

THEORETICAL DEBATES ABOUT THE SCHEDULED CASTE MLAS PERFORMANCE

Dr. Bal Kamble
Principal,
Rayat Shikshan Sanstha's,
Dada Patil Mahavidyalaya, Karjat,
Dist.- Ahmednagar (M.S.)

Abstract : For the study of Indian Political Process, study of state level politics is necessary. Through state level politics, national level politics can be studied in two ways. We get common issues which are useful for the comparison of state politics. Special features of the states are come to know through this study. In this relation, one kind of research has not been done yet about the performance of the SC MLAs elected from reserved seats. In this research paper effort is made to review the past studies related to this research. On the basic of number, MLAs has performed well in and outside the legislature. For examples, in Maharashtra Maratha leadership which have majority population performed well in and outside the legislature.

IndexTerms – Caste, Customs, Untouchability, Power, Reservation, Auhtority, Urbanization, Dominant, Bahujan.

Discussion of the scholars about the caste:-

Caste is the social and economic factor which have co-relation with Indian politics. In fact it can be said, the study of Indian political process without the basis of caste politics, will be irrelevant. Caste politics study is made by thinker and experts, through socio-political and socio-economical approaches. In traditional caste system, society is divided into four layers on the basis of social status. Caste membership is decided by birth. Higher-lower social hierarchical structure, strict restriction on social interactions, inequality in social and religious qualification and rights, strict restrictions on occupation choice, strict rule caste internal marriage, are the peculiar features of the Hindu traditional Caste system.

Changing nature of Caste System:-

Whatever changes in caste system, are taking place today, were started in colonial period. In colonial period, due to the rise of British regime, tradition of the caste system was diturbed. So that hold of the caste system has loosen. According to Suhas Palshikar, 'Modern State [Liberalism, Equality before law , Common Civil Code, Individual freedom etc.] and the rise of capitalist mode of production, it has become necessary to make changes in itself for the caste system to overcome the complication created in front of Caste System. Three elements were the reason behind the changes in caste system. Firstly in Pre Independent period. The rise of value frame work [Liberalism, Equality before law , Common Civil Code, Individual freedom]Which opposed caste system, and it was hegemonied by the British power and then Indian Constitution Secondly, in the opposition of caste system different ideological tradition and movements were raised. Thirdly, due to industrialization, traditional economy and mode of production was started to change. Due to these three reasons, Caste system compelled to accept the changes in order to maintain its nature.

Capitalist mode of production, spread of industrial field, Industrialization, Urbanization, propaganda and spread of education; different intellectual traditions and movements, government policies and its implementation and political awareness are the elements due to which caste system received a jolt and some changes took place. Due to these changes, castes which were away from the Indian politics, came into the flow of politics. The general changes are as following:-

1. The co-relations between traditional customs and business has broken.
2. The holiness and sinfulness attached to traditional occupations were dropped away.
3. Internal differentiation in each caste took place. Occupation, education. production, standard of living and status are the elements in which differentiation took place.
4. In some sub castes eating together and marriages was not taking place but now it is changing.
5. Caste related eating habits and untouchability has vanished.
6. Jat Panchayats are vanishing. Judiciary and other institution are created.
7. Ideology and Organization in the traditional caste system are eroded at huge level.
8. As, rural area's production area is controlled by state and economic organization are developed, caste structure is declined.
9. Traditional production social system is being replaced by owner-servant relation system.

Though these all changes are taking place in social system, individual caste consciousness is reflected through groups. In contemporary time, Suhas Palshikar has mentioned following features of caste system:

Hierarchical system, Brahmin dominance untouchability, Castewise rules, Castewise festivals and culture, Internal marriages, Caste based colonies, Caste based occupations. Unequal distribution of education, states, wealth, and power are some features of caste system. [Palshikar, 2002,P.18 to 20] .

Caste and Politics: Co-relation:-

Caste is the important elements in the process of Indian political process. Due to inequality in caste system, political power was inequally distributed to some castes. Backward and lower castes remained deprived from political power after independence. High castes tried gain more chunk of political power on the basis of the political position and population. Election and democratic politics was affected by caste. So that caste has become an instrument of political organization. Caste and politics co-relation, economic nature of caste system, political integration in caste system and nature of caste awareness are the elements, on which basis Rajani Kothari in the decade of 1970 explained the role of caste in Indian politics, through his edited book 'Caste in Indian Politics'.

Rajani Kothari came to conclusion that castes are politicized on the basis of following three elements.

1. Traditional Indian society when came into contact of the new system, at that time, power, authority, and influence competition was limited to the integration of high castes. But when lower and backward castes came into contact of education and new system, lower and backward castes started to compete with high caste for achieving power. e.g. In Andhra Pradesh Kamma and Reddy; in Gujrat Patidar –Ana Vilas, in Maharashtra and Tamilnadu Brahmin vs Non Brahmin movement, in Mysore Lingayat and Vokalinga etc.
2. According to Rajani Kothari, different castes are aligned for power competition. Also in every caste, internal groups are formed. Different castes people come together and group is formed to strengthen all these groups, caste is taken as a basis.
3. Education, Urbanization, Industrialization, and Economic development's speed is increased. So different caste people come to city for the employment. So that caste feeling is loosened, person to person social activities boundaries are crossed. New educations and social interactions are creating new ambitions for which scope of politics is also increasing. According to Rajani Kothari, in this process, old and new political systems are coming together. (Kothari, 1970, P.7-23)

Relations between Caste and Politics: Conclusions by Experts:-

According to S. Rudolph and L. Rudolph relations between caste and politics are the relations between tradition and modernity. M.N. Shrinivas has defined the concept of 'Dominant Caste' for the discussion of the caste and politics relation. According to him, at local level caste with majority population and higher states education, modernity, occupation gets developed and starts to dominate in local politics. Rajani Kothari has also used the concept of established caste and high caste instead of 'Dominant Caste'. According to him established castes may not be very huge by population.

In the book entitled 'Caste in Indian politics' Rajani Kothari has taken the review of the Four decades of Indian Politics. With the historical and theoretical view, Gujrat and Tamilnadus politics review is taken in this edited book. Role of caste in Rajasthan and Andra Pradesh is discussed. Also the role of caste in urban politics of the Pune and Agra is discussed. In the modern era, caste and politics cannot be differed. Modern system has also accepted the role of caste. Democratization and secularization of the caste is continued in the politics. Modern politics is organized on the basis of caste. Population of the caste is the important factor in this process. The place of the caste in the social hierarchy is also important. [Kothari Rajani, 1973, Caste in Indian politics, Delhi, Orient Longman]

'Caste, Society and Politics in India from the 18th Century to the Modern Age' is the book in which practical side of society is discussed. Author Susan Bayly discusses about hierarchy, caste practice. Through this book about the caste very effective examples are used for the discussion of the theoretical side (Bayly Susan. 2001, Caste, Society and Politics in India from the 18th Century to the Modern Age, CUP, PP,421.)

'Caste and politics: Identity over system' is the article by Dipankar Gupta. In this study caste and wealth co-relation is discussed. In the rural India, caste dominates through occupation. However, at some extent, caste and occupation correlation is discussed. Democratic politics and competitive elements are the basis of this process. Caste based identity issues are strengthening in the private and public life, The nature and the behavior of the caste is changing but at the same time caste is strengthening. (Gupta Dipankar, 2005, Caste and Politics, Identity Over System, annu.rev.antropol.2005.21:402-27)

'Caste its 20th Century Avatar' is the book by Shrinivas in which he says that at local level caste with majority population and higher status, education, modernity dominance gets developed and starts dominance in local politics. [Shrinivas M.N.(ed)1996, 'Caste its 20th Century Avatar' New Delhi. Viking Penguin India].

'Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications' is the book in which Louis Dumont discusses that Indian caste system, its basis, concepts and institutions. He discussed contemporary caste system through ethnographic way. Ideology related with caste and continuity of this system is discussed. However analysis is made through western context. The efforts are made to legitimise the Indian caste system. Academic study approach [Louis Dumant.1980, Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implementations; CUP,P.P.48]

'The Vernacularisation of Democracy: Politics, Caste and Religion in India' is the book in which Lucia Michelutti has taken a review of the democratic politics at local and regional level and in impact of religion on society and economy. Castes are stratified on the basis of religion and race it makes impact on democratic politics. Study is based on Mathura where Yadav caste's role is major. [Michelutti Lucia, 2009. The Vernacularisation of Democracy: Politics, Caste and Religion in India, New Delhi, Routledge]

Besides this, many authors have studied the caste through socio - economic, political and cultural approaches e.g. M.N. Shrinivas(1962), Rudolf and Rudolf(1967), Rajani Kothari (1970), C.G. Fular (1998), Gupta Deepankar(1991), G.S.Ghurye (2002), Shah Ghansham(2002), D.L.Sheth.(2007), Shuhas Palshikar(2003), Jeferlot and Sanjay Kumar(2009) etc. These studies conclude that caste is inseparable part of the Indian political process.

Caste and Power Politics in Maharashtra:-

'Limit of the Dominant Caste Politics' is the article published by Shuhas Palshikar. According to him the dominant caste is not concentrated in one party. That is why parties discuss which are beyond to the dominant caste. e.g.

Maharashtra Navnirman Sena targeted north indian people on the basis of language and economic opportunity. NCP and Congress did not make any strong opposition to the MNS agitation on this issue. Secondly, government did not take strong position on the issue of 'AADARSH'. Thirdly, reservation for Maratha caste was pending as small caste's role in politics. All these three issues are not related to any particular caste but the basis of economic and changing opportunities. Only one caste politics does not get success. Small caste support is also necessary for success in politics. In short, modernization, industrial development, new opportunity for the employment, law has put some limitations dominant caste based politics. The small castes are getting the benefits of democratization. All these issues are reflected in the article.

High Caste-Brahmin:-

Brahmin are the high caste, high place in the traditional society. Dominance on knowledge and administration were the reasons of the political dominance of the Brahmins in the history. In the British period, through administration movements political parties, leadership was in the hands of Brahmins. So they had dominance on politic. Congress and other political parties were led by Brahmin caste in the British era. Education, political awareness, high place in society was concentrated in their hands. It involved economic power at some extent (Palshikar 2003, P.14,15) 'Satyashodhak Samaj' was founded by Mahatma Phule and given challenge to Brahmin dominance. Afterwards, through this thought non - Brahmin movement was started. In Sanyukt Maharashtra Movement the Brahmin leadership has contributed at large scale. Afterwards Brahmin leadership is seen decreased in politics. But Brahmin community continued its role in administration, cultural field, journalism and service sector.

In Maharashtra Brahmin, Saraswat and Prabhu castes comes under the high caste. As per the 1931 census it had 4% population. Maharashtra is the state in India where the Brahmin dominance is challenged by non-Brahmin caste elites. Due to land reform laws Brahmins came to cities. They are elected from urban and semi urban areas. From 1962 to 2009. The average number of 14 MLAs were elected. The percentage was 6%. Brahmins are in BJP and majority of Prabhus are in Shivsena. After 1980 this community tried to lead Shivsena and BJP. These both parties do not oppose the Brahmin community so that these communities also support both parties.

Maratha-Kunbi:-

Due to thought of Mahatma Phule and influence of his work on backward community started talking about Brahmin dominance in the 20th century. Shahu Maharaj paid attention to the development of non Brahmin community through this process and young people in new generation started getting education. In initial period there was stress between Lokmanya Tilak and Shahu Maharaj. A group was formed outside the Congress of the Maratha community for the participation in politics. A big group of Maratha peasants and non Brahmin community was formed. [Palshikar 2003, P-17] In the post independence period Maratha-Kunabi community integrated in politics. Maratha-Kunabi have 1/3 population in Maharashtra on the basis of the numbers community has dominated politics. In initial three decades Maratha Kunabi communities dominated the politics.

Maratha community leadership has taken the basis of Bahujan concept. Mr. Y.B.Chavan used this concept successfully in politics. Yashwantrao Chavan tried to include OBC, Dalit, Muslim, and other castes in the concept of Bahujan. The concept tried to go beyond the Maratha caste but also efforts were made to maintain the interest of the Maratha community.

Cooperative movement helped the expansion of Maratha dominance. Co-operative field is based on farming. Local farmers in the Maratha community were introduced in the politics. Government encouraged Maratha leadership in sugar co-operatives through grants. Co-operative field was largely developed upto 1980 through this process. Local leadership in Maratha community was channalised at local level, secondly this new local leadership became the support of the state leadership.

Democratic decentralization was implemented at the local self government. Three tier system Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samiti and Grampanchayats were created through which power division was made. Maratha community got connected to power politics through this process. Thus Maratha dominance was created at local level.

Maratha dominance was created in Congress party. Policies of Indira Gandhi divided Maratha community after 1978. It show limitation among Maratha community leaders. After 1980, Maratha community divided in Indira Congress, S Congress, Shivsena and Shetkari Sanghata. Due to this division of Maratha Community Congress was defeated in 1995 election (Vora 2008), In the 1999 Loksabha and Vidhansabha elections, congress was divided so that Maratha community was divided among Shivsena, Congress and NCP.

The social system in Maharashtra is the basis of Maratha dominance. Maratha leadership included Dalit, OBC, and others in Congress, till that Bahujan concept was successful and domination continued afterwards caste domination was the approach of Maratha leadership. So that OBC and backward class turn to the Shivsena, BJP and Shetkari Sanghata. Thus Maratha dominance became mild. Maratha leadership tried to maintain the interest of higher social elements. The leadership had to maintain the interest at the agricultural sector, at one side and another side of Maratha leadership had to enter into urban development, industrial expansion and service sector.

Other Backward Class:-

After 1980, OBC identity was created and influencing politics was done in Maharashtra. Before that some OBC candidates were elected on the basis of population. After 1985 new leadership came from OBC that is Mali, Dhangar and Vanjari. The Political Parties gave opportunity to OBC leadership. Chagan Bhujabal and N.S.Farande are from Mali caste. Shivaji Shendage, Anna Dange are from Dhangar caste, Babanrao Dhakane and Gopinath Munde are from Vanjari caste. OBC caste is related to agricultural field. These castes are situated at one district or continuing districts e.g. Dhangar caste is spread into district from western Maharashtra. Vanjari caste is situated at Beed, Nashik, Ahmednagar and some districts of Vidarbha.

Congress party was dominated by Maratha community so many OBC leaders participate in Shetkari Sanghata after 1977. In this period Shetkari Sanghata included young generation of Mali, Dhangar and Vanjari caste. Political opportunity was given to this youth by Shetkari Sanghata and Shivsena at some extent. After 1980, BJP especially gave political opportunities to the OBC youths. After 1977, other social elements under the roof of bahujan concept quit the congress. At the

same time new leadership came forward from non congress parties, In 1992-93, Bahujan Mahasangh tried to integrate OBC and Dalit from Vidarbha and Marathwada. These efforts were against the Maratha leadership. A distribution of power to the OBC and dalit, was the aim of this effort. Bahujan Mahasangh influenced non Maratha community but in election politics it failed. This effort was limited in the local politics of Akola District. [Communities which were claiming warriority and the dalit communities integration with them was the limitation of this efforts.]

The OBC community is divided among farmer OBC and skillful OBC farmers. The OBCs are divided among drought area OBCs and water rich area OBC farmers. OBCs are divided among big farmers, small farmer and landless farmers. The OBC community is stratified at internal level. Skilled OBCs are going towards urban areas. It is difficult to organize the OBCs. OBC leadership counts from rich class so that politics of this leadership is limited to the interests so that there are limitations to the OBC politics and organization under the identity of OBC. In 1993, Sharad Pawar has taken a decision as Chief minister of OBC reservation in local self government. Due to this decision OBC representatives were elected in Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samiti and Grampanchayat. However, as the OBC seats are reserved by rotation, OBC leadership is not developed on the issue of candidature.

Mandal Commission included 272 Castes in the OBC list of Maharashtra. The OBC community is regarded to have 27 to 30% population. In Maharashtra, OBC identity raised after Mandal Commission report. Before that OBC were regarded as the part of political group i.e. Bahujan Community. OBC are divided into two groups 1) farming caste-Mali, Dhargar, Vanjari. 2) skilled caste- Sutar, Sonar, Kumbhar, Shimpi, among these the farming castes are influential in politics. The main reason behind this is their population and farming land ownership. Skilled castes are found in all over Maharashtra. They have less population in comparison to farmer OBCs from 1980 decade. Farmer OBC castes started to organize in 1993 through Bahujan Mahasangh. Prakash Ambedkar tried to organize OBCs and Dalits. But this effort was not successful in Maharashtra politics. Congress party has given Importance to the OBC when opposition tried to integrate OBC against Maratha community through the positions given by Congress. One level of OBC leadership is developed from 1962 to 1972, 12% OBC MLAs (discluding Kunabi) were elected from 1978 to 2004, this percentage was 18%. In Maharashtra politics, farmer OBC castes i.e. Mali, Dhargar and Vanjari are the important castes. There are 36 constituencies from which OBC MLAs are elected. 14 out of these 36 are from Vidarbha.

Non-Marathi Castes:-

In Maharashtra, Gujrathi, Parshi, Rajastani, Sindhi, South Indian, and North Indian castes are included in non-Marathi castes. Non-Marathi castes are concentrated in Mumbai and Thane metro cities and at some extent in the urban areas of Nagpur. In the 11 election from 1962 number of non- Marathi MLA. is 23. In last 6 elections 6 seats are given to the non- Marathi candidates. The proportion of B.J.P. is increasing in there seats.

Sheduled Tribes:-

According to 1931 Census, population of the Scheduled Tribes was 5.8%. in 1991, it was 9.27%. These tribes are found mainly in Thane, Nashik, Ahmednagar, Chandrapur, Gadchiroli, Nanded and Nandurbar districts. Main scheduled tribes are Mahadevkoli, Kokana, Bhilla, Warli and Gaud. Scheduled Tribes are politically considered as backward. Traditionally they supported to Congress Party, but now a days their support to BJP is increasing.

Muslims:-

According to 1931 Census, Muslim population was 7.10% .Muslim population is effective in 34 seats. Role of muslims is important in Mumbai, Malegaon, Bhivandi, Aurangabad city and five district of Vidarbha. From 1967, 10 Muslim MLAs are being elected. The muslim supports to Congress Party.

Caste is effective in power politics. The Caste identity is used in this process. This identity is created through caste association. It is reflected by political leadership and some time by the caste elites. On this basis, politics and leadership of dalit community is reviewed in following way.

Review of Dalit Politics in Maharashtra:-

Dalit politics in Maharashtra is based on two elements 1. Efforts to uplift the social place. 2. Opposition to the high caste. In 1890, the efforts were made to raise the voice against the injustice with dalit community. Dalit politics in Maharashtra is based on dalit movement and abolishment of untouchability. Political leadership and writing by Dr. Ambedkar boosted the political process in dalit community. Dr. Ambedkar preferred education, organization and fighting spirit through his writings, thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar created movement of social justice in dalit community. Participation in political power is the part of this process.

Dr. Ambedkar founded different political parties and organizations. For the purpose of election politics he established independent Labour Party, afterwards for the protection of dalit interests he established Scheduled Caste Federation. In post independence period for the protection of the all common people, Republican party of India was established, this means dalit politics was started in pre independence era in Maharashtra therefore that politicalisation of dalit community started firstly in Maharashtra.

After 1956, RPI opposed Congress and Communist Party. In 1957 elections RPI got 13 seats in Vidhan Sabha and 5 seats in Lok Sabha this was the success of dalit politics. Dalit community is a landless community. There were differences on the agenda of RPI and alliance with Congress. In the post independence period, in justice with dalit community continued. 'Dalit panther' was established in 1972. Dalit panther put the issue of the caste at the centre point. Dalit panther tried to organize dalit community on the basis of caste. Panthers opposed Shivsena in cities and congress in villages. This organization was divided. Afterwards some leaders tried to align with other parties. Dalit politics went on back foot. There are caste differences in dalit politics of Maharashtra. There is a competition and suspiciousness in dalit castes. Mahar, Matang and Charmakar are major Dalit castes. There is difference among them about caste hierarchy. Some people feel that space was not given to non-Mahar people in the dalit community. In the dalit community Mahar caste have some tradition of education and job. Secondly, the community which do not have specific skill so it is turned to the city. When reservation policy implemented, Mahar community got the benefit of it. Mahar community is the developed community among dalits. Reserve seats and the political opportunities went to

the Mahar community so that there are hurdles in the integration of dalits and other dalits have interest in Mahar opposition politics.

After 1995, political parties gave candidature to the non-Mahar caste person. Shivsena, BJP gave Matang and Charmakar candidates. The symbols in these two communities were used at large level. Thoughts of Saint Rohidas, Anna Bhau Sathe, and Lahuji Vastad were used by opposition.

Dalit community in Maharashtra do not have permanent economic production instruments. Urban and rural Dalits are different from each other. Slum area basic facilities, job, employment reservation, are the issues of urban dalits. Urban Dalits participate in social organizations. Rural dalit faces the problems of agricultural injustice lack of facilities and discrimination. Thus, dalit politics is divided in urban and rural area.

As per 1931 censuses, S.C. population is 19.5 % .According to 1991 censuses, it is 11.9% Mahar, Charmakar and Matang are the politically influential castes. Mahar are spread all over Maharashtra. This caste is part of balutedari system. Charmakar and Matang are spread over different districts. They are engaged in their traditional occupation. These castes are shifting towards urban areas. Traditionally dalits were the supporters of Congress Party. Congress candidates were used to elected from reserve seats. Afterwards, dalits approached to Shivsena and BJP. But Republic party was divided into groups. It is said that Congress gave political opportunity only to Mahar caste. Now Shivsena, BJP candidates are elected from reserved seats at majority.

Theoretical Basis of Dalit Politics in Maharashtra:-

Dr. Ambedkar started dalit movement in Maharashtra. freedom, equality and fraternity is the basis of dalit movement. Dalits are the part of Hindu society. Mahatma Gandhi called them Harijan in 1933. Dalits are called as Harijan in rural area of Khandesh, Marathwada and Vidarbha. This movement is against untouchability. Sometimes developed part of this community support the movement. In Hindu social system, politics and movement is continued with the support of dominant and establishment caste. Some leaders tried to make separated politics but it did not work. So that stand has been taken to participate in politics, as element of Hindu society.

Charmakar and Matang did not supported to dalit movement in the post Ambedkar period. After Dr.Ambedkar, dalit movement did not have leadership. It was divided in groups. Movement failed to attract the non-Mahar caste people. Opposition parties took the benefit of this situation. BJP, Shivsena supported Charamkar and Matang caste workers. In 1995 elections MLAs were elected through Sena, BJP from non mahar castes. Charamkar MLAs got the places in cabinet. Matang community MLA became the state minister.[Palashikar,1998,p.37] Matang and Charamkar have their caste organizations in each district. The twenty social organizations of the Charamkar caste are working in Maharashtra. These organizations are founded after 1990.

Dalit movement is based on the thought of Shahu , Phule and Ambedkar. Backward castes participate in politics on the basis of this inspiration .Lower castes get less proportion in the distribution of political power. Politics of lower caste is based on movement Mahatma Phule, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar both have developed this process through news paper, organization and dialouge with government. For the separate representation Dr. Ambedkar studied the caste system and Hindu Philosophy. Dr. Ambedkar developed the intellectual foundation of the dalit movement and dalit politics. In the post Ambedkar period, movement became static. Afterwards dalit panther was founded however both republican party and dalit panther was divided in different groups. Effective leadership was not developed in the movement. According to Dr.Suhas Palashikar differences and division were increasing. NavBuddha community among the dalits never took the factual stand about the politics. They always talked the language of regulation the community demanded more seats to the political parties, which did not have factual base. Thats why NavBuddha community became lonely in politics. They talk about change but failed to give any boost. [Palshikar, 1998] Dalit politics failed in election politics and social change. According to Gail Omvelt following are the reasons of the development of dalit movement are Brahmin dominance, opposition to this dominance, participation of dalit in national movement, awareness about democratic rights etc. [Gail Omvelt 1994, Dalit and Democratic Revolution, New Delhi, SAG] 'Charmakar in transition' is the book written by Bhosale .B.V. According to him the, Charmakar community did not have positive outlook about the relation with other dalits.

Now, Charmakar community is marching towards development. The traditional economy and political give and take is breaking and the community is going ahead. In an English journal Harish Wankhede wrote an article 'Dalit Politics in Maharashtra'. According to him Dalit Community is given a place in politics of Maharashtra to create a picture or scene. RPI is a party with Dalit majority. Party has aligned with secular and religion base parties so it is said that RPI is now the party which is going away from change. In alliance in politics, RPI shows that dalit leadership and community is exploited community [Wankhede Harish, 2012, Dalit Politics in Maharashtra, EPW, Mumbai . Vol. XLVII.NO.16 April 21, 2012]

In the book 'Republicananchi Harakiri' it is explained that the RPI has aligned with right wing parties. In Maharashtra, Shivshakti and Bhimshakti are functioning in the politics of Maharashtra. Ambedkari Movement tries to give space to dalit exploited workers and tribal minorities and women. This book tried to critique the dalit politics. There is a gap between the theory and practice of the dalit politics. Different articles in this book reviewed comprehensive politics of dalits and right wing politics. [Kanta Abhay, Tukaram Jadhav, Surendra Jondhate(Ed.),2011, Republicananchi Harakiri, Parivartanacha Vatsaru, The Unique Academy, Pune.]

Ghansham Shah has edited the book in which dalit community is reviewed historically. Dalit movement tried to awaken the Dalit Identity. Ambedkar movement worked in this direction. Literature awareness among the dalit youths strengthen the dalit movement. It reviews dalit politics. Book reviews nature of caste and changes in it. Book discusses economic inequality among dalits, untouchability, theory and practice of Dr.Ambedkar, dalit movement, election politics etc. (Shah Ghansham(Ed.), 2002,Dalit Identity and Politics: Cultural Subordination and Dalit Challenge, Vol.2,Delhi,Sage Publication,PP.363)

'Ambedkari Chalvaliche Antrang' the book is written by Arjun Dangale. It is about the dalit movement from 1974 to 1999. Post Ambedkar dalit movement, leadership conflict is discussed in the book. Dalit leadership is interested in creating pressure group through social movement. Through different articles dalit movement is discussed in the book. Culture develops the society. Culture and power is connected. Culture plays role in the political conflict. Dalit community is divided into castes. So

movements get less success. 'Dalit Panther' is caste centered. It was concentrated in cultural field rather than election politics. RPI is divided on the issue of alliance with Congress.

There is difference between politics and dalit cultural movement. In 1962 election dalit leadership was divided in Dadasaheb Rupwate, B.C. Kamble and Dadasaheb Gaikwad. They criticized each other. Dalit leadership continued this process. After 1970 dalit politics failed election so dalit movement entered into cultural politics. Dalit Panther is the example of this process. Dalit Panther was not active in politics. After 1975 many organizations were involved in Dalit politics. After Dr. Ambedkar non-Mahar dalit castes were not involved in dalit movement. Those castes participation in politics was necessary but dalit leadership accept the fact that dalit leaders have not made efforts in this direction. Dalit leaders integration was discussed on dias. In practice efforts were made to maintain the interest. Arjun Dangle has discussed all these facts, but not dalit leaders, performance in election and society. [Dangle Arjun, 2001, Ambedkari Chalvaliche Antrang, Lokvangmaya Gruha, P.1 to 40]

'Dalit Vidroh' is the book written by Arjun Dangle. It is collected article book. This book is divided in to three parts-1. Movement and politics 2. Social facts 3. Literature. In the first part post Ambedkar dalit movement, dalit movement after 1990, need of agitation and party etc. points are discussed. In the second part, Dalit social reality is defined. Co-ordination of Ambedkar thought with left wing is necessary. In the third part review literature of 'Goalpitha' is taken. Arjun Dangle has written about organization, movement and literature but not about political representation. [Dangle Arjun, 1991, Dalit Vidroh, Mumbai, Lokvangmaya Gruha, p.143]

'Mahar Buddhist and Dalit: Religion Conversion and Social, Political Emancipation' is the book by Beltz Johannes. He studied Mahar community. Mahar became religious group. This group is different from other dalits. There are problem between high castes and dalits. These elements are reviewed in the book. (Beltz Johannes, 2005, Mahar Buddhist and Dalit: Religious Conversion and Social, Political Emancipation, New Delhi, Manohar publication)

Dalit leadership has failed in election politics. Dalit leaders contributed to movement. Movement leaders have not adjusted with political leaders. So dalit leaders have no foundation in politics. Dalit community is studied by Indian as well as foreign scholars. Dr. Ambedkar, Mahatma Phule, V.R. Shinde were important in Maharashtra. Gopal Guru, Anand Teltumbade, Kancha Illaya, Raosaheb Kasabe, Sukhdeo Thorat, Harish Wankhede, Gail Omvelt are important names. However, these scholars not studied the performance of dalit MLAs division in movements and politics. Candidates from reserved seats and performance is not studied. Also representative and legislature politics is not studied by other scholars.

References:

1. Ambedkar B. R. , 1946, Who are the Shudras? Thacker Publications, Mumbai
2. Baylay Susan, 2001, Caste Society and Politics in India from 18th Century to the Modern Age, CUP.
3. Chavan Ramnath, 1990, Jati Aani Jamati (Maratha) Mehata Prakashan House Pune.
4. Dengale Arjun, 2001, Abedkar Calvaliche Antrang (Marathi) Lokwangmaya Granth, Mumbai.
5. Guru Gopal, 1999, Party Politics in Researved Constituency, special reference to Pandharpur Constituency, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis
6. Jagzap Harsh and Sonawane Sanghratna, 2009, Maharashtraatil Ambedkari Rajkarnache Samkalin Aaklan, Buddist Media Centre, Pune
7. Omvedt Gail, 1994, Dalit and Democratic Revolution, Sage Publication, New Delhi.
8. Wankhede Harish, 2012, Dalit Politics in Maharashtras, EPW- Mumbai, Vol. XLVII No. 16.
9. Website- www.eci.govt.in