Chapter - 1

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The Dalits\(^1\) are known as one of the most vulnerable sections of the Indian society. They constitute 15% of the total Indian population and have been subjected to multiple oppression, subjugation and have lived very miserable life\(^2\). The social reform movements have been considered as a major breakthrough for bringing about social change in 19\(^{th}\) century Maharashtra. These movements have contributed a good deal for creating favourable conditions for the development of untouchables or dalits\(^3\). In addition to these efforts, the Indian constitution contributed a lot through incorporating various provisions of social justice to improve the condition of Dalits in free India\(^4\). In Maharashtra particularly dalits had a long history of their own struggle for ensuring justice even in pre-Ambedkar period\(^5\). It is beyond doubt that Dr.Ambedkar's leadership has greatly contributed to the having meaningful struggle of dalits for socio-political justice\(^6\).

The untouchables have been called by different nomenclature from time to time like Antyaja, Ati-Shudra, 'exterior castes', depressed castes, Harijan, Scheduled castes and of course dalits in recent times. The term 'Dalit' has a broad connotation and it is a self-chosen one. In 1972-73
the Dalit Panther had broadened the meaning of the term Dalit. They were inspired by Black Panthers Organization in United States working for black Mitigating people's plight. Dalit Panther leaders related this term to religious minorities, wormen, tribes, backward castes and economically deprived sections of the society. However, in recent years many social thinkers, students and social scientists have begun to use term Dalit to refer to as untouchables or Scheduled Castes interchangeably.

In this work the term 'Dalit' has been used for ex-untouchables or Scheduled Caste people who are struggling for self respect and opposing hierarchical, oppressive social order, based on castes.

If we turn to study the scenario of Dalit political activism in India, we ought to have to focus on dalit struggle in Maharashtra. It is precisely for this reason that dalits in Maharashtra have become politically conscious and have remained instrumental for articulating orientation, self identity and mobilisation as final strategy for their emancipation. The dalit community in Maharashtra has shaped itself for a new self-image, roughly from the Bhakti movements of the 13th century which attempted to purify Hinduism of its evils and fought against tyranny of caste system. However, nothing substantially changed in subsequent centuries and caste based inequality; exploitation of lower castes by upper castes not only continued unabettled but has intensified over a period of time. It's
only with the advent of the British Raj and contact with the western culture and education in 19th century that the traditional Hindu social order was challenged again. It was Mahatma Jyotiba Phule who emphasised educational and socio-political development of the community⁹. B.R.Ambedkar, a crusader for dalit cause, had played a role as a Scheduled Caste leader, spokesman of untouchables and proved himself a national statesman. He formed two political parities Independent Labour Party, (1936), Scheduled Caste Federation (1942), and during his life time prepared ground for future political participation of dalits, in the form of Republican Party of India which was established by his lieutenants after his death.¹⁰ The ideology of Ambedkar has proved useful to dalit masses to understand their plight and has prepared them for transformation of the society with a visionary insight. We shall discuss this aspect in detail in the chapters to come in this work.

**Formulation of the Research Problem:**

Due to social reform movements and dalit movements, political consciousness and perceptions of dalits in Maharashtra. The Dalit discussion about Dr. Ambedkar's political parties has given in the following chapter in the present study have gained high recognition in India. The word 'dalit' has broad and holistic connotation. Like any other state in India, dalits in Maharashtra are also divided in
enormous sub-castes. There are about 59* sub-castes enlisted in Scheduled Caste category which are called Dalits (namely the Mahars, now called Neo-Buddhists, Matang or Mangs and Chambhars). However, among these sub-castes, only three sub-castes in Maharashtra constitute 80% of the total scheduled caste population in the state. The Mahars are numerically at the top. All dalits claim glorious past, but feel that later on they were deprived of their legitimate position by upper caste supression. The Mahars talk of Mahar pride in history. They claim to have been at the forefront in the social and political movements since long past as compared to other Dalit sub-castes. They are found to be more vocal and conscious in using many democratic means in recent times for their upward mobillity\textsuperscript{10}. They have chosen education and politics as the main channels for their mobilisation, in order to have more benefits in the changing socio-economic conditions. In the present times, the provisions in the Indian Constitution regarding improvement of their material condition and social status have proved to be useful in turning out the dark past into hopeful present for all Dalit castes in general and Mahars in particular. However, the 'Mahars' have well organised themselves by using various means such as socio-political organisation along with parliamentary and extra parliamentary strategies\textsuperscript{11}.

\* See the Appendix No A
The Mahars firmly believe in the leadership of Ambedkar and accepted Ambedkarism as the only ideology in their efforts towards development. Increasing amount of openings in the democratic process in the post independence period facilitated the Mahar dalits to form their attitudes and perceptions towards the political development, protective measures and religion etc.

Though all Dalit castes in Maharashtra had more or less similar experience of disabilities and discriminations in the society, their position, outlook and efforts to overcome their problems are found to be different which they are facing for centuries together. At the same time, the ways of appropriating democratic means and resources is not identical / similar among various dalit castes. From this point of view, the implications or differentiated efforts of dalits have taken them to different destinations: ideological as well as practical.

Though outsiders of Dalit world, insider dalit means Mahars. There also exists a large caste cluster of non Mahar dalits which needs to be taken into consideration. The non-Mahar dalits (like Matang, Chambhar and Dhor) have their own difficulties in the context of the appropriation of constititutional benefits like reservations in jobs and educational facilities, which have come up in recent times. The confrontation between Mahar Dalits and non-Mahar dalits on this issue may help us to understand the
entire historical gimmick of dalit politics. The non-Mahar dalits have remained less benefited in appropriating the opportunities and have remained at the subordinate position. Consequently they all have taken Mahar Dalits responsible for pushing them back in the process of development.

AMBEDKARISM VIEWED FROM DALIT PERSPECTIVE:

The aim of this argument here is not to focus on the confrontation between the two groups but to evolve certain propositions to pursue the present study. In the first place, it is revealed from many studies that Ambedkarism is the only ideology for the liberation of all dalit castes all over India. Ambedkarism defines Programmes and strategies for the overall development of dalits throughout India. It is a thought, that spells out their ideals of dalit self-respect and dignity. It is an ideology of humanism, which forcefully advocates right of oppressed and depressed section of the Hindu society for better living conditions and greater opportunities for their overall development. Moreover Ambedkarism has provided Buddhism as an alternative religion for eradicating caste system and establishing humane and just social order. It is here again that the non-Mahar dalits differ from Mahar dalits and distance themselves from Ambedkarism on political premises. They normally prefer Gandhism as an ideology of reformation and try to find out solution of their problems in
the traditional Hindu Society. This group of castes has confined itself in Hindu fold and believes that continuous social reform process in Hinduism will provide positive opening to all Dalits. They also believe that reformation is more important than radicalism provided by Ambedkar and his ideology, as the solution of the problem of caste system which they face.

Secondly, according to the other stream of thought in Maharashtra, Ambedkarism has inspired, motivated Mahar Dalits in greater number became Ambedkar was born in that caste. Therefore, over the years Ambedkar's thoughts have been acknowledged as an ideology of liberation of dalits and have become instrumental in mobilising Mahar Dalits of Maharashtra politically and socially. The non-Mahars, though they talk and accept the contribution of Ambedkarism in principle, in reality they are in opposite camp practically and mentally led and dominated by caste Hindu organisations, socially, and the Congress Party and Hindutva forces i.e. Bhartiya Janata Party, Shivsena etc., politically.

Thirdly, Dr. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism in 1956 along with his followers has been regarded as a tool of mobilising Mahar Dalits in Maharashtra with broader aspiration. It is supposed that the conversion to Buddhism has provided the cultural identity to the Mahar dalits in society and politics. This conversion is also considered by this section as
an instrument of combating social inequalities prevailing in caste Hindu social order. However, in consequence, the event of conversion to Buddhism has horizontally divided dalit constituency in Maharashtra. Non-Mahar dalits largely remained in the Hindu fold and have not responded to conversion unlike their Mahar counterparts. This event has larger implications in the process of dalit political mobilisation today which could be discussed at length in the subsequent chapters.

Fourthly, instead of indulging much in historical propositions, this study tends to undertake a field survey for understanding the political efficacy and participation of dalits which really constitutes political mobilisation. It has also been presupposed on the basis of observation and study that Mahar dalit's profile is much the richer than the Mang, Chambhar and Dhor communities in terms of education, income and occupational status. It is beyond doubt that, the educational component has greater impact on the occupational position and socio-political mobility. The Mahars having been forward in educational field, by implications; are better and more efficient politically, in political articulation, tactics and have more actively participated in political processes, compared to the Mangs, Chambhars and Dhors. The Mahar Dalit, even at the local level appears to have been more organised through various platforms.
Fifthly, as we have pointed out earlier that the constitutional provisions have provided a lot of space for the socio-political mobility for dalits. They have been given representation in public offices like political institutions, civil services, co-operatives etc. Now it is no longer an issue of mere representation but is becoming increasingly a resource for political efficacy and active participation. The attitudes and perceptions of dalit community in regard of their political efficacy make us realise that dalit political world revolves around the internal dialectics, dynamism, political intricacy at their perception level. The urban-rural components also have had influences on these political factors. It has been apparently seen that the Mahars are becoming increasingly urbanised, hence they are more active and assertive in the political field than their counterparts in non-Mahar castes. No Mahar would like to remain in the traditional fold of village system. As a result their, outlook, on the world around them, provides greater scope for dynamic assertion in changing situation, on the other hand, non-Mahar castes prefer to remain in traditional frame.

In Maharashtra, it is presumed that the Mahars are the members of at least one organisation or the other. The Mahars are more aggressive in their organisational activities in every part of the state. One may witness the blue flags, Buddha Vihars and statues of Ambedkar Signboards of various political and non-political organisations are found in
almost all the villages in the State. In villages and town as well as district places of Maharashtra the statue of Ambedkar shows the political existence of Mahar community and also reflects its political assertion in local politics.

If we try to compare the non-Mahar Dalit castes with Mahars, the Mang community for example is almost trying to follow in the footsteps of Mahars, so far as the organisational activities are concerned, while the Chambhars and Dhor castes have not shown such kind of inclination. Absence of their exclusive socio-political organizations is conspicuous. This diversity in socio-political activism presents different picture of political efficacy of dalit social groups in Maharashtra state.

Sixthly, the most important constituent of the political efficacy and political participation is the inter-relationship between Mahar and non-Mahar communities. Though there is a clear cut division between Mahar and Mang dalits so far their socio-political cultural consciousness is concerned, both the castes are in search of respectful placement in society. Historically these two groups are found to be cohesive in terms of their geographical proximity in village system called 'Maharwada-Mangwada'. Even in day - to - day communication, both groups have been commonly referred by caste Hindus as 'Mahar-Mang'.
Finally, the reservation policy has become the controversial issue among dalits. It is evident from many studies and voices of non-Mahar Dalit caste leaders especially from Mang community that present reservation policy has resulted in creating relative deprivation among dalit castes. The castes, which received relatively smaller share of benefits, have began to organise for adequate benefits from reservation policy for them. The Mang and Chambhars have been demanding separate reservation in proportion to their population support. Such conflicting demands have wider implications on the politics of dalits in Maharashtra. The political efficacy has been adversely affected due to the conflicts, disharmony, miscommunication among them. This is precisely for this reason the important issues related to health, education, employment, social dignity have remained unattended to in the political activism of Dalits.

Another most important issue of the disagreement on the part of the Mangs is Mahars’ conversion to Buddhism which has a great bearing on the politics of dalits in the Maharashtra. The act of conversion has strengthened the capacity of Mahars but it has divided the Dalits constituency by narrowing the space of their mutual understanding for common cause of dalits in politics. Dalits have two-fold perception about conversion to Buddhism. Firstly, they believe that the conversion to
Buddhism is nothing but promoting of Dr. Ambedkar's struggle against casteism. Conversion has provided them a new identity, new culture, self-respect and human dignity denied by caste Hindu social order for centuries together. Another point of view is that the act of conversion to Buddhism by Mahars is nothing but their new political instrument for pursuing their political goal of share in power. The Mangs and Mahars have held this view. They believe that the conversion to Buddhism has not yielded anything more than bagging the benefit in the name of neo-Buddhist as well as Mahars with collective strength.

**The Objectives of the study**

Thus, considering the overall dominance of Mahar caste in dalit politics in Maharashtra, this study focuses on the role and impact of Ambedkar's ideology. The study tries to explore the nature and operational modalities of non-Mahar Dalits in comparison with the Mahar Dalits, in politics in Maharashtra. The main objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To examine and analyse the relationship between political mobilisation of dalits and the ideology of Ambedkarism.
2. To understand the political efficacy, perception and role played by respective caste frames in politics of dalits in Maharashtra.
3. To understand the nature of the political participation of Dalits in rural as well as urban areas.

4. To examine the areas of disagreements between the Mahar Dalits and non-Mahar Dalits and reasons thereof.

5. To assesses and analyse the impacts of conversion to Buddhism on different Dalit caste groups in Maharashtra.

**Hypothesis**

In this study efforts have been made to test the following hypothesis:

1) The Mahars are more articulate, better organised and more influential politically as compared to other non-Mahar dalit castes in Maharashtra.

2) The dalit castes in Maharashtra have their separate caste based organisations by which they are mobilised politically and socially.

3) The political ideology of Dr. Ambedkar has been highly regarded as a major source of socio-political inspiration, by Mahar dalits; whereas the non-Mahar Dalits do not share the same approach.

4) Different dalit-caste groups have responded differently to Ambedkar's decision of conversion to Buddhism.

5) The overall advancement of Mahar dalits has become the issue of discontent among the non-Mahar castes of Dalits in Maharashtra.
Review of the literature

The long history of dalit political awakening in Maharashtra has produced vast literature. The available literature includes the voluminous writings of Ambedkar and the works of other scholars who have tried to understand him, his ideology and his role in making dalits aware about the need of changing their socio-economic and political condition and move on the path of development as individuals as well as a community. Apart from Ambedkar's basic writings some books are worth mentioning which are meaningful to the study and which leave some scope for undertaking further research.

Matthew Joseph's work (1953)\textsuperscript{14} entitled 'Ideology, protest and social mobility : Case study of Mahar and Pulayas\' is an attempt of comparative study of two dalit castes sharing the same social problems in different regions. The author tried to point out, how these two communities developed their political movements and what strategies they adopted for social transformation. The author categorically mentions that the means like protest, movements and factors like ideology and leadership are used by both the castes for their political mobilisation. The similarities between Mahar's political mobilisation and the Pulayas dalit's mobilisation in Kerala has been shown in this study. However, this study
is confined to major castes among dalits and does not touch the problem of other lowest caste groups of dalits.

The another major serious survey undertaken by Patwardhan Sunanda (1973)\textsuperscript{15} throws light on internal relationship between Maharashtr's Mahar dalit and Mang dalits. The author has successfully painted the picture of dalit world through generating amazing data on various aspects of both dalit caste groups. This study points out many contradictions and disagreements and areas in dalit communities in Maharashtra. This study of dalits in numerous sub castes, focuses different attitudes and perceptions on political mobility and conversion to Buddhism in the context of stratification. The author emphasizes on the need to have more empirical investigation on this issue.

Joshi Barbara R. (1982)\textsuperscript{16} in her study entitled 'Democracy in search of equality, untouchable politics and Indian Social change', intended to show various obstacles in the way to achieve the equality in democratic process. This study revealed that there is an overall indifference of social system and government machinery for tackling the problems faced by dalits. Though this is scholarly grand narrative of Dalit-political world, it neglects micro realities relating top contradictions within the Dalits.

Jogdand P.G.\textsuperscript{17} in his study 'Dalit movement in Maharashtra' (1991) has attempted to conceptualise the Dalit movement as a protest
movement. The study assesses in the state various means, sources and style of dalit movement in the state. This work, like other works, provides holistic mapping of dalit movement, while movements led by non-Mahar Dalits in Maharashtra have not been given due attention.

The doctoral study of B.S.Waghmare subsequently published in book from (1990)\(^{18}\) entitled 'The Scheduled Castes in the Politics in Maharashtra' has made contribution in focusing adequate light on non-Mahar dalits in Maharashtra like Mangs and Chambhars. It is an attempt of providing micro perspective for dealing with dalit politics. The study based on Matang caste politics, tries to assess and analyse the role of legislators in dalit politics by comparing the advancement of non-Mahar dalits with Mahar dalits in the State. However, this study did not cover the differential style of political mobilisation of various dalit caste groups in the state of Maharashtra.

Murugkar Lata's (1991)\(^{19}\) study on 'Emergence of Dalit Panther movement' is an attempt to provide an account of Dalit youth movement which contents to have remained loyal to Ambedkar's ideal and hence occupied significant place in Dalit Movement. It is evident from this study that Dalit Panthers have shown a rare courage of revolting against establishment. Unfortunately, Dalit Panther movement has been considered as Mahar Movement inspite of the fact that there were many
non-Mahars who have worked with commitment in this movement. This important aspect remained uncovered in Murugkar's study.

An eminent scholar M.S. Gore's (1993) \textsuperscript{20} Study 'The Social Context of an Ideology' is a fundamental attempt to establish the fact that 'Ambedkarism' is an ideology of social change. This study explains the conceptual frame of social change and applies it to Dr. Ambedkar's socio-political role and his teaching. This study reveals that development of Ambedkarism is an ideology of social movement and change and has came into confrontation with Gandhian ideology. Thus Gore's study provides clue of studying social change from the point of view of both Ambedkarism and Gandhism, as against the attempt of many scholars on dalit studies to concentrate on Ambedkarism and neglecting Gandhian perspective of Dalit political mobilisation.

Another noted scholar Eleanor Zeliot\textsuperscript{21} has edited a book entitled 'From Untouchable to dalit: Essays on the Ambedkar Movement' and is a significant attempt to throw light on dalit literary movement which covers both pre-Ambedkar period and post-Ambedkar period. This study is an excellent mapping of dalit literary works by essayists, poets and novelists who have delineated Mahar Dalit experiences. The experiences of non-Mahar dalits have not been compiled in this study.
Yet another scholar in this field is Gokhale Jayshree's 22 whose work 'From Concession to Confrontation: The politics of an Indian untouchable Community' is also a significant attempt which focuses on social history of Dalits and explains the cause of development from political uprising of Mahars in nineteenth century to the Dalit Panthers in recent times. Though Gokhale talks about entire untouchables, she puts the Mahars at the central place in providing the account of untouchables, and fails to throw light on the non-Mahar's political scenario.

**Methodology of the study**

For the completion of this study, historical, comparative and empirical methods were applied. General material such as journals, periodicals, government publications viz. writings and speeches of Ambedkar, published by the Government of Maharashtra. Reports of SC ST commission and written documents including research reports, these are used as source material. The structured questionnaire has been prepared for collecting data from selected respondents. The respondents are selected from dalit caste group residing in the rural and urban areas. Aurangabad city is selected for survey of dalits from urban area. The city has a historical importance as Dr. Ambedkar had started educational institutions mainly for Dalits in this city in 1950. As a result it has become the centre for Dalit political and literary activities. There are many Dalit
localities and slums in Aurangabad city. Mainly the migrants from adjoining areas constitute the major lot of dalits in the city in addition to a vast student poulution of dalits coming from other parts of the states viz; Khandesh, Vidarbh.

For the rural category eighteen villages from three talukas have been selected. The survey is conducted by filling in the questionnaires and discussions with respective respondents. It has helped to gain substantial information for completing the study.

Chapter scheme of the study

The study is divided into the six chapters which are follows:

1) Research Design and Methodology

2) Political Mobilization: The Role of Ideology and Religion.

3) Dalit Political Movement in Maharashtra: A Historical Over view.
   i) Ambedkarism: as an ideology of political mobilisation.
   ii) Conversion to Buddhism: Role of Religious Conversion in mobilizing Dalits in Maharashtra.

4) Comparision of Neo-Buddhist and non-buddhist segments in the dalit castes in Maharashtra: Socio-cultural Differences among dalit castes.


6) Summary and conclusion.
In the next chapter, an effort has been made to present the concepts of political mobilization and role of ideology and conversion in political mobilisation. The attention has been given to find out how these concepts have worked on Indian social set up and how they brought about political mobilisation using them as conceptual paradigms.
Notes & References

1) The word 'Dalit' is used as a 'Synonymus for the lowest caste groups in social order, considered as untouchables.


5) In Maharashtra, Mahatma Jyotiba Phule's work provided inspiration to many social reformers. Shahu Maharaj Ruler of the Princely State of Kolhapur started 'Satya Shodhak Samaj' in 1912. It infused new life into the agitation to end Brahminical domination. Vittal Ramaji Shinde, a dedicated reformer, established 'Depressed Classes Mission' in 1906 and started educational work for Untouchables. Among the dalit leaders, Gopalbaba Walangkar, a retired army personnel dedicated himself to the emancipation of dalits, started work from 1888 and formed organisation called 'Anarya Doshpariharak Mandali' to highlight the dalit grievances. Shivram Janaba Kamble, another activist in pre-Ambedkar era, formed an Oppressed India Association in Nagpur and became an acknowledged leader of untouchables. In Vidarbha area, the similar work of creating awareness among dalits was carried out by Kisan Faguji Bansode, Ganesh Akkaji and Kalicharan Nand Gawali. Pandit Nalini has also discussed dalit political awareness in pre-Ambedkar period in her article 'Caste and Class in Maharashtra', Economic and Political Weekly, Annual Number, Vol. XIV, Nos 7 and 8, Feb. 1979, pp. 425 - 436.

7) The word like 'Antyaja', 'Ati Shudra', 'Exterior Caste' were mainly used in the relationship of lower castes with higher centre in the caste system ancient time. This caste hierarchy was based on four 'Vernas' (colours) consisting Brahmins, Kshitrayas, Vaishyas and the Shudras. The fifth category existed outside the classification of Verna System and was called 'Ati- Shudra' or 'The Un-touchables'.


8) The term 'depressed' caste was used for untouchables either by the missionaries or the social reformers. It is not known precisely by whom, when and where this term was first used. Most probably, it originated in Madras and began to be commonly used in the writings of the social reformers in the first decade of the twentieth century. The term found its way in the Government Officialise sometime late in the nineteenth century. But its use probably remained restricted to a few, and it gained currency in official usage only towards the beginning of the twentieth century. The term was not used in the census report of 1901 nor was it used in census
report of 1911. It seems to have found its way probably from Madras into the United Province about 1920.


9) The word 'Harijan' literally means 'child of God', and it became popular when it was used by M.K. Gandhi in 1930. It was originally used by a great poet Sant of Gujrat, 'Narsinha Mehta'. He was a Nagar Brahmain by caste, but he hated and defied his community for the treatment it meted out to the untouchables. For Gandhi the untouchable is a man of God who toiled and moiled and dirtied his hands so that high caste people lived in comfort and cleanliness. Therefore he suggested that, perpetrators are Durjans (Evil men) and untouchables are Harijan (Children of God).


10) The term 'scheduled caste' was first proposed by the Bengal Government in 1932. In the same year it was recommended to the Secretary of State of India and was used at all India level in preference to other terms. The term was finally adopted by British Government in the Government of India Act, 1935. In April 1936, the British Government issued the Government of India (Scheduled
Castes) order, 1936, specifying certain castes, races and tribes as Scheduled Castes. After independence the Indian Constitution accepted the term to facilitate various measures for these castes. The Article 335 of the Indian Constitution covers all those privileges provided for scheduled castes.


According to Murugkar the term 'Dalit' was first coined by Ambedkar to describe the scheduled caste community in an explicitly caste context. Therefore, it was accepted widely. Initially, this term became applicable only to members of the Mahar community in Maharashtra, but later on it was used to refer to the scheduled castes as a whole. Subsequently Namdeo Dhasal, who was one of the founder leaders of the Dalit Panthers Movement, made an effort to widen the scope of this term by including tribals, Neo-Buddhists, landless labourers, and all those economically exploited, in addition to the SCs. p.6.
See also for details Barbara Joshi (ed) Untouchables: voices of Dalit Liberation Movement, Select Book Services, Syndicate, New Delhi, 1986.

12) The Bhakti movement which emerged and spread over Maharashtra from twelfth to fourteenth century had a strong social content which challenged the caste discrimination. While the Mahanubhav tradition denounced caste system and ridiculed the notion of purity and pollution, the Kabir sect advocated for abolition of caste and propagated equality in human relationship. A galaxy of saints from different castes, viz; Sant Ramanand, Raidas, Chaitanya, Narsinh Mehta, Tukaram, Basava, Eknath and Chokhamela made their contribution in reforming Hinduism by advocating equality amongst human beings irrespective of their castes.

Also see Jayant Lālī - Elite Phralism and Caste Rule: Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1982.

Also, see 'The preaching of Bhakti Saint' in Srinivas M.N. in 'Social change in Modern India', Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1987, pp 25-26.


Also, see Jadhav V.T. in 'Maharashtracha Mahar' (Marathi), Sugat Prakash, Nagpur, 1995.

15) In his survey findings the factual information about 'Mahar' caste advancement has been discussed by Kakade S.R. in 'Scheduled Castes and National Integration'. Radiant Pub. 1990, New Delhi, pp. 100-137.

Also, the advancement and mobilisation of Mahars in relation to non- Mahar Dalits in Maharashtra is discussed by Patwardhan S. in 'Change among India's Harijan's. Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 68-69.


This point is also discussed by Gokhale Jayashree in 'From Concession to Confrontation'. Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1993, pp.236-255.

The subsequently published in book form a doctoral work of Dr.B.S.Waghmare(1990) 'Scheduled Castes in the politics of
Maharashtra' has a major contribution in this particular subject as he analyses the Mahar-Mang relationship in socio-political field through studying the political role of Matang legislatores, in the State.


