



# BATTLE FOR BENGAL 2021

**POLITICAL THEMES AND  
ELECTORAL DYNAMICS**



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# Introduction

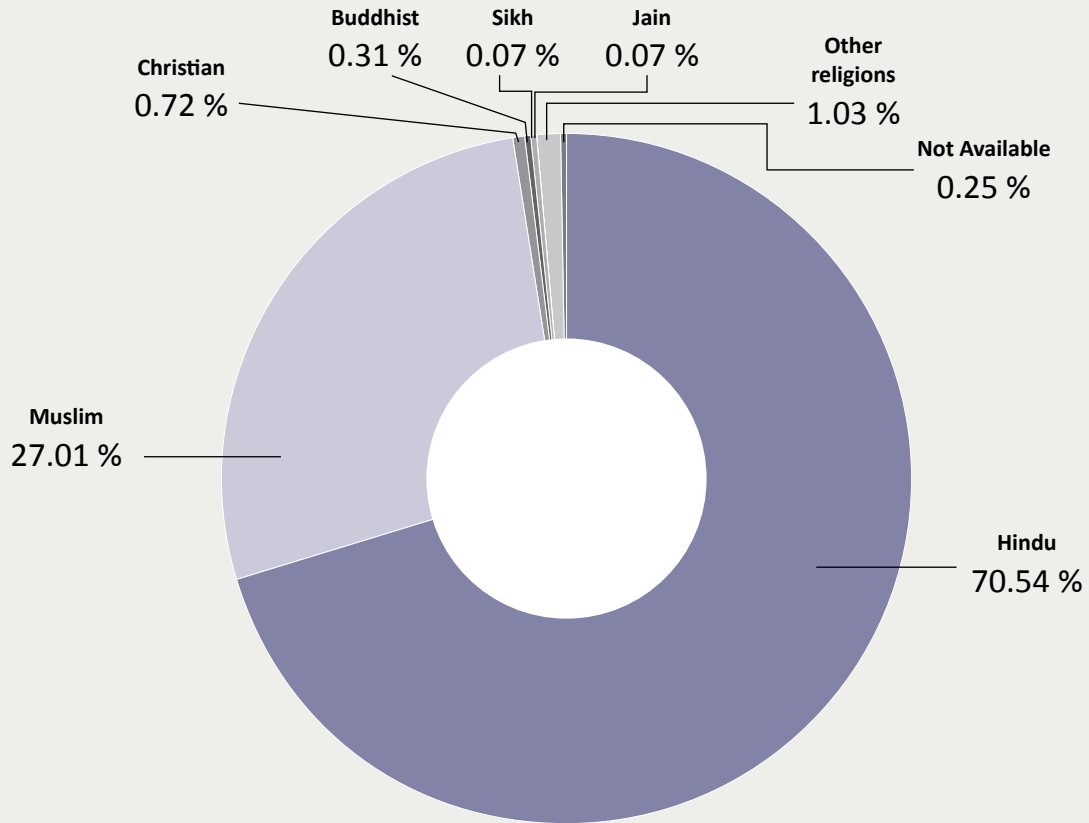
India is set to witness the Vidhan Sabha elections in the coming months in the states of West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Assam, as well as in the Union Territory of Puducherry.<sup>1</sup> This study offers a primer on the polls in West Bengal. It outlines and analyses the most fundamental political themes in the state which could influence the conduct and outcome of the elections.

As voting behaviour can be determined by elements of the socio-economic, and cultural identity of the electorate, this primer opens with an overview of West Bengal's demographic profile (See Tables 1 – 10). In the upcoming election, out of 2.05 million new voters, there are about 268,000 aged 18-19.<sup>2</sup>

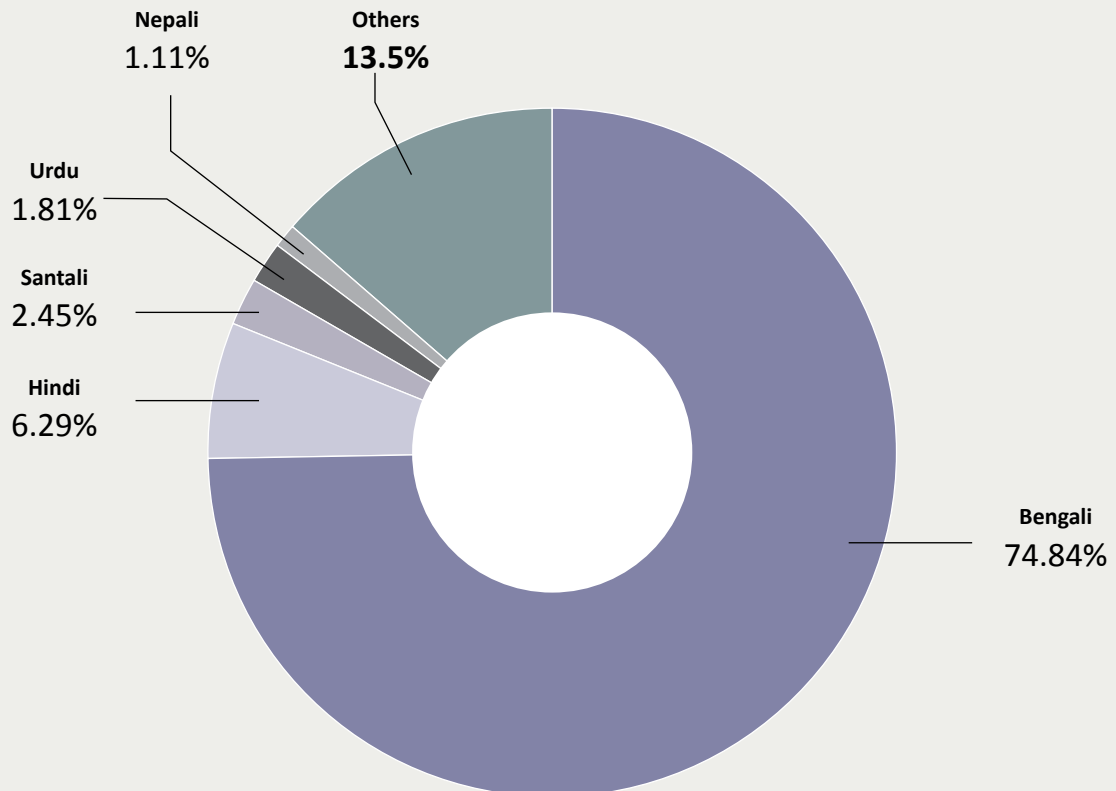
**Table 1: Key Population Parameters**

Indicators	West Bengal	National Average
Population	91.3 million	1.21 billion
Population growth	13.84 %	17.70 %
Population density	1028 per km <sup>2</sup>	382 per km <sup>2</sup>
Sex Ratio	950	940
Child Sex Ratio	956	914
Literacy	76.26 %	74.04 %
Male literacy	81.68 %	82.14 %
Female literacy	70.54 %	65.46 %

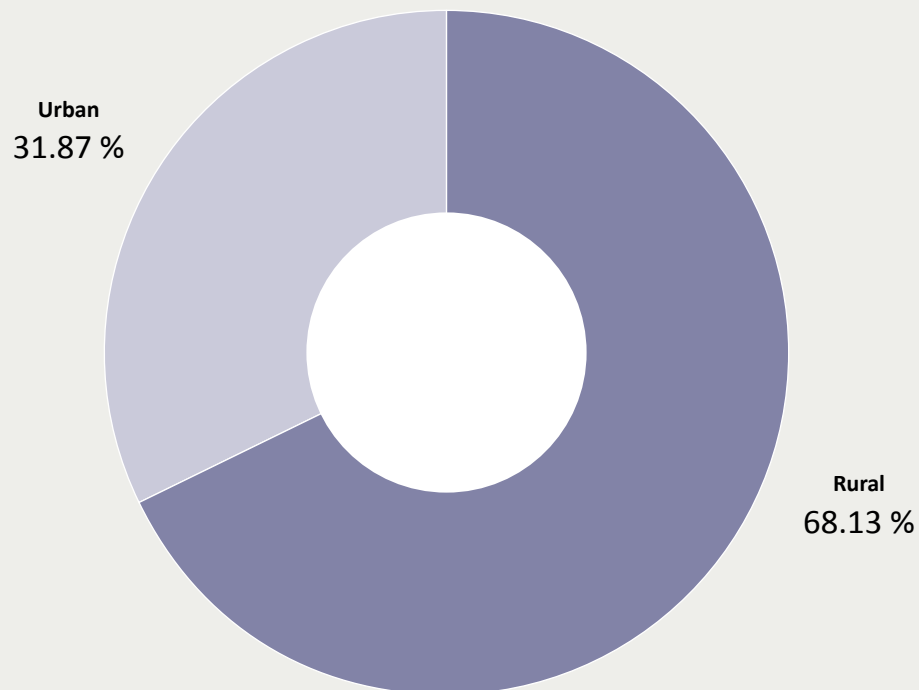
Source: Census of India, 2011<sup>3</sup>

**Table 2: Religious Profile**

Source: Census of India, 2011<sup>4</sup>

**Table 3: Linguistic Distribution of Population**

Source: Census of India, 2011<sup>5</sup>

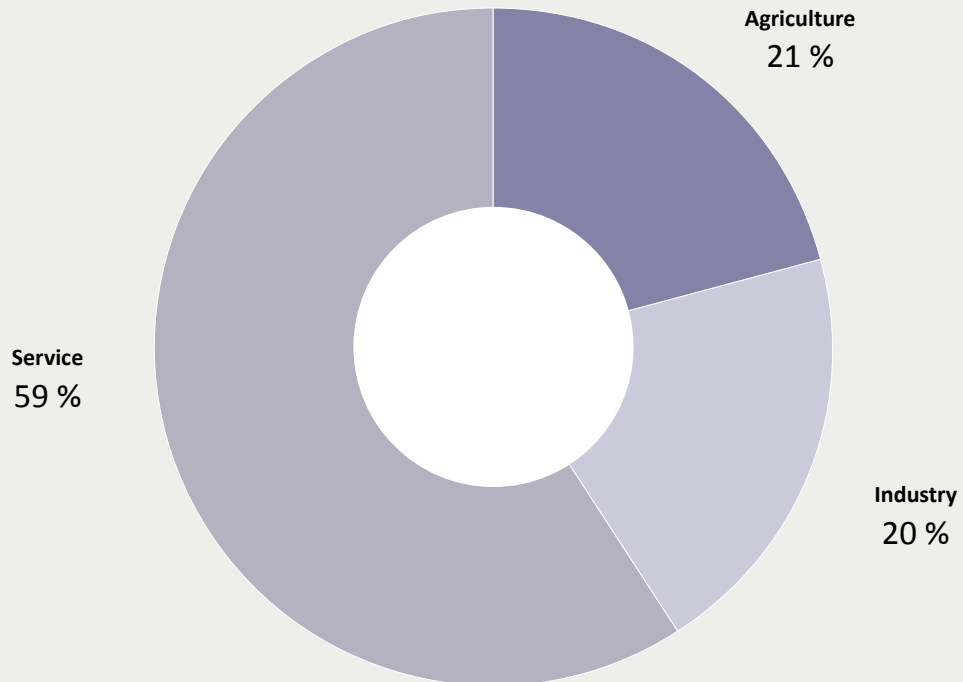
**Table 4: Rural-Urban Composition**

Source: Census of India, 2011<sup>6</sup>

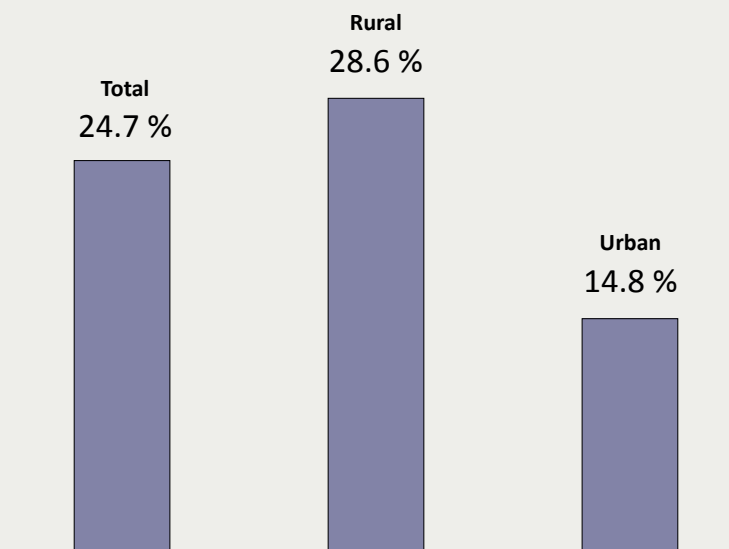
**Table 5: Socio-Economic Indicators**

Indicators	West Bengal
Per Capita Net State Domestic Product at constant 2004-05 prices (Per Capita Income)	INR 36,293
GSDP (at current prices) 2020-21	INR 14,441,740 million
GSDP growth rate (at current prices) 2020-21	11.3 %
Unemployment rate	4.6 %
Fiscal deficit	2.63 % of GSDP

Source: PRS Legislative Research<sup>8</sup>

**Table 6: Sectoral Contribution to State Economy**

Source: PRS Legislative Research<sup>12</sup>

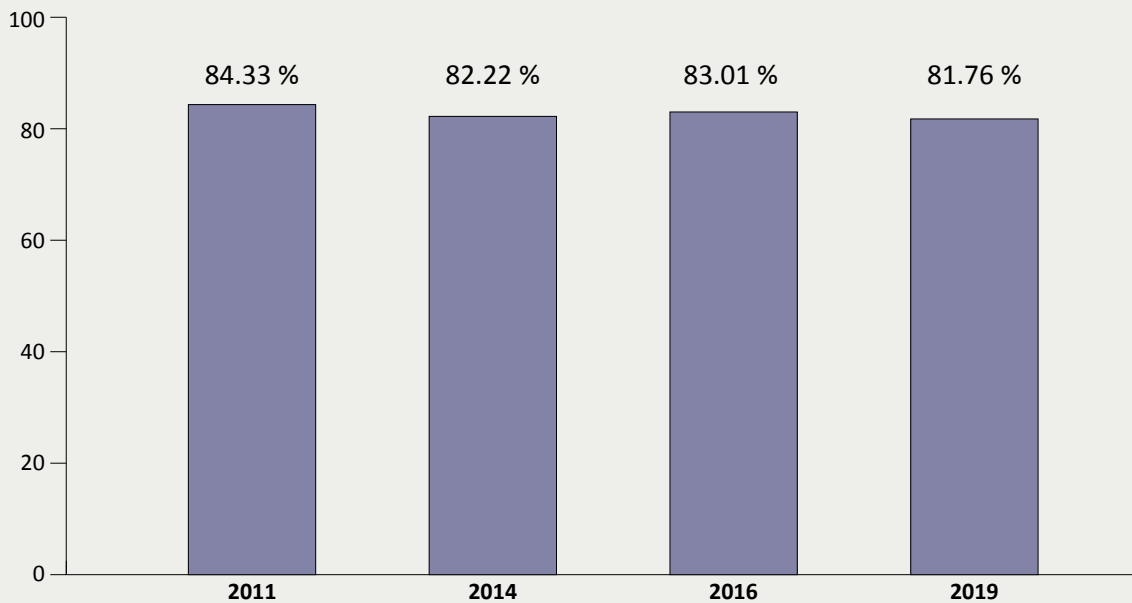
**Table 7: Composition of Population Below Poverty Line**

Source: Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India<sup>13</sup>

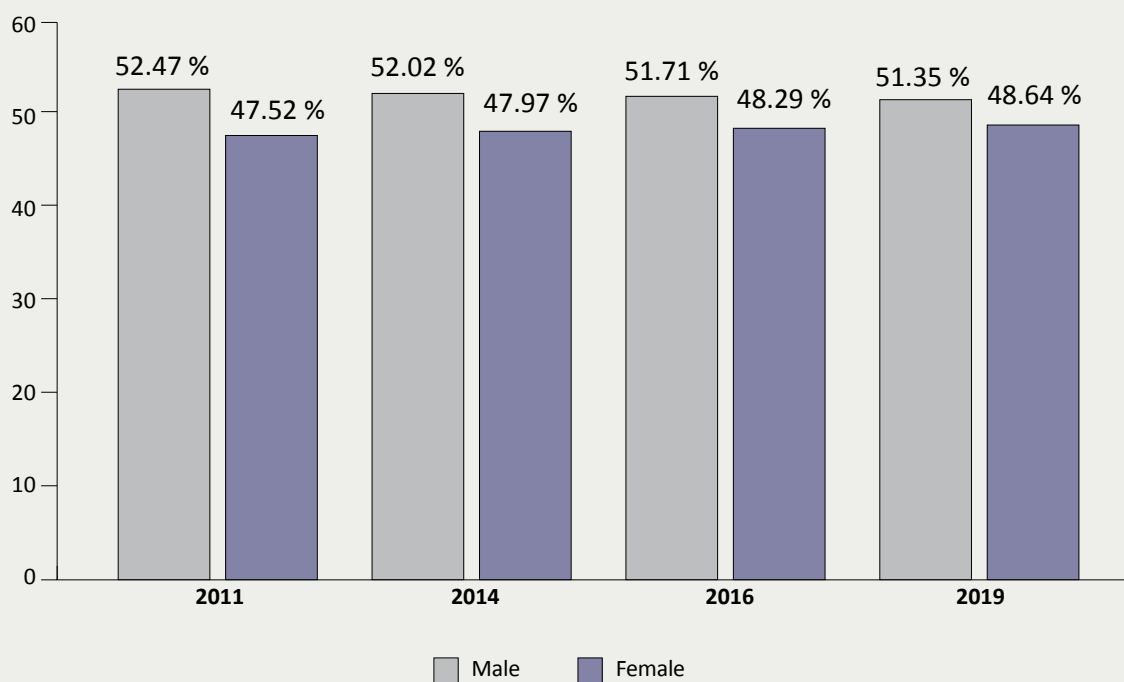
**Table 8: Health Indicators**

Indicators	West Bengal
Life expectancy	71.6 years <sup>14</sup>
Infant mortality	15.5 per 1000 live births <sup>15</sup>
Neonatal mortality rate	22 per 1000 live births <sup>16</sup>

Source: Authors' own, using various open sources

**Table 9: Voter Turnout in the Last Four Elections**

Source: Election Commission of India<sup>17</sup>

**Table 10: Gender Composition of Voters**

Source: Election Commission of India<sup>18</sup>

# West Bengal's 2021 Polls as Watershed: A Background

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The upcoming Vidhan Sabha elections in the states of West Bengal, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Assam are all equally important to India's democratic ecosystem. The West Bengal polls, however, are assuming singular relevance<sup>19</sup> for two reasons. First, the Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP) is making a concerted effort to capture power in West Bengal for the first time since the party began contesting the state assembly elections about 40 years ago.<sup>20</sup> Since 2014, the BJP has emerged to become a dominant political force in Indian politics, winning a comfortable parliamentary

majority in two successive national elections (2014 and 2019).<sup>21</sup> Moreover, BJP holds power in many states, either on its own or in alliance with smaller parties, and it would be a milestone for the party to be at the helm of West Bengal.<sup>22</sup> The second reason is that in West Bengal, the BJP is battling the ruling Trinamool Congress Party (TMC, also known as the All India Trinamool Congress or AITC) which stormed to power in a historic win in 2011 that ended more than three decades of rule by the Communist Party of India (Marxist).<sup>23</sup> Since then, AITC, led by present Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee, has had uninterrupted rule in the state.<sup>24</sup>



**Table 11: Chief Ministers of West Bengal**

	Chief Minister	Term	Party
1.	Mamata Banerjee	2011 to Present	AITC
2.	Buddhadeb Bhattacharya	2000 to 2011	CPI(M)
3.	Jyoti Basu	1977 to 2000	CPI(M)
4.	President's rule	1977 to 1977	
5.	Siddhartha Shankar Ray	1972 to 1977	INC
6.	President's rule	1971 to 1972	
7.	Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee	1971 to 1971	INC
8.	President's rule	1970 to 1971	
9.	Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee	1969 to 1970	Bangla Congress
10.	President's rule	1968 to 1969	
11.	Prafulla Chandra Ghosh	1967 to 1968	Independent
12.	Ajoy Kumar Mukherjee	1967 to 1967	Bangla Congress
13.	Prafulla Chandra Sen	1962 to 1967	INC
14.	Bidhan Chandra Roy	1948 to 1962	INC
15.	Prafulla Chandra Ghosh	1947 to 1948	INC

Source: *One India*<sup>25</sup>

CM Banerjee has been a vocal opposition to the BJP since 2014. Her government has made known its strong critiques of some of the most crucial policies of the BJP-led Central government, including the passing of the Citizenship Amendment Act 2019 (CAA), the proposal for a nationwide implementation of the National Register for Citizens (NRC),<sup>26</sup> and more recently, the three new contentious farm laws, against which massive protests by farmers are being held.<sup>27</sup> The disagreements between the Union government and the WB state government have been manifested in various administrative<sup>28</sup> and federal governance domains.<sup>29,30</sup>

Until recently, the ruling AITC enjoyed almost unchallenged political dominance in the state, as the other prominent opposition parties,<sup>31</sup> the left parties, and the Congress—<sup>32</sup> which had once dominated the political landscape of West Bengal—have over the years been reduced to marginal political players. Their vote shares have dwindled over both the recent national as well as state elections.<sup>33</sup> The BJP, which over the decades since independence has had little political presence in West Bengal, began to consolidate its vote share in the state in the 2014 national elections.

In the 2019 national polls, the BJP emerged as the most important political challenge to the AITC, obtaining a larger vote share and winning 18 parliamentary seats.<sup>34</sup> Although the ruling party's vote share was not eroded in the 2019 elections, election analyses suggest that the BJP appeared to have gained from the vote share of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)-led Left Front.<sup>35</sup> This has catapulted BJP to the position of principal opposition party in the state; today it has the potential to challenge the incumbent.

The BJP has been trying to consolidate its position in the state on various issues, including the CAA 2019<sup>a</sup> that aims to give citizenship to non-Muslim refugees

in India, including in West Bengal, and the implementation of the NRC<sup>b</sup> in the state, designed to identify "illegal migrants".<sup>c,36</sup> At the same time, the BJP has thrown various allegations against the Banerjee government, involving corruption, "appeasement politics",<sup>d</sup> and misgovernance.<sup>37</sup> In 2020, during the initial onslaught of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the landfall of the devastating Cyclone *Amphan*, the BJP also criticised the state government for what it said was its failure to deal with the twin crises.<sup>38</sup> For its part, the Trinamool has called the BJP an "outsider's party" that lacks historical and cultural connection with the West Bengal and its people.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> See "What is CAA?" Times of India, January 9, 2020, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/what-is-caa/articleshow/73153785.cms>

<sup>b</sup> See Apurva Vishwanath & Kaunain Sheriff M, "Explained: What NRC and CAA means to you", The Indian Express, December 25, 2019, <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-citizenship-amendment-act-nrc-caa-means-6180033/>

<sup>c</sup> Apart from Assam and West Bengal, these protests have escalated across India in other states such as Delhi, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur and Tripura.

See "Protests and strikes hit Assam, Manipur, Tripura against CAB," *Hindustan Times*, December 9, 2019, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/protests-and-strikes-hit-assam-manipur-tripura-against-cab/story-dPRUypEh1zaUzVOY86O7oK.html>

See "Violence Grips Assam, Meghalaya, Bengal & Delhi as Protests Against Citizenship Act Escalate; Oppn Plans Mega Rally," *News 18*, December 14, 2019, <https://www.news18.com/news/india/citizenship-bill-protests-violence-grips-assam-meghalaya-bengal-oppns-plans-mega-rally-2422713.html>

<sup>d</sup> The AITC Government's decision to increase Imam allowances and Madrasa budget has been touted by the opposition as one of the moves of Muslim appeasement of the ruling party in the state.

See Soumya Bhowmick, "The identity fault lines of a West Bengal voter", *LSE South Asia*, June 14, 2019, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/southasia/2019/06/14/the-identity-fault-lines-of-a-west-bengal-voter/>

See Chandan Mitra, "Mamata Banerjee's Appeasement Policies Have Created Real Danger". *NDTV*, July 6, 2017, <https://www.ndtv.com/opinion/mamata-banerjees-appeasement-policies-have-created-real-danger-1721089>

Analysts consider<sup>40</sup> CM Banerjee to be possessing a “charismatic appeal” which they say has been AITC’s strength.<sup>e</sup> Meanwhile, these analysts say, BJP lacks a local leader who can compete with Banerjee’s popularity.<sup>f</sup> Over the course of its dispensation, the AITC has also implemented social welfare schemes<sup>41</sup> related to food, education and health, amongst other necessities; these have helped Banerjee perpetuate her political appeal,<sup>42</sup> especially amongst the lower-income populations.<sup>43</sup>

A challenge to AITC in the upcoming election is that over the recent years, many of its prominent leaders have defected to the BJP—citing reasons ranging from corruption within the party, to displeasure over not getting AITC tickets

to contest in the upcoming elections.<sup>44,45</sup> One of Mamata Banerjee’s closest aides, Mukul Roy, for instance, defected to BJP in 2017; it would only be the beginning of more high-profile exits from the AITC. Roy, who is known as an efficient political strategist, is believed to have been key in BJP’s impressive performance in West Bengal in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections,<sup>46</sup> he also helped bring disgruntled AITC leaders into the BJP.<sup>47</sup> Another important AITC leader who has shifted his loyalty to the BJP is former Kolkata Municipal Corporation Mayor, Sovan Chatterjee, who holds influence in the district of 24 North Parganas.<sup>48</sup>

More AITC political leaders defected to the BJP following the 2019 Lok Sabha elections,<sup>49</sup> the most notable of which was

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<sup>e</sup> See Madhuparna Das, “Mamata becomes mellow ‘Bengal’s daughter’ as she rebrands herself for 2021 assembly polls” *The Print*, March 19, 2020, <https://theprint.in/politics/mamata-becomes-mellow-bengals-daughter-as-she-rebrands-herself-for-2021-assembly-polls/383254/>

See Shoaib Daniyal, “Mukul Roy’s exit will not help the BJP much in West Bengal”, *Scroll*, September 28, 2017, <https://scroll.in/article/852037/news-analysis-trinamool-leader-mukul-roys-exit-will-not-help-the-bjp-much-in-west-bengal>

See The Print Team, “Why The 2021 Bengal Polls Will See A Tough Fight Between Formidable Mamata Banerjee & BJP”, *The Print*, December 19, 2020, <https://Theprint.in/Opinion/Why-The-2021-Bengal-Polls-Will-See-A-Tough-Fight-Between-Formidable-Mamata-Banerjee-Bjp/570035/>

<sup>f</sup> See Jaideep Mazumdar, “Wanted In Bengal: A Strong State BJP Leader To Challenge Mamata Banerjee’s Might”, *Swarajya*, December 25, 2017, <https://swarajyamag.com/politics/wanted-in-bengal-a-strong-state-bjp-leader-to-challenge-mamata-banerjees-might>

See Purna Katiyar, “How The Absence Of Recognisable Faces Within BJP In Bengal Is Leading To A Host Of Defections From TMC”, *The Economic Times*, February 13, 2021, <https://EconomicTimes.Indiatimes.Com/News/Politics-And-Nation/How-The-Absence-Of-Recognisable-Faces-Within-Bjp-In-Bengal-Is-Leading-To-A-Host-Of-Defections-From-Tmc/Articleshow/80899585.Cms>

Suvendu Adhikari.<sup>50</sup> Adhikari, a strong mass leader of the AITC from the district of East Midnapur close to CM Banerjee and a key organisational strength of the party in some districts, is believed to have the wherewithal to influence electoral outcome in this election in at least 20-30 Assembly seats.<sup>g</sup> At the same time, however, the appointment of these AITC turncoats to important positions in the BJP has reportedly provoked discontent<sup>51</sup>

within long-time party leaders in the BJP in West Bengal.<sup>52</sup>

Apart from the AITC and BJP who are locked in a tough political fight, the CPI(M) and the Congress, with limited political wherewithal to fight the election successfully in their own right have forged an alliance with each other with Indian Secular Front (ISF)<sup>h</sup> for jointly fighting the AITC and BJP in the elections.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>g</sup> See Aditi Phadnis, "Why TMC MLA Suvendu Adhikari is a big catch for BJP before elections?", *Business Standard*, December 6, 2020, [https://www.business-standard.com/article/politics/why-tmc-mla-suvendu-adhikari-is-a-big-catch-for-bjp-before-elections-120120600700\\_1.html](https://www.business-standard.com/article/politics/why-tmc-mla-suvendu-adhikari-is-a-big-catch-for-bjp-before-elections-120120600700_1.html)

See "Suvendu impact in north Bengal", *The Telegraph*, December 18, 2020, <https://www.telegraphindia.com/west-bengal/suvendu-impact-in-north-bengal/cid/1800890>

See Atri Mitra and Ravik Bhattacharya "Explained: The importance of Suvendu Adhikari, to the TMC and to the BJP", *The Indian Express*, December 16, 2020, <https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/explained-importance-of-adhikari-family-in-west-bengal-politics-7076790/>

<sup>h</sup> Indian Secular Front (ISF) is a newly floated political party founded by a young cleric leader, Pirzada Abbas Siddiqui of the influential Muslim shrine of Furfura Sharif in West Bengal's Hooghly district

# About the Study

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**T**his study outlines six electoral themes and issues that could influence the upcoming polls in the 23 districts of West Bengal. These issues are the following: (1) the response to the aftermath of Cyclone *Amphan* which made landfall in the state in May 2020 and caused massive devastation; (2) the continuing incidence of political violence—more pronounced in certain districts—which has for a long time threatened peace in the state; (3) the movement of people

from West Bengal to other states, and migration from Bangladesh—especially the undocumented; (4) minority politics; (5) demands for a separate ‘Gorkhaland’ state by sections in some northern districts of West Bengal, as well as other demands for territorial autonomy; and (6) the enduring Maoist presence in a few districts of the state.

Table 12 gives a snapshot of which issues are most relevant to each of the 23 districts of West Bengal.

**Table 12: Issues and Districts**

	District	Maoist Insurgency	Political Violence	Demand for Gorkhaland	Migration Issues	Minority Identity Politics	Mangement of Cyclone Amphan
1.	Alipurduar			✓			
2.	Bankura		✓				
3.	East Bardhaman				✓		✓
4.	West Bardhaman				✓		
5.	Birbhum		✓			✓	
6.	Coochbehar			✓			
7.	Darjeeling			✓			
8.	North Dinajpur					✓	
9.	South Dinajpur						
10.	Hooghly				✓		✓
11.	Howrah						✓
12.	Jalpaiguri			✓			
13.	Jhargram	✓		✓			
14.	Kolkata						✓
15.	Kalimpong			✓			
16.	Malda				✓	✓	
17.	West Medinipur						✓
18.	East Medinipur						✓
19.	Murshidabad				✓	✓	
20.	Nadia				✓	✓	✓
21.	North 24 Parganas				✓	✓	✓
22.	South 24 Parganas					✓	✓
23.	Purulia	✓	✓				

Source: Authors' own, using various open sources

The latter part of this study gives a summary of the trends observed in the 294 Assembly constituencies under each of these 23 districts in the four successive elections of 2011 Vidhan Sabha, 2014 Lok Sabha, 2016 Vidhan Sabha, and 2019 Lok Sabha. The tables will show the winning party, winning margin and the trailing party in each of the constituencies in these last four elections. The voter turnout in each of the constituencies of the latest concluded election (2019 Lok Sabha) has been highlighted, as well as

the cross-party vote swing between the four prominent parties in the state from the 2016 Vidhan Sabha elections to 2019 Lok Sabha elections.

### Methodology

This study analyses the most important trends in voting patterns in West Bengal over the last decade by evaluating the data available for the last four major elections that have taken place in the state. Under the list of districts, the data

on the winners and runners-up of the assembly constituencies for each of the four elections have been identified and the difference in the winning margins has been calculated to analyse the cross-party swings or the changes in the voting patterns in those constituencies. This will help determine the factors that could have influenced such a change.

Some specific notes about the methodology:

- All the data for the report has been sourced from the websites of the Election Commission of India<sup>54</sup> and the West Bengal State Legislative Assembly.<sup>55</sup>
- For analysis, data from four elections are utilised: 2011 State Assembly, 2014 Lok Sabha, 2016 State Assembly, and 2019 Lok Sabha.
- The voter turnout from the 2019 Lok Sabha elections has been considered as a part of the analysis as it was the last major election that was held in the state.
- Data for both the 2014 and 2019 Lok Sabha elections are used as they were key all-India elections that had significant impact on the voting trends of the state. Most importantly, they provided assembly constituency-wise disaggregated data for all the parties.
- Tables containing data for all the elections (broken down by Legislative Assembly Constituency) have been provided for each district.
- New districts formed after the 2016 state assembly elections are incorporated in the study as they provide deeper insights into the issues and provide the latest data on the electoral trends. These districts are:
  - » Kalimpong district, carved out of the Darjeeling district in 2017.
  - » Jhargram district, formed out of the Paschim Medinipur district in 2017.
  - » East Bardhaman and West Bardhaman districts—from the bifurcation of the Bardhaman district in 2017.
- To calculate the margin for each winning party, the difference in votes between the winner and the runner-up was divided by the total number of votes polled in a particular constituency; the resulting winning margin is expressed as percentage.
- The report analyses cross-party swings. Thus, only the change in winning parties from one election to another has been used for the purposes of this study. Swings from the 2016 state assembly elections to 2019 Lok Sabha elections were

considered for analysis in the report for making an assessment based on the two latest election results which is more reflective of the contemporary political dynamics in the state.<sup>i</sup>

- To calculate the magnitude of cross-party swings, the winning margin of the 2016 state assembly elections were added to the winning margin of the 2019 Lok Sabha elections.
- For no-swing constituencies that saw an increase in the winning margin, the winning margin of the 2016 state assembly elections was subtracted from the winning margin of the 2019 Lok Sabha elections. Similarly, for no-swing constituencies that saw a decrease in the winning margin, the winning margin of the 2019 Lok Sabha elections was subtracted from the winning margin of the 2016 state assembly elections.

### Limitations

The voting patterns in the elections in India clearly suggests<sup>56</sup> that the electorate votes differently<sup>57</sup> in the Lok Sabha and

Vidhan Sabha elections. Therefore, the inferences from the cross-party swings between the 2016 state elections and 2019 Lok Sabha elections—drawn by looking at the constituency-level data of the parliamentary elections of 2019—can have limited bearing on the 2021 elections. Moreover, as this study looks at only the main national and state elections in 2011, 2014, 2016, 2019, other by-elections that were held in many of these seats within that period could not be captured in this study. Third, the themes taken in this study are neither exhaustive nor exclusive to the districts mentioned under the themes. There are other issues that might also play an important role in the upcoming elections but which could not be accommodated in this study. Lastly, the study is based on election data and secondary data sources and did not benefit from fieldwork; therefore, it is unable to incorporate an on-ground picture of the issues that have been identified.

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<sup>i</sup> The swing between 2011 and 2014 elections or between 2014 and 2016 elections is not deeply explored in this study as the nature of political competition in those elections was mainly between TMC, Congress and CPM. It is only an assessment of the elections in 2016 and 2019 which gives a clear picture of the rapid perceptible growth of the political competition between TMC and BJP which reflects the dominant existing political tussle in the upcoming elections.



# Findings and Analysis

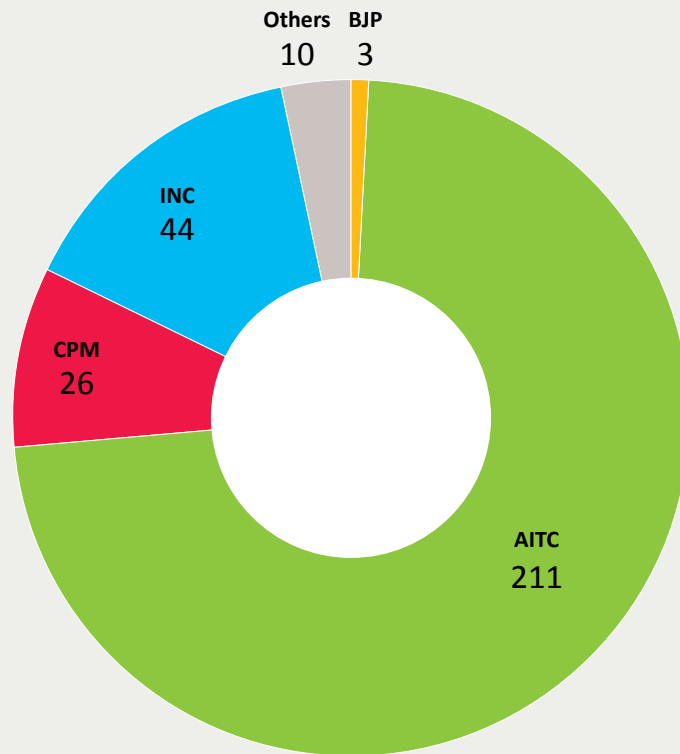
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**O**ut of the total 294 Assembly seats, 157 swung to a different party from the 2016 Vidhan Sabha elections to the 2019 Lok Sabha elections. Of them, 118 swung to BJP in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, from various parties such as CPM, AITC, INC, and GOJAM in the 2016 state assembly elections; 38 swung to AITC in the 2019 Lok Sabha elections, from various parties such as CPM and INC

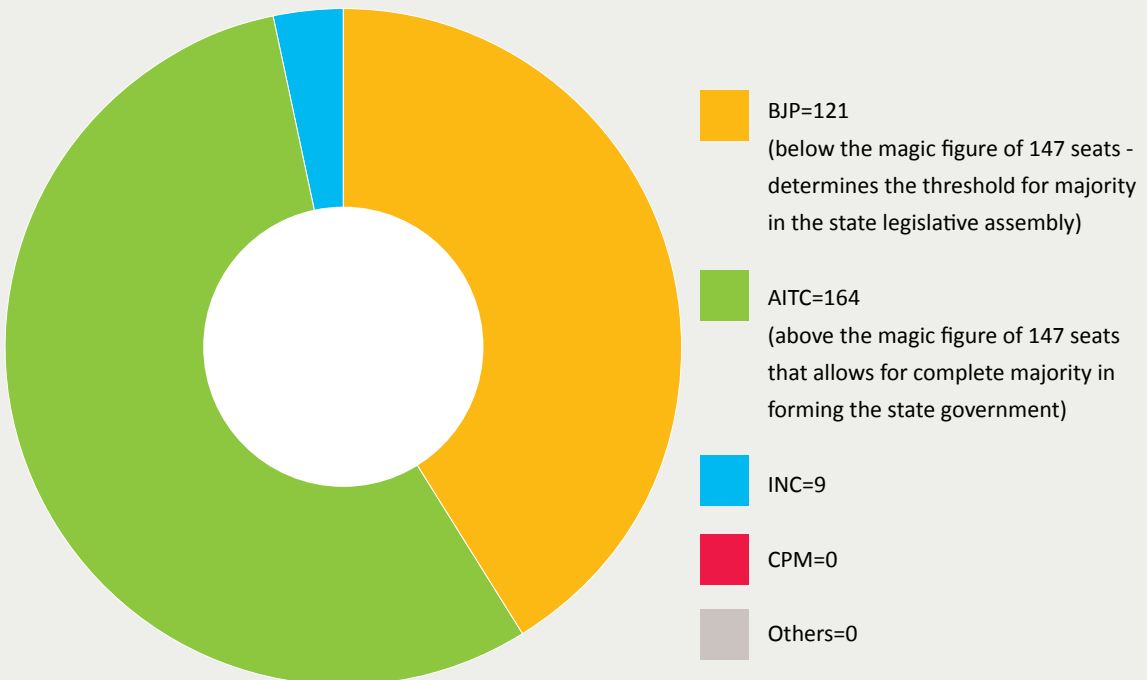
in the 2016 state assembly elections; and one swung to INC from AITC in Samserganj assembly constituency.

- Of the remaining 137 seats where there were no cross-party swings, AITC carried 126 of its seats from the 2016 state assembly elections to the 2019 Lok Sabha elections; BJP retained three of its previous seats and INC, eight of its previous seats.

- In 2016, the following were the seats won by each party in West Bengal:



- However, according to 2019 data broken down by assembly constituency, the seat share was as follows:



- Thus, between 2016 and 2019,
  - » BJP gained 118 seats.
  - » AITC lost 47 seats (but AITC would still hold an absolute majority in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly)
  - » INC lost 35 seats.
  - » CPM lost 26 seats.
- Bankura, Darjeeling, Purulia, and West Bardhaman saw the largest number of seats swinging to BJP.
  - » Darjeeling saw a complete swing to BJP from GOJAM, INC and CPM.
  - » Bankura saw a complete swing to BJP from AITC, INC, RSP and CPM.
  - » West Bardhaman saw a complete swing to BJP from AITC, INC and CPM.
  - » Purulia saw a near-complete swing to BJP from AITC and INC, with AITC retaining only one seat in the district.

As these numbers suggest, the BJP has emerged as a potential challenger to the AITC in the 2021 elections. The outcome of the polls will be determined by how the cross-party swing sustains or changes its course, how the key issues are mobilised by the main political actors during the campaign, how the voters perceive these issues, and how much impact the Left-Congress alliance can have.

# Key Political Themes

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**T**his section will discuss in turn the six fundamental issues that can influence the outcomes of the 2021 elections in West Bengal.

## 1. Cyclone Amphan Response

Cyclone *Amphan* hit West Bengal in May 2020 when the state, as was the rest of the country, was already battling the COVID-19 crisis. The districts that were most severely affected by the super cyclonic storm were Howrah, Hooghly, North and South 24 Parganas, Kolkata, East and West Medinipur, Nadia and East Burdwan.<sup>58</sup> The disaster caused massive loss of lives, with most of the deaths being caused by “electrocution, uprooting of trees and collapsing of structures.”<sup>59</sup> In many areas, river embankments were breached, leading to the inundation of houses in remote settlements.<sup>60</sup>

The cyclone also resulted in heavy losses to livelihoods: as it made landfall at the

time of harvest, it damaged farmers’ crops like paddy, mangoes and lychee.<sup>61</sup> The severed electrical wires and broken water pipes caused power outages and water shortages in pockets across the state and in the state capital of Kolkata. According to the state government, the cyclone caused West Bengal losses amounting to INR 1 trillion.<sup>62</sup> It rendered millions of people homeless, and more than 0.3 million people were evacuated to shelters.<sup>63</sup> The Prime Minister visited the state after the calamity and announced a relief package of INR 10 billion.<sup>64</sup>

The pandemic aggravated the situation and complicated the evacuation, restoration and other relief work. The capacity of permanent cyclone shelters to house the victims was drastically reduced due to physical distancing guidelines, mounting fresh challenges for the state administration.<sup>65</sup> There was prolonged power outage, water shortage and internet connectivity problems in many urban areas which triggered

protests from the local people.<sup>66,67</sup> The opposition, especially the BJP, was highly vocal in accusing the state government of inefficiency.<sup>68</sup>

To be sure, the AITC-led state government rolled out<sup>69</sup> schemes for rehabilitation and assistance to the communities hit by the cyclone. However, there have been allegations of corruption, including misappropriation of funds and of benefits not reaching those who need them.<sup>70</sup>

Some ruling party leaders were also accused of not being present<sup>71</sup> in their respective constituencies at the time their people needed them, allegedly due to infighting in the AITC.<sup>72</sup> As the BJP made attempts<sup>73</sup> to visit the affected areas and provide assistance, it accused the ruling party of obstruction.<sup>74</sup> As Amphan brought massive ruin to people's lives just a year before election, it is likely to become a key political agenda in the campaign.



**Will the opposition parties benefit from the allegations levelled on the AITC government regarding its handling of the aftermath of Cyclone *Amphan*?**

## 2. Political Violence

West Bengal has suffered many decades of political violence,<sup>j,75</sup> particularly in the districts of Purulia, Birbhum, and Bankura.<sup>76</sup> During the 2014 Lok Sabha election, 16 political workers were killed across India in poll-related violence,<sup>77</sup> seven of which were in West Bengal. In the same year, during the general election, some 2,008 political workers and 1,354 civilians were injured in violent incidents, of which 1,298 were in West Bengal.<sup>78</sup>

Data from the National Crime Records Bureau shows that between 1999 and 2016, West Bengal witnessed an average of 20 politically motivated killings every year. The highest number was recorded in 2009, when 50 deaths were ascribed to political motivations. In 2014, West Bengal had the highest number of polling stations that were declared as “critical” by the Election Commission: “the state had 77,252 polling stations, and nearly half of them (37,553) were termed critical.”<sup>79</sup>

<sup>j</sup> Political violence refers to all forms of violent clashes and skirmishes between the cadres of two or more political parties for asserting political dominance or obtaining electoral advantage. It can also involve tactics of intimidation of the voters by political parties for influencing electoral outcomes.

Furthermore, there have been other forms of intimidation, especially on voting day in polling booths.<sup>80</sup> ‘Booth capturing’ is one of the most common ways of intimidating voters into voting for a particular party: polling booths are “captured” by party workers who coerce the people to cast a particular vote. The state also has a history of post-poll political violence.<sup>81</sup> The culture of political violence dates back to the time before the 1970s<sup>k</sup> and has not been arrested by a succession of regimes.<sup>82</sup> Often, the violence takes place between the ruling party and the biggest opposition parties in the state. The victims are mostly ground-level party workers—“students, teachers, labourers, farmers, agricultural workers and small shopkeepers.”<sup>83</sup>

Since the 2019 Lok Sabha election, the incidents of violence have mostly taken place between the workers of the BJP and the ruling AITC.<sup>84</sup> The BJP blames the ruling party for the killings of its party workers and stifling the opposition.<sup>85</sup> The ruling party, meanwhile, also accuses the BJP of killing their workers and creating a climate of fear.<sup>86</sup> Both parties routinely deny having a hand in the violent incidents.<sup>87</sup> The issue gained more attention recently when the BJP invited the family members of the killed BJP workers of West Bengal in the swearing-in ceremony of Prime Minister Narendra Modi in 2019.<sup>88</sup> It triggered a strong protest from Chief Minister Banerjee. Political violence could be an issue for the opposition to mobilise support in this election.



**How will the major political parties tackle the issue of political violence, and can the Election Commission ensure peaceful polling in West Bengal?**

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<sup>k</sup> There is a long history of political violence in West Bengal under different political regimes.

See Tanmay Chatterji, “Political violence that rocks Bengal manifested itself 50 years ago”, *hindustantimes*, September 10, 2019, <https://www.hindustantimes.com/india-news/political-violence-that-rocks-bengal-manifested-itself-50-years-ago-opinion/story-a2dbYQYWbc6ccRIDj82T4H.html>

### 3. Migration (Inter-state and Cross-border)

The question of both international and internal migration has assumed greater importance in Bengal politics in recent years. The outbreak of COVID-19 in 2020, and the national lockdown as a response—brought to light the vulnerabilities of internal migrant workers in many states of India who leave<sup>89</sup> their native villages to work in urban conglomerates as daily wage labourers.<sup>90</sup> These large populations of people had no choice but to return to their home villages as they lost their livelihoods and faced uncertainty during the prolonged lockdown.<sup>l,91</sup>

West Bengal witnessed the return of its native workers from other states during this time.<sup>92</sup> According to data from the 2011 Census, West Bengal ranks fourth among the states from where people migrate to other cities.<sup>93</sup> Between 2001 and 2011, 0.58 million people migrated

to other states from Bengal; the number was over 1.1 million in 2020 according to the state government.<sup>94</sup> Nearly 75 percent of India's migrants work for daily wages in factories and the construction sector. The districts that send the most number of seasonal migrants to other cities for jobs are East Burdwan, West Burdwan, Murshidabad, Nadia and Hooghly.<sup>95</sup> As they form a significant section of the electorate in the state, both the BJP and AITC have made attempts to woo these migrant workers.

The issue of migration became an important political agenda during the pandemic and a point of contention between the BJP-led central government and the AITC-led state government of West Bengal. During the lockdown, Chief Minister Banerjee urged the Chief Ministers of 18 states to provide shelter, food and medicine to the stranded migrants from Bengal.<sup>96</sup> The Garib Kalyan Rozgar Abhiyan, launched by Prime

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<sup>l</sup> The migrants workers faced hardships during the national lockdown which was declared to curb the spread of COVID19 in India.

See GeetaPandey, "Coronavirus in India: Desperate migrant workers trapped in lockdown", *BBC News*, April 21, 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-52360757>.

See Neetu Chandra Sharma, "How coronavirus turned into humanitarian crisis for migrant workers", *Mint*, May 25, 2020, <https://www.livemint.com/news/india/how-coronavirus-turned-into-humanitarian-crisis-for-migrant-workers-11590401718622.html>.

See Express Web Desk, "The long walk of India's migrant workers in Covid-hit 2020", *The Indian Express*, December 25, 2020, <https://indianexpress.com/article/india/the-long-walk-of-indias-migrant-workers-in-covid-hit-2020-7118809/>.

Minister Narendra Modi in June 2020 to provide employment to migrant workers affected by the lockdown, did not include West Bengal's districts among those identified by the Centre where over 25,000 migrants returned home.<sup>97</sup> This provoked resentment from the state government: it accused the Centre of neglecting the migrant workers of the state and blamed it for implementing a nationwide lockdown on such a short notice and without consulting the states.<sup>98</sup> The Union government, for its part, blamed the West Bengal government for not allowing enough trains to run to send back Bengal's workers to their home states.<sup>99</sup>

Out of the nearly 90 million people of the state, migrants and people who work in the unorganised sector number 35 million.<sup>100</sup> The West Bengal government has launched a few targeted welfare schemes particularly for these sections and urged the Centre for a one-time financial assistance from the PM-CARES fund for the jobless migrant labourers.<sup>101</sup>

Apart from the issue of internal migrants, that of undocumented migrants from across the India-Bangladesh border has emerged as one of the most debated and politically sensitive issues in West Bengal. The districts that receive the most number of undocumented migrants from Bangladesh are Nadia, Murshidabad and Malda.<sup>102,103,104</sup> The Centre's decision to pass the CAA 2019, which provides for the granting of Indian citizenship to the non-Muslim migrant population from Bangladesh (and also from Pakistan and Afghanistan)—brought the issue of international migrants, citizenship and religious identity to the centrestage of the political discourse in Bengal.<sup>105</sup>

A 2019 election analysis suggests that the BJP has managed to raise its clout in the state largely due to the support it receives from sections of the Dalit migrant population, especially the Matua community,<sup>m</sup> on the CAA issue.<sup>106</sup> At the same time, the Union government's proposal to implement the NRC in all states in India—designed to detect, and

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<sup>m</sup> Matuas are Namasudras or lower caste Hindu refugees who have migrated to West Bengal from neighbouring Bangladesh (erstwhile East Pakistan) for decades since partition are registered as a Scheduled Caste (SC). They form the state's second largest Scheduled Caste population. Mostly concentrated in North and South 24 Parganas, they are spread across bordering districts like Nadia, Howrah, Cooch Behar, North and South Dinajpur and Malda. The Namasudras constitute 17.4 per cent of the total SC population in the state.

See Indrajit Kundu, "The Matua factor in Battle for Bengal", India Today, November 6, 2020, <https://www.indiatoday.in/news-analysis/story/the-matua-factor-in-battle-for-bengal-1738402-2020-11-06>



deport, undocumented migrants, has turned into another political flashpoint. The ruling AITC has opposed both the CAA and the NRC, saying the policies are targeted against the minorities. (The minority communities are an important

electoral constituency for the AITC.)<sup>107</sup> Indeed, these policies have created a potent ground for identity-based political polarisation for both the BJP and the ruling AITC; this could have ramifications in the upcoming election.<sup>108</sup>



Reverse migration of distressed workers during the COVID-19 lockdown could prove to be an important factor in the upcoming election. At the same time, the issue of undocumented cross-border migration and the question of citizenship in the backdrop of discussions on the CAA and NRC is expected to remain prominent as well. How will the BJP and AITC politically articulate these issues for mobilising electoral support in this election?

#### 4. Minority Politics

Though West Bengal has a Hindu population in the majority, it is also home to a sizeable section of Muslims along with other religious communities.<sup>109</sup> The majority of the Muslim population reside in the districts of South 24 Parganas, North 24 Parganas, Nadia, and Birbhum. Other districts like Malda, Murshidabad, North Dinajpur are also Muslim-dominated.<sup>110</sup> There are 46 Assembly constituencies in the state with a Muslim concentration of over 50 percent; there are 16 seats where Muslims comprise 40-50 percent of the population, 33 seats where 30-40 percent are Muslims, and another 50 seats where Muslims comprise 20-30 percent of the voters. Thus, in approximately 100 constituencies, Muslim voters can have a deciding influence.<sup>111</sup>

During the CPI(M) reign of more than 30 years, the Muslim minority voted largely in favour of the party; certain pockets supported Congress. But as the community's disillusionment with the ruling CPI(M) grew from 2006 onwards, and in parallel, the Mamata Banerjee-led Trinamool Congress gained strength, Muslim support shifted to AITC; today AITC still enjoys the community's confidence.<sup>112</sup> After coming to power in the state in 2011, CM Banerjee has introduced certain governmental schemes for the upliftment of Muslim minorities.<sup>113</sup> These policies are what the BJP refers to as "Muslim appeasement" being done by the AITC to favour the Muslims.<sup>114</sup> The party, for example, has accused the Banerjee government of allowing Muslim immigrants from Bangladesh to enter West Bengal, thereby facilitating the

growth of the Muslim population in the state—the BJP calls this AITC’s attempt to “consolidate” its vote bank.<sup>115</sup> Indeed, the issue has helped the BJP to mobilise the state’s Hindu voters; analysts believe that this facilitated the BJP’s impressive showing in the 2019 Lok Sabha election.<sup>116</sup>

Ahead of the upcoming election, the All India Majlis-e-Ittehad-ul-Muslimin (AIMIM), a Hyderabad-based party, had expressed interest in contesting election

in the state in 2021.<sup>117</sup> It has since reconsidered its plans, realising that its influence is mainly limited to the Hindi-speaking Muslims.<sup>118</sup> (The majority of the Muslim population in the state are Bengali-speaking.) Another popular Muslim leader, Abbas Siddiqui, who earlier campaigned for the AITC has turned its back on the ruling party and is planning<sup>119</sup> to fight election in alliance with the Congress and the CPI(M) to attract the Muslim voters.<sup>n</sup>



**Can the BJP turn the tide in Bengal in the event of any significant division of Muslim votes caused by the jostling between AITC, on one hand, and on the other, the Congress-Left alliance aided by Siddiqui’s ISF appeal?**

Siddiqui’s newly formed party, the Indian Secular Front (ISF) is believed to have some support of the Muslim electorate in certain pockets of the state—this could hurt AITC’s Muslim vote share.<sup>120</sup>

##### **5. Gorkhaland and other demands for territorial autonomy**

The demand for a separate state of Gorkhaland has been one of the chief

political issues in the hilly regions of the northern part of West Bengal. There has been a protracted demand for the formation of a new state, Gorkhaland, comprising the Darjeeling and Kalimpong districts, as well as some areas of Coochbehar, Jalpaiguri and Alipurduar districts in the northern region of the state. The demand emanates from the view that a significant section of residents in these districts are culturally and

<sup>n</sup> Out of the total approximately 30 percent of Muslim electors in West Bengal, about 24 percent are Bengali-speaking and the remaining 6 percent are Hindi-speaking Muslims.

See Press Trust of India, “After Bihar success, now AIMIM’s entry into Bengal likely to unsettle Trinamool’s sway over minorities”, *The New Indian Express*, November 13, 2020, <https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2020/nov/13/after-bihar-success-now-aimimsentry-into-bengal-likely-to-unsettle-trinamools-sway-over-minoriti-2223237.html>

ethnically different from Bengalis and other communities living in the state. A large proportion of them are of Nepali origin, who demand self-determination.<sup>121</sup>

The movement for a separate state gained momentum in the 1980s when the Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) was formed under the leadership of Subhash Ghisingh.<sup>122</sup> As a response to the protests, the Darjeeling Gorkha Hill Council (DGHC) was established in 1988 for the administration and governance of Darjeeling and its neighbouring areas. The emergence of a political party known as the Gorkha Janmukti Morcha (GOJAM or GJM) in 2007, under Bimal Gurung, and fresh agitation led to a new arrangement of administrative autonomy in the region resulting in the formation of the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA) in 2011. However, developments like the creation of the linguistic state of Telangana in 2013<sup>123</sup> and attempts of the state government of West Bengal to strengthen the dominance of Bengali language in schools in the above mentioned districts in the northern hilly region have provoked more agitations.<sup>124</sup>

There has been a rift in the GJM as a faction led by Binoy Tamang went against Bimal Gurung who was on the run ever since he was charged in 2017 by the state under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA), 1967.<sup>125</sup> The Trinamool Congress-led state government has been opposed to demands for a separate state

but appeared to be willing to address the issues of development in the region.<sup>126</sup> On the other hand, the BJP has been more sympathetic to the cause of separate statehood<sup>127</sup> and won the Lok Sabha seat in the region in three consecutive elections.<sup>128</sup>

Tamang, leader of the faction of the GJM which now controls the GTA has been an ally of the AITC since 2017; meanwhile, Gurung is close to the BJP.<sup>129</sup> In October 2020, Gurung announced his dissociation with the BJP and pledged his support to CM Banerjee.<sup>130</sup> As the BJP emerges as a key political force in Bengal, it has revoked its support for Gorkhaland although its government at the Centre reopened channels for talks on the issue recently.<sup>131,132</sup> Given the changing political equations, this issue can impact the polls in at least 21 Assembly seats in the northern part of the state.<sup>133</sup>

The Rajbongshi community, the largest Scheduled Caste (SC) group in the state who reside in north Bengal also have long-held political demands of territorial and cultural autonomy. Two of their key demands have been the formation of a separate state of Kamtapur, which includes their home districts, and also to have their native language included in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution.<sup>134</sup> The community supported the Left parties during their rule and subsequently supported Mamata Banerjee after she came to power in 2011. The Rajbongshi

community supported the BJP in the subsequent elections after the party promised to take a sympathetic view of their demand to recognise the Kamatpuri language.<sup>135</sup> AITC is trying to regain

its influence on the community in the upcoming elections. The community is believed to have influence over at least 15 Vidhan Sabha seats in the northern part of West Bengal.<sup>136</sup>



**With the GOJAM withdrawing from NDA and pledging support to the AITC, and the AITC trying to get back Rajbongshi support—will the BJP manage to retain their seats in north Bengal or can the AITC reverse this trend?**

## 6. Maoist Insurgency

West Bengal is among India's states where Maoist insurgents continue to have a presence.<sup>137</sup> The districts of Purulia and Jhargram are the two areas most affected,<sup>138</sup> along with Bankura and West Medinipur.<sup>139</sup> In Lalgargh, now in Jhargram district, many have been killed as the Maoists gained a foothold in the area<sup>140</sup> beginning in 2008.<sup>141</sup> Such incidents further increased between 2009 and 2011, when over 500 deaths were recorded due to Maoist violence as the CPI(Maoist) set up a "liberated zone" in the region.<sup>142</sup>

After the AITC government came to power in 2011, the top Maoist leader in Bengal at that time and CPI (M) politburo member, Koteswara Rao alias Kishanji, was killed by security forces in an operation in November that year.<sup>143</sup> Following the incident, the Banerjee government adopted a surrender policy which succeeded in bringing a number of Maoist leaders into the mainstream.<sup>144</sup> The various welfare and development projects of the state government, and the government's support to agriculture and forest produce-based village industries in the Jangal Mahal region,<sup>o</sup> also helped strengthen the confidence of the local

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<sup>o</sup> Jangal Mahal region is referred to the centre of Maoist movement in the state that includes four districts- Jhargram, West Midnapur, Bankura and Purulia.

people in the government. In 2017 the government declared Jhargram, once a hotbed of insurgent activity, as a separate district and announced plans for the development of the region, whose population comprises mostly tribal communities.<sup>145</sup> Some analysts say these initiatives led to the notable decline in insurgency in the state; in the last few years, there has been almost no reports of Maoist violence in the district.<sup>146</sup> Beginning in 2011, the ruling AITC consolidated<sup>147</sup> its political position in this region.<sup>148</sup>

With the rise of the BJP in the state, the party made inroads in the districts marked by Maoist violence and won all the four Lok Sabha seats of the region in the 2019 election. In July 2020, Chhatradhar Mahato, the leader of the Maoist-backed tribal movement in Lalgarh during the period 2008-2011, joined the ruling AITC after he was released from prison.<sup>149</sup> As

Mahato is well-known, the AITC is seeking his political support to wrest its political clout back from the BJP in this region for the upcoming election.<sup>150</sup>

In response, the BJP has accused the ruling AITC of indulging in “double standards” and of secretly backing Maoists for political gain.<sup>151</sup> The state government has also been blamed for backtracking on its two poll promises in the region:<sup>152</sup> the assurance of withdrawing centre-state joint forces from the region, and releasing Maoist prisoners from jail.<sup>p</sup> In 2018, some fresh<sup>153</sup> Maoist presence was observed in Jhargram after a considerable period of peace in the region.<sup>154</sup> In light of the continued presence of Maoists in the region, along with the political competition between the BJP and the AITC,<sup>155</sup> the issues of insurgency, and overall, peace and development, are likely to dominate the electoral space this year.



**The ruling AITC in West Bengal, which lost ground in the Maoist-hit western parts of the state in the 2019 election, is eyeing to regain its position in the upcoming assembly elections. But with the BJP gaining momentum in these districts, will the AITC be able to regain its political footprint in the region?**

<sup>p</sup> The Mamata Banerjee government, after coming to power decided to release all political prisoners including the Maoist leaders. But, following a cautionary note from the Union Home Ministry, the state government dropped its plan to release the Maoist leaders.

See Snigdhendru Bhattacharya, “Mamata Banerjee has backtracked on her promise to release political prisoners,” *The Wire*, October 8, 2020, <https://thewire.in/politics/mamata-banerjee-political-prisoners-release-promise-backtrack>

# Districts in West Bengal: An Electoral Overview

The following tables highlight the electoral dynamics in the 294 assembly constituencies divided across the 23 districts of West Bengal.

**Table 13. Election details of Alipurduar district**

Located in North Bengal and shares borders with Assam and Bhutan. More than 80 percent of total population belong to SC/ST communities.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Kumargram (ST)	Alipurduar	83.74
Madarihat (ST)	Alipurduar	76.37
Alipurduar	Alipurduar	83.39
Kalchini (ST)	Alipurduar	79.5
Falakata (SC)	Alipurduar	84.39

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kumargram (ST)	RSP	7.18	AITC
Madarihat (ST)	RSP	5.94	BJP
Alipurduar	INC	3.78	RSP
Kalchini (ST)	IND	4.69	RSP
Falakata (SC)	AITC	4.91	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kumargram (ST)	RSP	1.66	AITC
Madarihat (ST)	BJP	16.74	RSP
Alipurduar	RSP	2.48	AITC
Kalchini (ST)	BJP	21.1	INC
Falakata (SC)	AITC	7.7	RSP

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kumargram (ST)	AITC	2.95	RSP
Madarihat (ST)	BJP	14.47	AITC
Alipurduar	AITC	5.88	INC
Kalchini (ST)	AITC	0.85	BJP
Falakata (SC)	AITC	8.51	CPM

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kumargram (ST)	BJP	13.11	AITC
Madarihat (ST)	BJP	2.82	AITC
Alipurduar	BJP	17.76	AITC
Kalchini (ST)	BJP	25.31	AITC
Falakata (SC)	BJP	13.12	AITC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Kumargram (ST)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 16.06 percentage points.
Madarihat (ST)	No swing. Decrease in BJP winning margin by 11.65 percentage points.
Alipurduar	Swing from AITC in 2016 to RSP in 2019 by 23.64 percentage points.
Kalchini (ST)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 26.16 percentage points.
Falakata (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 21.63 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 14. Election details of Bankura district**

In the south-western part of West Bengal. Has huge historical significance as it was the home of the erstwhile Malla Kingdom. Also connects West Bengal to the Chhota Nagpur plateau.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Saltora (SC)	Bankura	84.79
Chhatna	Bankura	79.26
Ranibandh (ST)	Bankura	82.31
Raipur (ST)	Bankura	85.37
Taldangra	Bankura	84
Bankura	Bankura	78.69
Barjora	Bishnupur	84.34
Onda	Bishnupur	84.94
Bishnupur	Bishnupur	85.95
Katulpur (SC)	Bishnupur	88.56
Indus (SC)	Bishnupur	86.95
Sonamukhi (SC)	Bishnupur	86.63

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Saltora (SC)	AITC	7.78	CPM
Chhatna	AITC	5.03	RSP
Ranibandh (ST)	CPM	4.02	AITC
Raipur (ST)	CPM	0.12	AITC
Taldangra	CPM	4.56	INC
Bankura	AITC	16.86	CPM
Barjora	AITC	4.79	CPM
Onda	AITC	0.34	AIFB
Bishnupur	AITC	6.38	CPM
Katulpur (SC)	INC	0.81	CPM
Indus (SC)	AITC	2.3	CPM
Sonamukhi (SC)	AITC	4.42	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Saltora (SC)	AITC	7.87	CPM
Chhatna	AITC	2.56	CPM
Ranibandh (ST)	AITC	10.63	CPM
Raipur (ST)	AITC	17.33	CPM
Taldangra	AITC	0.88	CPM
Bankura	AITC	11.94	BJP
Barjora	AITC	3.41	CPM
Onda	AITC	10.54	CPM
Bishnupur	AITC	14.61	CPM
Katulpur (SC)	AITC	21.72	CPM
Indus (SC)	AITC	14.31	CPM
Sonamukhi (SC)	AITC	6.35	CPM

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Saltora (SC)	AITC	6.81	CPM
Chhatna	RSP	1.35	AITC
Ranibandh (ST)	AITC	12.01	CPM
Raipur (ST)	AITC	15.07	CPM
Taldangra	AITC	7.45	CPM
Bankura	INC	0.52	AITC
Barjora	CPM	0.31	AITC
Onda	AITC	5.48	AIFB
Bishnupur	INC	0.51	AITC
Katulpur (SC)	AITC	10.53	INC
Indus (SC)	AITC	9.55	CPM
Sonamukhi (SC)	CPM	4.66	AITC



2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Saltora (SC)	BJP	7.91	AITC
Chhatna	BJP	16.89	AITC
Ranibandh (ST)	BJP	7.85	AITC
Raipur (ST)	BJP	1.82	AITC
Taldangra	BJP	9.14	AITC
Bankura	BJP	23.1	AITC
Barjora	BJP	5.66	AITC
Onda	BJP	12.72	AITC
Bishnupur	BJP	12.74	AITC
Katulpur (SC)	BJP	4.33	AITC
Indus (SC)	BJP	6.65	AITC
Sonamukhi (SC)	BJP	12.26	AITC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Saltora (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 14.72 percentage points.
Chhatna	Swing from RSP in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 18.24 percentage points.
Ranibandh (ST)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 19.86 percentage points.
Raipur (ST)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 16.89 percentage points.
Taldangra	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 16.59 percentage points.
Bankura	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 23.62 percentage points.
Barjora	Swing from CPM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 5.97 percentage points.
Onda	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 18.2 percentage points.
Bishnupur	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 13.25 percentage points.
Katulpur (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 14.86 percentage points.
Indus (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 16.2 percentage points.
Sonamukhi (SC)	Swing from CPM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 16.92 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 15. Election details of East Bardhaman district**

In Central West Bengal. The Bardhaman district was bifurcated into Purba Bardhaman and Paschim Bardhaman in 2017. Rich in mineral resources.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Galsi (SC)	Bardhaman Durgapur	83.74
Bardhaman Uttar (SC)	Bardhaman Durgapur	85.38
Bardhaman Dakshin	Bardhaman Durgapur	78.52
Monteswar	Bardhaman Durgapur	83.37
Bhatar	Bardhaman Durgapur	84.56
Purbasthali Dakshin	Bardhaman Purba	84.82
Kalna (SC)	Bardhaman Purba	84.46
Memari	Bardhaman Purba	84.02
Raina (SC)	Bardhaman Purba	85.63
Purbasthali Uttar	Bardhaman Purba	83.15
Katwa	Bardhaman Purba	81.88
Jamalpur (SC)	Bardhaman Purba	84.47
Khandaghosh (SC)	Bishnupur	86.46
Mangalkot	Bolpur	84.56
Ausgram (SC)	Bolpur	86.32
Ketugram	Bolpur	81.95

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Galsi (SC)	AIFB	5.96	AITC
Bardhaman Uttar (SC)	CPM	7.37	AITC
Bardhaman Dakshin	AITC	19.81	CPM
Monteswar	CPM	1.9	AITC
Bhatar	AITC	0.17	CPM
Purbasthali Dakshin	AITC	9.16	CPM
Kalna (SC)	AITC	7.42	CPM
Memari	AITC	1.72	CPM
Raina (SC)	CPM	6.32	AITC
Purbasthali Uttar	AITC	1.28	CPM
Katwa	INC	14.76	CPM
Jamalpur (SC)	AITC	1.47	CPM
Khandaghosh (SC)	CPM	7.27	AITC
Mangalkot	CPM	0.07	AITC
Ausgram (SC)	CPM	13.27	INC
Ketugram	AITC	0.94	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Galsi (SC)	AITC	1	CPM
Bardhaman Uttar (SC)	AITC	10.7	CPM
Bardhaman Dakshin	AITC	20.36	BJP
Monteswar	AITC	9.1	CPM
Bhatar	AITC	7.66	CPM
Purbasthali Dakshin	AITC	20.39	CPM
Kalna (SC)	AITC	11.04	CPM
Memari	AITC	2.6	CPM
Raina (SC)	AITC	17.17	CPM
Purbasthali Uttar	AITC	8.78	CPM
Katwa	CPM	4.3	AITC
Jamalpur (SC)	AITC	5.93	CPM
Khandaghosh (SC)	AITC	12.37	CPM
Mangalkot	AITC	13.09	CPM
Ausgram (SC)	AITC	10.25	CPM
Ketugram	AITC	18.61	CPM

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Galsi (SC)	AITC	5.25	AIFB
Bardhaman Uttar (SC)	AITC	5.3	CPM
Bardhaman Dakshin	AITC	15.17	CPM
Monteswar	AITC	0.37	CPM
Bhatar	AITC	3.18	CPM
Purbasthali Dakshin	AITC	19.07	INC
Kalna (SC)	AITC	13.05	CPM
Memari	AITC	4.36	CPM
Raina (SC)	AITC	0.22	CPM
Purbasthali Uttar	CPM	1.45	AITC
Katwa	AITC	0.45	INC
Jamalpur (SC)	CPM	0.74	AITC
Khandaghosh (SC)	AITC	1.63	CPM
Mangalkot	AITC	6.06	CPM
Ausgram (SC)	AITC	3.18	CPM
Ketugram	AITC	4.51	CPM

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Galsi (SC)	BJP	4.6	AITC
Bardhaman Uttar (SC)	AITC	12.53	BJP
Bardhaman Dakshin	AITC	0.69	BJP
Monteswar	AITC	67.37	CPIM
Bhatar	AITC	13.14	BJP
Purbasthali Dakshin	AITC	10.74	BJP
Kalna (SC)	AITC	1.83	BJP
Memari	AITC	2.37	BJP
Raina (SC)	AITC	25.8	BJP
Purbasthali Uttar	AITC	1.34	BJP
Katwa	BJP	0.88	AITC
Jamalpur (SC)	AITC	1.9	BJP
Khandaghosh (SC)	AITC	15.26	BJP
Mangalkot	AITC	14.29	BJP
Ausgram (SC)	AITC	7.29	BJP
Ketugram	AITC	13.53	BJP

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Galsi (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 9.85 percentage points.
Bardhaman Uttar (SC)	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 7.23 percentage points.
Bardhaman Dakshin	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 14.48 percentage points.
Monteswar	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 67.00 percentage points.
Bhatar	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 9.96 percentage points.
Purbasthali Dakshin	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 8.33 percentage points.
Kalna (SC)	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 11.22 percentage points.
Memari	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 1.99 percentage points.
Raina (SC)	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 25.58 percentage points.
Purbasthali Uttar	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 2.79 percentage points.
Katwa	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 1.33 percentage points.
Jamalpur (SC)	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 2.64 percentage points.
Khandaghosh (SC)	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 13.63 percentage points.
Mangalkot	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 8.23 percentage points.
Ausgram (SC)	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 4.11 percentage points.
Ketugram	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 9.02 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 16. Election details of West Bardhaman district**

In Central West Bengal. The erstwhile Bardhaman district was bifurcated into Purba Bardhaman and Paschim Bardhaman in 2017. Rich in mineral resources. The coalfield in Raniganj is considered the birthplace of India's coal industry.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Asansol Uttar	Asansol	75.53
Barabani	Asansol	76.13
Jamuria	Asansol	76.53
Pandabeswar	Asansol	77.8
Raniganj	Asansol	75.94
Asansol Dakshin	Asansol	74.53
Kulti	Asansol	73.87
Durgapur Paschim	Bardhaman Durgapur	77.08
Durgapur Purba	Bardhaman Durgapur	77.99

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Asansol Uttar	AITC	30.93	CPM
Barabani	AITC	13.85	CPM
Jamuria	CPM	10.12	AITC
Pandabeswar	CPM	5.77	AITC
Raniganj	AITC	1.13	CPM
Asansol Dakshin	AITC	17.75	CPM
Kulti	AITC	20.65	AIFB
Durgapur Paschim	AITC	9.55	CPM
Durgapur Purba	AITC	4.95	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Asansol Uttar	BJP	14.3	AITC
Barabani	BJP	0.89	AITC
Jamuria	CPM	0.18	AITC
Pandabeswar	AITC	6.75	CPM
Raniganj	BJP	7.69	AITC
Asansol Dakshin	BJP	11.66	AITC
Kulti	BJP	25.44	AITC
Durgapur Paschim	AITC	4.48	CPM
Durgapur Purba	AITC	0.69	CPM

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Asansol Uttar	AITC	13.01	BJP
Barabani	AITC	14.63	CPM
Jamuria	CPM	5	AITC
Pandabeswar	AITC	3.59	CPM
Raniganj	CPM	6.99	AITC
Asansol Dakshin	AITC	7.7	CPM
Kulti	AITC	11.53	BJP
Durgapur Paschim	INC	22.48	AITC
Durgapur Purba	CPM	4.8	AITC

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Asansol Uttar	BJP	10.5	AITC
Barabani	BJP	10.91	AITC
Jamuria	BJP	11.29	AITC
Pandabeswar	BJP	3.87	AITC
Raniganj	BJP	17.48	AITC
Asansol Dakshin	BJP	27.94	AITC
Kulti	BJP	28.02	AITC
Durgapur Paschim	BJP	25.03	AITC
Durgapur Purba	BJP	13.94	AITC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Asansol Uttar	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 23.51 percentage points.
Barabani	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 25.54 percentage points.
Jamuria	Swing from CPM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 16.29 percentage points.
Pandabeswar	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 7.46 percentage points.
Raniganj	Swing from CPM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 24.47 percentage points.
Asansol Dakshin	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 35.64 percentage points.
Kulti	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 39.55 percentage points.
Durgapur Paschim	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 47.51 percentage points.
Durgapur Purba	Swing from CPM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 18.74 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 17. Election details of Birbhum district**

In the north-western part of West Bengal. Known as the “Land of the Red Soil”; agriculture is the primary occupation.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Dubrajpur (SC)	Birbhum	83.8
Suri	Birbhum	84.04
Bolpur	Bolpur	84.89
Nanoor (SC)	Bolpur	84.01
Labpur	Bolpur	87.49
Sainthia (SC)	Birbhum	86.73
Mayureswar	Bolpur	85.04
Rampurhat	Birbhum	84.17
Hansan	Birbhum	83.95
Nalhati	Birbhum	84.91
Murarai	Birbhum	83.47

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Dubrajpur (SC)	AIFB	1.72	AITC
Suri	AITC	11.17	CPM
Bolpur	AITC	9.39	RSP
Nanoor (SC)	AITC	3.14	CPM
Labpur	AITC	1.82	CPM
Sainthia (SC)	CPM	2.61	AITC
Mayureswar	CPM	4.09	AITC
Rampurhat	AITC	6.25	AIFB
Hansan	INC	10.48	RCPI(R)
Nalhati	INC	9.77	AIFB
Murarai	AITC	2.7	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Dubrajpur (SC)	AITC	4.67	CPM
Suri	AITC	9.64	CPM
Bolpur	AITC	17.88	CPM
Nanoor (SC)	AITC	31.25	CPM
Labpur	AITC	13.99	CPM
Sainthia (SC)	AITC	17.17	CPM
Mayureswar	AITC	22.41	CPM
Rampurhat	AITC	4.72	CPM
Hansan	AITC	2.21	CPM
Nalhati	CPM	0.58	AITC
Murarai	CPM	1.35	AITC

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Dubrajpur (SC)	AITC	21.88	AIFB
Suri	AITC	16.13	CPM
Bolpur	AITC	24.21	RSP
Nanoor (SC)	CPM	12.34	AITC
Labpur	AITC	15.71	CPM
Sainthia (SC)	AITC	19.48	CPM
Mayureswar	AITC	21.09	CPM
Rampurhat	AITC	10.84	INC
Hansan	INC	8.71	AITC
Nalhati	AITC	5.61	AIFB
Mururai	AITC	0.14	INC

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Dubrajpur (SC)	BJP	7.49	AITC
Suri	BJP	4.3	AITC
Bolpur	AITC	7.1	BJP
Nanoor (SC)	AITC	7.94	BJP
Labpur	AITC	1.89	BJP
Sainthia (SC)	BJP	0.1	AITC
Mayureswar	BJP	0.93	AITC
Rampurhat	BJP	6.26	AITC
Hansan	AITC	15.08	BJP
Nalhati	AITC	13.88	BJP
Mururai	AITC	33.1	BJP

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Dubrajpur (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 29.37 percentage points.
Suri	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 20.43 percentage points.
Bolpur	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 17.11 percentage points.
Nanoor (SC)	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 20.28 percentage points.
Labpur	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 13.82 percentage points.
Sainthia (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 19.58 percentage points.
Mayureswar	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 22.02 percentage points.
Rampurhat	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 17.1 percentage points.
Hansan	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 23.79 percentage points.
Nalhati	No swing. Increase in AITC votes by 8.27 percentage points.
Mururai	No swing. Increase in AITC votes by 32.96 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India



**Table 18. Election details of Coochbehar district**

In the northern part of West Bengal. Shares its borders with Bangladesh. An erstwhile princely state during British rule.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Mekliganj	Jalpaiguri	86.12
Mathabanga	Coochbehar	85
Coochbehar Uttar	Coochbehar	84.26
Coochbehar Dakshin	Coochbehar	80.95
Sitalkuchi	Coochbehar	85.04
Sitai	Coochbehar	80.37
Dinhata	Coochbehar	79.05
Natabari	Coochbehar	87.04
Tufanganj	Alipurduar	88.32

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Mekliganj	AIFB	22.14	INC
Mathabanga	AITC	3.16	CPM
Coochbehar Uttar	AIFB	1.17	AITC
Coochbehar Dakshin	AIFB	1.87	AITC
Sitalkuchi	AITC	0.13	CPM
Sitai	INC	0.92	AIFB
Dinhata	AIFB	16.3	IND
Natabari	AITC	4.39	CPM
Tufanganj	AITC	3.78	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Mekliganj	CPM	1.28	AITC
Mathabanga	AITC	10.66	AIFB
Coochbehar Uttar	AITC	0.93	AIFB
Coochbehar Dakshin	AITC	6.32	AIFB
Sitalkuchi	AITC	11.43	AIFB
Sitai	AITC	6.51	AIFB
Dinhata	AITC	4.14	AIFB
Natabari	AITC	6.59	AIFB
Tufanganj	AITC	10.03	RSP

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Mekliganj	AITC	3.67	AIFB
Mathabanga	AITC	15.93	CPM
Coochbehar Uttar	AIFB	5.49	AITC
Coochbehar Dakshin	AITC	10.15	AIFB
Sitalkuchi	AITC	6.73	CPM
Sitai	AITC	11.57	INC
Dinhata	AITC	9.74	AIFB
Natabari	AITC	8.09	CPM
Tufanganj	AITC	7.94	INC

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Mekliganj	BJP	2.52	AITC
Mathabanga	BJP	10.16	AITC
Coochbehar Uttar	BJP	11.88	AITC
Coochbehar Dakshin	BJP	3.33	AITC
Sitalkuchi	AITC	0.52	BJP
Sitai	AITC	15.56	BJP
Dinhata	BJP	6.81	AITC
Natabari	BJP	9.05	AITC
Tufanganj	BJP	3.75	AITC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Mekliganj	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 6.19 percentage points.
Mathabanga	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 26.09 percentage points.
Coochbehar Uttar	Swing from AIFB in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 17.37 percentage points.
Coochbehar Dakshin	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 13.48 percentage points.
Sitalkuchi	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 6.20 percentage points.
Sitai	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 3.99 percentage points.
Dinhata	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 16.55 percentage points.
Natabari	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 17.14 percentage points.
Tufanganj	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 11.69 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 19. Election details of Darjeeling district**

In the northernmost part of West Bengal. Governed and administrated by the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA). Fondly called 'Queen of Hills', it is world-famous for its tea.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Darjeeling	Darjeeling	68.07
Kurseong	Darjeeling	73.16
Matigara-Naxalbari	Darjeeling	83.75
Siliguri	Darjeeling	78.53
Phansidewa	Darjeeling	86.93

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Darjeeling	GOJAM	69.41	GNLF
Kurseong	GOJAM	60.28	GNLF
Matigara-Naxalbari	INC	4.15	CPM
Siliguri	AITC	3.34	CPM
Phansidewa	INC	1.55	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Darjeeling	BJP	46.09	AITC
Kurseong	BJP	40.8	AITC
Matigara-Naxalbari	BJP	5.1	AITC
Siliguri	BJP	4.76	AITC
Phansidewa	BJP	2.98	AITC

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Darjeeling	GOJAM	31.32	AITC
Kurseong	GOJAM	20.57	AITC
Matigara-Naxalbari	INC	8.9	AITC
Siliguri	CPM	8.36	AITC
Phansidewa	INC	3.9	AITC

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Darjeeling	BJP	52.76	AITC
Kurseong	BJP	52.08	AITC
Matigara-Naxalbari	BJP	44.16	AITC
Siliguri	BJP	38.69	AITC
Phansidewa	BJP	27.32	AITC

Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)	
Darjeeling	Swing from GOJAM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 84.08 percentage points.
Kurseong	Swing from GOJAM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 72.65 percentage points.
Matigara-Naxalbari	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 53.06 percentage points.
Siliguri	Swing from CPM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 47.05 percentage points.
Phansidewa	Swing from INC in 2016 TO BJP in 2019 by 31.22 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 20. Election details of North Dinajpur district**

In the northern part of West Bengal. Shares a border with Bangladesh on its eastern side. One of the country's 250 most-backward districts.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Itahar	Balurghat	79.24
Chopra	Darjeeling	81.12
Goalpokhar	Raiganj	72.42
Chakulia	Raiganj	73.59
Hemtabad (SC)	Raiganj	82.35
Islampur	Raiganj	77.76
Karandighi	Raiganj	79.8
Raiganj	Raiganj	78.88
Kaliaganj (SC)	Raiganj	83.58

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Itahar	AITC	5.02	CPI
Chopra	IND	4.56	CPM
Goalpokhar	INC	10.73	AIFB
Chakulia	AIFB	16.3	INC
Hemtabad (SC)	CPM	22.71	AITC
Islampur	AITC	9.48	CPM
Karandighi	AIFB	3.85	INC
Raiganj	INC	4.28	SP
Kaliaganj (SC)	INC	4.09	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Itahar	AITC	19.03	RSP
Chopra	AITC	1.12	CPM
Goalpokhar	INC	13.25	CPM
Chakulia	CPM	7.79	INC
Hemtabad (SC)	CPM	2.26	INC
Islampur	BJP	2.04	CPM
Karandighi	CPM	8.67	INC
Raiganj	INC	12.79	CPM
Kaliaganj (SC)	CPM	0.72	INC

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Mekliganj	AITC	11.29	CPI
Mathabanga	AITC	9.48	CPM
Coochbehar Uttar	AITC	5.25	INC
Coochbehar Dakshin	AIFB	18.29	BJP
Sitalkuchi	CPM	6.64	AITC
Sitai	INC	5.17	AITC
Dinhata	AITC	1.74	AIFB
Natabari	INC	34.36	AITC
Tufanganj	INC	21.71	AITC

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Itahar	AITC	16.04	BJP
Chopra	AITC	24.02	BJP
Goalpokhar	AITC	30.88	BJP
Chakulia	AITC	4.8	BJP
Hemtabad (SC)	BJP	2.97	AITC
Islampur	AITC	2.8	BJP
Karandighi	BJP	8.11	AITC
Raiganj	BJP	28.03	AITC
Kaliaganj (SC)	BJP	25.16	AITC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Itahar	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 4.75 percentage points.
Chopra	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 14.54 percentage points.
Goalpokhar	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 25.63 percentage points.
Chakulia	Swing from AIFB in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 23.09 percentage points.
Hemtabad (SC)	Swing from CPM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 9.61 percentage points.
Islampur	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 7.97 percentage points.
Karandighi	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 9.85 percentage points.
Raiganj	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 62.39 percentage points.
Kaliaganj (SC)	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 46.87 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 21. Election details of South Dinajpur district**

In the northeastern part of West Bengal. Shares borders with Bangladesh. Relies heavily on agriculture; does not have any large-scale industry.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Kushmandi	Balurghat	82.61
Kumarganj	Balurghat	82.69
Balurghat	Balurghat	84.09
Tapan	Balurghat	84.88
Gangarampur	Balurghat	84.1
Harirampur	Balurghat	80.75

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kushmandi	RSP	2.6	INC
Kumarganj	AITC	3.18	CPM
Balurghat	AITC	14.71	RSP
Tapan	AITC	13.26	RSP
Gangarampur	AITC	0.47	CPM
Harirampur	AITC	5.15	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kushmandi	AITC	6.35	RSP
Kumarganj	AITC	10.75	RSP
Balurghat	AITC	1.69	BJP
Tapan	AITC	7.77	BJP
Gangarampur	AITC	11.64	RSP
Harirampur	AITC	10.76	RSP

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kushmandi	RSP	2.16	AITC
Kumarganj	AITC	2.27	CPM
Balurghat	RSP	1.02	AITC
Tapan	AITC	2.6	RSP
Gangarampur	INC	6.19	AITC
Harirampur	CPM	2.7	AITC

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kushmandi	AITC	0.43	BJP
Kumarganj	AITC	11.67	BJP
Balurghat	BJP	26.91	AITC
Tapan	BJP	13.15	AITC
Gangarampur	BJP	12.36	AITC
Harirampur	AITC	2.85	BJP

Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)	
Kushmandi	Swing from RSP in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 2.59 percentage points.
Kumarganj	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 9.40 percentage points.
Balurghat	Swing from RSP in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 27.94 percentage points.
Tapan	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 15.75 percentage points.
Gangarampur	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 18.55 percentage points.
Harirampur	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 5.55 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 22. Election details of Hooghly district**

In the southern half of West Bengal, along the eastern banks of the river Hooghly. One of WB's most economically developed districts.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Uttarpara	Sreerampur	75.6
Sreerampur	Sreerampur	73.41
Champdani	Sreerampur	75.41
Singur	Hooghly	82.42
Chandannagar	Hooghly	75.9
Chunchura	Hooghly	80.24
Balagrah (SC)	Hooghly	83.89
Pandua	Hooghly	82.14
Saptagram	Hooghly	81.32
Chanditala	Sreerampur	75.94
Jangipara	Sreerampur	79.33
Haripal	Arambagh	80.08
Dhanekhali (SC)	Hooghly	84.96
Tarakeshwar	Arambagh	83.57
Pursurah	Arambagh	82.82
Arambag (SC)	Arambagh	82.21
Goghat (SC)	Arambagh	85.72
Khanakul	Arambagh	74.87

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Uttarpara	AITC	24.64	CPM
Sreerampur	AITC	33.83	CPI
Champdani	AITC	22.45	CPM
Singur	AITC	19.88	CPM
Chandannagar	AITC	27.12	CPM
Chunchura	AITC	19.95	AIFB
Balagrah (SC)	AITC	11.74	CPM
Pandua	CPM	0.22	AITC
Saptagram	CPM	19.32	CPM
Chanditala	AITC	10.27	CPM
Jangipara	AITC	7.58	CPM
Haripal	AITC	12.08	CPM
Dhanekhali (SC)	AITC	8.29	AIFB
Tarakeshwar	AITC	14.47	CPM
Pursurah	AITC	16.54	CPM
Arambag (SC)	AITC	10.65	CPM
Goghat (SC)	AIFB	2.42	INC
Khanakul	AITC	15.12	CPM



2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Uttarpara	AITC	8.99	BJP
Sreerampur	BJP	1.64	AITC
Champdani	AITC	1.42	BJP
Singur	AITC	16.39	CPM
Chandannagar	AITC	15.64	CPM
Chunchura	AITC	17.1	CPM
Balagrah (SC)	AITC	7.76	CPM
Pandua	AITC	3.85	CPM
Saptagram	AITC	13.66	CPM
Chanditala	AITC	9.19	CPM
Jangipara	AITC	12.38	CPM
Haripal	AITC	20.89	CPM
Dhanekhali (SC)	AITC	24.34	CPM
Tarakeshwar	AITC	26.43	CPM
Pursurah	AITC	26.7	CPM
Arambag (SC)	AITC	27.32	CPM
Goghat (SC)	AITC	24.43	CPM
Khanakul	AITC	39.72	CPM

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Uttarpara	AITC	6.34	CPM
Sreerampur	AITC	5.78	INC
Champdani	INC	3.95	AITC
Singur	AITC	10.4	CPM
Chandannagar	AITC	1.25	CPM
Chunchura	AITC	12.29	AIFB
Balagrah (SC)	AITC	8.76	CPM
Pandua	CPM	0.66	AITC
Saptagram	AITC	10.3	INC
Chanditala	AITC	7.45	CPM
Jangipara	AITC	12.07	CPM
Haripal	AITC	15.1	CPM
Dhanekhali (SC)	AITC	26.93	AIFB
Tarakeshwar	AITC	14.4	NCP
Pursurah	AITC	14.14	INC
Arambag (SC)	AITC	18.25	CPM
Goghat (SC)	AITC	15.57	AIFB
Khanakul	AITC	21.99	CPM

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Uttarpara	AITC	1.85	BJP
Sreerampur	BJP	1.42	AITC
Champdani	AITC	0.99	BJP
Singur	BJP	5.24	AITC
Chandannagar	AITC	1.7	BJP
Chunchura	BJP	8.61	AITC
Balagrah (SC)	BJP	16.26	AITC
Pandua	BJP	0.33	AITC
Saptagram	BJP	11.77	AITC
Chanditala	AITC	8.97	BJP
Jangipara	AITC	6.09	BJP
Haripal	AITC	4.59	BJP
Dhanekhali (SC)	AITC	5.54	BJP
Tarakeshwar	AITC	2.24	BJP
Pursurah	BJP	12.39	AITC
Arambag (SC)	AITC	1.97	BJP
Goghat (SC)	BJP	3.94	AITC
Khanakul	AITC	7.14	BJP

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Uttarpara	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 4.49 percentage points.
Sreerampur	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 7.2 percentage points.
Champdani	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 4.94 percentage points.
Singur	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 15.64 percentage points.
Chandannagar	No swing. Increase in AITC votes by 0.45 percentage points.
Chunchura	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 20.9 percentage points.
Balagrah (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 25.02 percentage points.
Pandua	Swing from CPM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 0.99 percentage points.
Saptagram	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 22.07 percentage points.
Chanditala	No swing. Increase in AITC votes by 1.52 percentage points.
Jangipara	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 5.98 percentage points.
Haripal	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 10.51 percentage points.
Dhanekhali (SC)	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 21.39 percentage points.
Tarakeshwar	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 12.16 percentage points.
Pursurah	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 26.5 percentage points.
Arambag (SC)	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 16.28 percentage points.
Goghat (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 19.51 percentage points.
Khanakul	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 14.85 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 23. Election details of Howrah district**

In the southeastern part of Bengal. An industrial hub, also called “Sheffield of the East”.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Bally	Howrah	73.27
Howrah Uttar	Howrah	69.87
Howrah Madhya	Howrah	72.58
Shibpur	Howrah	76.81
Howrah Dakshin	Howrah	72.83
Sankrail	Howrah	77.1
Panchla	Howrah	77.26
Uluberia Purba	Uluberia	80.43
Uluberia Uttar	Uluberia	78.39
Uluberia Dakshin	Uluberia	81.2
Shyampur	Uluberia	81.2
Bagnan	Uluberia	83.67
Amta	Uluberia	76.83
Udaynarayanpur	Uluberia	82.31
Jagatballavpur	Sreerampur	79.32
Domjur	Sreerampur	81.12

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bally	AITC	6.31	CPM
Howrah Uttar	AITC	15.71	CPM
Howrah Madhya	AITC	30.48	CPM
Shibpur	AITC	28.48	AIFB
Howrah Dakshin	AITC	17.43	CPM
Sankrail	AITC	10.39	CPM
Panchla	AITC	7.24	AIFB
Uluberia Purba	AITC	13.2	CPM
Uluberia Uttar	AITC	12.65	CPM
Uluberia Dakshin	AITC	7.94	AIFB
Shyampur	AITC	19.71	AIFB
Bagnan	AITC	12.47	CPM
Amta	INC	8.05	CPM
Udaynarayanpur	AITC	14.33	CPM
Jagatballavpur	AITC	14.67	CPM
Domjur	AITC	13.37	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bally	AITC	11.07	BJP
Howrah Uttar	AITC	8.91	BJP
Howrah Madhya	AITC	12.76	BJP
Shibpur	AITC	23.24	CPM
Howrah Dakshin	AITC	14.22	CPM
Sankrail	AITC	9.26	CPM
Panchla	AITC	21.04	CPM
Uluberia Purba	AITC	9.27	CPM
Uluberia Uttar	AITC	19.27	CPM
Uluberia Dakshin	AITC	12.15	CPM
Shyampur	AITC	15.4	CPM
Bagnan	AITC	20.2	CPM
Amta	AITC	15.42	CPM
Udaynarayanpur	AITC	27.55	CPM
Jagatballavpur	AITC	11.53	CPM
Domjur	AITC	19.79	CPM

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bally	AITC	13.73	CPM
Howrah Uttar	AITC	20.02	INC
Howrah Madhya	AITC	30.13	JD(U)
Shibpur	AITC	15.91	AIFB
Howrah Dakshin	AITC	8.26	CPM
Sankrail	AITC	7.65	CPM
Panchla	AITC	16.73	AIFB
Uluberia Purba	AITC	9.51	CPM
Uluberia Uttar	AITC	8.6	INC
Uluberia Dakshin	AITC	19.94	AIFB
Shyampur	AITC	13.06	INC
Bagnan	AITC	16.7	CPM
Amta	INC	2.38	AITC
Udaynarayanpur	AITC	13.06	INC
Jagatballavpur	AITC	11.63	CPM
Domjur	AITC	44.92	IND

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bally	AITC	0.24	BJP
Howrah Uttar	BJP	2.06	AITC
Howrah Madhya	AITC	9.92	BJP
Shibpur	AITC	5.11	BJP
Howrah Dakshin	AITC	12.11	BJP
Sankrail	AITC	10.53	BJP
Panchla	AITC	17.69	BJP
Uluberia Purba	AITC	11.16	BJP
Uluberia Uttar	AITC	8.3	BJP
Uluberia Dakshin	AITC	13.57	BJP
Shyampur	AITC	15.39	BJP
Bagnan	AITC	25.91	BJP
Amta	AITC	19.33	BJP
Udaynarayanpur	AITC	21.27	BJP
Jagatballavpur	AITC	5.52	BJP
Domjur	AITC	24.57	BJP

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Bally	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 13.49 percentage points.
Howrah Uttar	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 22.08 percentage points.
Howrah Madhya	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 20.21 percentage points.
Shibpur	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 10.79 percentage points.
Howrah Dakshin	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 3.85 percentage points.
Sankrail	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 2.88 percentage points.
Panchla	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 0.96 percentage points.
Uluberia Purba	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 1.65 percentage points.
Uluberia Uttar	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 0.30 percentage points.
Uluberia Dakshin	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 6.38 percentage points.
Shyampur	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 2.34 percentage points.
Bagnan	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 9.21 percentage points.
Amta	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 21.71 percentage points.
Udaynarayanpur	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 8.21 percentage points.
Jagatballavpur	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 6.11 percentage points.
Domjur	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 20.34 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 24. Election details of Jalpaiguri district**

In the northern part of West Bengal. Shares borders with Bhutan and Bangladesh. Majority of the population reside in rural areas. Tea, timber and tourism form the backbone of commerce.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Nagrakata (ST)	Alipurduar	78.6
Dabgram-Fulbari	Jalpaiguri	83.6
Maynaguri (SC)	Jalpaiguri	87.78
Mal (ST)	Jalpaiguri	81.99
Rajganj (SC)	Jalpaiguri	87.46
Dhupguri (SC)	Jalpaiguri	85.47
Jalpaiguri (SC)	Jalpaiguri	84.05

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Nagrakata (ST)	INC	0.5	CPM
Dabgram-Fulbari	AITC	6.41	CPM
Maynaguri (SC)	RSP	9.34	AITC
Mal (ST)	CPM	2.7	INC
Rajganj (SC)	AITC	4.39	CPM
Dhupguri (SC)	CPM	2.43	AITC
Jalpaiguri (SC)	INC	6.23	AIFB

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Nagrakata (ST)	BJP	13.83	RSP
Dabgram-Fulbari	AITC	2.34	CPM
Maynaguri (SC)	AITC	14.67	CPM
Mal (ST)	AITC	4.83	CPM
Rajganj (SC)	AITC	5.21	CPM
Dhupguri (SC)	AITC	6.46	CPM
Jalpaiguri (SC)	CPM	2.2	AITC

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Nagrakata (ST)	AITC	1.83	INC
Dabgram-Fulbari	AITC	10.69	CPM
Maynaguri (SC)	AITC	16.56	RSP
Mal (ST)	AITC	9.63	CPM
Rajganj (SC)	AITC	7.54	CPM
Dhupguri (SC)	AITC	9.23	CPM
Jalpaiguri (SC)	INC	2.48	AITC

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Nagrakata (ST)	BJP	28.26	AITC
Dabgram-Fulbari	BJP	36.27	AITC
Maynaguri (SC)	BJP	6.68	AITC
Mal (ST)	BJP	12.11	AITC
Rajganj (SC)	AITC	2.11	BJP
Dhupguri (SC)	BJP	8.26	AITC
Jalpaiguri (SC)	BJP	18.26	AITC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Nagrakata (ST)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 30.09 percentage points.
Dabgram-Fulbari	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 46.96 percentage points.
Maynaguri (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 23.24 percentage points.
Mal (ST)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 21.74 percentage points.
Rajganj (SC)	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 5.43 percentage points.
Dhupguri (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 17.49 percentage points.
Jalpaiguri (SC)	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 20.74 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 25. Election details of Jhargram district**

In the southwestern part of West Bengal. Was bifurcated from the Paschim Medinipur district in 2017. Known for its palaces, forests, and ancient temples.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Binpur	Jhargram	81.14
Gopiballavpur	Jhargram	84.6
Jhargram	Jhargram	82.08
Nayagram	Jhargram	82.65

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Binpur	CPM	5.16	JKP(N)
Gopiballavpur	AITC	20.16	CPM
Jhargram	AITC	9.82	CPM
Nayagram	AITC	10.83	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Binpur	AITC	29.78	CPM
Gopiballavpur	AITC	26.12	CPM
Jhargram	AITC	32.38	CPM
Nayagram	AITC	25.95	CPM

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Binpur	AITC	28.35	CPM
Gopiballavpur	AITC	27.42	CPM
Jhargram	AITC	30.59	JKP(N)
Nayagram	AITC	24.72	BJP

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Binpur	AITC	1.74	BJP
Gopiballavpur	BJP	3.68	AITC
Jhargram	BJP	0.89	AITC
Nayagram	BJP	1.85	AITC

Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)	
Binpur	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 26.61 percentage points.
Gopiballavpur	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 31.10 percentage points.
Jhargram	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 31.48 percentage points.
Nayagram	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 26.57 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India



**Table 26. Election details of Kolkata district**

In the southern part of West Bengal, along the eastern banks of Hooghly. The capital of the state.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Kolkata Port	Kolkata Dakshin	64.21
Bhabanipur	Kolkata Dakshin	66.84
Rashbehari	Kolkata Dakshin	66.99
Ballygunge	Kolkata Dakshin	66.25
Chowranghee	Kolkata Uttar	57.95
Entally	Kolkata Uttar	72.19
Belegkata	Kolkata Uttar	67.63
Jorasanko	Kolkata Uttar	57.04
Shyampukur	Kolkata Uttar	66.47
Maniktala	Kolkata Uttar	69.99
Kashipur Belgachhia	Kolkata Uttar	64.63

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kolkata Port	AITC	19.06	AIFB
Bhabanipur	AITC	36.35	CPM
Rashbehari	AITC	36.79	CPM
Ballygunge	AITC	28.32	CPM
Chowranghee	AITC	52.25	RJD
Entally	AITC	18.52	CPM
Belegkata	AITC	19.54	CPM
Jorasanko	AITC	27.78	CPM
Shyampukur	AITC	21.5	AIFB
Maniktala	AITC	24.65	CPM
Kashipur Belgachhia	AITC	28.42	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kolkata Port	AITC	5.01	BJP
Bhabanipur	BJP	0.14	AITC
Rashbehari	AITC	6.16	BJP
Ballygunge	AITC	9.27	BJP
Chowranghee	INC	1.36	AITC
Entally	AITC	15.08	CPM
Belegkata	AITC	18.17	CPM
Jorasanko	BJP	14.68	AITC
Shyampukur	AITC	5.62	BJP
Maniktala	AITC	12.66	CPM
Kashipur Belgachhia	AITC	13.76	BJP

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kolkata Port	AITC	19.23	INC
Bhabanipur	AITC	18.41	INC
Rashbehari	AITC	10.56	INC
Ballygunge	AITC	9.89	INC
Chowranghee	AITC	11.34	INC
Entally	AITC	19.18	CPM
Belegkata	AITC	16.3	CPM
Jorasanko	AITC	6.01	BJP
Shyampukur	AITC	11.26	AIFB
Maniktala	AITC	17.51	CPM
Kashipur Belgachhia	AITC	18	CPM

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kolkata Port	AITC	25.29	BJP
Bhabanipur	AITC	2.36	BJP
Rashbehari	BJP	4.06	AITC
Ballygunge	AITC	34.15	BJP
Chowranghee	AITC	22.63	BJP
Entally	AITC	26.57	BJP
Belegkata	AITC	31.02	BJP
Jorasanko	BJP	3.55	AITC
Shyampukur	BJP	1.9	AITC
Maniktala	AITC	0.61	BJP
Kashipur Belgachhia	AITC	9.65	BJP

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Kolkata Port	No swing. Increase in AITC votes by 6.06 percentage points.
Bhabanipur	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 16.05 percentage points.
Rashbehari	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 14.62 percentage points.
Ballygunge	No swing. Increase in AITC votes by 24.26 percentage points.
Chowranghee	No swing. Increase in AITC votes by 11.29 percentage points.
Entally	No swing. Increase in AITC votes by 7.39 percentage points.
Belegkata	No swing. Increase in AITC votes by 14.72 percentage points.
Jorasanko	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 9.56 percentage points.
Shyampukur	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 13.16 percentage points.
Maniktala	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 16.9 percentage points.
Kashipur Belgachhia	No swing. Decrease in AITC votes by 8.35 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 27. Election details of Kalimpong district**

In the northernmost part of West Bengal. Governed and administrated by the Gorkhaland Territorial Administration (GTA). Bifurcated from Darjeeling in 2017.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)	
Kalimpong	Darjeeling	70.15	
2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kalimpong	GOJAM	81.41	GNLF
2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kalimpong	BJP	44.45	AITC
2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kalimpong	GOJAM	2.87	IND
2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Kalimpong	BJP	43.41	AITC
Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)			
Kalimpong	Swing from GOJAM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 46.28 percentage points.		

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 28. Election details of Malda district**

In North Bengal, shares borders with Bangladesh and Jharkhand. Geographically crucial as it connects South Bengal and Siliguri.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Habibpur	Maldaha Uttar	80.99
Gazole	Maldaha Uttar	82.69
Chanchal	Maldaha Uttar	77.98
Harischandrapur	Maldaha Uttar	77.2
Malatipur	Maldaha Uttar	77.75
Ratua	Maldaha Uttar	77.02
Manickchak	Maldaha Dakshin	77.89
Maldaha	Maldaha Uttar	84.33
English Bazar	Maldaha Dakshin	81.92
Mothabari	Maldaha Dakshin	78.63
Sujapur	Maldaha Dakshin	77.09
Baisnabnagar	Maldaha Dakshin	83.97

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Habibpur	CPM	1.43	AITC
Gazole	INC	3.45	CPM
Chanchal	INC	10.07	CPM
Harischandrapur	AIFB	1.82	INC
Malatipur	RSP	5.31	IND
Ratua	INC	4.43	CPM
Manickchak	AITC	4.44	CPM
Maldaha	INC	7.35	CPM
English Bazar	INC	12.64	CPM
Mothabari	INC	5.59	CPM
Sujapur	INC	12.96	CPM
Baisnabnagar	INC	3.45	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Habibpur	CPM	2.85	AITC
Gazole	CPM	8.22	AITC
Chanchal	INC	0.87	CPM
Harischandrapur	INC	7.12	CPM
Malatipur	INC	24.98	CPM
Ratua	INC	15.84	CPM
Manickchak	INC	9.06	AITC
Maldaha	INC	0.42	BJP
English Bazar	BJP	17.41	INC
Mothabari	INC	25.59	BJP
Sujapur	INC	30.33	AITC
Baisnabnagar	INC	0.32	BJP

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Habibpur	CPM	1.36	AITC
Gazole	CPM	10.39	AITC
Chanchal	INC	30.42	AITC
Harischandrapur	INC	10.38	AITC
Malatipur	INC	1.66	RSP
Ratua	INC	23.24	AITC
Manickchak	INC	7.3	AITC
Maldaha	INC	18.25	AITC
English Bazar	IND	20.28	AITC
Mothabari	INC	28.61	AITC
Sujapur	INC	28.28	AITC
Baisnabnagar	BJP	2.45	INC

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Habibpur	BJP	27.66	AITC
Gazole	BJP	19.6	AITC
Chanchal	INC	4.95	AITC
Harischandrapur	AITC	1.36	INC
Malatipur	INC	3.33	AITC
Ratua	AITC	8.9	INC
Manickchak	BJP	15.95	INC
Maldaha	BJP	27.66	AITC
English Bazar	BJP	44.12	AITC
Mothabari	INC	12.69	BJP
Sujapur	INC	16.18	AITC
Baisnabnagar	BJP	13.55	AITC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Habibpur	Swing from CPM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 29.02 percentage points.
Gazole	Swing from CPM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 29.99 percentage points.
Chanchal	No swing. Decrease in INC winning margin by 25.47 percentage points.
Harischandrapur	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 11.74 percentage points.
Malatipur	No swing. Increase in INC winning margin by 1.67 percentage points.
Ratua	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 32.14 percentage points.
Manickchak	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 23.26 percentage points.
Maldaha	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 45.91 percentage points.
English Bazar	Swing from IND in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 64.40 percentage points.
Mothabari	No swing. Decrease in INC winning margin by 15.92 percentage points.
Sujapur	No swing. Decrease in INC winning margin by 12.10 percentage points.
Baisnabnagar	No swing. Increase in BJP winning margin by 11.10 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 29. Election details of West Medinipur district**

In the southwestern part of West Bengal. Created out of Midnapore district in 2002. The district with the highest number of villages.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Keshiary	Medinipur	87.64
Khargapur Sadar	Medinipur	71.43
Narayangarh	Medinipur	87.48
Sabang	Ghatal	85.01
Pingla	Ghatal	87.31
Kharagpur	Medinipur	86.59
Debra	Ghatal	85.1
Daspur	Ghatal	72.78
Ghatal	Ghatal	79.28
Chandrakona	Arambagh	86.37
Garbeta	Jhargram	87.55
Salboni	Jhargram	88.78
Keshpur	Ghatal	84.2
Medinipur	Medinipur	83.48
Dantan	Medinipur	83.77

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Keshiary	CPM	0.62	AITC
Khargapur Sadar	INC	23.63	CPM
Narayangarh	CPM	4	AITC
Sabang	INC	6.84	CPM
Pingla	DSP(P)	0.69	AITC
Kharagpur	CPM	1.67	AITC
Debra	AITC	5.17	CPM
Daspur	AITC	12.52	CPM
Ghatal	AITC	8.39	CPM
Chandrakona	CPM	0.64	AITC
Garbeta	CPM	9.15	INC
Salboni	AITC	2.25	CPM
Keshpur	CPM	18.75	INC
Medinipur	AITC	14.9	CPI
Dantan	CPI	2.9	AITC

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Keshiary	AITC	22.26	CPI
Khargapur Sadar	BJP	7.52	AITC
Narayangarh	AITC	14.29	CPI
Sabang	INC	0.07	INC
Pingla	AITC	13.32	CPI
Kharagpur	AITC	10.6	CPI
Debra	AITC	11.58	CPI
Daspur	AITC	18.75	CPI
Ghatal	AITC	25.54	CPI
Chandrakona	AITC	16.41	CPM
Garbeta	AITC	44.61	CPM
Salboni	AITC	28.94	CPM
Keshpur	AITC	60.73	CPI
Medinipur	AITC	19.32	CPI
Dantan	AITC	18.06	CPI

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Keshiary	AITC	20.98	CPM
Khargapur Sadar	INC	4.03	INC
Narayangarh	AITC	6.76	CPM
Sabang	INC	22.93	AITC
Pingla	AITC	11.68	DSP(P)
Kharagpur	AITC	10.8	CPM
Debra	AITC	6.29	CPM
Daspur	AITC	13.36	CPM
Ghatal	AITC	9	CPM
Chandrakona	AITC	17.05	CPM
Garbeta	AITC	32.58	CPM
Salboni	AITC	23.67	CPM
Keshpur	AITC	49.43	CPM
Medinipur	AITC	15.48	CPI
Dantan	AITC	16.35	CPI

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Keshiary	BJP	5.37	AITC
Khargapur Sadar	BJP	28.02	ATC
Narayangarh	BJP	4.26	AITC
Sabang	AITC	2.84	BJP
Pingla	AITC	0.79	BJP
Kharagpur	AITC	5.06	BJP
Debra	BJP	2.09	AITC
Daspur	AITC	4.72	BJP
Ghatal	AITC	2.74	BJP
Chandrakona	AITC	1.57	BJP
Garbeta	BJP	3.49	AITC
Salboni	AITC	3.7	BJP
Keshpur	AITC	43.64	BJP
Medinipur	BJP	7.47	AITC
Dantan	BJP	3.55	AITC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Keshiary	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 26.34 percentage points.
Khargapur Sadar	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 32.05 percentage points.
Narayangarh	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 11.02 percentage points.
Sabang	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 25.77 percentage points.
Pingla	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 10.89 percentage points.
Kharagpur	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 5.74 percentage points.
Debra	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 8.38 percentage points.
Daspur	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 8.64 percentage points.
Ghatal	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 6.27 percentage points.
Chandrakona	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 15.48 percentage points.
Garbeta	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 36.07 percentage points.
Salboni	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 19.97 percentage points.
Keshpur	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 5.79 percentage points.
Medinipur	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 22.95 percentage points.
Dantan	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 19.90 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India



**Table 30. Election details of East Medinipur district**

Was carved out of Midnapore district in 2002. One of the five administrative divisions of West Bengal.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Tamluk	Tamluk	84.8
Panskura Purba	Tamluk	78.81
Panskura Paschim	Tamluk	81.09
Moyna	Tamluk	84.65
Nandakumar	Tamluk	85.7
Mahisadal	Tamluk	86.27
Haldia	Tamluk	87.9
Nandigram	Tamluk	83.69
Chandipur	Kanthi	85.95
Patashpur	Kanthi	86
Kanthi Uttar	Kanthi	85.97
Bhagabanpur	Kanthi	86.39
Khejuri	Kanthi	86.92
Kanthi Dakshin	Kanthi	83.62
Ramnagar	Kanthi	81.16
Egra	Medinipur	81.8

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Tamluk	AITC	10.95	CPI
Panskura Purba	AITC	8.05	CPM
Panskura Paschim	AITC	4.89	CPI
Moyna	AITC	5.57	CPM
Nandakumar	AITC	6.74	SP
Mahisadal	AITC	16.28	CPM
Haldia	AITC	6.83	CPM
Nandigram	AITC	25.42	CPI
Chandipur	AITC	6.76	CPM
Patashpur	AITC	3.93	CPI
Kanthi Uttar	AITC	4.33	CPM
Bhagabanpur	AITC	4.9	SP
Khejuri	AITC	9.77	SP
Kanthi Dakshin	AITC	18.82	CPI
Ramnagar	AITC	9.28	CPM
Egra	AITC	8.29	DSP(P)

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Tamluk	AITC	14.87	CPM
Panskura Purba	AITC	13.69	CPM
Panskura Paschim	AITC	7.65	CPI
Moyna	AITC	20.87	CPM
Nandakumar	AITC	12.28	CPM
Mahisadal	AITC	15.91	CPM
Haldia	AITC	6.05	CPM
Nandigram	AITC	46.6	CPM
Chandipur	AITC	10.84	CPM
Patashpur	AITC	19.15	CPM
Kanthi Uttar	AITC	15.78	CPM
Bhagabanpur	AITC	18.88	CPM
Khejuri	AITC	21.38	CPM
Kanthi Dakshin	AITC	22.24	CPM
Ramnagar	AITC	17.98	CPM
Egra	AITC	10.74	CPI

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Tamluk	CPI	0.24	AITC
Panskura Purba	CPM	2.61	AITC
Panskura Paschim	AITC	1.5	CPI
Moyna	AITC	6.03	INC
Nandakumar	AITC	5.3	IND
Mahisadal	AITC	8.46	IND
Haldia	CPM	10.64	AITC
Nandigram	AITC	40.3	CPI
Chandipur	AITC	4.88	CPM
Patashpur	AITC	15.73	CPI
Kanthi Uttar	AITC	8.97	CPM
Bhagabanpur	AITC	15.56	INC
Khejuri	AITC	22.25	IND
Kanthi Dakshin	AITC	19.5	CPI
Ramnagar	AITC	13.98	CPM
Egra	AITC	11.75	DSP(P)

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Tamluk	AITC	3.02	BJP
Panskura Purba	AITC	4.12	BJP
Panskura Paschim	BJP	1.34	AITC
Moyna	AITC	5.97	BJP
Nandakumar	AITC	7.32	BJP
Mahisadal	AITC	8.33	BJP
Haldia	AITC	30.35	BJP
Nandigram	AITC	33.05	BJP
Chandipur	AITC	7.57	BJP
Patashpur	AITC	7.32	BJP
Kanthi Uttar	AITC	6.11	BJP
Bhagabanpur	AITC	17.62	BJP
Khejuri	AITC	2.8	BJP
Kanthi Dakshin	AITC	10.48	BJP
Ramnagar	AITC	3.75	BJP
Egra	BJP	3.86	AITC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Tamluk	Swing from CPI in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 3.26 percentage points.
Panskura Purba	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 6.73 percentage points.
Panskura Paschim	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 2.84 percentage points.
Moyna	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 0.06 percentage points.
Nandakumar	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 2.02 percentage points.
Mahisadal	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 0.13 percentage points.
Haldia	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 40.99 percentage points.
Nandigram	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 7.25 percentage points.
Chandipur	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 2.69 percentage points.
Patashpur	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 8.41 percentage points.
Kanthi Uttar	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 2.81 percentage points.
Bhagabanpur	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 2.06 percentage points.
Khejuri	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 19.45 percentage points.
Kanthi Dakshin	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 9.02 percentage points.
Ramnagar	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 10.23 percentage points.
Egra	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 15.61 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 31. Election details of Murshidabad district**

Region rich in history and culture since the 18th century; now a centre for agriculture, handicraft, and sericulture.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Farakka	Maldaha Dakshin	81.25
Samserganj	Maldaha Dakshin	80.14
Suti	Jangipur	80.88
Jangipur	Jangipur	81.14
Raghunathganj	Jangipur	77.21
Sagardighi	Jangipur	79.34
Lalgola	Jangipur	79.43
Bhagawangola	Murshidabad	83.06
Raninagar	Murshidabad	83.9
Murshidabad	Murshidabad	84.13
Nabagram	Jangipur	81.79
Khargram	Jangipur	79.38
Burwan	Baharampur	77.99
Kandi	Baharampur	76.44
Bharatpur	Baharampur	75.33
Rejinagar	Baharampur	78.37
Beldanga	Baharampur	79.62
Baharampur	Baharampur	80.18
Hariharpara	Murshidabad	83.74
Nowda	Baharampur	79.53
Domkal	Murshidabad	81.3
Jalangi	Murshidabad	82.49

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Farakka	INC	3.48	CPM
Samserganj	CPM	5.92	INC
Suti	INC	11.58	RSP
Jangipur	INC	4.31	CPM
Raghunathganj	INC	10.61	RSP
Sagardighi	AITC	3.18	CPM
Lalgola	INC	11.32	CPM
Bhagawangola	SP	8.19	AITC
Raninagar	INC	0.66	AIFB
Murshidabad	INC	3.88	AIFB
Nabagram	CPM	4.7	INC
Khargram	INC	6.05	CPM
Burwan	INC	0.44	RSP
Kandi	INC	5.41	CPI
Bharatpur	RSP	1.3	INC
Rejinagar	INC	5.62	RSP
Beldanga	INC	9.27	RSP
Baharampur	INC	25.96	RSP
Hariharpara	CPM	3.88	AITC
Nowda	INC	8.81	RSP
Domkal	CPM	1.77	INC
Jalangi	CPM	22.03	AITC

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Farakka	INC	7.89	CPM
Samserganj	INC	3.84	CPM
Suti	INC	0.98	CPM
Jangipur	CPM	5.26	INC
Raghunathganj	INC	0.89	CPM
Sagardighi	CPM	0.21	INC
Lalgola	INC	8.44	CPM
Bhagawangola	CPM	4.72	INC
Raninagar	CPM	1.71	INC
Murshidabad	CPM	0.12	INC
Nabagram	CPM	2.8	INC
Khargram	INC	3.97	CPM
Burwan	INC	21.72	RSP
Kandi	INC	27.18	AITC
Bharatpur	INC	29.94	AITC
Rejinagar	INC	19.7	AITC
Beldanga	INC	26.24	RSP
Baharampur	INC	41.66	AITC
Hariharpara	INC	3.37	CPM
Nowda	INC	24.25	RSP
Domkal	INC	17.88	CPM
Jalangi	CPM	8.03	INC

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Farakka	INC	17.26	AITC
Samserganj	AITC	1.12	CPM
Suti	INC	2.1	AITC
Jangipur	CPM	11.49	CPM
Raghunathganj	INC	14.32	AITC
Sagardighi	AITC	3.05	INC
Lalgola	INC	32.35	AITC
Bhagawangola	AITC	32.86	BJP
Raninagar	INC	25.45	AITC
Murshidabad	INC	12.5	AITC
Nabagram	CPM	21.16	AITC
Khargram	INC	20.49	AITC
Burwan	INC	9.9	AITC
Kandi	INC	13.02	AITC
Bharatpur	INC	6.67	AITC
Rejinagar	INC	3.01	IND
Beldanga	INC	17.2	AITC
Baharampur	INC	49.03	AITC
Hariharpara	AITC	2.64	INC
Nowda	INC	10.6	AITC
Domkal	CPM	3.52	AITC
Jalangi	AITC	13.19	AITC

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Farakka	INC	16.92	BJP
Samserganj	INC	4.57	AITC
Suti	AITC	22.25	BJP
Jangipur	AITC	6.91	BJP
Raghunathganj	AITC	35	INC
Sagardighi	AITC	18.78	BJP
Lalgola	AITC	10.63	INC
Bhagawangola	AITC	12.08	INC
Raninagar	AITC	19.32	INC
Murshidabad	BJP	1.58	AITC
Nabagram	AITC	12.65	BJP
Khargram	AITC	16.96	BJP
Burwan	INC	2.33	AITC
Kandi	INC	12.96	AITC
Bharatpur	AITC	4.36	INC
Rejinagar	AITC	18.36	INC
Beldanga	AITC	1.63	INC
Baharampur	INC	44.3	AITC
Hariharpara	AITC	10.09	INC
Nowda	AITC	1.54	INC
Domkal	AITC	6.67	INC
Jalangi	AITC	12.03	INC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Farakka	No swing. Decrease in INC winning margin by 0.34 percentage points.
Samsanganj	Swing from AITC in 2016 to INC in 2019 by 5.69 percentage points.
Suti	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 24.35 percentage points.
Jangipur	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 18.4 percentage points.
Raghunathganj	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 49.32 percentage points.
Sagardighi	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 15.73 percentage points.
Lalgola	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 42.97 percentage points.
Bhagawangola	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 20.78 percentage points.
Raninagar	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 44.77 percentage points.
Murshidabad	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 14.08 percentage points.
Nabagram	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 33.81 percentage points.
Khargram	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 37.46 percentage points.
Burwan	No swing. Decrease in INC winning margin by 7.57 percentage points.
Kandi	No swing. Decrease in INC winning margin by 0.06 percentage points.
Bharatpur	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 11.03 percentage points.
Rejinagar	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 21.37 percentage points.
Beldanga	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 18.83 percentage points.
Baharampur	No swing. Decrease in INC winning margin by 4.73 percentage points.
Hariharpara	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 7.45 percentage points.
Nowda	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 12.14 percentage points.
Domkal	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 10.19 percentage points.
Jalangi	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 1.16 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 32. Election details of Nadia district**

In the heart of Bengal delta, shares borders with Bangladesh on its eastern side. Home to important centres of pilgrimage and is of historical significance.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Haringhata (SC)	Bangaon	86.2
Kalyani (SC)	Bangaon	83.04
Krishnanagar Uttar	Krishnanagar	84.74
Krishnanagar Dakshin	Krishnanagar	85.01
Tehatta	Krishnanagar	83.37
Nakashipara	Krishnanagar	83.23
Kaliganj	Krishnanagar	82.53
Chapra	Krishnanagar	81.8
Palashipara	Krishnanagar	80.28
Karimpur	Murshidabad	84.53
Chakdaha	Ranaghat	84.09
Santipur	Ranaghat	86.11
Krishnaganj (SC)	Ranaghat	83.36
Nabadwip	Ranaghat	84.59
Ranaghat Dakshin (SC)	Ranaghat	82.47
Ranaghat Uttar Purba (SC)	Ranaghat	79.67
Ranaghat Uttar Paschim	Ranaghat	83.89

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Haringhata (SC)	AITC	7.71	CPM
Kalyani (SC)	AITC	8.76	CPM
Krishnanagar Uttar	AITC	20.59	CPM
Krishnanagar Dakshin	AITC	7.16	CPM
Tehatta	CPM	10.89	IND
Nakashipara	AITC	10.06	CPM
Kaliganj	AITC	10.97	RSP
Chapra	AITC	1.6	CPM
Palashipara	CPM	1.03	AITC
Karimpur	CPM	2.85	AITC
Chakdaha	AITC	8.13	CPM
Santipur	INC	22.29	RSPI(R)
Krishnaganj (SC)	AITC	11.31	CPM
Nabadwip	AITC	12.97	CPM
Ranaghat Dakshin (SC)	AITC	10.1	CPM
Ranaghat Uttar Purba (SC)	AITC	18.29	CPM
Ranaghat Uttar Paschim	AITC	14.67	CPM



2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Haringhata (SC)	AITC	4.66	CPM
Kalyani (SC)	AITC	27.3	CPM
Krishnanagar Uttar	BJP	4.57	AITC
Krishnanagar Dakshin	AITC	4.77	CPM
Tehatta	AITC	7.72	CPM
Nakashipara	AITC	5.9	BJP
Kaliganj	AITC	3.01	CPM
Chapra	AITC	0.83	CPM
Palashipara	CPM	1.7	AITC
Karimpur	CPM	3.58	AITC
Chakdaha	AITC	19.37	CPM
Santipur	AITC	9.34	CPM
Krishnaganj (SC)	AITC	18.41	CPM
Nabadwip	AITC	13.85	CPM
Ranaghat Dakshin (SC)	AITC	9.26	CPM
Ranaghat Uttar Purba (SC)	AITC	21.71	CPM
Ranaghat Uttar Paschim	AITC	14.77	CPM

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Haringhata (SC)	AITC	11.16	CPM
Kalyani (SC)	AITC	13.75	CPM
Krishnanagar Uttar	AITC	6.88	INC
Krishnanagar Dakshin	AITC	7.24	CPM
Tehatta	AITC	8.74	CPM
Nakashipara	INC	3.31	CPM
Kaliganj	INC	0.66	AITC
Chapra	AITC	7.18	CPM
Palashipara	AITC	3.05	CPM
Karimpur	AITC	7.95	CPM
Chakdaha	AITC	12.46	CPM
Santipur	INC	9.74	AITC
Krishnaganj (SC)	BJP	20.59	CPM
Nabadwip	AITC	18.38	CPM
Ranaghat Dakshin (SC)	CPM	7.87	AITC
Ranaghat Uttar Purba (SC)	AITC	7.73	CPM
Ranaghat Uttar Paschim	INC	11.12	AITC

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Haringhata (SC)	BJP	4.74	AITC
Kalyani (SC)	BJP	3.47	AITC
Krishnanagar Uttar	BJP	27.46	AITC
Krishnanagar Dakshin	BJP	3.64	AITC
Tehatta	BJP	1.01	CPM
Nakashipara	AITC	2.59	AITC
Kaliganj	AITC	19.24	BJP
Chapra	AITC	25.43	BJP
Palashipara	AITC	19.33	BJP
Karimpur	AITC	7.03	BJP
Chakdaha	BJP	15.17	AITC
Santipur	BJP	16.8	AITC
Krishnaganj (SC)	BJP	17.02	AITC
Nabadwip	AITC	2.02	BJP
Ranaghat Dakshin (SC)	BJP	19.83	AITC
Ranaghat Uttar Purba (SC)	BJP	21.37	AITC
Ranaghat Uttar Paschim	BJP	20.78	AITC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Haringhata (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 15.9 percentage points.
Kalyani (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 17.22 percentage points.
Krishnanagar Uttar	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 34.34 percentage points.
Krishnanagar Dakshin	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 10.88 percentage points.
Tehatta	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 9.75 percentage points.
Nakashipara	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 5.90 percentage points.
Kaliganj	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 19.90 percentage points.
Chapra	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 18.25 percentage points.
Palashipara	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 16.28 percentage points.
Karimpur	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 0.92 percentage points.
Chakdaha	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 27.63 percentage points.
Santipur	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 26.54 percentage points.
Krishnaganj (SC)	No swing. Decrease in BJP winning margin by 3.57 percentage points.
Nabadwip	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 16.36 percentage points.
Ranaghat Dakshin (SC)	Swing from CPM in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 27.7 percentage points.
Ranaghat Uttar Purba (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 29.1 percentage points.
Ranaghat Uttar Paschim	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 31.9 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 33. Election details of North 24 Parganas district**

In the southern part of West Bengal. The most populous district.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Bagdah	Bangaon	77.16
Bongaon Uttar	Bangaon	80.98
Bongaon Dakshin	Bangaon	81.97
Gaighata	Bangaon	83.37
Swarupnagar	Bangaon	81.63
Baduria	Basirhat	84.8
Habra	Barasat	82.19
Ashoknagar	Barasat	83.34
Amdanga	Barrackpore	84.09
Bijpur	Barrackpore	70.18
Naihati	Barrackpore	79.21
Bhatpara	Barrackpore	71.76
Jagatdal	Barrackpore	77.54
Noapara	Barrackpore	75.36
Barrackpur	Barrackpore	70.61
Khardaha	Dum Dum	80.1
Dum Dum Uttar	Dum Dum	80.28
Panihati	Dum Dum	75.21
Kamarhati	Dum Dum	72.67
Baranagar	Dum Dum	74.68
Dum Dum	Dum Dum	76.52
Rajarhat New Town	Barasat	80.5
Bidhannagar	Barasat	68.33
Rajarhat Gopalpur	Dum Dum	71.01
Madhyamgram	Barasat	82.52
Barasat	Barasat	80.24
Deganga	Barasat	82.71
Haroa	Basirhat	83.96
Minakhan	Basirhat	86.51
Sandeshkhali	Basirhat	85.31
Basirhat Dakshin	Basirhat	84.34
Basirhat Uttar	Basirhat	86.1
Hingalganj	Basirhat	82.56

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bagdah	AITC	12.08	AIFB
Bongaon Uttar	AITC	14.43	CPM
Bongaon Dakshin	AITC	13.41	CPM
Gaighata	AITC	15.46	CPI
Swarupnagar	AITC	4.34	CPM
Baduria	INC	13.57	CPM
Habra	AITC	16.2	CPM
Ashoknagar	AITC	16.42	CPM
Amdanga	AITC	13.3	CPM
Bijpur	AITC	9.92	CPM
Naihati	AITC	20.89	CPM
Bhatpara	AITC	47.04	CPM
Jagatdal	AITC	24.53	AIFB
Noapara	AITC	24.2	CPM
Barrackpur	AITC	27.27	CPM
Khardaha	AITC	17.67	CPM
Dum Dum Uttar	AITC	10.74	AITC
Panihati	AITC	20.76	CPM
Kamarhati	AITC	19.05	CPM
Baranagar	AITC	24.82	RSP
Dum Dum	AITC	19.55	CPM
Rajarhat New Town	AITC	4.72	CPM
Bidhannagar	AITC	24.13	CPM
Rajarhat Gopalpur	AITC	23.76	CPM
Madhyamgram	AITC	19.86	AIFB
Barasat	AITC	22.54	AIFB
Deganga	AITC	10.9	AIFB
Haroa	AITC	0.67	CPM
Minakhan	AITC	4.72	CPM
Sandeshkhali	CPM	2.74	AITC
Basirhat Dakshin	CPM	6.66	AITC
Basirhat Uttar	CPM	2.36	AITC
Hingalganj	CPI	0.64	AITC

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bagdah	AITC	11.99	CPM
Bongaon Uttar	AITC	16.29	CPM
Bongaon Dakshin	AITC	10.42	CPM
Gaighata	AITC	11.96	CPM
Swarupnagar	CPM	2.03	AITC
Baduria	CPI	1.76	AITC
Habra	AITC	10.48	BJP
Ashoknagar	AITC	13.14	AIFB
Amdanga	AITC	11.81	CPM
Bijpur	AITC	56.72	BJP
Naihati	AITC	24.46	CPM
Bhatpara	BJP	2.38	AITC
Jagatdal	AITC	15.64	CPM
Noapara	AITC	11.2	CPM
Barrackpur	AITC	7.65	BJP
Khardaha	AITC	20.06	CPM
Dum Dum Uttar	AITC	5.07	CPM
Panihati	AITC	14.89	CPM
Kamarhati	AITC	11.15	CPM
Baranagar	AITC	18.28	CPM
Dum Dum	AITC	14.11	CPM
Rajarhat New Town	AITC	9.04	AIFB
Bidhannagar	BJP	4.28	AITC
Rajarhat Gopalpur	AITC	14.26	BJP
Madhyamgram	AITC	19.37	AIFB
Barasat	AITC	13.25	BJP
Deganga	AITC	8.47	AIFB
Haroa	AITC	23.79	CPI
Minakhan	AITC	21.7	CPI
Sandeshkhali	AITC	8.27	CPI
Basirhat Dakshin	BJP	15.15	AITC
Basirhat Uttar	AITC	1.56	CPI
Hingalganj	CPI	7.58	CPI

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bagdah	INC	5.95	AITC
Bongaon Uttar	AITC	17.53	AIFB
Bongaon Dakshin	AITC	14.33	CPM
Gaighata	AITC	15.33	CPI
Swarupnagar	AITC	6.18	CPM
Baduria	INC	11.34	AITC
Habra	AITC	24.56	CPM
Ashoknagar	AITC	11.67	CPM
Amdanga	AITC	11.94	CPM
Bijpur	AITC	38.43	CPM
Naihati	AITC	19.55	CPM
Bhatpara	AITC	26.64	IND
Jagatdal	AITC	16.35	AIFB
Noapara	INC	0.58	AITC
Barrackpur	AITC	5.07	CPM
Khardaha	AITC	12.58	CPM
Dum Dum Uttar	CPM	3.3	AITC
Panihati	AITC	1.84	INC
Kamarhati	CPM	3.04	AITC
Baranagar	AITC	10.26	RSP
Dum Dum	AITC	5.34	CPM
Rajarhat New Town	AITC	4.62	CPM
Bidhannagar	AITC	4.53	INC
Rajarhat Gopalpur	AITC	4.18	CPM
Madhyamgram	AITC	17.24	INC
Barasat	AITC	12.15	AIFB
Deganga	AITC	13.57	AIFB
Haroa	AITC	21.14	CPM
Minakhan	AITC	23.01	CPM
Sandeshkhali	AITC	20.37	CPM
Basirhat Dakshin	AITC	11.11	BJP
Basirhat Uttar	CPM	0.23	AITC
Hingalganj	AITC	16.95	CPI

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bagdah	BJP	11.8	AITC
Bongaon Uttar	BJP	14.47	AITC
Bongaon Dakshin	BJP	14.66	AITC
Gaighata	BJP	17.89	AITC
Swarupnagar	AITC	12.3	BJP
Baduria	AITC	19.98	BJP
Habra	BJP	10.09	AITC
Ashoknagar	AITC	6.73	BJP
Amdanga	AITC	18.86	BJP
Bijpur	BJP	6.07	AITC
Naihati	BJP	0.82	AITC
Bhatpara	BJP	27.71	AITC
Jagatdal	BJP	4.86	AITC
Noapara	AITC	0.28	BJP
Barrackpur	BJP	2.4	AITC
Khardaha	AITC	0.73	BJP
Dum Dum Uttar	AITC	2.74	BJP
Panihati	AITC	5.82	BJP
Kamarhati	AITC	12.9	BJP
Baranagar	AITC	9.44	BJP
Dum Dum	AITC	2.87	BJP
Rajarhat New Town	AITC	11.34	BJP
Bidhannagar	BJP	11.97	AITC
Rajarhat Gopalpur	BJP	0.44	AITC
Madhyamgram	AITC	16.16	BJP
Barasat	AITC	1.7	BJP
Deganga	AITC	38.76	BJP
Haroa	AITC	47.08	BJP
Minakhan	AITC	34.08	BJP
Sandeshkhali	AITC	13.75	BJP
Basirhat Dakshin	AITC	6.67	BJP
Basirhat Uttar	AITC	37.67	BJP
Hingalganj	AITC	12.19	BJP

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Bagdah	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 17.75 percentage points.
Bongaon Uttar	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 32 percentage points.
Bongaon Dakshin	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 28.99 percentage points.
Gaighata	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 33.22 percentage points.
Swarupnagar	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 6.12 percentage points.
Baduria	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 31.32 percentage points.
Habra	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 34.65 percentage points.
Ashoknagar	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 4.94 percentage points.
Amdanga	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 6.92 percentage points.
Bijpur	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 44.5 percentage points.
Naihati	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 20.37 percentage points.
Bhatpara	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 54.35 percentage points.
Jagatdal	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 21.21 percentage points.
Noapara	Swing from INC in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 0.86 percentage points.
Barrackpur	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 7.47 percentage points.
Khardaha	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 11.85 percentage points.
Dum Dum Uttar	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 6.04 percentage points.
Panihati	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 3.98 percentage points.
Kamarhati	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 15.94 percentage points.
Baranagar	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 0.82 percentage points.
Dum Dum	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 2.47 percentage points.
Rajarhat New Town	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 6.72 percentage points.
Bidhannagar	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 16.5 percentage points.
Rajarhat Gopalpur	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 4.62 percentage points.
Madhyamgram	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 1.08 percentage points.
Barasat	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 10.45 percentage points.
Deganga	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 25.19 percentage points.
Haroa	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 25.94 percentage points.
Minakhan	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 11.06 percentage points.
Sandeshkhali	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 6.62 percentage points.
Basirhat Dakshin	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 4.44 percentage points.
Basirhat Uttar	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 37.9 percentage points.
Hingalganj	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 4.76 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India



**Table 34. Election details of South 24 Parganas district**

In the southern part of West Bengal. The largest district (by area).

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Gosaba	Jaynagar	82.23
Basanti	Jaynagar	77.97
Kultali	Jaynagar	80.95
Jaynagar	Jaynagar	80.48
Canning Paschim	Jaynagar	82.13
Canning Purba	Jaynagar	85.61
Mograhat Purba	Jaynagar	81.85
Pathar Pratima	Mathurapur	85.65
Kakdwip	Mathurapur	86.65
Sagar	Mathurapur	86.12
Kulpi	Mathurapur	83.27
Raidighi	Mathurapur	83.99
Mandir Bazar	Mathurapur	83.95
Magrahat Paschim	Mathurapur	80.26
Diamond Harbour	Diamond Harbour	84.46
Falta	Diamond Harbour	86.04
Satgachia	Diamond Harbour	84.23
Bishnupur	Diamond Harbour	80.8
Maheshtala	Diamond Harbour	77.37
Budge Budge	Diamond Harbour	81.51
Metiabruz	Diamond Harbour	72.27
Baruipur Purba	Jadavpur	82.72
Baruipur Paschim	Jadavpur	81.4
Sonarpur Dakshin	Jadavpur	78.6
Bhangore	Jadavpur	85.13
Jadavpur	Jadavpur	70.46
Sonarpur Uttar	Jadavpur	78.2
Tollyganj	Jadavpur	71.81
Kasba	Kolkata Dakshin	71.41
Behala Purba	Kolkata Dakshin	70.7
Behala Paschim	Kolkata Dakshin	72.55

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Gosaba	AITC	6.91	RSP
Basanti	RSP	4.2	INC
Kultali	CPM	2.88	SUCI
Jaynagar	SUCI	18.35	CPM
Canning Paschim	AITC	12.8	CPM
Canning Purba	CPM	13.47	INC
Mograhat Purba	AITC	5.81	CPM
Pathar Pratima	AITC	8.11	CPM
Kakdwip	AITC	6.44	CPM
Sagar	AITC	4.36	CPM
Kulpi	AITC	12.81	CPM
Raidighi	AITC	2.96	CPM
Mandir Bazar	AITC	11.97	CPM
Magrahat Paschim	AITC	8.43	CPM
Diamond Harbour	AITC	12.65	CPM
Falta	AITC	17.7	CPM
Satgachia	AITC	9.87	CPM
Bishnupur	AITC	14.08	CPM
Maheshkala	AITC	13.82	CPM
Budge Budge	AITC	27.94	CPM
Metiabruz	AITC	4.98	CPM
Baruipur Purba	AITC	11.53	CPM
Baruipur Paschim	AITC	20.81	CPM
Sonarpur Dakshin	AITC	22.24	CPI
Bhangore	CPM	2.94	AITC
Jadavpur	AITC	8.45	CPM
Sonarpur Uttar	AITC	16.05	CPM
Tollyganj	AITC	15.13	CPM
Kasba	AITC	11.57	CPM
Behala Purba	AITC	24.88	CPM
Behala Paschim	AITC	29.06	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Gosaba	AITC	12.39	RSP
Basanti	AITC	1.15	RSP
Kultali	RSP	10.05	SUCI
Jaynagar	AITC	4.84	SUCI
Canning Paschim	AITC	22.8	RSP
Canning Purba	AITC	27.71	RSP
Mograhat Purba	AITC	9.08	RSP
Pathar Pratima	AITC	9.1	CPM
Kakdwip	AITC	17.45	CPM
Sagar	AITC	8.62	CPM
Kulpi	AITC	9.03	CPM
Raidighi	CPM	1.67	CPM
Mandir Bazar	AITC	15.2	CPM
Magrahat Paschim	CPM	18.55	CPM
Diamond Harbour	AITC	1.22	CPM
Falta	AITC	4.96	CPM
Satgachia	AITC	9.83	CPM
Bishnupur	AITC	13.91	CPM
Maheshtala	AITC	4.24	CPM
Budge Budge	AITC	2.55	CPM
Metiabruz	AITC	1.69	CPM
Baruipur Purba	AITC	2.62	CPM
Baruipur Paschim	AITC	8.46	CPM
Sonarpur Dakshin	AITC	9.63	CPM
Bhangore	AITC	36.48	CPM
Jadavpur	CPM	0.16	AITC
Sonarpur Uttar	AITC	9.2	CPM
Tollyganj	AITC	5.01	CPM
Kasba	AITC	8.44	CPM
Behala Purba	AITC	11.14	CPM
Behala Paschim	AITC	11.2	CPM

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Gosaba	AITC	10.95	RSP
Basanti	AITC	9.15	RSP
Kultali	CPM	5.92	AITC
Jaynagar	AITC	8.44	INC
Canning Paschim	AITC	9.83	INC
Canning Purba	AITC	28.44	CPM
Mograhat Purba	AITC	5.2	CPM
Pathar Pratima	AITC	6.52	INC
Kakdwip	AITC	12.78	INC
Sagar	AITC	8.3	CPM
Kulpi	AITC	6.77	CPM
Raidighi	AITC	0.56	CPM
Mandir Bazar	AITC	13.94	CPM
Magrahat Paschim	AITC	9.21	INC
Diamond Harbour	AITC	7.54	CPM
Falta	AITC	12.53	CPM
Satgachia	AITC	8.27	CPM
Bishnupur	AITC	14.97	CPM
Maheshkala	AITC	6.36	CPM
Budge Budge	AITC	3.76	INC
Metiabruz	AITC	11.21	CPM
Baruipur Purba	AITC	10.61	CPM
Baruipur Paschim	AITC	20.01	CPM
Sonarpur Dakshin	AITC	7.37	CPI
Bhangore	AITC	8.8	CPM
Jadavpur	CPM	7.32	AITC
Sonarpur Uttar	AITC	12.28	CPM
Tollyganj	AITC	5.1	CPM
Kasba	AITC	6.03	CPM
Behala Purba	AITC	11.9	IND
Behala Paschim	AITC	4.01	CPM

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Gosaba	AITC	16.11	BJP
Basanti	AITC	29.99	BJP
Kultali	AITC	4.18	BJP
Jaynagar	AITC	9.03	BJP
Canning Paschim	AITC	12.8	BJP
Canning Purba	AITC	69.83	BJP
Mograhat Purba	AITC	20.11	BJP
Pathar Pratima	AITC	16.54	BJP
Kakdwip	AITC	12.54	BJP
Sagar	AITC	14.22	BJP
Kulpi	AITC	14.8	BJP
Raidighi	AITC	5.88	BJP
Mandir Bazar	AITC	11.53	BJP
Magrahat Paschim	AITC	29.68	BJP
Diamond Harbour	AITC	17.36	BJP
Falta	AITC	22.53	BJP
Satgachia	AITC	11.37	BJP
Bishnupur	AITC	20.62	BJP
Maheshtala	AITC	14.74	BJP
Budge Budge	AITC	28.72	BJP
Metiabruz	AITC	51.62	BJP
Baruipur Purba	AITC	13.54	BJP
Baruipur Paschim	AITC	18.48	BJP
Sonarpur Dakshin	AITC	6.9	BJP
Bhangore	AITC	52.19	CPIM
Jadavpur	AITC	6.05	CPIM
Sonarpur Uttar	AITC	15.08	BJP
Tollyganj	AITC	10.24	CPIM
Kasba	AITC	17.25	BJP
Behala Purba	AITC	7.79	BJP
Behala Paschim	AITC	7.53	BJP

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Gosaba	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 5.16 percentage points.
Basanti	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 20.84 percentage points.
Kultali	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 10.10 percentage points.
Jaynagar	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 0.59 percentage points.
Canning Paschim	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 2.97 percentage points.
Canning Purba	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 41.40 percentage points.
Mograhat Purba	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 14.91 percentage points.
Pathar Pratima	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 10.02 percentage points.
Kakdwip	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 0.24 percentage points.
Sagar	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 5.92 percentage points.
Kulpi	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 8.03 percentage points.
Raidighi	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 5.32 percentage points.
Mandir Bazar	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 2.41 percentage points.
Magrahat Paschim	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 20.47 percentage points.
Diamond Harbour	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 9.82 percentage points.
Falta	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 10 percentage points.
Satgachia	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 3.1 percentage points.
Bishnupur	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 5.65 percentage points.
Maheshtala	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 8.38 percentage points.
Budge Budge	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 24.96 percentage points.
Metiabruz	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 40.41 percentage points.
Baruipur Purba	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 2.93 percentage points.
Baruipur Paschim	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 1.53 percentage points.
Sonarpur Dakshin	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 0.48 percentage points.
Bhangore	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 43.39 percentage points.
Jadavpur	Swing from CPM in 2016 to AITC in 2019 by 13.37 percentage points.
Sonarpur Uttar	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 2.8 percentage points.
Tollyganj	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 5.13 percentage points.
Kasba	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 11.22 percentage points.
Behala Purba	No swing. Decrease in AITC winning margin by 4.12 percentage points.
Behala Paschim	No swing. Increase in AITC winning margin by 3.53 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India

**Table 35. Election details of Purulia district**

The western-most district. Known for its tropical climate and proximity to borders of industrial areas of other states such as Odisha and Jharkhand.

	Parliamentary Constituency	Voter Turnout in 2019 Lok Sabha Elections (%)
Bandwan (ST)	Jhargram	82.55
Balarampur	Purulia	82.77
Baghmundi	Purulia	82.52
Joypur	Purulia	81.63
Purulia	Purulia	79.94
Manbazar (ST)	Purulia	82.53
Kashipur	Purulia	81.54
Para (SC)	Purulia	79.41
Raghunathpur (SC)	Bankura	81

2011 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bandwan (ST)	AITC	17.13	CPM
Balarampur	AITC	7.39	CPM
Baghmundi	INC	11.27	AIFB
Joypur	AIFB	7.09	IND
Purulia	AITC	17.13	CPM
Manbazar (ST)	AITC	3.09	CPM
Kashipur	AITC	2.39	CPM
Para (SC)	INC	0.4	CPM
Raghunathpur (SC)	AITC	7.89	CPM

2014 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bandwan (ST)	AITC	11.89	CPM
Balarampur	AITC	15.85	INC
Baghmundi	INC	9.51	AITC
Joypur	AITC	7.22	INC
Purulia	AITC	14.55	INC
Manbazar (ST)	AITC	13.73	AIFB
Kashipur	AITC	16.41	BJP
Para (SC)	AIFB	0.54	AITC
Raghunathpur (SC)	AITC	2.53	CPM

2016 State Assembly Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bandwan (ST)	AITC	9.31	CPM
Balarampur	AITC	5.84	INC
Baghmundi	INC	4.57	AITC
Joypur	AITC	4.89	AIFB
Purulia	INC	2.69	AITC
Manbazar (ST)	AITC	5.03	CPM
Kashipur	AITC	10.9	CPM
Para (SC)	AITC	7.83	CPM
Raghunathpur (SC)	AITC	8.37	CPM

2019 Lok Sabha Elections			
	Winning Party	Winning Margin (%)	Trailing Party
Bandwan (ST)	BJP	1.32	AITC
Balarampur	BJP	19.09	AITC
Baghmundi	BJP	26.92	AITC
Joypur	BJP	16.43	AITC
Purulia	BJP	18.72	AITC
Manbazar (ST)	AITC	5.25	BJP
Kashipur	BJP	8.7	AITC
Para (SC)	BJP	22.43	AITC
Raghunathpur (SC)	BJP	21.2	AITC

	Swing - 2016 to 2019 (based on winning margin)
Bandwan (ST)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 10.63 percentage points.
Balarampur	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 24.93 percentage points.
Baghmundi	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 31.49 percentage points.
Joypur	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 21.32 percentage points.
Purulia	Swing from INC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 21.41 percentage points (winning margin).
Manbazar (ST)	No swing. Increase in AITC votes by 0.22 percentage points.
Kashipur	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 19.6 percentage points.
Para (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 30.26 percentage points.
Raghunathpur (SC)	Swing from AITC in 2016 to BJP in 2019 by 29.57 percentage points.

Source: Election Commission of India



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## Endnotes

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