85-A )	-	-	-	100	100	100
8. Jinamanipur (86)	50	50	50	10	10	10
Total in % at places of 2 <sup>nd</sup> diffusion	33.33	30 (-3.33)	31.66	53.33	50 (-3.33)	36.67
9. Rangamatia ( 87)	30	25 (-5)	27.5	40	65 (+25)	52.5
10. Rangamatia ( 87-A)	50	50	50	50	50	50
11.Barra-1 ( 88)	30	30	30	50	50	50
12. 11Barra/ Barrah-1 ( 88-A)	-	-	-	100	100	100
13. Barrah/ Barra -2 ( 89)	30	30	30	50	50	50
14. Kadori ( 90)	80	70 (- 10)	75	-	10 (+10)	5
15. Chapri ( 91)	100	70 (- 30)	85	-	20 (+20)	10
16. Shayambathan ( 92)	100	100	100	-	-	-
Total in % at places of 1 <sup>st</sup> diffusion	52.5	46.88 (-5.62)	49.69	36.25	43.15 (+7.50)	33.44
Total in %	61.94	58.47 (-3.47)	60.21	28.75	31.04	29.99
					(+2.29)	

(This table is developed by the author on the basis of input obtained from two consecutive field surveys in

NOV. 2018 & DEC. 2019)

### Index:

TS = Total support for save hill movement

TO = Total opposition against save hill movement.

### Main findings from table no.4:

- 1.a) It is evident from the table that overwhelming support for save hill movement is recorded at places of origin both in 2018 and 2019 ( with slight decrease in 2019) indicating massive support from both ST and OBC-B ( mainly Kudmi-Mahato community ) sample households. Massive support for save hill movement is largely concentrated at the tribal villages and Kudmi-Mahato dominated villages. Spatial religious sentiments are main reasons for massive support in this zone.
- 2.a) Public opinion on total support for save hill movement is slightly low in places of 2<sup>nd</sup> diffusion both during 2018 and further slightly slipped away in 2019. Main reason for lower support indicates that more sample households in this zone opposed the movement in 2018 with slight decrease in 2019. Main sample households of this zone complain that due to the intensity of save hill movement , Government of West Bengal decided to stop the mechanized stone mine project with closure of small private stone mines in this area which were owned and employed by local people . Majority of unauthorized

closed stone mines are located in this zone and due to the save hill movement all mining activities are totally stopped with result of sudden increase of unemployment in this area.

- 3.a) Nearly 52.50% of total sample households of places of 1<sup>st</sup> diffusion of the movement is supportive towards movement in 2018 and this figure slightly decreased in 2019 with sudden rise of opposition towards movement in 2019. Sudden rise for opposition towards movement in this zone is due to some factors related to places of 2<sup>nd</sup> diffusion such as:
- Sudden stoppage of operation of small private owned stone mines in this area by the administrative order of the government of West Bengal,
  - and, sudden increase of unemployment scenario due to the closure of small private unauthorized stone mines.

## B. OPINION OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS ON MAIN LOCAL POLITICAL ISSUES OF BARRAH GRAM PANCHAYAT REGION

In the second stage of the interview my objective is to access the opinion of sample households on local dominant political issues and this part of this survey is conducted in December 2019 and findings are as follows;

**Table no: 5**

### Opinion of sample households on main local political issues of villages of Barrah gram panchayat region, Kashipur, Purulia ( in %)

Name of booth area	SH	UDCOM	NPOLGP	LOD	PC
1 Rajra (81)	70		20	5	5
2.Palsara (82)	80				20
3. Palsara-1 (82-A)	80				20
4. Paharpur (83)	80				20
5. Murulu ( Murlu ) (84)	80				20
Total in % at places of origin	78		4	1	17
6.Sirjam ( 85)	20	40	30		10
7. Sirjam ( 85-A )		40	40	5	15
8. Jinamanipur (86)	20	40	40		
Total in % at places of 2 <sup>nd</sup> diffusion	13.3	40	38	2	6.7
9. Rangamatia ( 87)	30	10	40	20	
10. Rangamatia ( 87-A)	30	10	40	20	
11.Barra-1 ( 88)	5	20	40	20	15
12. 11Barra/ Barrah-1 ( 88-A)		20	40	20	20
13. Barrah/ Barra -2 ( 89)		20	40	20	20
14. Kadori ( 90)	30	30	40		
15. Chapri ( 91)	30	30	40		
16. Shayambathan ( 92)	30	30	40		
Total in % at places of 1 <sup>st</sup> diffusion	19.4	21.25	40	12.5	6.85
Total in %	36.9	20.42	27.33	5.17	10.18

(This table is developed by the author on the basis of input obtained from two consecutive field surveys in DEC. 2019)

**Index:****SH** = Save hill movement**UDCOM** = Unemployment due to closure of local small stone mines**NPOLGP** = Non performance of local gram panchayat**LOD** = Lack of local development**PC** = Political corruption in local areas**Main findings:**

- 1B. It is evident from the table no 5 that 78% of total sample households said that issues related to local save hills are the main political issues than other issues. 17% of sample households of places of origin said that political corruptions are the second most political issue of Barrah gram panchayat region. 22% of total sample households of places of origin has emphasized on non save hill political issues.
- 2B. Opinion of sample households at places of second diffusion is quite different than places of origin of save hill movement. Majority of sample households in this zone have made their opinion that unemployment due to closure of small stone mines is the main local political issues in any election. 38% of household said that non performance of local gram panchayat is the main local political issue with only 13.30% of sample households' favour on issues of save hills. It is evident from the table that % of opinion on non save hill issues are more than issues of save hills (86.70%).
- 3B. Only 19.40% of sample households of places of 1st diffusion of save hill movement with highest number of opinion on non performance of gram panchayats. 21.50% of sample households said that unemployment due to local small stone mines is the main local political issue. 12.50% and 6.85% have opinion of lack of development and political corruption.

## **2. ANALYSIS OF ELECTORAL RESULTS OF BARRAH GRAM PANCHAYAT REGION BETWEEN 2016 TO 2021**

Within the period of 2016 to 2021 villages of Barrah gram panchayat region have experienced four stages of elections as shown below:

<b>election year</b>	<b>nature of the election</b>
2016	bidhansabha/ assembly election
2018	panchayat election
2019	loksabha/ parliament election
2021	bidhansabha/ assembly election

It is also mentioned in this context that I did not find any data of gram panchayat election of 2018 from the official website of state election commission of West Bengal.

**Table: 6a**

**Comparative electoral data of places of origin of save hill movement at Barrah  
gram panchayat region, Kashipur block, Purulia**

name of booth areas	yr2	ano wp	% of tuo	% vwp	% of tov	Ma	IOU	SWF	SF
1.Rajra	2016	AITC	98	63.53	36.47	3.67	77.44	0.05	-4.06
	2019	BJP	98	58.53	41.47	1.1	76.99	-84.84	-15.52
	2021	BJP	99.12	49.82	50.18	11.83	75.71	-3.39	39.2
2.Palsara	2016	AITC	99.49	45.25	54.75	5.38	72.82	-1.24	-10.97
	2019	BJP	99.62	47.65	52.35	3.16	88.36	2.54	-3.37
	2021	AITC	98.61	60.56	39.44	27.57	83.65	-3.41	8.39
3.Palsara A-1	2021	AITC	98.88	50.65	49.35	6.66	89.05	8.92	-4.77
4.Paharpur	2016	LF	99	43.4	56.6	0.6	75.62	9.9	31.1
	2019	AITC	99.12	48.52	51.48	5.34	83.88	0.69	-6.23
	2021	AITC	99.82	51.97	48.03	6.85	93.94	0.34	35.82
5.Murulu	2016	LF	99	44.05	55.95	1.29	76.43	0.88	-4.28
	2019	AITC	99.22	54.74	45.26	13.83	90.39	0.86	-3.24
	2021	AITC	99.82	59.16	40.84	22.71	89.25	-3.88	35.83

( This table is tabulated and calculated by the author and the data input is derived from a) official website of Election commission of India, b) official website of West Bengal state election commission)

**Index:**

yr = election years

anowp = actual name of winning party

% of tuo = % of turnout

% ofvwp = voting % of winning party

% of tov = voting % of total opposition vote

% of Ma = % of margin

% of IOU = % of Index of opposition unity

% of SWF = % of Swing factor

% of SF = % of Split factor

**Main findings:**

From the table no 6a we can find the leading position of different parties in the booth areas of places of origin of save hill movement. Decision of state government to scraping of large mechanized corporate sponsored stone mines has positive impact for ruling party in the election years. Analysis of electoral data reveals that:

- It is evident from sub table 6a that at Rajra booth area ruling party of the state lost its leading position both the election of 2019 and 2021 with slight decrease of % of winning party in 2021. % .
- It is also evident from the table that % of total opposition votes increase from 2016 to 2021 with increase of % of IOU indicating consolidation of opposition votes at particular opposition party.
- Large no of swing of vote from ruling party (AITC) to emerging opposition party (BJP) is observed in 2019 ( -84.84%) with subsequent loss from winning

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party ( BJP in 2021) in 2021. There is split of vote recorded in 2016 from winning party (AITC) in 2016 with positive results in 2019 and 2021.

- d) In the case of Palsara booth (one of the epicenter of save hill movement) % of vote of winning party is increased from 2016 to 2021 with decreasing % of vote of total opposition votes. % of margin of vote decrease to 2019 and then increase in 2021. % of IOU is increased in 2019 and slightly decreased in 2021 indicating consolidation of vote at the pocket of particular opposition party with two party systems in Palsara. There is negative value of % of Swing factor in 2016 indicates slight swing against winning party in 2016 but positive value in 2019 showing swing in favour of winning party. But in 2021 negative value of swing indicates vote loss of previous winning party (BJP in 2019) in the election of 2021. During the election of 2021 original Palsara booth is divided in to two booths namely Palsara and Palsara1 for administrative purposes. In the new booth of Palsara1 the electoral data shows strong two party systems with increasing value of % of votes of winning party and % of IOU. Similar trend both in the case of % of SWF & SF prevails in this booth.
- e) In the case of Paharpur booth indication of multipolarity (existence more parties than dominant two parties) is found in the election of 2016. % of votes of winning party gradually increases from 2016 to 2021 with reverse trend in the case of % of total opposition votes at the Paharpur booth designated as another epicenter of save hill movement. Same trend is also noticed in the case of % of margins and % of IOU (election results of both the election of both 2019 and 2021) indicating conditions of multipolarity existed in the election of 2016. Positive value of % of SWF indicates positive swing (+) in favour of winning parties in both three elections. Positive value of % of SF ( split factor) in 2016 indicates positive swing in favour of winning party in 2016 but this value is negative in 2019 showing split of vote from winning party but the situation is again positive in 2021
- f) At the Murlu booth area multipolarity is found in the election results of 2016. Same trend similar with Paharpur booth is found in the case % of vote of winning party, % of total opposition votes and % of margins. % of IOU is more than 60% in all three elections indicating consolidation of opposition vote in to major opposition party with change of conditions of multipolarity to two party systems. There is positive swing in favour of winning party both in the election of 2016 and 2019 but negative value in 2021 indicating loss of vote from winning party. Negative value of split factor or SF is observed both in the election of both 2016 and 2019 indicating loss of vote from winning party but positive value in 2021 indicating massive split of vote in favour of winning party.

**Table: 6b**

**Comparative electoral data of places of 2<sup>nd</sup> diffusion of save hill movement  
at Barrah gram panchayat region, Kashipur block, Purulia**

name of booth areas	yr2	anowp	% of tuo	%vwp	% of tov	Ma	IOU	SWF	SF
Sirjam	2016	LF	99	47.64	52.36	10.22	52.36	0.58	-2.09
	2019	BJP	98.72	46.07	53.93	2.39	80.99	4.18	-5.67
	2021	AITC	99.66	50.68	49.32	5.41	91.79	0.65	-4.53
Sirjam -A	2021	BJP	98.4	49.5	50.5	4.45	89.21	0.42	-6.14
Jinamanipur	2016	AITC	99	45.55	54.45	5.23	74.05	-0.84	-13.22
	2019	BJP	98.65	64.04	35.96	37.68	73.3	-75.16	47.95
	2021	BJP	98..70	50.48	49.52	6.1	88.9	0.87	-3.17

(This table is tabulated and calculated by the author and the data input is derived from a) official website of Election commission of India, b) official website of West Bengal state election commission)

Index same as table no: 6a

**Major findings from table no: 6b:**

- 1b. It is evident from this sub table that in this zone of 2<sup>nd</sup> diffusion of save hill movement ruling party of this state ( AITC) have faced some electoral setbacks particularly at Jinamanipur booth ( both in 2019 and 2021), new booth of Sirjam1 ( 2021) and old booth of Sirjam ( both in 2016 and 2019). Like other zones of save hill movement bidhan Sabha election of 2016 booths of this zone have been experienced good luck for ruling party as they led one seat out of two but that results are reversed in 2019 when they lost the leading position at Jinamanipur booth with losing position of Left Front to BJP at Sirjam booth. In the recent bidhan shabha election of 2021 BJP led two booths and AITC in one. These results are quite different than both places of origin and places of 1<sup>st</sup> diffusion of save hill movement indicating the anger and frustration of voters of places of 2<sup>nd</sup> diffusion due to closure of small stone mines in this area.
- 2b. % of vote of wining party was 47.64% in 2016 and further decreased in 2019 and but suddenly creased in 2021 at Sirjam booth and same trend also prevails in the case of % of margin of winning party. % of IOU at Sirjam booth gradually increases from 2016 to 2021 indicating strong two party system tendencies in this booth. % of swing factor (SWF) suddenly increases significantly in the election of 2019 with split of vote from previous leading/ wining party (LF) of 2016 to BJP. In the election of 2021 there is a positive swing in favour of wining or leading party with split of vote from previous wining party of 2019. At the new booth of Sirjam A there is slight positive swing in favour of winning party but it loses some vote as indicated by negative value of split factor (% of SF) with same trend in the of % of margin between 2016 -2021.
- 3b. Voting % of winning party gradually increases from 2016 to 2019 with sudden decrease in 2021 at Jinamanipur booth. Trend of % of IOU is quite different in this booth when this parameter decreased from 2016 to 2019 but increased at 2021 but also indicating strong presence of two party systems in this booth.

Slightly negative swing factor in 2016 indicating vote loss of previous wining/leading party of election of 2014 (AITC) with negative value of split of vote from winning party to next opposition party. But there is huge swing against previous wining /leading party (AITC) in 2019 (-75.16%) with positive value of split factor favourable for wining/ leading party (BJP). IN the election of 2021 there is slight swing in favour of wining/leading party (BJP) but there is split of vote from BJP ( indicated by negative % of SF) to next opposition party of that booth ( AITC).

**Table no: 6c**

**Comparative electoral data of places of 1<sup>st</sup> diffusion of save hill movement at Barrah gram panchayat region, Kashipur block, Purulia**

name of booth areas	yr2	anowp	% of tuo	%vwp	% of tov	Ma	IOU	SWF	SF
Rangamatia	2016	AITC	99	54.55	45.45	17.33	69.13	0.47	-3.56
	2019	AITC	99.09	52.93	47.07	14.22	81.89	-2.89	-42.03
	2021	AITC	99.32	56.36	43.64	15.68	93.22	0.3	-3.85
Rangamatia	2021	AITC	98.77	53.64	46.36	9.36	96.81	0.05	-3.12
Barra-1	2016	AITC	99	63.53	36.5	34.98	78.28	0.25	-2.23
	2019	BJP	99.76	58.53	41.47	24.88	81.14	19.3	-14.5
	2021	AITC	99.45	51.25	48.75	6.37	92.06	1.61	-4.46
Barra-1 A	2021	AITC	98.23	47.9	52.1	0.81	85.51	3.26	-11.92
Barra -2	2016	AITC	99	45.88	54.12	5.39	73.53	0.2	-2.22
	2019	AITC	99.44	68.18	31.82	42.75	79.92	3.04	-7.25
	2021	AITC	99.44	67.84	32.16	40.34	91.95	-0.03	-2.67
Kadori	2016	AITC	99	54.61	45.39	26.36	76.32	-0.45	5.64
	2019	AITC	98.65	49.38	50.62	7.54	82.66	-0.82	-7.98
	2021	AITC	99.07	63.37	36.63	31.95	85.78	4.48	-11.74
Chapri	2016	AITC	99.01	52.5	47.5	13.41	82.3	-0.18	-3.32
	2019	AITC	99.52	57.24	42.76	21.14	74.7	-0.62	5.63
	2021	AITC	98.08	57.42	42.58	18.27	89.82	0.01	-2.82
Shayambathan	2016	AITC	99	49.2	50.8	28.58	40.59	26.42	1.34
	2019	AITC	94.96	47.76	52.24	3.13	85.43	-0.03	-1.17
	2021	AITC	98.99	62.37	37.63	28.57	91.95	1.08	-5.77

( This table is tabulated and calculated by the author and the data input is derived from a) official website of Election commission of India, b) official website of West Bengal state election commission)

Index same as table no: 6a

**Major findings from table no: 6c:**

1c. there are eight booths at this zone and dominance of ruling party (AITC) in all three elections in this zone is due to following factors:

- decision of abrogation of corporate sponsored mechanized stone mine project by government of West Bengal showing their respect towards tribal religious culture and sacred spatial sentiments,
- Successful implementation of “Duare Sarkar” programme of government of West Bengal which is overshadowed the non performance of Barrah gram panchayat office.



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- iii. Ruling party (AITC) won all seats in all three elections except one seat in the election of 2019 (BJP led Barra 1 booth in 2019).
- 2c. % of vote of winning party was slightly decreased at Rangamatia booth in 2019 but increased in the election of 2021. Similar trend is also observed in the case of % of margin between 2016 to 2021. % of IOU is increase from election of 2016 to last election of 2021 with high percentage suggesting strong presence of two party systems in this booth with new booth of Rangamatia1. Swing factor is negative in 2019 and then increases in 2021 (at both the booths). But in the case of split factor significant number of vote loss for winning party is observed in the election of 2019 indicating sudden gaining of political power by next opposition party (BJP).
- 3c. If we look the electoral data of both Barra 1 and new booth of Barra -1-A % of vote of wining party is gradually decreased from 2016 to 2021 but not crossing below 50%( except in Barra -1-A in 2021). % of margin gradually decreases from 2016 to 2021 indicating increasing trend of political competitiveness. % of IOU increase gradually from 2016 to 2021 (except at Barra-1-A in 2021) indicating presence of strong two party systems. Huge positive value of swing factor in 2019 indicates split of vote from previous leading party (AITC) in favour of new leading party (BJP). But in 2021 the positive swing factor with negative value of split factor favours the winning party (AITC).
- 4c. At the booth of Barra-2 % of vote of winning party increase rapidly from 2016 to 2021 indicating consolidation of maximum vote in favour of ruling party with similar trend in the case of % of margin with same temporal period. % of IOU gradually increases from 2016 to 2021 indicating presence of strong two party systems. % of SWF increase from 2016 to 2019 but suddenly decreases in 2021 indicating slight volatile attitude of core voters of ruling party and this trend is also supported by negative value of split factor in all three elections.
- 5c. In the booth of Kadori region % of votes of winning party decreases from 2016 to 2019 but hugely increases in 2021 indicating sudden rise of popularity for ruling party (AITC) in this booth. Similar trend is also observed in the case of % of margin. % of IOU gradually increases from 2016 to 2021 indicating presence of strong two party systems. % of swing factor is negative both in 2016 and 2019 indicating loss of vote from wining party ( AITC) and this assumption is also supported by negative value of split factor in 2016 and 2021 respectively with positive value in 2019 (+) indicating split of opposition vote to ruling party.
- 6c. At Chapri booth % of votes of wining party gradually increases from 2016 to 2021 indicating consolidation of vote in favour of ruling party (AITC). But % of margin (% of M) increases from 2016 to 2019 but decreases in 2021. % of IOU decreases from 2016 to 2019 but increases in 2021 indicating emergence of single strong opposition party (BJP). Negative value of % of SWF both 2016 and 2019 indicate small swing against wining / leading party (AITC) but in 2021 there is swing in favour of leading party. Negative value of split factor both in



2016 and 2021 indicate split of vote of winning party but positive value of % of SF in 2019 indicating split of opposition vote in favour of ruling party.

7c. At Shayambathan booth % of vote of winning / leading party is decreased from 2016 to 2019 but increased significantly in 2021 ( 62.37%) with similar trend in the case of % of margin. % of IOU increases significantly from 2016 to 2019 and gradually increases in 2021 indicating presence of strong two party system. There was huge swing ( 26.42%) in favour of leading / winning party (AITC) in 2016 but observed negative swing in 2019 and slight positive swing in 2021. There is slight split of opposition vote in favour of winning/ leading party in 2016 but negative value of split factor both in 2019 and 2021 indicate split of vote of winning/leading party towards opposition party.

### 3. IS THERE ANY CORRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ELECTION RESULTS AND COMPONENTS OF SAVE HILL MOVEMENT?

In this sub section I try to correlate between components of save hill movement of Barrah gram panchayat region with components of electoral results of this region. Main criteria are as follows;

- A. Selection of election data of election of 2019 as base data such as % of votes of winning party, % of IOU, % of SWF, % of SF and % of Tu ( Turn out).
- B. Temporal criteria is both the household survey of 2018 and 2019 with components of
  1. % OF Total support for save hill movement (TS)
  2. % of Total opposition against save hill movement (TO)
  3. % of opinion in favour of Political-Economic factor (PEF) (UDCOM + NPOLGP + LOD+ PC)

Multiple correlationship between % of Total support for save hill movement/TS ( x axis), Total opposition against save hill movement/TO ( x axis) & % of political economic factor/ PEF in favour of save hill movement (x axis) with % of turn out/Tu ( y axis) , % of votes of winning/leading party/ %vwp(y axis) and % of IOU/ index of opposition ( y axis) at booth areas of Barrah gram panchayat (G.P.) region, Kashipur block, Purulia ( in the year of 2019)

**Table: 7a**

name of booth areas	TS in % (X)	% OF PEF (X)	% of TO(X)	% of Tu (Y)	% of vwp (Y)	% of IOU(Y)
1.Rajra	76	24	0	98	58.53	76.99
2.Palsara	100	0	0	99.62	47.65	88.36
3.Paharpur	100	0	0	99.12	48.52	83.88
4.Murulu	100	0	0	99.22	54.74	90.39
5.Sirjam	40	60	73	98.72	46.07	80.99
6.Jinamanipur	50	50	10	98.65	64.04	73.3
7.Rangamatia	25	75	65	99.09	52.93	81.89
8.Barra-1	50	50	50	99.76	58.53	81.14
9.Barra -2	30	70	50	99.44	68.18	79.92
10.Kadori	70	30	10	98.65	49.38	82.66
11.Chapri	70	30	20	99.52	57.24	74.7
12. Shayambathan	100	0	0	94.96	47.76	85.43

(This table is calculated by the author on the basis of data obtained in the 3<sup>rd</sup> field survey at Barrah G.P region in December 2019 & the electoral data obtained and then calculated from the master electoral data of lok Sabha election from website of election commission of India)

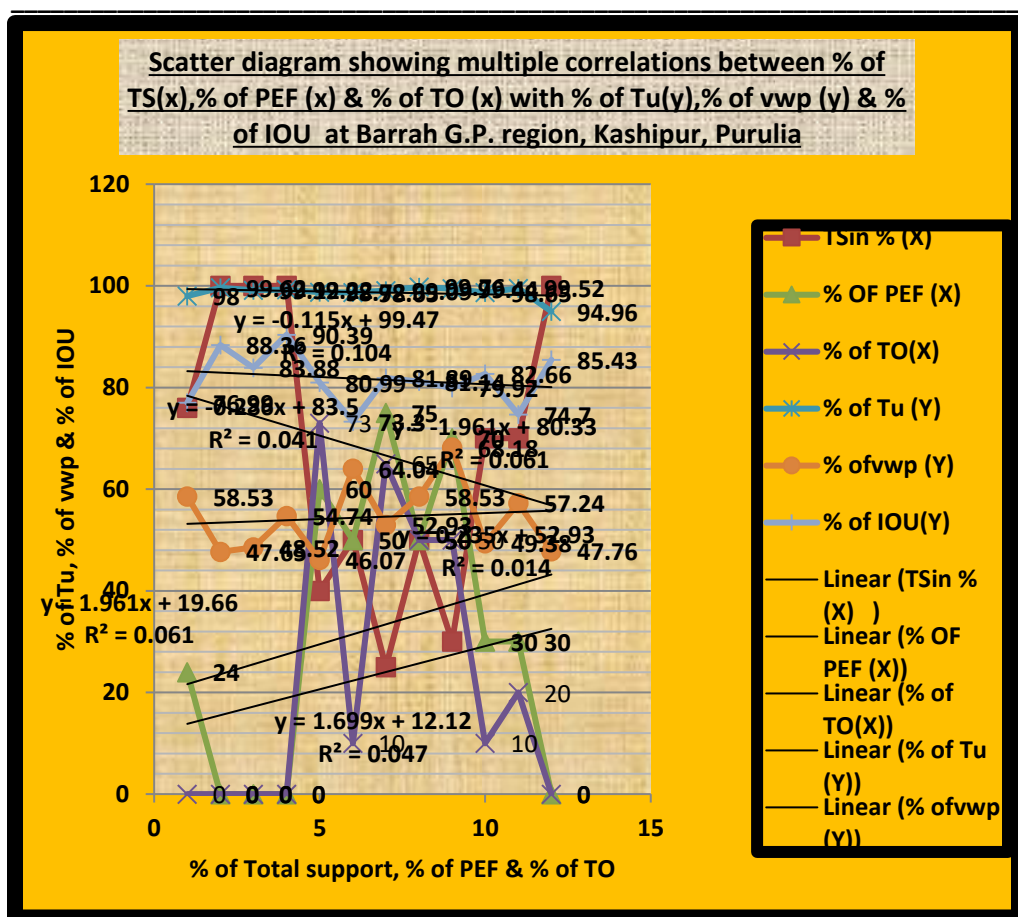


Figure no: 1

**Findings from both table no7a & figure no:1**

3a. On the basis of above mentioned data I construct a scatter diagram showing multiple correlations of factors associated with save hill movement (all in x axis) with factors associated with electoral data (y) indicating two relationships as shown below;

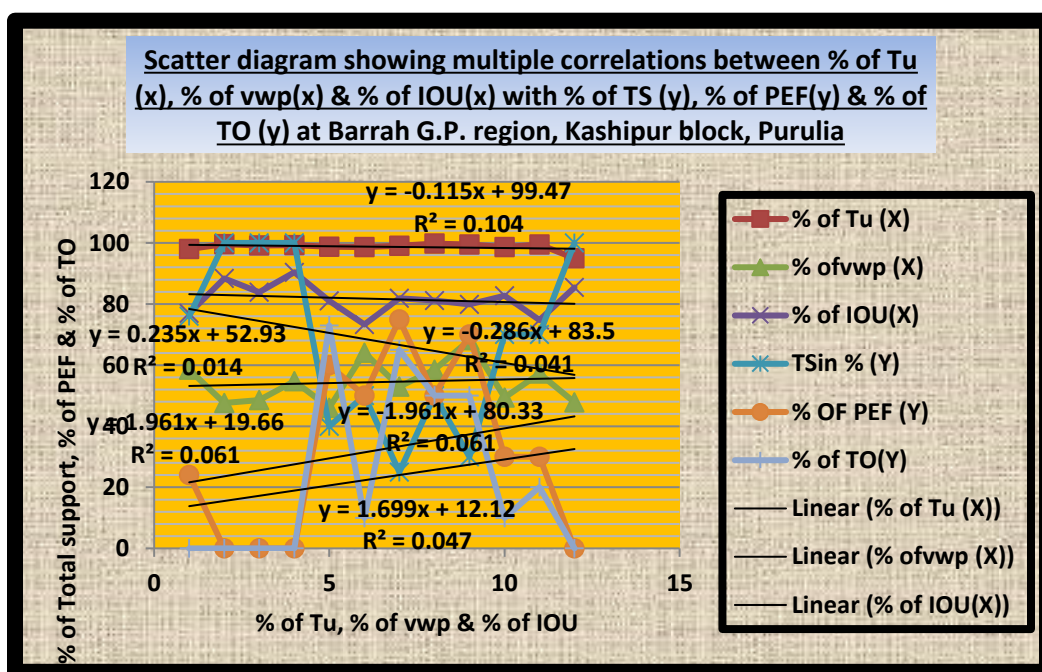
- % of vwp(y) & % of Tu are positively related to % of TS, % of PEF & TO indicating reciprocal influences among these factors.
- % of IOU has negative relationship with two x factors and neutral relationship with one x factors (% of TO).

**Multiple correlationship between % of Total support for save hill movement/TS ( x axis), Total opposition against save hill movement/TO ( x axis) & % of political economic factor/ PEF in favour of save hill movement (x axis) with % of turn out/Tu ( y axis) , % of votes of winning/leading party/ %vwp(y axis) and % of IOU/ index of opposition ( y axis) at booth areas of Barrah gram panchayat (G.P.) region, Kashipur block, Purulia ( in the year of 2019)**

**Table: 7b**

name of booth areas	% of Tu (X)	% of vwp (X)	% of IOU(X)	TS in % (Y)	% OF PEF (Y)	% of TO(Y)
1.Rajra	98	58.53	76.99	76	24	0
2.Palsara	99.62	47.65	88.36	100	0	0
3.Paharpur	99.12	48.52	83.88	100	0	0
4.Murulu	99.22	54.74	90.39	100	0	0
5.Sirjam	98.72	46.07	80.99	40	60	73
6.Jinamanipur	98.65	64.04	73.3	50	50	10
7.Rangamatia	99.09	52.93	81.89	25	75	65
8.Barra-1	99.76	58.53	81.14	50	50	50
9.Barra -2	99.44	68.18	79.92	30	70	50
10.Kadori	98.65	49.38	82.66	70	30	10
11.Chapri	99.52	57.24	74.7	70	30	20
12. Shayambathan	94.96	47.76	85.43	100	0	0

( This table is calculated by the author on the basis of data obtained in the 3<sup>rd</sup> field survey at Barrah G.P region in December 2019 & the electoral data obtained and then calculated from the master electoral data of loksabha election from website of election commission of India)

**Figure no: 2**

**Findings from both table no7a & figure no:1**

- 3b. On the basis of above mentioned data I construct a scatter diagram showing multiple correlations of factors associated with save hill movement ( all in y axis) with factors associated with electoral data (x) indicating that % of TS, % of PEF & % of TO have reciprocal positive relationship with % of vwp and % of Tu.

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## CONCLUDING REMARKS AND FINDINGS

From these above mentioned discussions it is found that save hill movement at Barrah gram panchayat region was initiated by tribal ( Santal and Bhumij ) and indigenous ( Kudmi-Mahato) communities to challenge the joint venture ( government of West Bengal & corporate organization) of mechanized stone mine project in that area. Religious spatial sentiments (concept of sacred space) and economic factors (fear of non availability of jobs from proposed stone mine project because it is capital-technology intensive project) are the main motivational factors for sudden mass mobilization during 2015 just before the bidhan shabha election of 2016. And despite police and administrative atrocities faced by the leaders and supporters of the movement ( as reported to me by leaders and supporters of the save hill movement) movement gradually spread all villages of Barrah and surrounding tribal and Kudmi-Mahato villages of other gram panchayat regions of Kashipur and other blocks of Purulia. Sensing the alarming situation Chief Minister of West Bengal directly intervened this matter and conveyed a meeting with leaders of save hill movement of Barrah at her office in “Nabanna” in Kolkata in January 2016 and after the meeting decided the scraping the corporate sponsored mechanized stone mine project with subsequent order of total stoppage of minor locally controlled small labour intensive stone mines. Scraping of corporate project made positive signal towards tribal and indigenous voters’ bur total stoppage of local small stone mines angered local people irrespective of caste and ethnic group and has been slight negative impact on electoral performance of ruling party both in the election of 2016 and 2019. Non performance of local gram panchayat with mass experience of lack of development al over the region with excessive corruption charges on local political elites also influenced to create negative electoral impact on performance of ruling party in the election of 2019. These sudden political debacles influenced the policy of the state government and as a result of this government of West Bengal initiated the socio-economic programme of “Duare Sarkar” in November 2020 made positive impact on electoral performance of ruling party in the election of 2021 as indicated the result already discussed. From this research paper it is evident that spatial factors have played important role to mobilize people in to organized political social movement that may influence the electoral outcome as evident in the case of Barrah gram panchayat region.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am grateful to leaders, activists, supporters of “Save hill “movement of Barrah gram panchayat region, villagers of different villages of Barrah for their help, support and cooperation in preparing this paper.

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