

—RISE OF— DALIT LEADERSHIP

*In the Politics of Maharashtra:
— A Sociological Analysis —*



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Rise of Dalit Leadership In Politics of Maharashtra: A Sociological Analysis

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empowering, and promoting the welfare, unity, and
cultural heritage of the Maharashtra Marathi
People community across the world. "**

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=== GANESH ===









CERTIFICATE

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ABBREVIATIONS

Sr. No.	Abbreviation	Full Form
1	SC	Scheduled Castes
2	ST	Scheduled Tribes
3	RPI	Republican Party of India
4	SCF	Scheduled Castes Federation
5	ILP	Independent Labour Party
6	BSP	Bahujan Samaj Party
7	BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party
8	NCP	Nationalist Congress Party
9	INC	Indian National Congress
10	DP	Dalit Panther
11	PWP	Peasants and Workers Party
12	BA	Before–After
13	SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
14	MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
15	MLAs	Members of Legislative Assembly
16	OBC	Other Backward Classes
17	Rs.	Rupees
18	H0	Null Hypothesis
19	H1	Alternative Hypothesis
20	μ_1	Mean of First Group
21	μ_2	Mean of Second Group
22	Dr.	Doctor
23	Adv.	Advocate
24	No.	Number
25	Vol.	Volume
26	Dept.	Department
27	Ltd.	Limited
28	Govt.	Government

29	Univ.	University
30	Socio-Eco.	Socio-Economic
31	Pol. Sci.	Political Science
32	Edu.	Education
33	Const.	Constitution
34	Adm.	Administration
35	Demo.	Democracy
36	Econ.	Economics
37	Psych.	Psychology
38	Hist.	History
39	Org.	Organization
40	Comm.	Communication
41	Elect.	Election
42	Stat.	Statistics
43	Resp.	Respondent
44	Avg.	Average
45	Vidhan Sabha	Legislative Assembly
46	Neo-Buddhist	Newly Converted Buddhist Community

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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING OF DALIT LEADERSHIP

1.1 INTRODUCTION



"भीमा कोरेगांव स्मारक का दर्शन करते हुए एवं पुष्पहार अर्पित कर श्रद्धांजलि देते हुए।"

The process of Scheduled Caste political participation and electoral politics was initiated by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. He advocated the idea of the Scheduled Castes becoming a “ruling community” through political empowerment and democratic participation. During the post-independence period, leaders such as Dadasaheb Gaikwad, Prakash Ambedkar, Ramdas Athawale, Namdev Dhasal, P. N. Rajbhoj, Kanshi Ram, and Mayawati emerged as significant figures in Scheduled Caste politics and electoral mobilization. This paper reviews their leadership and contribution to Dalit political movements. The state of Maharashtra was

justice and dignity. Leadership among Dalits is therefore not only organizational but also transformative and emancipatory in nature.



"महाड़ सत्याग्रह (चवदार तालाब सत्याग्रह) स्थल पर भ्रमण करते हुए तथा डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर के उस संदेश को स्मरण करते हुए कि 'जाति व्यवस्था के विनाश के बिना सामाजिक, राजनीतिक और आर्थिक सुधार संभव नहीं हैं।'"

1.2.2 Definitions of Leader and Leadership

Different scholars have defined leadership in various ways. According to the Dictionary of Education, leadership is the ability and willingness to inspire and guide others toward collective goals. Leadership implies that the group accepts the leader as its representative and spokesperson. Linderman defined a leader as an individual whose judgments, feelings, and ideas are accepted by the group as the basis of action. Similarly, Ordway Tead described leadership as the activity of influencing people to cooperate toward a common objective. Psychologist Floyd Allport emphasized the personal relationship between leader and follower. According to him, leadership involves direct and personal social control through face-to-face interaction. Bernard focused on the psychological aspect of leadership and argued that leaders are individuals who can influence others through psychological stimuli and collective responses. Robert Tannenbaum and Fred Massarik described leadership as interpersonal influence directed toward achieving specific goals through communication. These definitions

reinterpret existing ideologies, practitioners implement ideological principles, and missionaries spread ideological messages among people. This ideological perspective is highly relevant for understanding Dalit leadership because Dalit movements are deeply connected with ideas of social justice, equality, human rights, and dignity. Leaders such as Dr. Ambedkar not only organized political struggles but also developed ideological frameworks challenging Brahmanical domination and caste hierarchy. After examining different definitions and theories of leadership, it becomes clear that leadership cannot be explained through a single factor. Personality, social conditions, ideology, institutional position, and historical context all contribute to the emergence of leadership. In the case of Dalit leadership, multiple factors such as caste oppression, educational opportunities, constitutional safeguards, political mobilization, and ideological awakening played important roles. Dalit leadership emerged as a response to historical injustice and became an instrument for social transformation and democratic participation.



"पुणे स्थित ऐतिहासिक महात्मा फुले वाड़ा का भ्रमण करते हुए एवं महात्मा ज्योतिराव फुले के समता और सामाजिक न्याय के विचारों को नमन करते हुए।"

1.3 Dalit

The term **"Dalit"** occupies a significant place in the socio-political discourse of modern **India**. It represents not merely a social category but also a historical experience of oppression, exclusion, humiliation, and resistance. In contemporary India, the term Dalit is commonly used for those communities that were historically regarded as "Untouchables" within the Hindu caste hierarchy. These communities have suffered centuries of social discrimination,

violence, economic inequality, social discrimination, and political co-option. Many Dalit leaders struggle to balance electoral politics with the broader goals of social transformation. Furthermore, divisions based on sub-castes, regional identities, and party affiliations often weaken collective Dalit movements. Nevertheless, Dalit leadership remains an essential force in Indian democracy because it continues to articulate the demands of equality, justice, and human dignity. The study of Dalit leadership is therefore crucial for understanding the dynamics of Indian democracy, caste relations, and social movements. Dalit leaders have transformed Indian politics by bringing issues of social justice, representation, and human rights into mainstream political discourse. Their struggles challenged centuries-old structures of oppression and expanded the meaning of democracy in India. Dalit leadership is not merely about political power; it is fundamentally about the quest for dignity, equality, and liberation for historically oppressed communities.



"केंद्रीय विश्वविद्यालय हरियाणा के समाजशास्त्र विभाग के विद्यार्थी के रूप में शैक्षणिक भ्रमण के दौरान डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर के प्रतापसिंह हाई स्कूल, सातारा से जुड़े ऐतिहासिक स्थानांतरण प्रमाणपत्र का अवलोकन करते हुए।"

CHAPTER – II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction



"मेरी माता जी द्वारा डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर और भगवान गौतम बुद्ध को श्रद्धापूर्वक नमन एवं पूजन करते हुए।"

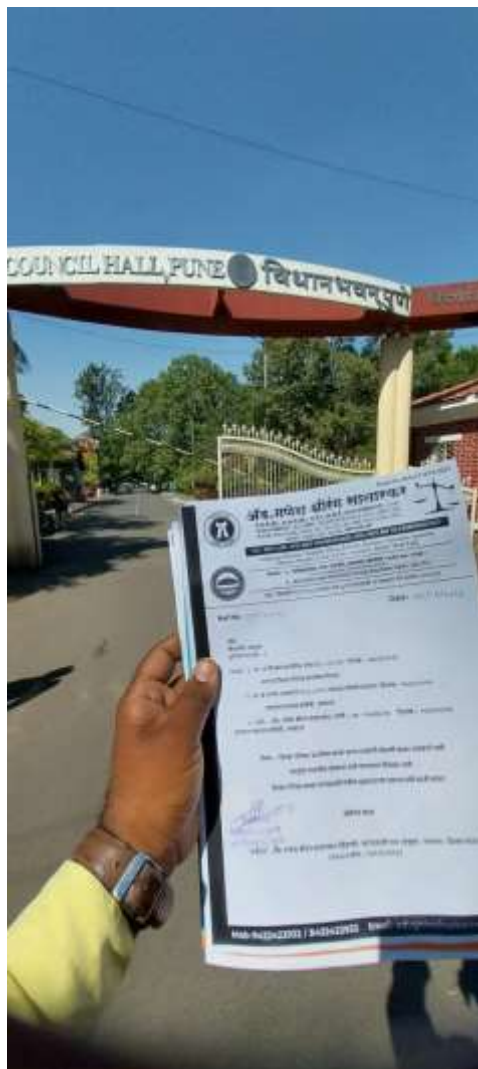
A review of literature is an essential component of scientific research because it enables researchers to understand the nature, scope, theoretical orientation, and methodological dimensions of previous studies conducted in a specific field. Through the review of existing literature, researchers can identify research gaps, evaluate previous findings, and establish the relevance of their own study. It also provides an intellectual foundation for framing hypotheses, selecting appropriate research methods, and interpreting empirical findings. In social science research, particularly in studies relating to leadership, caste, and marginalized communities, literature review becomes crucial because it connects contemporary realities with historical and theoretical perspectives. The present study focuses on Dalit political leadership, particularly in Maharashtra. A critical examination of earlier studies reveals that although there has been considerable research on caste, social mobility, Panchayati Raj institutions, leadership patterns, and Dalit movements, systematic and detailed studies exclusively focusing on Dalit political leadership remain limited. Most earlier works have concentrated on broader issues such as caste hierarchy, rural leadership, social mobility, elite formation, and the role of political institutions in shaping marginalized communities.



"छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज की माता राजमाता जिजाबाई के प्रेरणादायी जीवन और आदर्शों को स्मरण करते हुए।"

Owen M. Lynch in his famous 1974 study **Politics of Untouchability and Jatav Mobility** examined the social and political transformation of the Jatav community (traditionally identified as Chamars) in Agra, Uttar Pradesh. His work is considered a landmark contribution to the study of Dalit mobility and caste politics in India. Lynch analyzed how the Jatavs attempted to improve their social status after independence through education, political participation, economic advancement, and collective organization. A major contribution of Lynch's study was his criticism of the theory of Sanskritization proposed by M. N. Srinivas. Sanskritization suggested that lower castes could rise in status by adopting the customs, rituals, and lifestyle of upper castes. However, Lynch argued that the Jatavs did not primarily seek mobility by imitating upper-caste Hindu practices. Instead, they developed a separate political and social identity based on self-respect, education, organization, and Dalit consciousness. The Jatavs increasingly aligned themselves with the ideas of B. R. Ambedkar and used democratic institutions, electoral politics, and caste associations to challenge social discrimination. Lynch showed that Dalit mobility was not merely cultural imitation but also a political struggle for equality and dignity. Thus, the study highlighted the importance of

in campaigns and welfare activities. However, Dharam Raj Singh observed that many leaders were closely associated with individuals and groups that provided them political support. Their leadership often depended on patron-client relationships, where loyalty was exchanged for political protection, resources, and opportunities. This sometimes limited independent leadership and reduced wider community representation. The study highlighted that Dalit leadership in rural areas depended not only on education and political participation but also on social alliances, support networks, and local power structures.



"महाराष्ट्र विधान परिषद, पुणे में मराठा आरक्षण की मांग को लेकर माननीय सदस्यों को निवेदन प्रस्तुत करते हुए।"



Singh and Sundaram (1987): Emerging Harijan Elite

Singh and Sundaram's study *Emerging Harijan Elite* (1987) examined the rise of educated Dalit elites in Uttar Pradesh, particularly among teachers and lower-level government officials. The study focused on how education, government employment, and constitutional safeguards contributed to social mobility among Scheduled Castes. The research found that Dalit elites generally maintained close ties with their caste communities. Many encouraged education, social awareness, and upward mobility among other caste members. They often acted as role models and motivated younger generations to pursue schooling and government employment. Constitutional concessions such as reservations in education and jobs played a major role in facilitating this mobility and creating a new Dalit middle class. The study also observed that many educated Dalits adopted certain lifestyles, values, and consumption patterns associated with dominant castes and the urban middle class. However, despite their educational and economic advancement, upper castes did not fully accept them socially. Caste prejudice and discrimination continued to influence social relations. This situation created a condition of alienation. Educated Dalits gradually became socially distant from their original communities because of their new status and lifestyle, yet they were still not fully accepted by upper-caste groups. As a result, they often experienced psychological and cultural tension between traditional identity and modern aspirations. The study highlighted the complex social and emotional challenges associated with Dalit social mobility in Indian society.

representation. Overall, the article presents a critical analysis of the changing nature of Dalit political identity and leadership in modern Maharashtra.



"महाराष्ट्र के आराध्य दैवत छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज की रायगढ़ स्थित समाधि का दर्शन करते हुए एवं पुष्पहार अर्पित कर श्रद्धांजलि देते हुए।"

Naravane, A. V. (2026). Evaluation of judicial perspectives of reservation in educational institutions and study of reservation in post graduate education in university departments with special reference to State of Maharashtra (Doctoral dissertation). The study titled Evaluation of Judicial Perspectives of Reservation in Educational Institutions and



"महाराष्ट्र राज्य मागासवर्ग आयोग के कार्यालय का भ्रमण करते हुए तथा सामाजिक न्याय, आरक्षण और पिछड़े वर्गों के अधिकारों से संबंधित कार्यों की जानकारी प्राप्त करते हुए।"

CHAPTER – III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The present chapter explains the research methodology adopted for the study entitled “*Rise of Dalit Leadership in Politics of Maharashtra: A Sociological Analysis.*” Research methodology is an important part of social science research because it provides a systematic framework for collecting, analyzing, and interpreting data related to the research problem. It helps the researcher to conduct the study scientifically, objectively, and systematically. The methodology adopted for the present study is mainly based on the principles of Political Sociology, as the study attempts to understand the interaction between society, caste, politics, leadership, and social change in relation to Dalit communities.



"महात्मा ज्योतिराव फुले के दर्शन कर उन्हें विनम्र अभिवादन करते हुए।"

3.2 Significance of the Study Research

1. The present study is important both academically and socially. It contributes to the understanding of Dalit leadership in a more systematic and detailed way.



"शिवनेरी किले पर स्थित छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज की जन्मभूमि को श्रद्धापूर्वक नमन करते हुए।"

**"महाराष्ट्र में कहा जाता है कि—"
आपको शिवनेरी की श्रीमंती, रायगढ़ की
भव्यता, पुरंदर की दिव्यता, सिंहगढ़ की शौर्यता
और सह्याद्री की ऊँचाई प्राप्त हो।"**

CHAPTER – IV

RISE OF DALIT LEADERSHIP IN MAHARASHTRA POLITICS



"फलटण में लोकमान्य बाल गंगाधर तिलक स्मारक का दर्शन करते हुए एवं भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में उनके अमूल्य योगदान, राष्ट्रभक्ति और स्वराज के विचारों को नमन करते हुए।"

peasants, workers, Adivasis, and other oppressed groups. Although the party later experienced factionalism and internal divisions, its formation marked a significant chapter in the history of Dalit leadership in Maharashtra and India.(NSSO,n.d.)

4.5 Revival of Struggle: Dalit Panther

The decline of the Republican Party of India (RPI), factionalism among Dalit leaders, and the continued atrocities against Dalits created deep dissatisfaction among educated Dalit youth in Maharashtra during the late 1960s and early 1970s. The younger generation felt that the established Dalit leadership had failed to continue the revolutionary spirit of B. R. Ambedkar. In this political and social atmosphere, the Dalit Panther (DP) movement emerged as a radical force that revived militant resistance against caste oppression and social injustice. (Sharma, 1984)

Background of the Dalit Panther Movement

The Dalit Panther movement originated in Bombay (Mumbai) in the early 1970s. Educated Dalit youth, many of whom lived in Siddharth Vihar hostel, began discussing issues such as caste discrimination, atrocities against Dalits, and the failures of Dalit political leadership. Most of these young activists were college educated, socially conscious, and heavily influenced by literature and revolutionary thought. Initially, they formed an organization known as the Youth Front to raise awareness about Dalit issues. Literary circles played a major role in shaping the movement. Many activists were poets and writers who expressed Dalit suffering and anger through literature. Journals such as *Vidroh* became platforms for radical Dalit expression. The inspiration for the Dalit Panther was strongly connected to the speech of Dr. Wankhede at the Marathi Sahitya Sammelan held in Mahad, which deeply influenced young activists such as Namdeo Dhasal. (Wikipedia contributors, n.d., <https://www.wikipedia.org>) (Sharma, 1984)

Formation of Dalit Panther

The immediate reason behind the formation of the Dalit Panther was the increasing violence and atrocities against Dalits in rural Maharashtra. Dalit youth were angered by incidents in which Dalits were attacked, displaced from villages, humiliated, and murdered. These atrocities created a feeling that traditional political methods had failed to protect Dalit communities. Leaders such as J. V. Pawar and Namdeo Dhasal formally established the Dalit



"महात्मा फुले और सावित्रीबाई फुले के समक्ष उनके सामाजिक परिवर्तन और शिक्षा के महान कार्यों को स्मरण करते हुए।"

Dalit Panther and Class-Caste Analysis

One of the most important contributions of the Dalit Panther movement was its attempt to reinterpret caste oppression in relation to changing economic conditions. Dhasal argued that modernization and industrialization had destroyed traditional caste occupations. Communities such as the Matangs and Chambhars lost their traditional livelihoods due to technological and industrial changes. This analysis highlighted how caste oppression was increasingly connected with economic marginalization and unemployment. The Panthers therefore viewed Dalit liberation not only as a social issue but also as a struggle against economic exploitation and capitalist structures. The Dalit Panther movement represented a major revival of militant Dalit politics in Maharashtra. It emerged in response to caste atrocities, the failure of established Dalit leadership, and dissatisfaction with mainstream political parties. Inspired by Ambedkarite ideology as well as revolutionary socialist thought, the Panthers attempted to unite caste struggle with class struggle and build solidarity among all oppressed groups.



"लोकमाता अहिल्याबाई होल्कर की प्रतिमा के समक्ष उनके महान नेतृत्व, धर्मनिष्ठा और जनकल्याणकारी कार्यों को स्मरण करते हुए।"

Akola Pattern

One of the important political experiments in Bahujan politics was the “Akola Pattern,” implemented by the Bahujan Mahasangh and the Bharatiya Republican Party (BRP) led by Prakash Ambedkar. The objective of this model was to unite Dalits and OBCs into a common political alliance capable of challenging Maratha political dominance. The Akola Pattern was tested in elections to Panchayat Samitis, Zilla Parishads, and Vidhan Sabha constituencies, especially in Akola and Kinwat regions. The experiment achieved some success at the local government level and demonstrated the political potential of Dalit–OBC unity. (Prakash Ambedkar, n.d.)

evolved through different phases. These movements attempted to combine struggles against caste oppression with broader issues such as land redistribution, labour rights, social justice, education, and political representation. The history of Dalit and Bahujan politics in Maharashtra also reveals continuous tensions between caste-based identity politics and class-based ideological politics. While some organizations emphasized Ambedkarite constitutional democracy and Dalit identity, others attempted broader alliances among workers, peasants, OBCs, minorities, and oppressed social groups. However, factionalism, ideological conflicts, leadership struggles, and electoral alliances with dominant parties often weakened the unity of these movements. Nevertheless, the Dalit and Bahujan movements transformed Maharashtra's political landscape by increasing political consciousness among marginalized communities and challenging caste-based social inequality. These movements also played a crucial role in strengthening democratic participation and promoting constitutional values such as equality, justice, liberty, and fraternity in Indian society.(Bahujan Samaj Party [BSP], n.d.)



"शिवाजी विश्वविद्यालय, कोल्हापुर में 'भारत में जनजातीय समावेशन (Tribal Inclusion in India)' विषय पर आयोजित राष्ट्रीय सम्मेलन में सहभागिता करते हुए तथा आदिवासी समुदायों के सामाजिक, शैक्षणिक और आर्थिक सशक्तिकरण पर विचार-विमर्श करते हुए।

CHAPTER V

SOCIO-ECONOMIC OF THE DALIT POLITICAL LEADERS IN MAHARASHTRA



"छत्रपति संभाजी महाराज की प्रतिमा के समक्ष उनके वीरता, त्याग और स्वराज्य के प्रति समर्पण को स्मरण करते हुए।"

5.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to examine the socio-economic background of Dalit political leaders in Maharashtra who were elected as Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs). The analysis is based on intensive fieldwork conducted among 22 Dalit political leaders representing different political parties and ideological backgrounds. These leaders contested elections through various political parties such as the Indian National Congress, Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), Republican Party of India (RPI), Shetkari organizations, and as Independent candidates. The study specifically focuses on those Dalit leaders who achieved representation at the state legislative level through the democratic electoral process. Leaders who were active only at the local or community level but had not attained state-level political recognition were excluded from the scope of the study. Although many Dalit social activists and community workers consider

analysis. The personal experiences of the leaders reveal how caste discrimination, poverty, educational opportunities, social networks, and political mentorship shaped their political careers and leadership roles. However, the fieldwork also encountered certain limitations. Some leaders were reluctant to provide personal information and did not cooperate fully during the interview process. In certain cases, respondents avoided discussing sensitive issues related to caste conflicts, intra-party politics, financial status, and personal political strategies. A few leaders responded only partially to the interview schedule, while others declined detailed interaction. This non-cooperation and lack of response regarding personal details constitute one of the limitations of the study. Nevertheless, all respondents positively responded to the structured questionnaire, enabling the researcher to collect essential socio-economic data for analysis. The present chapter, therefore, aims to provide a systematic analysis of the socio-economic characteristics of Dalit political leaders in Maharashtra. By examining factors such as caste identity, educational attainment, occupational background, family status, political participation, and economic conditions, the study seeks to understand the nature and transformation of Dalit political leadership in contemporary Maharashtra. The chapter further explores how socio-economic factors influence political participation, leadership development, and representation among Dalit communities. In doing so, it contributes to a broader understanding of Dalit politics, democratic representation, and social transformation in Maharashtra and India as a whole. (Shah, 1975),(Mumtaz Ali Khan, 1980)



"महाराष्ट्र न्यायाधिकरण, पुणे खंडपीठ का भ्रमण करते हुए तथा न्याय, विधि और संवैधानिक मूल्यों की प्रक्रिया को समझते हुए।"

to be less dynastic in nature compared to mainstream elite politics. Overall, the study shows that Dalit political leaders in Maharashtra emerged largely through social activities, educational advancement, political participation, and democratic opportunities rather than through inherited wealth or strong family political backgrounds. After becoming MLAs, many leaders gradually transformed from social activists into public representatives within formal political institutions. (Dalit Panther Movement, n.d.) (Rajni Kothari, n.d.)



CHAPTER VI

DALIT POLITICAL LEADERSHIP IN MAHARASHTRA: IDEOLOGY, REPRESENTATION AND TRANSFORMATION



**"छत्रपति शिवाजी महाराज के स्वराज्य और राष्ट्रसेवा के विचारों में कुछ क्षण
आत्ममंथन करते हुए।"**

6.1 Introduction

As a historical fact, the process of developing Dalit self-respect and integrating Dalits into mainstream electoral politics was initiated by B. R. Ambedkar. He emphasized the idea that Dalits must become a “ruling community” in order to attain dignity, equality, and an honourable social life in India. Inspired by his ideology, several leaders such as Dadasaheb

Gaikwad, Prakash Ambedkar, Ramdas Athawale, Namdeo Dhasal, P. N. Rajbhoj, Sushilkumar Shinde, Chandrakant Handore, B. Basavalingappa, Mallikarjun Kharge, Kanshi Ram, and Mayawati emerged as prominent representatives of Dalit politics in parliamentary and legislative assembly elections during the post-independence period. This chapter focuses on the Maharashtra region and analyses the changing basis of Dalit political leadership through their association with different political parties during the post-independence era. The formation of the state of Maharashtra on 1 May 1960 marked a significant turning point in regional politics and representation. Between 1962 and 2024, fourteen Legislative Assembly elections were conducted in Maharashtra. During this period, a total of Dalit leaders were elected from reserved constituencies to the Maharashtra Legislative Assembly. The electoral participation of these leaders reflects the changing nature of Dalit political representation, leadership patterns, party affiliations, and ideological shifts over time. Initially, Dalit leadership was strongly influenced by Ambedkarite ideology and organizations such as the Scheduled Castes Federation and later the Republican Party of India (RPI). However, over the decades, fragmentation within Dalit parties, the rise of coalition politics, and the increasing influence of major political parties such as the Congress, Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Shiv Sena, and newer political alliances altered the basis of Dalit leadership in Maharashtra. The post-2014 and 2024 political developments in Maharashtra further transformed Dalit politics. The emergence of new alliances, divisions within traditional political parties, the rise of identity-based politics, and the growing role of social media and youth participation significantly influenced Dalit leadership patterns. Leaders associated with Ambedkarite movements increasingly adopted pragmatic electoral strategies by aligning with mainstream political parties to secure political representation and access to power. The chapter therefore examines how Dalit political leadership evolved from movement-oriented and ideology-based leadership to party-oriented and electoral leadership. It also analyses the socio-political factors responsible for these transformations, including caste dynamics, political alliances, reservation policies, factionalism within Dalit movements, electoral competition, and the changing socio-economic aspirations of Dalit communities in Maharashtra up to 2024. (Government of Maharashtra, n.d., <https://maharashtra.gov.in/>) (Wikipedia contributors, n.d., <https://www.wikipedia.org>)

Table No. 6.1 Election Year-wise Dalit Leaders from 1962 to 2024

Sr. No.	Election Year	Total Seats of MLA in Maharashtra	Total No. of SC Reserved Seats in Maharashtra	Percentage	Total No. of SC Reserved Seats in Maharashtra Region	Percentage
1	1962	264	33	12.12	10	3.78
2	1967	270	15	5.55	6	2.22
3	1972	270	15	5.55	6	2.22
4	1978	288	18	6.25	7	2.43
5	1980	288	18	6.25	7	2.43
6	1985	288	18	6.25	7	2.43
7	1990	288	18	6.25	7	2.43
8	1995	288	18	6.25	7	2.43
9	1999	288	18	6.25	7	2.43
10	2004	288	18	6.25	7	2.43
11	2009	288	28	9.72	8	2.77
12	2014	288	29	10.06	8	2.77
13	2019	288	29	10.06	8	2.77
14	2024	288	29	10.06	8	2.77
Total		3972	304	7.65	103	2.59

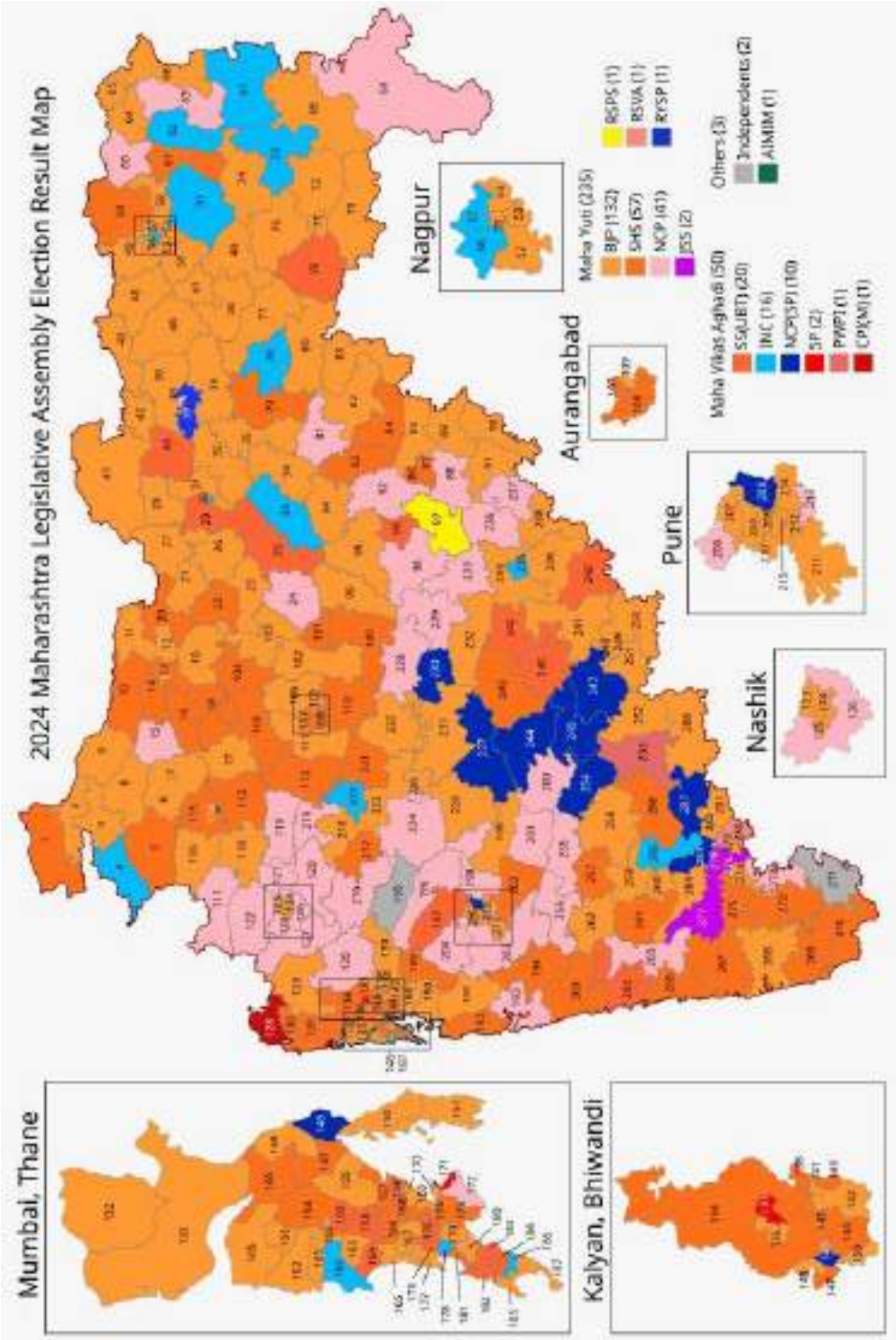
Source:- Statistical Report on General Election,1962 to 2024 to the Legislative Assembly of Maharashtra.
(Government of Maharashtra, n.d., <https://maharashtra.gov.in/>)

The above table shows that 103 Dalit leaders were elected from the Maharashtra region from different political parties such as the Congress, Nationalist Congress Party (NCP), Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), Shiv Sena, other parties, and independent groups during the period from 1962 to 2024 in Maharashtra. Out of the total 103 Dalit MLAs, 54 (52.42%) belonged to the Congress Party, indicating the dominant role of the Congress in shaping Dalit political leadership in the region during the post-independence period. A total of 16 (15.53%) Dalit leaders belonged to the NCP, while 15 (14.56%) leaders were elected from the BJP. Similarly, 07 (6.80%) Dalit leaders were elected from the Shiv Sena. On the other hand, 06 (5.82%) Dalit MLAs were elected from other political parties such as the Janata Party (JNP), Republican Party of India (RPI), Jan Surajya Shakti (JSS), and Vanchit Bahujan Aghadi (VBA). Independent candidates accounted for 05 (4.85%) Dalit MLAs during this period. This table clearly indicates that Dalit leaders from the Maharashtra region increasingly entered various national and regional political parties. It reflects the gradual transformation of Dalit politics from a movement-oriented and ideology-based struggle to a broader electoral and party-centred political process. The participation of Dalit leaders in different political parties also demonstrates their efforts to secure political representation, leadership opportunities, and access to state power within the framework of parliamentary democracy.



"छत्रपति संभाजीनगर स्थित विभागीय आयुक्त कार्यालय में मराठा समाज के आरक्षण संबंधी मांगों के समर्थन में निवेदन प्रस्तुत करते हुए।"

2024 MAHARASHTRA LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTION



Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2024 Maharashtra Legislative Assembly election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2024_Maharashtra_Legislative_Assembly_election)
(Election Commission of Maharashtra, n.d., <https://ceo.maharashtra.gov.in/>)

Rise of BJP and Shiv Sena in Dalit Politics

The 1990s marked a major transformation in Maharashtra politics with the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party and Shiv Sena alliance. The BJP promoted an ideology based on nationalism, Hindutva, conservatism, and economic liberalization. Initially, the party had limited support among Dalits. However, through social engineering strategies, welfare policies, and political alliances, the BJP gradually expanded its support base among Scheduled Castes. Similarly, Shiv Sena, which originally focused on Marathi regional identity and employment issues, later adopted Hindutva-oriented politics. The party also attempted to mobilize Dalit support through local leadership and political alliances. The BJP-Shiv Sena alliance became electorally successful in Maharashtra during the 1990s and early 2000s. Several Dalit leaders joined these parties due to changing political circumstances and electoral opportunities. The entry of Dalit leaders into BJP and Shiv Sena reflected the growing pragmatism in Dalit politics. Electoral success, political power, and ministerial opportunities became important considerations in political alignment. This period also reflected the decline of ideological rigidity in Dalit politics. Many Dalit leaders shifted from Ambedkarite independent politics towards mainstream party politics.(<https://www.wikipedia.org>)



"शिवाजी विश्वविद्यालय, कोल्हापुर स्थित डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर संशोधन एवं विकास केंद्र का भ्रमण करते हुए तथा डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर के शिक्षा, सामाजिक न्याय और मानव मुक्ति के विचारों को नमन करते हुए।"

Emergence of Nationalist Congress Party

The Nationalist Congress Party emerged in 1999 after a split within the Congress party under the leadership of Sharad Pawar. The NCP adopted an ideology emphasizing secularism, regional development, cooperative politics, and social justice. In Maharashtra, the NCP developed a strong rural political network, especially through cooperative institutions. Several Dalit leaders joined the NCP because it offered political opportunities within coalition governments and regional politics. The party nominated Dalit candidates in reserved constituencies and incorporated Scheduled Caste leaders into its organizational structure. The rise of the NCP further diversified Dalit political representation in Maharashtra. (According to Wikipedia contributors (n.d.), ...)

Expansion of Multi-Party Politics

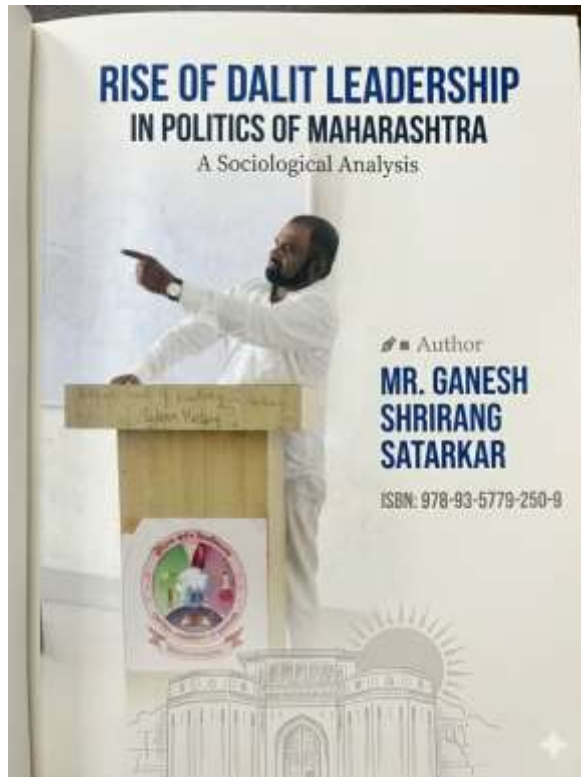
The growth of multi-party democracy significantly influenced Dalit political participation in Maharashtra. Apart from Congress, BJP, Shiv Sena, and NCP, Dalit leaders also entered parties such as the Bahujan Samaj Party, Janata Dal, Peasants and Workers Party, Communist Party, Samajwadi Party, Maharashtra Navnirman Sena, Vanchit Bahujan Aghadi, and other organizations. This diversification reflected increasing political awareness and expanding democratic participation among Dalits. However, it also contributed to fragmentation of Dalit political unity. Different Dalit leaders aligned with different political parties according to local caste equations, electoral opportunities, ideological commitments, and political strategies. Independent candidates also contested elections in large numbers. Although they often failed to win elections, their participation reflected the aspiration for autonomous political representation. Wikipedia contributors. (n.d.). 2024 Maharashtra Legislative Assembly election.

Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2024_Maharashtra_Legislative_Assembly_election

Electoral Competition and Fragmentation

One of the major features of Dalit politics in Maharashtra has been electoral fragmentation. The number of Dalit candidates contesting elections increased continuously from 1962 to 2024. In several elections, multiple Dalit candidates contested from the same reserved constituencies under different party banners. This fragmented electoral competition weakened collective Dalit political strength. Radical and independent Ambedkarite candidates frequently divided votes among themselves, enabling mainstream parties to dominate elections. The absence of a unified Dalit political strategy reduced the possibility of creating a strong

gap between marginalized communities and the political system. As politicians, Dalit leaders are expected to maintain strong social connections and effective communication with their supporters and activists. The success of leadership and electoral performance largely depends on the degree of social connectivity established by the leader within society. A leader who remains closely connected with the people, frequently communicates with the community, and actively participates in local issues has greater chances of gaining public trust and winning



"हरियाणा केंद्रीय विश्वविद्यालय में महाराष्ट्र छात्र संघ के गठन के अवसर पर अपने विचार व्यक्त करते हुए एवं विद्यार्थियों को मार्गदर्शन प्रदान करते हुए।"





"मेरी प्रिय माँ के साथ कुछ अनमोल और यादगार क्षण।"

7.2.10 Political Campaigning Strategies

Political campaigning is one of the most important aspects of democratic politics, as it helps leaders communicate with voters, spread political messages, and mobilize public support during elections. Campaigning strategies often reflect the leadership style, political priorities, and organizational capacity of political leaders. The present study attempts to examine how the political campaigning strategies of Dalit political leaders in Maharashtra have changed over a period of time. Traditionally, Dalit leaders relied heavily on direct public interaction, community meetings, village visits, and grassroots mobilization during election campaigns. These methods were primarily based on personal contact with voters and social networks within the community. Such strategies helped leaders build emotional connections with people and increase political awareness among marginalized groups. However, the study indicates that political campaigning strategies have gradually changed with the transformation of political culture and communication systems. Dalit leaders increasingly adopted modern and organized campaigning methods such as advertisements, media publicity, public rallies, coordination with local activists, and communication through social and political networks. The use of administrative coordination, party-based campaigning, and activist mobilization also became more significant after leadership. The changing campaigning strategies suggest

continuing influence of the caste system. Together, these responses constitute 86.36 percent positive perception, indicating that most Dalit leaders recognize the caste system as a serious social problem affecting equality and development. On the other hand, only 4.55 percent of respondents stated that the caste system does not significantly influence the socio-economic development of the state. Another 9.09 percent believed that the caste system is an integral part of society and cannot completely disappear. Together, these responses account for 13.64 percent negative perception. Overall, the findings reveal that a large majority of Dalit political leaders in Maharashtra perceive the caste system as a major barrier to social justice, equality, and socioeconomic progress. The responses also indicate that Dalit leaders are highly aware of the continuing impact of caste-based discrimination and social inequality in contemporary Maharashtra.



"कोल्हापुर के छत्रपति संभाजीराजे छत्रपति के साथ एक स्मरणीय क्षण।"

7.3.2 Dalit Leaders' Views on the Problems Faced by Dalits

Dalit communities in Maharashtra continue to face several socio-economic problems such as poor housing conditions, lack of clean drinking water, unhygienic living environments,

poverty, unemployment, lack of agricultural land, limited livelihood opportunities, low educational attainment, malnutrition, social discrimination, economic exploitation by upper castes, inadequate implementation of government schemes and policies, and the absence of social equality. These issues continue to affect the overall development and social mobility of Dalit communities in the state. Therefore, the present study attempts to examine the perceptions of Dalit political leaders regarding the major problems faced by Dalits in Maharashtra with the help of Table 7.27. The findings reveal that the majority of Dalit leaders are highly aware and sensitive toward the socioeconomic and social problems experienced by Dalit communities. About 9.09 percent of the respondents stated that the economic and social inclusion of the Dalit community is still a major issue in Maharashtra. This response reflects the continuing exclusion of Dalits from mainstream development processes and is therefore considered a positive perception. Similarly, 40.91 percent of Dalit leaders stated that a large section of the Dalit community is still deprived of the mainstream of economic and social development in Maharashtra and that more government efforts are required for their upliftment. Since this response highlights the actual condition of Dalit communities, it is also categorized as a positive perception. Further, 31.82 percent of respondents observed that issues such as education, health, employment, social dignity, living conditions, working conditions, economic and social exploitation, social discrimination, lack of agricultural land, and unhygienic working and living environments continue to remain serious concerns for Dalit communities in Maharashtra. This perception also reflects social reality and is therefore considered a positive perception. Likewise, 9.09 percent of respondents stated that some issues related to Dalits were politically created or exaggerated by non-Dalit political parties for political propaganda and electoral gain. This view is also considered a positive perception because it reflects political awareness regarding the exploitation of Dalit issues in competitive politics. Overall, a total of 90.91 percent of Dalit leaders expressed positive perceptions regarding the problems faced by Dalits. This clearly indicates that the majority of Dalit political leaders in Maharashtra are aware of the social, economic, and political challenges faced by Dalit communities. The findings also suggest that Dalit leaders possess considerable social sensitivity and understanding regarding the conditions of marginalized groups in contemporary Maharashtra.

Table 7.3.2 Perceptions of the Dalit Leaders on the Problems of Dalits

Sr. No.	Perception of the Dalit Leaders on Problems of Dalits	No. of Respondents	Percentage	Positive / Negative Percentage
1	The economic and social inclusion of the Dalit community is still a major issue in Maharashtra. (Positive perception)	2	9.09%	90.91%
2	A large segment of the Dalit community is still deprived of the mainstream of economic and social development in Maharashtra. Therefore, more government efforts are needed to uplift them. (Positive perception)	9	40.91%	
3	Education, health, employment, social dignity, living conditions, working conditions, economic and social exploitation, social discrimination, lack of agricultural land, and unhygienic working and living environments of the Dalit community are still matters of great concern in Maharashtra. (Positive perception)	7	31.82%	
5	There are not many severe socio-economic issues for Dalits in Maharashtra. (Negative perception)	1	4.55%	9.09%
6	Historically the Dalit community in Maharashtra was exploited by the upper class of society, but in the present era socio-economic exploitation of Dalits has drastically reduced. (Negative perception)	1	4.55%	
	Total	22	100%	100%

Source: Compiled from secondary data collected from books, journals, government reports, websites, and published research studies.

Interpretation

Table 7.27 presents the perceptions of Dalit political leaders regarding the major problems faced by Dalit communities in Maharashtra. The findings indicate that the majority of Dalit leaders possess a high level of awareness and sensitivity toward the socio-economic challenges faced by Dalits. Among the respondents, 40.91 percent stated that a large segment of the Dalit community is still deprived of the mainstream of economic and social development and therefore requires greater government support for upliftment. Similarly, 31.82 percent of respondents emphasized that issues related to education, health, employment, social dignity, living conditions, social discrimination, economic exploitation, lack of

agricultural land, and unhygienic working and living conditions continue to remain major concerns for Dalit communities in Maharashtra. Further, 9.09 percent of respondents observed that economic and social inclusion of Dalits remains a major issue in the state, while another 9.09 percent stated that some Dalit-related issues are politically utilized by non-Dalit political parties for propaganda and political gain. Since all these responses reflect social realities and structural challenges faced by Dalit communities, they are categorized as positive perceptions. Altogether, 90.91 percent of respondents expressed positive perceptions regarding Dalit issues. On the other hand, only 4.55 percent of respondents believed that there are no major socio-economic issues for Dalits in Maharashtra, while another 4.55 percent stated that socio-economic exploitation of Dalits has drastically reduced in the present era. These responses are categorized as negative perceptions and together constitute only 9.09 percent of the total responses. Overall, the findings clearly reveal that the majority of Dalit political leaders in Maharashtra are highly aware of the social, economic, and developmental problems faced by Dalit communities. The study also highlights the continuing relevance of issues such as inequality, social discrimination, poverty, and exclusion in shaping Dalit political consciousness and leadership perspectives.



"लोकराजा राजर्षि छत्रपति शाहू महाराज की समाधि का दर्शन कर उनके जनकल्याणकारी कार्यों को स्मरण करते हुए।"

7.7 Contemporary Dalit Leadership and Its Role

The role of contemporary Dalit leadership has become an important subject of academic and political discussion in recent decades. After analyzing the contribution of Dalit movements and leadership during the pre-independence and post-independence periods, it becomes necessary to examine the functioning and effectiveness of present-day Dalit political leadership in Maharashtra. Contemporary Dalit leadership operates within a complex political environment influenced by party politics, electoral competition, coalition politics, social justice movements, and changing socioeconomic conditions. Several studies have pointed out that contemporary Dalit leadership is often constrained by party ideology, organizational discipline, political dependency, and electoral calculations. In many cases, Dalit leaders are expected to function according to the ideology and political priorities of their respective political parties rather than independently representing the interests of Dalit communities. This situation sometimes limits their ability to raise independent voices on issues concerning social justice, equality, and Dalit welfare. Therefore, the present study attempts to analyze the views of selected respondents regarding the role of contemporary Dalit leadership in Maharashtra and its contribution toward the upliftment of Dalit communities. The study focuses on understanding how far contemporary Dalit leaders have succeeded in improving the social, economic, political, and educational conditions of Dalits and what challenges they continue to face in the process of community development and empowerment.



"सातारा जिले के फलटण तहसीलदार को मराठा समाज के आरक्षण की मांग के समर्थन में निवेदन प्रस्तुत करते हुए।"

7.7.1 Functioning of the Dalit Leaders to Uplift the Dalits

The functioning of Dalit leaders plays a crucial role in promoting social justice, political participation, and socioeconomic development among Dalit communities. Effective leadership is expected to address issues such as poverty, unemployment, education, social discrimination, landlessness, lack of representation, and inadequate implementation of welfare schemes. Dalit leaders are also expected to mobilize communities, spread awareness regarding constitutional rights, and ensure greater participation of Dalits in political and developmental processes. The present study attempts to examine how contemporary Dalit political leaders in Maharashtra are functioning for the upliftment of Dalit communities. The findings suggest that Dalit leaders have contributed positively in certain areas such as increasing political awareness, promoting participation in government schemes, improving access to welfare programmes, and strengthening representation within democratic institutions. Many respondents observed that Dalit leaders have helped create awareness regarding reservation policies, constitutional rights, educational opportunities, and government welfare schemes. Through meetings, social activism, community mobilization, and political participation, Dalit leaders have attempted to strengthen the political consciousness of Dalit communities. The growth of educational awareness, social activism, and participation in democratic politics reflects the positive contribution of Dalit leadership. At the same time, the study also reveals several limitations in the functioning of contemporary Dalit leadership. Many respondents believe that Dalit leaders often remain dependent on non-Dalit political parties and are therefore unable to independently raise issues concerning Dalit welfare. Party ideology and political discipline sometimes restrict leaders from taking strong positions on social discrimination, reservation policies, and socioeconomic inequality. The findings further suggest that some Dalit leaders focus more on maintaining political positions and party loyalty rather than addressing grassroots social issues. As a result, many developmental problems such as poverty, unemployment, lack of land ownership, inadequate educational facilities, poor living conditions, and social discrimination continue to affect Dalit communities in many areas. Another important observation is that Dalit leadership today is increasingly influenced by electoral politics and strategic political alliances. Modern political campaigning, organizational networking, and administrative coordination have become important aspects of leadership functioning. While these strategies help leaders remain politically relevant, they sometimes reduce direct interaction with the community and grassroots social mobilization. Despite these limitations, the study indicates that contemporary Dalit leadership continues to

play an important role in protecting constitutional rights, strengthening political participation, and promoting social awareness among Dalit communities. Dalit leaders also contribute to raising issues related to reservation, social justice, welfare policies, and discrimination within political and administrative institutions. Overall, the findings reveal that contemporary Dalit leadership in Maharashtra has achieved partial success in improving the condition of Dalit communities. Although significant progress has been made in political awareness, representation, and social mobility, several social and economic challenges still persist. Therefore, stronger community-oriented leadership, independent political assertion, effective implementation of welfare schemes, and greater commitment toward social justice remain essential for the future upliftment and empowerment of Dalit communities. (Constitution of India, 1950)



"मराठा समाज को आरक्षण प्रदान करने की मांग हेतु सातारा जिले के फलटण तहसीलदार महोदय को निवेदन देते हुए।"

CHAPTER VIII

MAJOR FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION



"मेरे विधि (Law) अध्ययन काल के दौरान सावित्रीबाई फुले पुणे विश्वविद्यालय की ऐतिहासिक एवं भव्य मुख्य इमारत के समक्ष ज्ञान, शिक्षा और शैक्षणिक उत्कृष्टता की प्रेरणा प्राप्त करते हुए।"

8.1 Introduction

The study focuses on the changing nature of Dalit political leadership in Maharashtra. The emergence of Dalit leadership was closely connected with the Dalit movement and the struggle against untouchability. The research examined both pre-independence and post-independence developments in Dalit politics and leadership. The study also analyzed the social, economic, administrative, strategic, and psychological dimensions of Dalit leaders and their role in the upliftment of the Dalit community.

8.2 Factors Responsible for its Emergence

- 1. Emergence of Dalit Political Leadership** Dalit political leadership in Maharashtra emerged through the anti-untouchability movement led by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. He transformed Dalits into an organized political community and emphasized political participation as a means of social empowerment.

economic empowerment of Dalits. Overall, Dalit political leadership continues to play a crucial role in strengthening Indian democracy and challenging caste-based inequality in society.

Roll Number	Name	Native Place	Birth Day according to C.C.			Attestation of Age by pupil	Attesting Initial of the Head Master
			Day	Month	Year		
914	Bhira Ramji Ambekar	Satara	14	4	1891	Sd/- (Modi)	Sd/-

Roll No.	Last School	Paying or free	Date of Admission or Re-admission	Standard & Class to which admitted	Date of Leaving	Standard and class from which left	Remark
914	Camp School Satara	Paying	7-11-1900	I	Novr 1904	V Cl. 7	left fee not due

"सन 1900 में प्रतापसिंह हाई स्कूल, सातारा में डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर के प्रवेश से संबंधित स्थानांतरण प्रमाणपत्र (Transfer Certificate) का अवलोकन करते हुए तथा उनके शैक्षणिक संघर्ष और ज्ञानार्जन की प्रेरणादायी यात्रा को स्मरण करते हुए।"



"पुणे के देहू रोड स्थित ऐतिहासिक बुद्ध विहार (धम्मभूमि) का दर्शन करते हुए, जहाँ 25 दिसंबर 1954 को डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर द्वारा रंगून (म्यांमार) से लाई गई भगवान बुद्ध की पवित्र प्रतिमा स्थापित की गई थी, तथा उनके धम्म, समता और मानवता के संदेश को नमन करते हुए।"



सदस्य- १. सांविधानिक तथा संसदीय अध्ययन संस्थान (भाषीन संघ, नू. दिल्ली)
(Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies)

२. All India Law Teachers Congress, New Delhi (AILTC)

पत्ता- 'शिवनेरी' गट नं. १५३ सातारा रोड, मु.पो. फरांदवाडी ता. फलटण जि. सातारा ४१५५२३

Ref.No.

Date: 20/12/23

॥ जय शिवराय, जय जिजाऊ, जय शंभुराजे, जय भीम ॥

प्रति,
माननीय. मुख्यमंत्री महाराष्ट्र राज्य,
माननीय. उपमुख्यमंत्री महाराष्ट्र राज्य,
माननीय. राज्यपाल, महाराष्ट्र राज्य,
विभागीय आयुक्त छत्रपती संभाजीनगर,
जिल्हा अधिकारी कार्यालय छत्रपती संभाजीनगर.
आयुक्त छत्रपती संभाजीनगर महानगरपालिका
मुख्य अधिकारी छत्रपती संभाजीनगर महानगरपालिका
छत्रपती संभाजीनगर.

०९/०१/२०२४
लिपिक.
विभागीय आयुक्त कार्यालय
छत्रपती संभाजीनगर
आयुक्त ०९/०१/२०२४
जिल्हाअधिकारी कार्यालय
छत्रपती संभाजीनगर

सविनय सादर

विषय : मराठवाडा विभाग मध्ये श्रीमंत छत्रपती महाराणी सईबाई महाराज यांचे शासकीय स्मारकसाठी जागा/परवानगरी मिळण्याबाबत.

संदर्भ : १) २७/९/२०२३ ला दिलेले पत्र मा. उपविभागीय अधिकारी बारामती उपविभाग, बारामती
२) मा. तहसिलदार सो. तहसिलदार कार्यालय बारामती.
३) मा. गटशिक्षण अधिकारी सो. पंचायत समिती बारामती.
४) मुख्यअधिकारी सो. बारामती नगरपरिषद, बारामती.

अर्जदार : अॅड. गणेश श्रीरंग सातारकर (नाळे), मो. ९४२२४२२९३२
रा. फरांदवाडी, ता. फलटण, जि. सातारा

माननीय महोदय,

मी अॅड. गणेश श्रीरंग सातारकर (नाळे) फलटणचे मुळ रहिवाशी आहेत व फलटणला ऐतहासिक मोठी परंपरा आहे. श्रीमंत छत्रपती महाराणी सईबाई महाराज फलटणच्या निंबाळकर राज्य घराण्यातील होत्या व त्या श्रीमंत छत्रपती शिवाजी महाराज यांच्या पत्नी व श्रीमंत छत्रपती संभाजी महाराज यांच्या आई होत्या त्यामुळे आम्हा जनतेला विनम्र अभिवादन वर्षांचे ३६५ दिवस करता येण्यासाठी त्यांचे शासकीय स्मारक नाही. त्याच्यासाठी शासनाकडून जागा/परवानगी मिळावी ही विनंती असे.



आपला
अॅड. गणेश श्रीरंग सातारकर (नाळे)
Adv. Ganesh Shrirang Satarkar (Nale)



By Speed Post
Right to Information

PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE

No. RTI/2549/2026-PMR

Seva Teerth
New Delhi - 110011
Dated: 20-04-2026

To

The CPIO
Election Commission of India
Nirvachan Sadan, New Delhi

Subject: Application under Right to Information Act, 2005

An online application dated 17.04.2026 (**online no. PMOIN/R/E/26/01356**) received from Shri Ganesh Shrirang Satarkar on the above noted subject is transferred under section 6(3) (ii) of the Right to Information Act, 2005, for action as appropriate.

2. Application fee has been received.



(Parvesh Kumar)
Under Secretary & CPIO
☎ : 2338 2590

Copy through RTI Online Portal to:

Shri Ganesh Shrirang Satarkar,
Shivneri Gat No. 153,
Mane Mala, Satara Road,
At Post Pharandwadi,
Tal Phaltan District Satara,
Pin Code-415523

You are advised to approach the above public authority for further information regarding the matter.



CERTIFICATE

OF WORLD RECORD

Proudly Presented To

Ganesh Shrirang Satarkar

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We officially announce the above-mentioned candidate as a globally certified
"Inspiration World Record Holder".

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BECOMES LEGACY**



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**M/s.Adv.Ganesh Shrirang Satarkar & Co.
Published By This Book**



THE END

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