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SPATIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIO-POLITICAL MOVEMENTS AGAINST ANTHROPOGENIC DESTRUCTION OF RESIDUAL HILLS: A CASE OF KASHIPUR BLOCK IN PURULIA DISTRICT, WEST BENGAL

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Abstract:

Political dynamics of space and place are associated with different socio-economic factors that also influence local grass-root level politics of a region. Geo-ethnicity is the main discourse of public demonstrations with mass participation and evolved as a core issue of these types of socio-political movements. In this paper, an attempt has been made to explain spatial dynamics of numerous small socio-political movements against anthropogenic destruction of various residual hills particularly located in Ramonigora, Danurdi-Palgara area and other mouzas of Barrah gram panchayat of Kashipur Block in Purulia district, West Bengal from 2015-18. The present study is based on intensive field work, household survey and interviews to analyze the identification of spatial characteristics of public protests of local Adibasi-Mulbasi (tribal and indigenous) people. This paper also intends to establish an alternative political counter discourse with spatial significance and dynamics of place.

Keywords: Habitus of Marang Buru, Adibasi-Mulbasi resistance, Majistan or Maji Than, Religious significance of residual hills

1.0 Introduction:

Geomorphological space represents the temporal evolution of landform change with changing mode of lithology. These types of space have significant nature of physical geographical characteristics with distinct landform features symbolizing changing slopes accompanied with both climatic and weather phenomena. Residual hills, small hillocks have signified with distinct Geomorphologic characteristics with spatial-temporal changes. On the other, the concept of space and place are both important components and fundamental aspects of study of Geography particularly in the domain of social and cultural Geography. Concept of "Space" (Agnew 2) reflects the social and socio-economic life world with spatial dimension, and "Place" (Tuan 151) is the reflection of both from individual human feelings, anxiety, love and fondness to regional / sub regional aspirations. Richard Peet emphasizes "As Geographer we conceive of relationships which support life and which in turn express it in projecting deep into the environmental and extending wide across Space, people are seen being enmeshed in an organic relationship with

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earth. We are the product of the earth, we are it and it reflects our presence and action (Peet,1). Henri Lefebvre also extensively discussed the importance of socio-spatial process in the discussion on capitalism. According to Lefebvre the socio- spatial dialectic is the main driving force behind the survival of capitalism. As he wrote "Capitalism has found itself able to attenuate (if not response) its internal contradictions for a century and consequently in the hundred years since the writing of " Capital " it has succeeded in achieving growth. We cannot calculate at what price, but we do know the means: by occupying the space, by producing space"(quoted in Soja 91). Lefebvre also analyses that the space is the important analytical tool to uncover the mysteries of spatial components through elaborate discursion of " spatial practice", "representation of space & representational space" (Zieleniec 18). Apart from space the connotation of place and displacement are important aspects of Geographical knowledge (Simmel, 58). According to Yi Fu Tuan place represents human emotions, attachments, anger & behavioral values The concept of "Topophillia " & "Topophobia " introduced by Tuan is essential for the construction of eco-humanistic structure of a Geographical space (Tuan 151)

In the present paper we intend to establish relationship between spatial aspects and emotions of places associated with small residual hills/monadnocks with political social movements. Here we discuss the theoretical background of spatial and aspects of place of political social movements in a following manner. Protest is the natural psychological instinct which is originated from rationality and this instinct separates human being from other animal species. Rationality of protest of human being creates different mechanism of resistance and different aspects of stages of social movements gradually increasing the organizational capacity of human race. In the last 300 years, individual and collective protests of different communities have developed evolutionary structure of different aspects of resistance. Anxiety for loss, defeat, humiliations and subjugation develops some sense of resistance ,and resistance creates different forms of social/socio-political movement's resentment among old spatial communities triggering to create resistance and public mobilization .Destruction of residual hills for economic means also creates new space which may not be acceptable to local people or indigenous communities because their livelihood basically depends on the old space (here these residual hills).The destruction of this old space, will develop not only new space but also destroy the livelihood of indigenous communities.

2.0 Objectives of the Study:

- To explore the relationship between attachment of space and place with political social movements.
- To analyze the spatial significance associated with residual hills.

3.0 Database and Methodology:

- Detailed archival study of above-mentioned objectives and their background.
- Entire paper is mainly developed by primary data which is comprised with individual interviews, group interviews, and household survey.
- Household survey was conduct on the basis of sample method (social cluster method).
- Use of mouza maps, Google Earth images 2003 and 2019 for change detection analysis, Google Earth Pro.

4.0 Relationship between Space and Place with Political Social Movements / PSMs:

The term "social movement" was first introduced by German Sociologist L.V Stein in his book "History of French Social Movements from 1789 to the present (1850)". When social movements

have direct or indirect orientations with specific political actions, they may be termed as political-social movements. Political-social movements/PSMs or socio-political movement/SPMs are etymologically same, as they define as types of group actions with formal/informal grouping of individuals or organizations to focus on specific political, economic, social, cultural and democratic issues. PSMs are the product of socio-spatial dialectics.

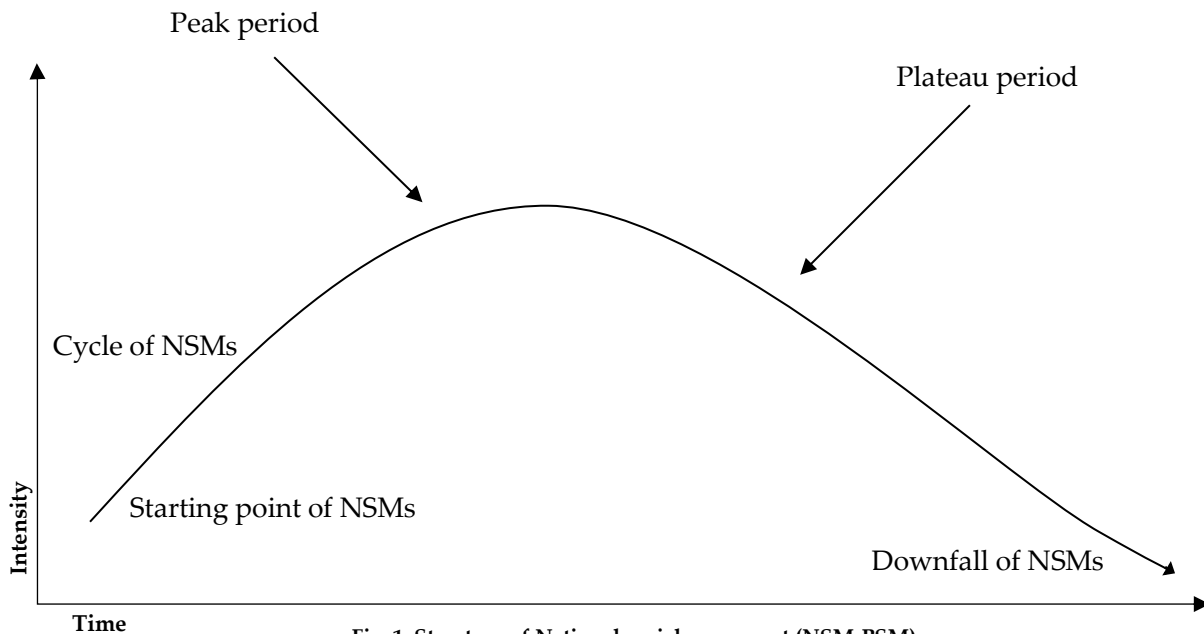


Fig. 1: Structure of National social movement (NSM-PSM)

Source: This line diagram is constructed by authors to show the evolution of political social movements [PSM]

5.0 Significance of the Study:

During 2015-18 new political social movements namely anti pathar khadan/stone mine movements better known as “Save hill movements” were emerged in three-gram panchayat (GP) areas of Raghunathpur-I and Kashipur Blocks. Two GPs are located in Raghunathpur-I Block namely) Bero GP area, b) Kajura GP area and one GP in Kashipur Block namely c) Barrah GP area. We have identified some areas of origin of these political social movements (popularly known as save hill movements) which are as follows:

Table 1: Name of Places of Origin of “Save Hill Movements” of Bero, Kajura & Barrah GPs of Raghunathpur-I& Kashipur Block, Purulia District

Name of GP Area	Duration of Movement	Name of Places of Origin (Name Of Mouzas)
Barrah GP	From January 2015 to September 2015	1. Palsara-Dhanurdi Mouza, 2. Ramonigora Mouza
Kajura GP	From January 2016 to March 2016	3. Kuilatola Tola/ Sub Mouza of Senara Mouza
Bero GP	From December 2016 to March 2017	4. Purba Bero Mouza, 5. Bero Namopara, 6 Baghicha Bero, 7. Puraton Bero Mouza 8. Kalapathar Mouza

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018

In this paper we have examined the effects of “Save Hill” movements in Barrah G.P. of Kashipur Block in Purulia District between 2015 & 2016 mainly centered around Palsara and Ramonigora village during 1st stage and gradually spread to other mouzas of this gram-panchayat.

7.0 Justification for the Selection of Study Area:

We select this gram panchayat with special reference to Palsara and Romonigora or Paharpur mouza with following justifications:

- Entire gram panchayat area of Barrah is a erosional undulating peneplain surfaces with few residual hills viz. Machan pahar (23° 25' 39"N and 86° 46' 35"E), Nara pahar (23° 24' 23"N and 86° 46' 33"E), Ban pahar (23° 23' 05"N and 86° 46' 10"E) and numerous granite outcrops or "pathar chattan (known in local Manbhum Bangla language). Dynamic land use pattern is derived from local Geomorphological features of Barrah gram panchayat which is shown in Table 2:

Table 2: Nature of Categories of Land in Barrah Gram Panchayat, Kashipur Block, Purulia District

Nature of Landscape	Percentage of Total 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

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018

Barrah gram panchayat is one of the ethnically diversified gram panchayats of Kashipur block, Purulia as evident from following data table:

Table 3: Ethnic Diversity of Barrah Gram Panchayat, Kashipur

Name Of Caste/ Tribe	% of Total Population	% of Sample Population (Social Cluster Sample)
Santal (ST)	31.70	37.19
Bauri (SC)	24.69	26.08
Suri-Mondal (SC)	00.79	00.70
Kudmi-Mahato (OBC-B)	26.53	21.33
Gorai (OBC-B)	03.22	2.40
Rajwar (SC)	02.97	2.72
Karmakar (General Non-Recognized SC)	02.93	2.08
Bhumij (ST)	00.26	0.52
Sarak (Bengali Hindu-Jain General Caste)	00.96	0.52
Ansari- Muslim (OBC-A)	01.70	1.48
Brahmin (Oriya)	00.23	0.19
Other Hindu Higher Caste (General)	05.00	4.18
Total	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018

- Concept of "save hill movement" was first initiated in this gram panchayat particularly in Palsara, Paharpur (Ramonigora), Murlu, Gayapahari, Nischintapur and Rara/ Rajra mouzas in the western part.
- This highly localized social movement was somehow successful and their main demands were accepted by the Govt.
- It is easily communicable due to the proximity of two railway stations namely Adra junction (7km from Barrah G.P.) and Sirjam station (50 km away from Barrah mouza and 3km from Palsara mouza) of S-W Railway.
- From 1995-2014 numerous small pathar khadans/stone mines were developed in Barrah G.P. due to the availability of numerous medium granite outcrops at various mouzas.

Keeping in view the above facts we put forward some research questions for this study as follows:

7.1 Research Questions:

- What are the reasons for sudden development of “Save hill movement” in Barrah G.P. area with particular reference to Palsara and other mouzas?
- Whether the concept of “place” and “space” is played any significant point of referential motivations behind this social movement?
- What are the socio-economic conditions prevailing in Barrah G.P.?
- Why this “Save hill movement” was partially successful?
- What are the spatial political implications of this social movement?

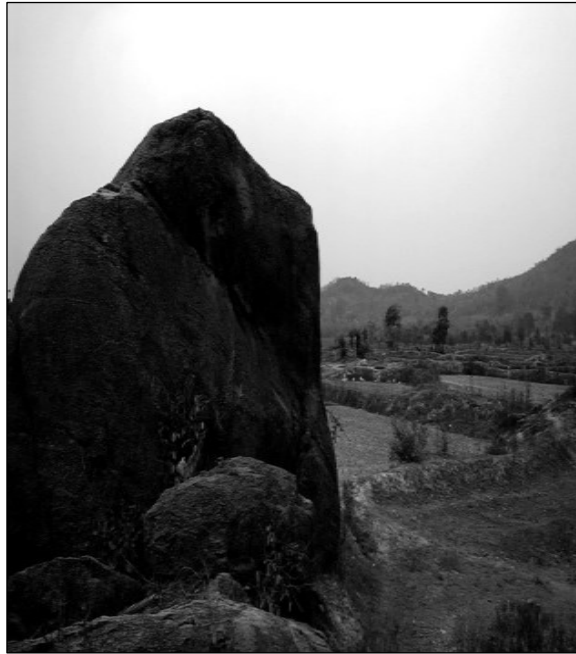


Fig. 2: Typical Granite “pathar chattans” / outcrops attractive for small pathar khadans/stone mines at Shyam-Bathan mouza at S.W. of Barrah G.P.

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018



(23°25'42" N & 86°46'E)

Fig. 3: Traditional musical instruments of Santals known as “Dhamsa” & “Madhols” at Palsara-Dhanurdi village

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018

The photograph (Fig. 3) shows traditional musical instruments of Santals known as “Dhamsa” & “Madhols” which are mainly used in different seasonal cultural festivals of Santal community. In this “Save hill movement” (Pahar Bachao Andolan) these musical instruments were used as medium of communication during the time of movement. These instruments were used for declaration of meetings, gatherings and in the time of demonstrations implicating ethnic cohesiveness.



Fig. 4: Study Area

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018 & Google Earth Pro.

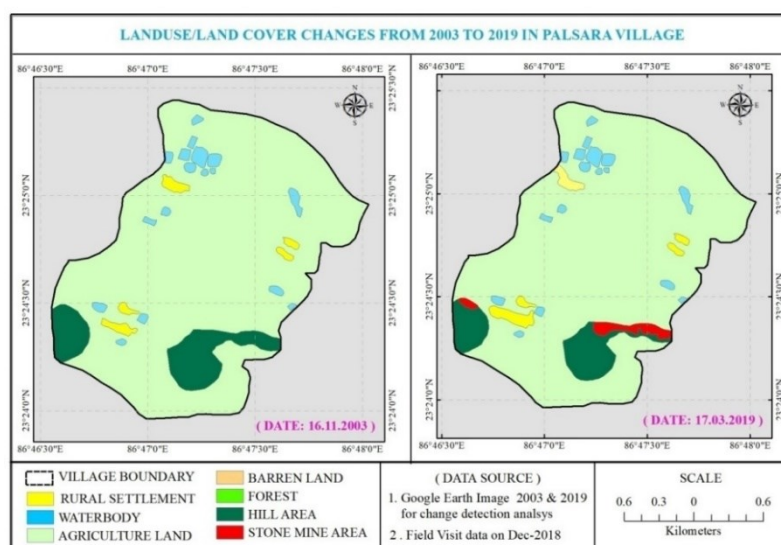


Fig. 5: Changes of land use & land cover in Palsara village from 2003 to 2019

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018 & Google Earth Pro.

Land Use Pattern of “Sarna-Dharma” and its Spatial Contribution in “Save Hill” Movement of Barrah G.P., Kashipur Block, Purulia with special reference to Palsara-Dhanurdi Mouza

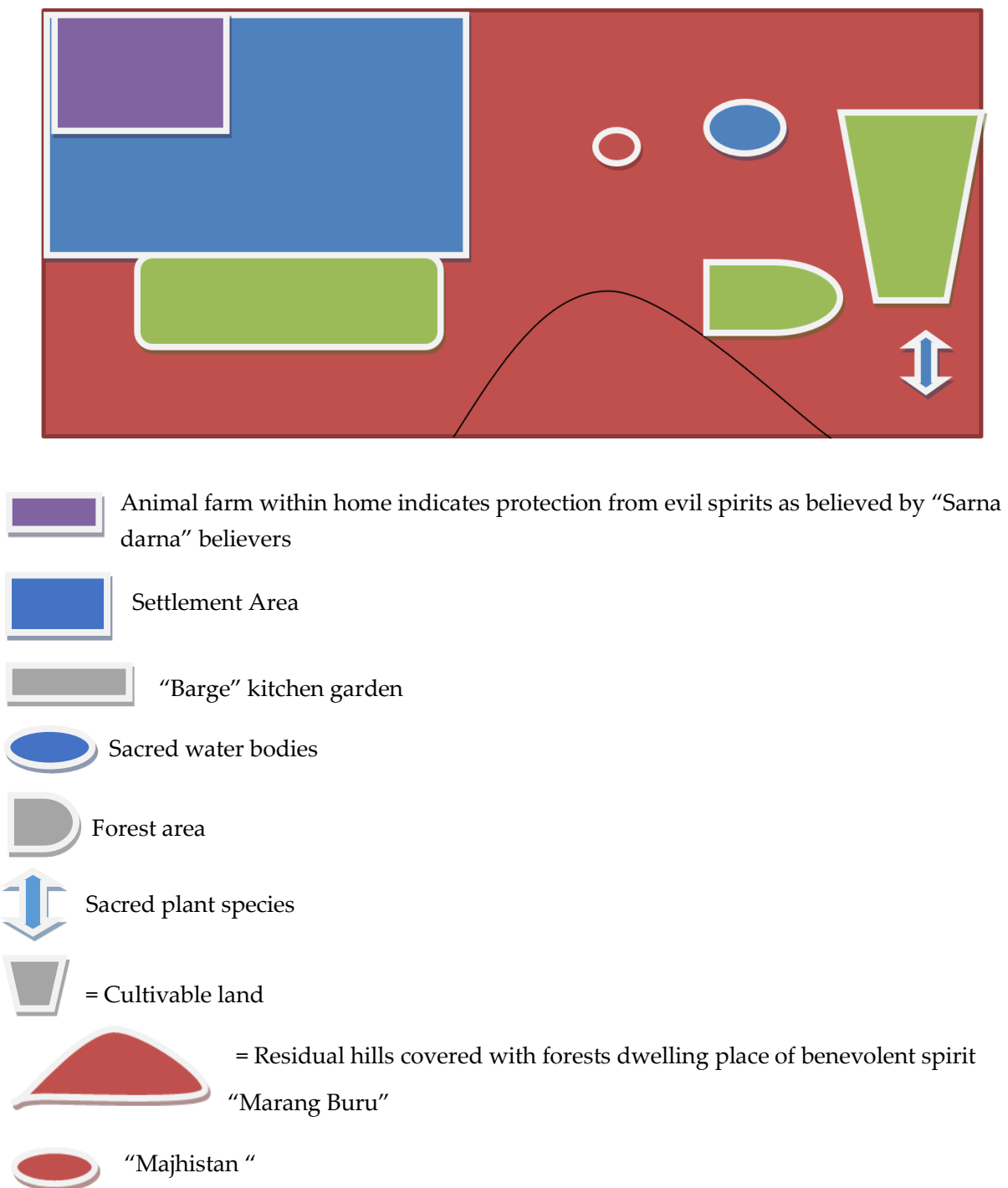


Fig. 6: Line Diagram showing the “Sarna” Land Use System
Source: Field Survey by the authors at Barrah G.P. in Nov. 2017 & Dec. 2018

Majority of Santal and Bhumij communities are the followers of “Sarna Dharma” or Sarna religion in the study area. Tribal people of Barrah G.P. also believe in various sects of Hinduism, recognized as co- believers of both Hindu and Sarna dharma. In Sarna belief system there are several unique characteristics which are as follows (Fig. 7):

- In Sarna belief system “Takur Jhiu” is recognized as supreme God and structure of religious beliefs are classified as following structure:

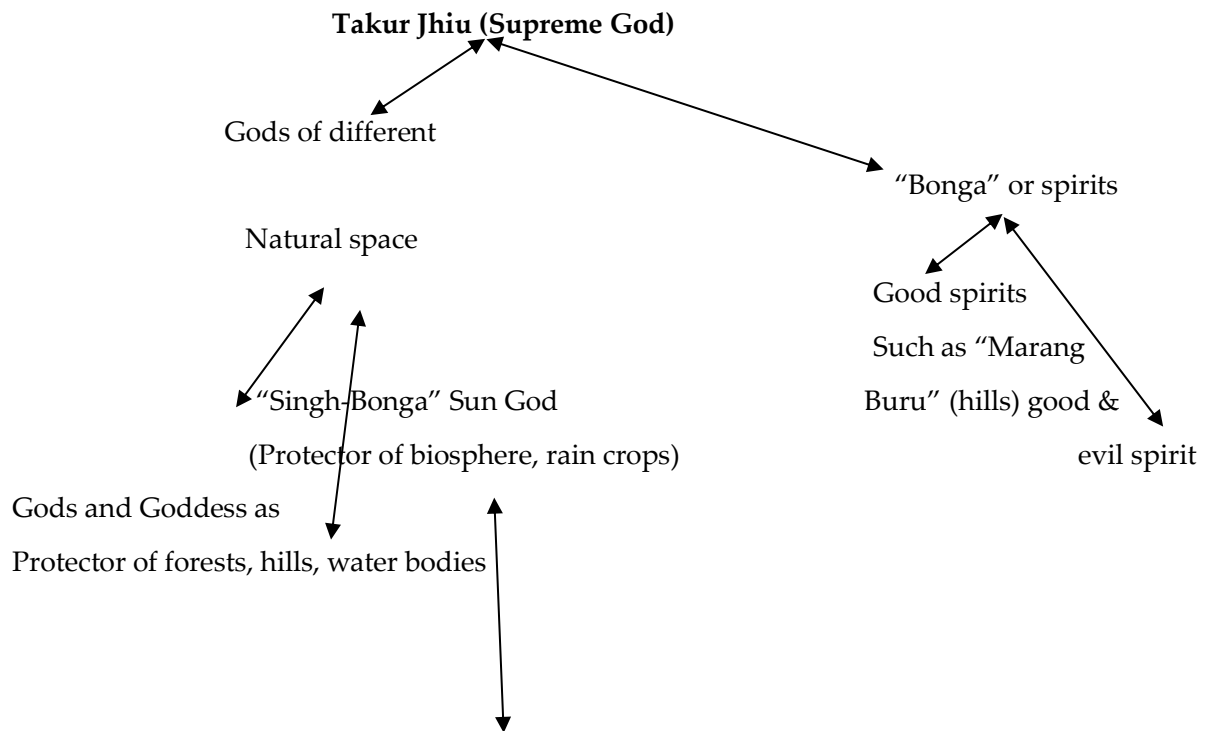


Fig. 7 Structure of Santal religious belief
Source: Field Survey at Barrah G.P. in Dec.2017 & Nov. 2018

From Fig. 6 it is evident that as a Naturalist Animist religion “Sarna Dharma” has some definite sustainable approaches to create the concept of sacred space.

- It is evident from Fig. 1 that concept of sacred space highly influences the landscape mental map of local Santal, Bhumij, Kudmi Mahato and other indigenous communities of Barrah G.P. with special reference to Palsara-Dhanurdi Paharpur and other mouzas.
- Attachment of place (both concepts of “Topophilia” & “Topophobia”) is the main motivational force behind this “Save hill” movements at Barrah G.P. Here this attachment is developed due to the sacred space concept of “Sarna Dharma” as evidenced from our individual interview with the supreme leader of “Save hill” movement “Barrah Pahar Bachao Committee” (BPBC) Sri Joydhan Murmu said “1. Pahar or hills are not mechanically created by human being so pahar is the great creation of our supreme God, 2. Beauty of Mother Nature is the main motivational force for us, 3. Livelihood of adibasi/tribal people depends on hills, forests and lands {“pahar, jungle, jamin”}, 4. So main duty of Santal and other adibasi indigenous people {“Har-Mitan” people} is to protect this natural landscape with soil and forest which are designated as dwelling place of our Gods and Spirits. Banpahar, Nara pahar and Machan pahar - all these residual hills are dwelling place of our Gods and spirits such as “Marang-Buru” and Sal forest of these hills are designated as sacred spiritual forests, 5. We cannot support the development through the destruction of hills, 6. We also worried about our local environment as we also predict that if large stone mine projects are developed over these three hills, it will increase different types of environmental pollutions such as air pollution, water pollution, sound pollution, 7. These types of large stone mine projects are highly mechanized and capital intensive and don’t need large no of labour forces. As a result, very small number of local people will get employment, so this project is curse for us (highlighted by authors), 8. We perform pujas and melas at Machan pahar and Narapahar in the name of “maker parab” so culturally these hills are also important, 9. We are not against small pathar khadans or small

stone mines over “pathar chattans” but are wholeheartedly against large mechanized stone mines over our scared places like these three hills and adjoining forests and lands. These nine points derived from this interview may help to analyze the genesis of this unique “Save hill” movement at Barrah G.P. in and around 2015-16.

8.0 Genesis of “Save Hill” Movement:

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:

- Barrah region is agriculturally backward with dearth of extensive irrigation facilities as one of the common respondents said in an interview is “Chas-Basee Akash Bharsha” (Sky is the main source of agriculture). Actually, rainfall in the rainy season is the main source of water for agriculture.
- Majority of people are engaged in informal sector and other labour-intensive wage economy.
- So, working as mining workers in the pathar khadans are the alternative employment opportunities as shown in the table (Table-4) below:

Table 4: Nature of Small Stone Mine Workers of Pathar Khadans of Barrah G.P, Kashipur Block, Purulia District

Name of Mouza	No of Pathar Khadans	No of Local Mine-Workers	No of Outside Workers	No of Local Mine Service Staff	No of Outside Mine Service Staff	Owners of Small Stone Mines
1. Dhulapahari	02	212	102	02	01	Local
2. Shayambathan	01	244	86	01	02	Outsiders
3. Dejori	02	236	120	03	03	Outsiders
4. Chapri	01	149	56	01	01	Outsiders
5. Kadori	01	200	36	05	09	Outsiders
6. Mahojora	04	221	272	01	01	Cooperative
7. Bhabanipur	08	258	334	01	02	Outsiders
8. Jinamanipur	02	275	321	01	05	Local
Total	21	1795	1327	15	24	

Source: Field Survey by the authors in November 2017 & December 2018

- It is evident from our survey that majority of local mine workers are from Bauri caste (SC) & Kudmi-Mahato communities (OBC-B). In the case of outside mine workers, Santal, Munda, Koras, Oraon, Dusad communities are dominant and these outside workers are from neighboring state of Jharkhand.

Table 5: Caste-wise workers engaged in stone mines

Name of Caste/Tribe	% of Stone Mine Workers
1. Santal	2.56
2. Bauri	47.91
3. Kudmi-Mahato	32.26
4. Gorai	2.9
5. Rajwar	4.01
6. Karmakar	5.35
7. Other Higher Caste Hindu	5.01
	100%

Source: Field Survey by the authors in November 2017 & December 2018

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 the Government of West Bengal wanted to take part in this business when a state-owned West Bengal Mineral Development Corporation (WBMD) took an initiative to develop mechanized large stone mine projects over three residual hills of Barrah G.P. namely Machan pahar ($23^{\circ}25'39''N$ and $86^{\circ}46'35''E$), Nara pahar ($23^{\circ}24'23''N$ and $86^{\circ}46'33''E$), Ban pahar ($23^{\circ}23'05''N$ and $86^{\circ}46'10''E$) in and around Palsara-Dhanurdi mouza. This project has been in PPP model (Public-Private-Partnership) and local people particularly Santal, Bhumij and indigenous communities took it as serious offence as these residual hills are sacred place for them. Besides, local mining operators did not use 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, which developed deep public anger to initiate save hill movement at Barrah G.P. Spatial pattern of "Save Hill" movement is shown in the Fig. 8 below:

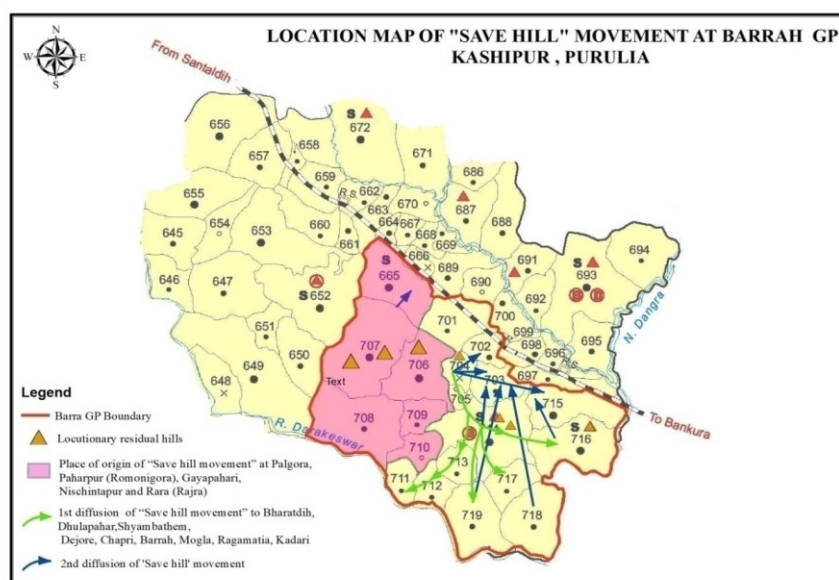


Fig. 8: Locational map of save hill movement

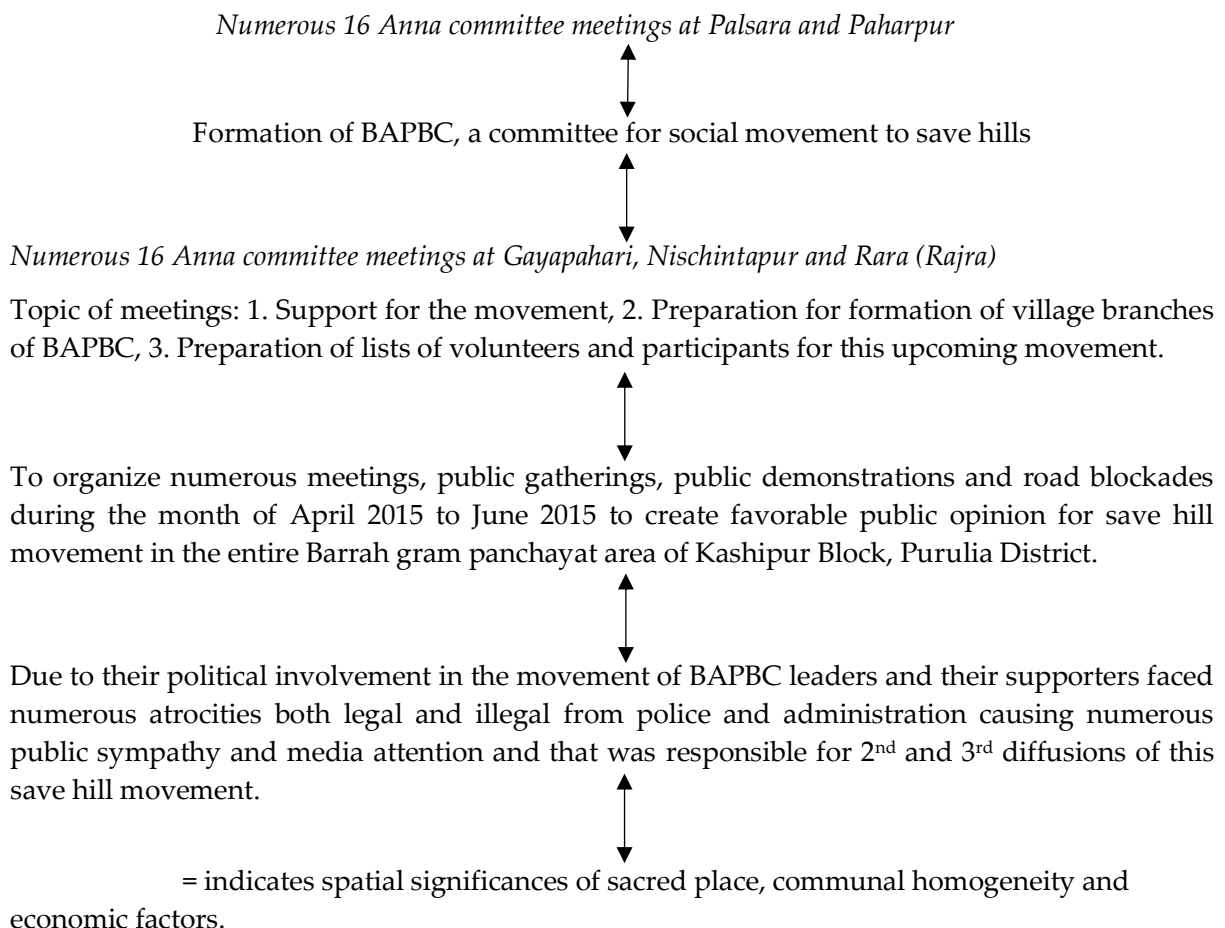
Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018

Villages of Palsara, Paharpur (Ramonigora), Gayapahari, Nischintapur and Rara (Rajra) are designated as base area or place of origin of save hill movement as shown in the Fig. 8. From our field survey it is found that this core area is divided into two sub groups namely as (a) Inner core area comprising Palsara-Dhanurdi, Paharpur mouzas, (b) outer core area comprising Gayapahari, Nischintapur and Rara (Rajra) mouzas. Now question arises why suddenly Palsara-Dhanurdi and Paharpur mouzas are recognized as inner core / hard core area for save hill movement. We have

tried to answer this question through some findings from our field surveys conducted during November 2017 & December 2018. These are:

- Three residual hills namely Machan Pahar, Bon Pahar and Nara Pahar are adjacent to these two villages. These hills were recognized as project sites of stone mining initiated by WBMD. These hills are recognized as sacred place for Santal, Bhumij, Kudmi- Mahato & other “Mulbasi-Adibasi” people. Machan Pahar is also religiously recognized as sacred place of Hindus because it is recognized site of “Shravan Mela “during rainy season.
- These two villages are ethnically homogenous.
- According to Sri Joydhan Murmu, supreme leader of “Pahar Bachao Committee” / “Save Hill” movement (interview with Joydhan Murmu)that after hearing the news of stone mining project people of Palsara-Dhanurdi mouza organized their “16 Anna” committee meeting on 16.01.2015(village committee) to develop separate committee for movement. Separate committee for this social movement was constituted in the month of February 2015 named as “Barrah Anchal Pahar Bacho Committee or BAPBC” (“Barrah region save hill movement”) led by Sri Joydhan Murmu, a plumber by profession of Palsara and recognized priest of “Sarna Dharma” (“Murmu is the priest clan of Santal community). After its formation BAPBC conducted numerous meetings in Palsara and Paharpur mouza during the month of February, March and April 2015 in the outer core areas of social movement. This stage (between February 2015 to April2015) may be termed as *first stage of* save hill movement. Political activities of 1st stage are structured below:

8.1 Structure of Save Hill Movement During 1st Stage:



8.2 Stages of 2nd And 3rd Diffusion of Save Hill Movement:

We have already discussed the place of origin and primary formations of movement. After the month of June 2015 save hill movement of Barrah experienced its 2nd and 3rd diffusion and it has been already shown in the Fig. 8. 2nd and 3rd diffusion of this political social movement is caused by number of factors:

- Attachment of surrounding place, hills, small rivulets and immediate surroundings through the religious feelings of sacred places.
- Fear of place or “Topophobia” as expressing through collective anxiety of community with displacement from “home” in near future.
- WBMDc sponsored proposed stone mining projects will be capital intensive with highly mechanized technology-based production system little attraction from poor people of Barrah G.P.
- Entire Barrah G.P. is agriculturally backward with little development in any types of irrigation projects. Majority of working population of Barrah region are engaged in informal sector, so unemployment rate is high in this region. But this proposed mechanized stone projects will made little effects to eradicate these unemployment rates, so local people expressed their anger through participation in this movement.
- Through our sample survey (social cluster method) it is evident that majority of the people irrespective of caste and tribe are unsatisfied with local governance and angry about govt. delivery systems and these dissatisfaction and anger with spatial anxiety were the main motivators for this movement.
- This localized movement also influenced local electoral politics.

Table 6: Spatial Structure of Save Hill Movement of Barrah Region, Kashipur, Purulia

Name of Stages	Nature of Place with Temporal Data	Name of Mouzas
1 st Stage	Places of Origin with Inner Core and Outer Core Area (January to April 2015)	Palsara-Dhanurdi, Paharpur (Romonigora) In Inner Core and Murulu, Gayapahari, Nischintapur and Rara (Rajra) In Outer Core Area
2 nd Stage	Places effected by 1 st Diffusion (April to June 2015)	Bharatdih, Dhulapahari, Shyambathan, Dejori, Chapri, Barra/Barrah, Moshla, Rangamatia and Kadori
3 rd Stage	Places effected by 2 nd Diffusion (June to September 2015)	Mahojora, Bhabanipur, Sirjam and Jinamanipur

Source: Field Survey by the authors in 2017 & 2018

9.0 Results of Sample Survey:

We conduct extensive sample survey (social cluster) throughout entire Barrah G.P. region to find root causes responsible for the development of this local political social movement. Our findings are discussed as follows:

- A. *SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS – From the following tables we find some interesting socio-economic facts which may be recognized to create root cause for any political social movement.*

Table 7 (Sample Survey-1): Nature of Main Occupation of Sample Families of Barrah Gram-Panchayat, Kashipur Block, Purulia District

Name of Occupations	Santal (ST)	Bauri (SC)	Suri-Mondal (SC)	Kudmi-Mahato (OBC-B)	Gorai (OBC-B)	Rajwar (SC)	Karmakar (G)	Bhumij (ST)	Sarak (G)	Muslim (Ansari-OBC-A)	Brahman (G)	Other Higher Caste
Cultivators (Medium-Large)	10	--	02	09	04	---	---	---	02	--	---	02
Cultivators (Small&Medium)	31	06	--	26	04	---	03	---	---	---	01	06
Agricultural Workers	55	64	-	03	--	04	01	02	---	---	---	---
Share-Croppers (Bargaders)	16	01	-	05	--	04	01	---	---	---	---	02
Local Daily Wage Labourers (Upto 6 Months)	13	22	-	04	--	03	02	---	---	02	---	---
Local Daily Wage Labourers (6 Months to 1 Year) / Namaliyas	45	02	-	05	--	02	--	---	---	---	---	---
Migrant Workers	36	14	-	21	03	01	02	---	---	---	---	06
Casual Workers	16	05	-	19	--	01	---	---	---	04	---	05
Workers of Other Informal Sectors	10	03	-	09	---	01	---	---	---	03	---	01
Workers in Local Stone Mines	02	34	-	25	02	03	02	---	---	---	---	05
Household Workers	08	04	-	05	--	01	---	---	---	02	---	---
Business	03	-	02	06	01	--	--	---	01	01	---	03
Fishing	01	-	---	02	--	---	---	---	--	---	---	01
Service (Permanent/Private)	05	-	---	05	01	---	---	---	---	---	---	02
Service (Govt. Jobs)	03	-	01	04	--	---	---	---	02	---	01	01
TOTAL	254	155	05	148	15	20	11	02	05	12	02	34

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018

- From Table 7 it is evident that all SC & ST communities are economically backward with some people of general categories such as Karmakar and Ansari Muslims. As a peasant community Kudmi-Mahato community is vertically stratified on the basis of economic class. Suri-Mondals (SC), Sarak (Bengali Jain) are recognized as advanced communities. Other Higher caste is also vertically stratified on the basis of economic criteria. This observation is also supported by our next data table.

Table 8 (Sample Survey-2): Monthly Income of Sample Families of Barrah Gram Panchayat, Kashipur Block, Purulia District (in %)

Categories of Income (Rupees)	Santal (ST)	Bauri (Sc)	Suri-Mondal (SC)	Kudmi-Mahato (OBC-B)	Gorai (OBC-B)	Rajwar (SC)	Karmakar (G)	Bhumij (ST)	Sarak (G)	Muslim (Ansari-OBC-A)	Brahmin (G)	Other Higher Caste
Less than 1500	42.91	63.87	---	59.46	---	50	54.55%	100	---	50	---	35.29
1501-2500	27.17	28.57	---	14.87	53.33	40	27.27	---	---	25	50	17.65
2501-5000	20.87	5.16	60	5.41	20	10	18.18	---	---	25	50	17.65
5001-10,000	6.30	2.58	40	5.41	13.33	---	---	---	40	---	---	5.88
10,001-15,000	1.18	---	---	6.76	6.67	---	---	---	20	---	---	8.82
15001-20,000	1.18	---	---	5.41	6.67	---	---	---	20	---	---	8.82
More than 20,000	0.39	---	---	2.70	---	---	---	---	20	---	---	5.88

G= General Categories

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018

From this above-mentioned table, it is found that both very lower- and lower-income groups (less than 1500/month: very lower income & 1501-2500/ month: lower income group) are predominant in the socio-economic space of Barrah region. These categories may be termed as poor section and 42.91% of Santal, 63.87% of Bauri, 59.46% of Kudmi-Mahato, 50% of Rajwar, 54.55% of Karmakar, 100% of Bhumij, 50% of Ansari-Muslim, 35.29% of other higher caste communities are categorized in very low-income group.

- It is evident from the Table 7 that large no of agricultural workers is from Bauri (41.29%), Bhumij (100%), Rajwar communities (20% of sample families) *indicating communities' marginalization of both economic and social senses*. They are followed by Kudmi-Mahato (2.03% of sample families), Karmakar (9.09%) and Santals (21.65%). It is also found from data that on the basis of economic class and income, four social communities (namely Santal, Kudmi Mahato, Karmakar & Other Hindu castes) of our both sample family and sample population size *are vertically stratified and due to this reason, this is politically active and mobile particularly in the social politics of society rather party politics of political space*. Sarak (Bengali Jain), Brahmins, Gorai(OBC-B) and Suri-Mondals (SC) represent as *privileged, economically dominant communities*(as it reflected in the point nos 1,2,12, 14 & 15 of table-7). Affirmative action programmes are also benefited for some ST, SC & OBC-B communities such as Santals, Suri-Mondals, and Gorai & Kudmi-Mahato as evident in point no 14 & 15. Other Hindu higher castes (OHHC) are also present significantly in the point nos of 14 & 15 of the same table indicating formation of *nascent middle class in Barrah region, very identical class element of intellectual power of any social movement*.
- It is also found from the table that majority of the people from our both sample families and sample population are in different types of workers categories (from point no 5 to 11 of table no-SS-1) *indicating that some people are situated outside the spectrum of local client-patron politics of panchayat space. As a result of this, some workers may take independent decision at the time of political action essential for development of any political social movement such as "Save Hill" movement of Barrah region*.
- It is evident from point number 4 from that particular table that *"operation Barga" was a failed economic egalitarian project particularly in Barrah G.P. area of Kashipur block of Purulia district*.
- It is also evident from point no 10 of table-7 that about 408 people of our sample population (73 sample families) were engaged in small stone mine operations before 2015. In this case, engagement of Bauri, Kudmi-Mahato, Gorai, Rajwar, Karmakar and Other caste Hindu communities were more than other sample communities. *Contributions of Santals were very few (only 0.79% of Santal sample families were engaged in stone mining) may indicate the reason for large participation in the social movement*.
- Table 8 is the supportive document for these above-mentioned points from 1 to 6.

10.0 Main Factors behind "Save Hill" Movement of Barrah Region, Kashipur, Purulia:

From our extensive field survey, we identified no of factors responsible for the development of "Save Hill" movement at Barrah region which are shown in the table below:

Table 9 (Sample Survey-3): Main Factors responsible for Development of “Save Hill” Movement at Barrah Region of Kashipur Block, Purulia District

Name of Sample Caste/Tribe Families with Sample Population	Spiritual Spatial Factors	Environmental Factors	Protection of Forests	Protection of Geo-Diversity	No Benefits from Large Stone Mines	Politically Motivated (Against the Movement)	Don't Know
Santal (1379)	96% (1324)	45% (621)	42% (579)	31% (428)	32% (441)	-----	-----
Bauri ((967)	-----	15% (145)	16% (155)	02% (19)	12% (116)	17% (164)	38% (368)
Suri-Mondal (26)						96% (24)	4% (2)
Kudmi-Mahato (791)	4% (32)	30% (237)	28% (222)	39% (309)	28%(222)	31(245)	---
Gorai (89)						85% (76)	15% (13)
Rajwar (101)		2% (2)	4% (4)	16% (16)	8% (9)	-----	70% (71)
Karmakar (77)		3% (2)	2% (2)	-----	10% (8)	-----	85% (66)
Bhumij (19)							100% (19)
Sarak (42)						93% (39)	7% (3)
Ansari-Muslim (55)							100% (55)
Brahmin (7)						93% (5)	7% (2)
Other Higher Caste Hindu (155)	----	5% (6)	8% (12)	12% (19)	10% (16)	23% (36)	42% (65)

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018

- A. Spiritual-spatial factors: It is the concept of sacred place where some aspects of physical space as recognized as spiritual social space for few social communities already discussed in previous sections. 96% of Santal sample population recognized spiritual spatial factors as main factor for “Save Hill” movement in Barrah region followed by 4% positive opinion from Kudmi-Mahato community.
- B. Environmental factors: It means anxiety on different environmental pollutions (as water contaminations, soil erosion, sound pollution, air pollutions etc.) associated with proposed large mechanized stone mining projects over three residual hills of Barrah region. These concerns were expressed through numerous interviews and sample surveys. Highest concerns were expressed by Santal, Bauri and Kudmi-Mahato communities.
- C. Protection of forests: Concern for protection of forests was another driving force for the development of “Save Hill” movement in Barrah. Highest concern was expressed by Santal community followed by Kudmi-Mahato, Bauri, Other Hindu higher caste, Karmakar and Rajwar communities.
- D. Protection of Geo-diversity: It means aspiration for protection of hills, granite rock base or “pathar chattan”. Highest no response was recorded from Kudmi-Mahato community followed by Santal, Rajwar, Other Higher caste Hindu (OHCH), Bauri communities.
- E. No benefits from large stone-mine projects: Many communities (table-9) expressed concern that non availabilities of jobs will be associated with proposed large stone mine projects because proposed project will be capital intensive rather than labour intensive.
- F. Politically motivated (expressing opposition towards “Save Hill” movements): Some social communities expressed negative attitudes against this social movement due to fear of future dislocation of their dominant socio-economic positions in local societal life.
- G. “Don’t know”: It was expressed by marginalized communities with some socially dominant communities.

Table 10 (Sample Survey-4): Identification of Popular Support Base of “Save Hill” Movement from Sample Population of Barrah G.P. Region, Kashipur Block, Purulia District

Name of Caste/ Tribe	Fully Supportive on Movement (%)	Partially Supportive on Movement (%)	Unfavourable about Movement (%)	Against Attitude towards Movement (%)	“Don’t Know” Category
Santal (ST)	80	20	-----	-----	-----
Bauri (SC)	----	04	-----	35	61
Suri-Mondal (SC)	-----	-----	40	60	-----
Kudmi-Mahato (OBC-B)	38	32	18	11	01
Gorai (OBC-B)	-----	-----	69	28	03
Rajwar (SC)	-----	10	-----	-----	90
Bhumij (ST)	02	04	-----	-----	94
Karmakar (General)	28	31	23	10	08
Sarak (Bengali Jain)	-----	-----	11	79	10
Ansari-Muslim (OBC-A)	-----	-----	-----	-----	100
Brahmin (General)	-----	-----	-----	100	-----
Other Higher Caste Hindu Communities	12	29	53	-----	06

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018

Sample table SS-04 shows distinct ethnic support base of “Save Hill” movement of Barrah region indicating consolidation of “Mulbasi-Adibasi” unity to save residual hills. It also indicates partial to total opposition against this movement by socially and economically privileged section of certain ethnic communities and in this regard, it is also found that social communities of Kudmi-Mahato, Karmakar and Other Higher caste Hindus are also vertically stratified in the case of both supporting and opposing the movement indicating vertical economic stratification on the basis of economic class. Majorities of both economically and socially marginalized communities namely Bauri, Rajwar, Bhumij and Ansari Muslim communities made their opinion at “don’t know” section showing their fear of losing day-to-day works/ jobs.

11.0 Opinion on Development Works initiated by Government and Performance of Local Gram Panchayat of Barrah Region, Kashipur, Purulia and their Indirect Impact on “Save Hill” Movement:

In our field survey it is evident that local people of Barrah region (irrespective of ethnic/ caste/ tribal categories) expressed their dissatisfactions on the working performances of local gram panchayats. We found that many respondents don’t aware about different social and economic development schemes initiated by both state and central governments.

We found some interesting points during our interviews and sample household surveys that apart from poor govt. delivery systems in development schemes and local level corruption charges against local panchayat officials and local politicians, people expressed their anger and show their frustration on BPL lists made by local panchayat and BDO office. We found the actual no of BPL families in our sample families which are more than the actual no of BPL families exposing some hidden corruptions and governmental. negligence in this matter. This anger also fuelled the social movement.

Table 11 (Sample Survey-5): Comparative Data Set Showing Actual No of BPL Families with Official Data of BPL and ABL Families of Barrah G.P. Region, Kashipur Block, Purulia (Interviews and Household Survey of Sample Families in %)

Comparative Data Set	Santal	Bauri	Suri-Mondal	Kudmi-Mahato	Gorai	Rajwar	Karmakar	Bhumij	Sarak	Ansari - Muslim	Brahmin	Other Higher Caste Hindu
Actual Poor Families (on The Basis of Family Income & Family Consumption- Month Wise & Position of Agricultural Land (Land Holding Data)	70.08%	74.33%	----	74.32%	53.33%	90%	81.82%	100%	-----	75%	22%	52.94%
Official Data of BPL Families	3.54%	5.16%	<u>8.86%</u>	8.11%	-----	5%	5%	-----	<u>4%</u>	-----	-----	-----
Official Data of ABL Families	96.46%	94.84%	91.14%	91.89%	100%	95%	95%	100%	96%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Field Survey in December 2017 & November 2018

From this table (Table no-SS-05) we derive some explanations that vindicate corruption

Whether “Save Hill” Movement of Barrah Region, Kashipur, and Purulia was Successful?

It was the one of the shortest political social movements of the world. Origin of movement was in January 2015 with gradual spreading aftermath and sudden decline in the month of September 2015 due to the direct intervention from the office of Chief Minister. Chief Minister conveyed a meeting with leaders of “Save hill” movement of Barrah region and agreed to scrap the large stone projects over three residual hills of Barrah region and also declared that govt now are not willing to give permission to start small stone mines over “pathar chattans”. These decisions indicated that in the short run this “save hill” movement was successful and their objectives were fulfilled. Now question is that why this “Save hill” movement was successful? Here we construct the answers briefly:

- “Save hill” movement in Barrah region was a space centric political social movement based on religious beliefs *of sacred space already discussed*. Sarna religious beliefs are associated with space/place centric features. Local tribal and indigenous communities namely Santal, Bhumij, Kudmi-Mahato are followers of Sarna land use beliefs with concept of sacred space. Residual hills, forests, agricultural lands, water bodies are recognized as sacred space, so any change of existing geo-diversity, bio-diversity, physical landscape and cultural landscape create feelings of “attachment of place” and “fear of place” recognizing as motivational issues for tribal and indigenous communities already discussed in the previous section.
- It is already discussed that mainly Santal, Kudmi-Mahato, other Hindu higher caste communities are vertically stratified on the basis of economic criteria. Small but strong middle-class leaders of these communities (mainly in private and govt. service) are agreed to tie up with traditional leaderships such as priest community of “Sarna” dharma to initiate the movement.
- It is already discussed that there was general public perception (must be true in practical sense) to questioning the employment viability of these large-scale stone mining projects on three residual hills of Palsara. We have already discussed that majority of our sample families and population expressed their negative opinion on these projects.
- It is evident from our field surveys in 2017 & 2018 that majority of sample families and sample population expressed negative opinions with anger and anxiety on govt. delivery systems of different development programmes and works. Local people were very much critical on

activities of govt. And performance of the local panchayat has motivated them to participate and support this movement.

Government and ruling party were worried on their future political prospects because tribal communities' mainly Santal communities were totally engaged in this "Save hill" movement in entire Barrah region with hundred per cent participation in Santal majority villages with strong passive support from both other tribal, Dalit, other indigenous communities with tacit support from some other communities.

12.0 Conclusion:

It is evident from our research that spatial aspects particularly aspects of sacred space, attachment on space/place, fear with place may create political motivations to organize a social movement within a political space and that can also influence local electoral and non- electoral politics with certain temporal stage. Socio-economic and other social factors are ultimately associated with spatial political factors to create the base of popular participation in the social movement with distinct motivations which are mainly composed of sacred spatial perceptions. These sacred spatial perceptions will be designated as main diffusion factors as we know that "Save hill" movement of Barrah region influenced other save hill movements in Kuilatola, Bero region of Raghunathpur and "Ajodhya buru" movement of Arsha-Bagmundi regions Purulia district between 2017 & 2020.

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