

**"NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT AND R.N. CHAVAN"**

**MAJOR RESEARCH PROJECT**

**IN**

**POLITICAL SCIENCE**

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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declared that the Major Research Project entitled “**NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT AND R.N.CHAVAN**” in the subject of **POLITICAL SCIENCE** (U.G.C. vide letter F.No. 5/321/ 2014 (HRP) dated 18/1/2016) being submitted to University Grants Commission, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi for the fulfillment of Major Research Project is my Original work and the conclusions drawn therein are based on the data and information collected by me. To the best of my Knowledge and belief, this work has not formed the basis for the award of any Degree or Diploma of similar title.

Place: Pune

Date: 18/9/2018

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This is to certify that the Major Research Project entitled "**NON-BRAHMIN MOVEMENT AND R.N.CHAVAN**" in the subject of **POLITICAL SCIENCE** which is being submitted herewith for the fulfillment of Major Research Project of University Grants Commission, Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi is the result of the original research work completed by **DR.PAWAR VAISHALI PRAKASH**.

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## List of Abbreviations

<b>Sr.No</b>	<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Stands For</b>
1	NBM	Non-Brahmin Movement
2	SST	Society of Seekers of Truth
3	PWP	Peasant and Workers Party of India
4	RSD	Rashtra Seva Dal
5	HP	Hamal Panchayat
6	APM	Anti – Polygamy Movement
7	MCWS	Maharani Chimanabai Women’s Society
8	ABMSP	Akhil Bharatiya Maratha Shikshan Parishad
9	GMS	Gomantak Maratha Samaj
10	GMSM	Gomantak Maratha Samaj Movement
11	MGP	Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party
12	RSG	Ranade Shahu Gaikwad
13	MRDPSP	Maharashtra Rajya Dharangrast va Prkalapagrasta Shetkari Parishad
14	LVO	Lalita Vihar Women’s Organisation
15	SMD	Shramik Mukti Dal
16	BAMCEF	Backward and Minority Communities Employees' Federation

## Chapter- 1

### Introduction and Research Methods

#### Introduction:

R. N. Chavan was famous social reformer in Maharashtra. He was related to Non-Brahmin movement in Western India. After independence, he was known for his writing on Social Reform Movement, Religious Reform Movement, Peasant Movement, Dalit Emancipation Movement, Women Emancipation Movement, etc. The Research Project entitled “Non-Brahmin movement and R. N. Chavan” deals with Peasant, Caste system, Dalit and Women. The term subaltern is used for Peasant, Backward Caste, Dalit and Women in this study. The scope of research project is related to subaltern ideology and R.N. Chavan’s contribution to the Non-Brahmin movement.

After 1970s, majority of old social movements were declined whereas new social movements geared up in India. R. N. Chavan’s contribution to the NBM was divided into old social movements and new social movements. Therefore, the study is focused on Social movements. But the thoughts and ideas of old social movements were shifted to new social movements rise after 1970s. Old social movements have fixed ideology whereas new social movements were not having fixed ideology. There was absence of ideological base in the new movements but at the same time, R. N. Chavan has a clear ideological base. He advocated subaltern ideology, which consisted many ideas such as *Bahujan*, Liberal Hindu, Dalit Emancipation, Women Emancipation, Human Rights, Negative Rights, Equal distribution of human resources. He specially wrote about Non Brahmin Movement (NBM). During the same time NBM fragmented and shifted in various organizations and political parties.

#### 1.1 NBM’s Legacy:

After independence, NBM’S Legacy was divided into many political parties and party affected groups, institutions, organizations. i.e. the Congress Party, Peasant Workers Party (Maharashtra and Karnataka), Marxist Communist Party, Socialist Party, Praja Samajvadi Party, Gomantak Party (Goa), Mahatma Phule Samata Partisthan (Maharashtra), Shramik Mukti Dal (Maharashtra), Maharashtra Eakikaran Samiti (Belgaon), Muslim Satyashodhak Mandal (Pune). NBM’S Legacy was shifted

in these organizations. These movements were demanding equality for all subalterns i.e. women, Dalits, Peasants etc. It is the most important discourse on gender equality. Right to rational Man, right to freedom, Right to equality, right to anti- exportation, right to education, right to property etc are main thought shifted from NBM'S Legacy. It dealt with Caste, religion, and class. They have been explaining and fighting for subaltern's rights, denied to them because of their Caste, religion, gender and class.

**Table No. 1.1 Organization and Leadership**

<b>State</b>	<b>Movement/ Civil Society</b>	<b>Name of the Leader</b>
Maharashtra	Congress Movement and Party	Yashwantrao Chavan, Sarojani Babar, Uttamrao Patil
Maharashtra	Marxist's Movement and Party	Govind Pansare, Vilas Sonwane, Kiran Moghe, Pratima Perdeshi
Maharashtra	Socialist Movement and Party	Baba Adhav, Rajan Gavas
Maharashtra	Muslim Satyashodhak Mandal	Mr. and Mrs. Shamsuddin Taboli
Maharashtra	Mahatma Phule Samata Partisthan	Baba Adhav, Sarada Wadekar
Maharashtra	Sharmik Mukti Dal	Indumati Patankar, Bharat Patankar, Sampat Desai
Maharashtra	R. N. Chavan Pratisthan (Wai)	R. N. Chavan, Vaishali Chavan, Ramesh Chavan
Maharashtra and Karnataka	Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti	N.D.Patil, Dajiba Desai, Shamrao Desai
Maharashtra and Karnataka	Peasant and Workers Movement and Party	Kashavrao Jedhe, Shardabai Pawar, N.D.Patil
Karnataka	Ratraveer (Belgaum)	Shamrao Desai, Dajiba Desai
Goa	Gomantak Movement and Party	Bahusaheb Bhandodkar
Goa	Self Respect Movement	Rajaram Paingnikar
Gujarat	Education Movement	Chimnabai Gaikwad

The leaders of NBM Keshavrao Jedhe, Dinkarao Javalkar, Shankarao More, Bhaskarao Jadhav joined Indian National Congress in 1930s. But later on Keshavrao Jedhe joined PWP due to ideological differences between congress and him. Yashwantrao Mohite started his political career in PWP and joined congress in 1960s N. D. Patil, Shamrao Desai, Dajiba Desai joined PWP. Datta Deshmukh, Bharat Patankar was the follower's communist group. Baba Adhav, Vimalabai Bagal is the follower's of Socialist group. Bhausahab Bandodkar, Rajaram Painganikar was related to Gomantak Maratha Samaj. Congressism, Bahujan ideology, Socialist ideology, Marxist ideology and Gomantak ideology, etc are the main groups of NBM. The process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis happen in these all groups. The present research project focuses on NBMs thesis, antithesis and synthesis processes

## **1.2 Origin of the Research Problem**

R.N.Chavan was the follower of Vithal Ramji Shinde. R.N.Chavan was famous for his Intellectual writing on caste system, gender inequality and class conflict. Being major contributor to NBM, R.N.Chavan's ideology is the major research problem of the present study. Research problems have been formed within the conceptual framework of non-Brahmin ideology.

The research questions are as follows:

1. What is the relationship between Non-Bramin Movement and R.N.Chavan?
2. Which type of R.N.Chavan's Intellectual Contribution to NBM?
3. Is R.N.Chavan's writing related to Subaltern Study? (Dalit, Peasant and Women).
4. What is the relationship between R. N. Chavan and contemporary NBMs various groups and organizations.
5. What type of Contribution done by R.N.Chavan to Social Justice?

## **1.3 Hypothesis of the Study:**

1. R. N. Chavan was related to NBM's social harmony.
2. Intellectual foundation of NBM was related to Intellectual writing and movements.
3. NBM's major objective is Emancipation of Dalit, Peasant and Women.
4. NBM is shifted into various groups but its agenda is useful to solving contemporary issues.
5. NBM's core ideology is Social Justice.

#### **1.4 Interdisciplinary Relevance**

This study has become interdisciplinary because the study contains Dalit movements, peasant movements, women movement in the framework of subaltern ideology. R.N.Chavan's writing on Non-Brahmin movement is basically highlighted issues of backward classes. Sociologically, this project studies various classes of the society. Indian society has stratified in upper caste, backward caste, middle peasantry, dalit and gender. This study focused on class, consensus and class conflict in the framework of economic interest and social status. On the basis of political theory, this study discussed on human rights and negative rights. So this study is closely related to subaltern's right, freedom, equality and justice. Social reform, Economic Change and Political Participation are the core areas of NBM and R.N.Chavan's writings. The study reflects thesis, antithesis and synthesis of NBM. This project focused on sociology, Politics, Political Economy, History, Anthropology and Political movement. Hence the study became Interdisciplinary.

#### **1.5 Review of Research**

The study of Non-Brahmin Movement has been studied by many eminent scholars. Gail Omvedt, a well known socio-political thinker, had written a book on *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society: the Non-Brahmin Movement in Western India*. The colonial period was important for social movements in India. Among the strongest of these was NBM in Maharashtra. Its founder Mahatma Jotirao Phule (1827-90) was a remarkable intellectual and social activist. Shahu Maharaj, the King of Princely State Kolhapur, implemented various policies for the emancipation of Dalit, peasants and women. The heyday of the movement took place between 1910 and 1930, when the Satyashodhak Samaj carried the message of anti-caste, anti-Brahmanism throughout Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Goa, one of its offshoots was a strong peasant movement.

Gail Omvedt had written another book that is *Dalit Visions: The Anti-Caste Movement and the Construction of an Indian Identity* (2006). Kasinath. K. Kavlekar studied Non-Brahmin movement in southern India, Eugene F. Irschick wrote a book on *Politics and Social Conflict in South India: the Non-Brahmin movement and Tamil Separatism (1916-1929)*. M.S.Gore's *Non-Brahmin Movement in Maharashtra* (1989). Samya's *Towards a Non-Brahmin Millennium from lyotheeThass to Periyar* (1998). Non Brahmin Movement studied of within the framework of Political

Ideology. These researches are related to political process and Political Movement. Book of Bhausaheb Bandodkar was edited by Ramesh Kolvalkar it's a Political Biography of *Bhausaheb Bandodkar*. Parag Parabo's book on *India's First Democratic Revolution Dayanand Bandodkar and rise of the Bahujan in Goa* (2016). Jaysingrao Pawar's book on *Rashtravirkar Shamrao Desai Jivan aani Karya* (2016). Chhaya Powar's book *Vimalabai Bagal* (2014) it is biography of Vimalabai Bagal. *Bhai Dajiba Desai's Vichardhan* Volume I edited by N.D. Patil and Rajabhau Patil (2010). Shriram Gundekar's book *Satyashodhaki Sahityacha Itihas* (2010). Rosalind O'hanlon 's book *Caste, Conflict and Ideology Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in 19<sup>th</sup> Century western India* (2002). This literature discussed following points

1. Caste, Conflict and Ideology
2. Biography of NBM leaders
3. Low Caste Protest
4. Anti-caste, anti-Brahmanism movement
5. Dalit Vision

### **1.6 International Status**

The present topic is covered under Social movements. A social movement has international Phenomena. Social movement has been closely related to anti- racism, anti Caste Movement, anti gender discrimination, anti-brahminism, self respect movement, peasant welfare movement, dalit movement and so on. Therefore Social movement's core area is collective action, social change, common interest and equality. Hence this research project focused on domination of caste, class and gender. The ideology of dominance shown in the form of Racism, Casteism, Gender discrimination is studied in the present research project. And it is worldwide fact that various social movement throughout the world inter-related to each other. These areas are covered in this study, so that this study is a part of Global anti- racism, anti Castism and Gender discrimination. Power, Authority, legitimacy, Equality, Social Justice and Social Harmony are prevalent in worldwide, so this study focuses on universal concepts and ideas. Social Movement is foundation of democracy but the process of decline of Social Movements is the major challenge before the democracy in state, national and international level. The present study area "**Non-Brahmin Movement and R.N.Chavan**" covered three states (Maharashtra, Karnataka and

Goa) but this study is useful to understand the process of decline of Social Movements on national as well as global level.

### **1.7 National Status**

All Indian political parties were arisen through social movement therefore all political parties base was Social movements. The foundation of Political Parties declined in 1980s. It is the major national challenge, in this context the study is important. On this background, it is necessary to study the social movement of India. Non- Brahmin Movement Phenomena is national. The relationship between these patterns and legitimacy is a national phenomenon. Social movements provide legitimacy to political parties for politics. Therefore this study is important in the framework of electro-politics and political process at national level.

### **1.8 Significance of the Study**

1. This study is useful to understand the Non Brahmin Movement in India.
2. This study is useful to understand Contemporary Non Brahmin Movement in Western India.
3. This study is useful to understand the concept of Social Justice and Communal Harmony.
4. The study focuses on the Political Ideology of Contemporary Non-Brahmin Movement.
5. This study is useful to understand reasons behind the declination of Non-Brahmin Movement in Western India.

### **1.9 Objectives:**

1. To study the relation between Non-Brahmin Movement and R.N.Chavan.
2. To study the relation between Non-Brahmin Leader and Non-Brahmin Institutions.
3. To study the relation between Non-Brahmin Journalism and R.N.Chavan.
4. To study the relation between Non-Brahmin Ideology, Bahujan Ideology and Subaltern Idea in the framework of Social Justice.

### 1.10 Research Methods:

mixed research method are used for the present study. Following types of research methods are used:

1. Hermeneutics Method: Original Books are used for the study.
2. Interview Tool: 51 interviews are conducted for the study (Separate list of Interviewers are attached in the appendix)
3. Aggregate Data: Census Report and other government reports of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Goa states.
4. Concept and Idea: Social Justice, Bahujan Ideology, Subaltern Idea, Human Rights, Negative Rights, Gender Equality, Women Emancipation, Social Harmony and so on. With the help of these concepts the data is analyzed and interpreted.
5. Comparative Method: Idea of Subaltern is used, caste, class, gender is studied in the framework of comparison.

### 1.11 Scope of research

- a) Intellectual Foundation
- b) Caste, class and gender are one area of the area of research study.
- c) Literature of R. N. Chavan on NBM.
- d) NBM after independence

**Table 1.2 Scope of Research Method**

Sr.No.	Idea	Name of the State
1	Intellectual Foundation	Maharashtra, Karnataka, Goa.
2	<b>Peasant (Subaltern)</b>	<b>Maharashtra, Karnataka, Goa.</b>
	Dayanand Bandodkar's views on peasant	Goa
	Dajiba Desai's views on peasant	Karnataka
	Baba Adhav's views on project affected peasants	Maharashtra
	R.N.Chavan's views on peasant (Subaltern)	Maharashtra

<b>3</b>	<b>Caste issue (Subaltern)</b>	<b>Maharashtra and Goa.</b>
	R. N. Chavan's views on Caste system and Dalit	Maharashtra
	Baba Adhav's Views on Caste system and Dalit	Maharashtra
	Dayanand Bandhodkar and Rajaram Painginkar views on Gomantak Maratha Samaj	Goa
<b>4</b>	<b>Gender (Subaltern)</b>	<b>Maharashtra and Karnataka, Goa.</b>
	R. N. Chavan's Views on Women	Maharashtra
	Vimalbai Bagal's Views on Women	Maharashtra
	Chimanabai Gaikwad's views on Women	Gujarat
	Baba Adhav's Views on Women	Maharashtra
	Rajan Gavas's views on Anti- Devadasi Movement	Maharashtra and Karnataka
	Rajaram Painginkar views on Women Emancipation Movement	Goa

### 1.12 Outline of Chapter

The present research project is divided into seven chapters. First chapter deals with the Introduction and Research Methodology used in the study. Second chapter focuses on R. N. Chavan's short biography. Third chapter speaks about the Analysis of Intellectual contribution of R. N. Chavan. Forth chapter explains Non-Brahmin Movement as a 'Peasant Movement' in the Framework of Subaltern. Fifth chapter deals with Non-brahmin Movement and Caste in India. Sixth chapter is on the Gender Equality and last chapter concluding one. In this framework present research project has been presented.

## Chapter 2

### Non-Brahmin Movement and R. N. Chavan

R N Chavan was intellectual leader of new Non-Brahmin Movement (NBM), he was active in public life from 1936 to 1993. R N Chavan is an important figure, who has criticized old NBM (1818-1930). This chapter deals with the history of old NBM and biography of R. N. Chavan.

Non-Brahmin movement was a social and cultural fight in the nineteenth century occurred in Western and Southern India. It was a fight against the ideological hegemony of the traditional social order. With the formation of a "community of intellectuals", at regional level, an awareness was developed about of the traditional order, which could be fought with modern liberal ideas. The origin of modern liberal ideas was influenced by structure and superstructure (material, social and political) in British India. These ideas came up through different movements such as Satyashodhak Movement, Self-Respect Movement etc. A number of socio-cultural movements developed in the nineteenth century, which brought reforms to revive Indian traditional institutions and value system. History of these movements is explained in this chapter. NBM's ideology and demands under the leadership of Mahatma Jotiba Phule, Shahu Maharaj and Periyar Rama Swami Naykar are discussed in the historical framework. The relationship between ideologies and demand of those movements are interlinked with R. N. Chavan and with Contemporary NBM.

Casteism, which created inequality and social division, inhuman practices like untouchability, unequal status, Sati, Infanticide etc., was criticized with the help of new ideas of liberty, equality, fraternity, tolerance and human dignity. The educated middle class adopted the modern liberal values united in waging a series of social struggles, against caste inequality went with it and challenged social hierarchy. They also worked for the emancipation of women and Dalits by taking up issues like *Pardha* system, sati, Child marriages, Untouchability. Moreover, they focused on widow remarriages, education rights for female and Dalits, equal property rights to empower these excluded (Chavan, R. N., 2009: 13). Rationalism, humanism, feminism and universalism were the

important ideas used by the Non-Brahmin movement in nineteenth century (Chavan R. N. 2003: 43). It gave birth to self-critique on Hindu society, for example Jyotirao Phule, Tarabai Shinde, Vitthal Ramji Shinde, and Rajaram Painganikar In Western India, as these intellectual struggles were influenced by modern liberalism, those were against feudal ideology.

**Table No 2.1 : Non- Brahmin Movement**

Region	State	Leader
Western India	Maharashtra	Mahatma Phule, Shahu Maharaj
Western India	Gujarat	Sayajirao Gaikwad
Western India	Goa.	Rajaram Painganikar
Southern India	Andhra	Kandukari Veersalingam
Southern India	Tamil Nadu	E.V. Ramasami Naykar
Southern India	Karnataka	Aratal Rudragouda, S.T. Kambli, C. C. Hulkoti

## 2.1 CULTURAL CONFLICT IN WESTERN INDIA

According to Gail Omvedt; in Hindu system, cultural conflict is very harsh between Hindu and Non-Hindu. The original socio-cultural system in Maharashtra was governed by *Varnashrama dharma (varna System)*, that is the division of society into an unequal hierarchical order containing Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras (Gali Omvedt, 2011: 25). The social relations among all the Varnas and castes were governed by this stratification and were maintained by rules of pollution and purity. Brahmin caste was at the top in this stratification, taking many rights and privileges which maintained their social control over society by developing a religious ideology which legitimized many superstitions and inhuman ritual practices. At base of this system were the Ati-Shudras, who were away from education and were not granted any rights (Gali Omvedt, 2011: 27).

Hindus were majority in Maharashtra; Kunbi-Maratha caste cluster was in majority as compare to castes. Administrative power was dominated by them, it was part of state (Deshmukh, Deshpande, Patil, Kulkarni etc.), but administrative power was stratified with castes (Pawar Prakash, 2014: 24).. Therefore, it was fight within economic framework. However, the influence of the Brahminical ideology made them submissive

to the Brahmins. During the British India the Brahmins successfully adopted the new liberal education and dominated the colonial administration. The new intelligentsia therefore, came mostly from the already advanced Brahmin caste, occupying strategic positions as officials, professors, lower bureaucrats, writers, editors or lawyers and this class dominated the then civil society. The early radical reformers like Phule (1827-1890) tried for a revolutionary reorganization of the traditional culture and society. This was based on the principles of equality, liberty, fraternity and rationality. The later moderate reformers like M.G. Ranade, however, stated the need to return to the past traditions and culture with some essential modifications. It was the early radical tradition of Phule, which gave origin to the NBM in Maharashtra ( Vora Rajendra, Introduction, 2003: 11).

### **Mahatma Phule (1827-1890)**

Mahatma Phule was born in a Non-Brahmin family in Poona in 1827. His father was a gardener and a flower merchant. Phule could easily understand the problems of the Ati-Shudras, i.e., the untouchable and identify himself with them. He received initial education in a missionary school but had to discontinue it in 1833. An incident in 1848 turned Phule into a social revolutionary (Chavan R. N. 2003: 38). When he went to attend a Brahmin friend's marriage, some orthodox Brahmins disrespected him by calling him a Shudra and asked him to leave. This dishonor made Phule search for the roots of caste discrimination and the inhuman practice of untouchability based on pollution and purity (Chavan R. N. 2012: 5).

Phule was influenced by Thomas Paine's '*Right of Man*'. He had accepted the ideology of modern liberalism in the context of human rights and negative rights (Guha Ramchandra: 2011: 72). On the basis of this ideology, he criticized Hindu society and Hindu Literature. Phule studied the whole culture and tradition with the spirit of rationality and equality (Rosalind O'Hanlon, 1985: 32). While the principle of equality called for annihilation of the caste system, rejected patriarchal family structure; the principle of rationality demanded the removal of superstitions, ritualism and the traditional whole of cultural behavior. Phule's view point was complete rejection of the Hindu texts which sustained the iniquitous institutions such as the hierarchical caste system (Baba Adhav, 17/12/ 2017). He had radical views on social, religious, political and economic issues.

Mahatma Phule considered the caste system as an antithesis of the principle of human equality. The existing caste system reserved a continuous slavery for the Shudras, especially the untouchables. The untouchables were not allowed to walk on public places. Caste system was denied human rights because of this Mahatma Phule rebelled against the caste system. Phule rejected Hindu value system completely because Hindu religion justified and sanctioned caste based value system. He criticized idolatry, ritualism and priesthood, theory of Karma, rebirth and Heaven (Baba Adhav, 17/12/ 2017). Phule proposed alternative as monotheism (God is one and is impersonal).

Women and untouchables were the two worst sufferers in Hindu society. Phule argued that women's emancipation was linked with the liberation of other classes in society. He stated that Brahminism was responsible for keeping them uneducated and slaves. He turned to break the hold of the patriarchal family structure. Equality between classes as well as between men and women was pleaded by Phule (Baba Adhav, 17/12/ 2017).

Agrarian class was in the center place in Phule's thought. Being aware about the problems of agricultural laborers and small peasant cultivators, Phule supported them in their struggles. Phule demanded human rights and negative rights for agrarian class. This idea is concerned with welfare state (Pawar Prakash, 2014: 63).

In 1890's after the death of Mahatma Phule, Satyashodhak Movement was declined. Even though the movement was revived by Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur (1874-1922), with the establishment of Satya Shodhak Samaj in July 1913 at Kolhapur, it acquired an appearance. Shahu Maharaj supported the cause of non-Brahmin movement by starting educational institutions, hostels and scholarships for the students of the depressed classes. Between 1913 and 1922 he was also actively associated with several non-Brahmin caste conferences ( Ingawale Shobha, 2016: 234).

Under the leadership of Shahu Maharaj, the non-Brahmin movement passed to middle class leaders, who used it for their political gains. A major battle waged by Shahu Maharaj was for acquiring Kshatriya status within the *Varnashrama* for himself and his community. This was nothing but a betrayal of Phule's ideology which left the ati-shudra castes to their social degradation and poverty (Speech, Pansare Govind, 10 April 2012).

After 1918, with Montague-Chelmsford reforms, Shahu Maharaj, along with the Justice Party in Madras, used the movement for demanding special political representation for backward classes in the Councils (Speech, Pawar Jaysingrao, 10 April 2002). Thus the Satya Shodhak movement which was turned into Non-Brahmin Movement further got molded into a Political movement. Thus the emergence of political aspirations in Non-Brahmin society resulted in crises between Brahmin and Non-Brahmin elite class (Pawar Prakash, 2014: 4-5).

(1) It is argued by Gail Omvedt that the Brahmins, being a traditional literate caste, adapted themselves to the colonial system faster than Non-Brahmins and began to monopolize the opportunities in professions and bureaucracy. As a result, the non-Brahmins rose against this Brahmin monopoly.

(2) However, a deeper analysis of Jotiba Phule's social reforms by Rosalind O'hanlon reveals a wider consciousness of the system of caste inequalities and its relationship with the social subordination and material backwardness of the Shudras. Phule vehemently argued for a fundamental change in Shudras attitude towards their caste subordination. He established an ideological basis for a revolution in social and religious values.

(3) Satyashodhak Movement was totally shifted to NBM with its core values except *Varnashrama* system, Shahu Maharaj supported the Arya Dharma, though NBM has adopted different value system, he could able to retain NBM within the Hindu system only. This was special feature of NBM, where NBM got converted into system of a new base, but it retained the basic framework of Hindu system (Bhosale, D. T. Introduction, 2016: 29-30).

(4) Due to above reason NBM got merged into Indian National Congress (Speech, More Sadananda, 10 April 1998).

## **2.2 NBM IN SOUTHERN INDIA**

E.V. Ramasami Naicker (1879-1973) was leader of NBM. In the Madras presidency, society was having rituals dominated traditional hierarchy; they were superior to other castes. Traditionally being a literate caste, the Brahmins were dominating opportunities in professions and bureaucracy. This aroused the anger and

enmity of the Non-Brahmin communities, which in turn, resulted into emergence of NBM.

Tamil renaissance had resulted in the growth of Dravidian consciousness and its critical expression was the reason of emergence of NBM (K Nambi Arooran, 1980 and A Gangatharan, 2016: 29). Tamil classical works like *Pattupattu*, *Manimekalai*, *Silappatikaram*. Tamil scholar gave picture of classical Dravidian civilization, which was different from the Aryan and Sanskrit culture. Interestingly, the notion of independent existence of Tamil culture was first developed by a European scholar, Caldwell; this was later elaborated by Tamil Scholars (Eugene F. Irschick, 1969: 277) The non-Brahmin Tamil scholars also attempted to show that the Aryans had distorted the superior Dravidian religious systems like *Saiva Siddhanta* philosophy and imposed the teachings of the Vedas and the caste system on the South Indian people. It was this rediscovered distinct cultural identity, which expressed itself in the non-Brahmin movement after 1916.

E.V. Ramasami Naicker, commonly known as Periyar, was born in Erode (1879). He rebelled against the rules of caste purity and participated in inter-caste dining. He became a hero of Satyagraha at Vaikom, (Kerala). He supported the 'Harijans'. He went to the extent of advocating the burning of *Manu Dharma Shasfras* and *Ramayan*. He turned into a radical social reformer. In fact, Periyar resigned as Secretary of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee over an incident in which Brahmin and non-Brahmin eating facilities were segregated in a gurukul (school) run by congress (S. Muthiah, 2008: 376). He left the Congress in 1925. In 1927 he broke off even with Gandhi on the issue of *Varnashrama dharma* (Marguerite Ross Barnett, 1976: 38). After a visit to the Soviet Union, Periyar added his version of Marxism to the Dravidian ideology. In an article published in *KudiArasu*, in May 1933, he wrote that the correct path for the Self-Respect Movement was to "take as our problem the destruction of the cruelties of capitalists and the cruelties of religion, which is the only way to solve these problems" (Marguerite Ross Barnett, 1976: 38).

Periyar was against to religion and the supremacy of the Brahmins. He was critic on the caste system. He propagated the concept of right to equality and the basic dignity of all human beings. He was the only reformer, who extended his concept of equality and

human dignity to women. The Self-Respect Movement under Periyar sought to change the subordinate position of women in family and society (B. S. Chandrababu, L. Thilagavathi, 2009: 299). He attempted through his *KudiArasu* to popularize an ideology that allowed women the dignity which comes out of recognition of their freedom and autonomy in every field of life. Let us now take a closer look at Periyar's radical ideas. Periyar argued that *Shustras* went against rationalism. He held religion mainly responsible for the low social situation of non-Brahmin and women. The non-Brahmins were encouraged to do away with the services of priests in birth, death and marriage ceremonies. The self-respect marriages, without the Brahmin priest, had become popular in India. In such marriages, the groom and the bride took a simple vow that they accept each other as equal partners in life, exchanged garlands, and the elder's present blessed them. Interestingly several such marriages were inter caste marriages (Baba Adhav, 12/4/2016). Like Mahatma Phule, Periyar did not distinguish between caste and religion. He argued that, Social disparity, structured by the caste system.

### **2.3 NBM in Andhra:**

Kandukuri Veersalingam was leader of NBM in Andhra Pradesh. In Andhra, *Brahmanetharodyamamu*, which literally means the movement launched by those other than the Brahmins, was basically for cultural reform and social uplift of the non-Brahmins like *Kammas*, *Reddis*, *Balijs* and *Velamas* (K. K. Kavalekar, 1979: 89). These peasant groups, with their substantial landownership and economic dominance, lacked modern English education or the traditional ritual status on the basis of which they could claim a high social status in society. They were against the Brahmin monopoly over ritual status and the government jobs. This movement had its origin in their perceived sense of cultural deprivation. Non-Brahmin section of the landowning and rich upper class suffered on account of being clubbed into a Shudra category by the Brahmins (K. K. Kavalekar, 1979: 89). Some specific incidents acted as a stimulus for the movement. It was alleged that the Brahmin teachers denied *Kamma* students the right to study the Vedas. At Kothavaram village, Krishna district, the Brahmins protested against the use of suffix "Chowdary" in the place of "Dasa" by members of the Kamma caste. In Krishna district the Brahmins filed a registered notice that the Kammas should not be allowed to

study Sanskrit. At Amritalur, Kamma students were driven away by Brahmins. They were enraged by the presence of Shudras who, they thought, had no right to hear the Vedas. Tripuraneni Ramaswamy Chowdary (1887-1943), a prominent non-Brahmin leader, refers to several such incidents. In one incident he was rebuffed for his interest in literature, by Brahmin teachers who remarked, "You are a Shudra. It would be a sin for you to write verse. Sanskrit is the language of the Gods. It is a great crime for a Shudra to learn it". It was this social and cultural environment which strengthened the self-respect movement, especially with an event like the one that which occurred at Kollur in 1916 (Baba Adhav, 17 /12/2017).

The ideas developed by leaders like Tripuraneni were almost similar to the basic ideas put forward by Phule and Periyar. Tripuraneni challenged the authority of the sacred texts. He argued that as aliens the Aryans had imposed their socio-cultural and religious system on the indigenous Dravidians. The caste system, which was sustained by religion, was the handiwork of Aryans. The non-Brahmin leaders also highlighted the fact that, even though a minority group, the Brahmins had monopolized Western education, jobs and professions. They demanded the "non-Brahmanisation of services". The self-respect movement in the 1920s and 30s played a vital role in developing inter-caste (non-Brahmins) dinners, inter-caste widow marriages and modern education. In this attempt at breaking the social and ritual domination of the Brahmins there emerged caste politics and non-Brahmin political awareness. At a general level, the bulk of non-Brahmin intellectual and peasant classes supported the national movement. Tripuraneni, for instance, was a well-known nationalist (Baba Adhav, 17 /12/2017).

#### **2.4 NBM in Karnataka:**

Aratal Rudragouda was the leader of NBM in Karnataka. S. T. Kambli and C. C. Hulkoti were also supporters of NBM (Shankaragouda Hanamantagouda Patil, 2002: 112). The Vokkaligas, two dominant castes in Karnataka, had suffered sub-divisions before being listed as a single unified caste. This categorization, argue some historians, provided the leaders of the non-Brahmin movement with a significant base for collective mobilization (Myron Weiner, 2001: 198). Serious solidarity efforts were also made internally by different caste associations. The Lingayats established the Mysore Lingayat

Education Fund Association in 1905, while the Vokkaligas formed the Kokkaligara Sangha in 1906 (Shankaragouda Hanamantagouda Patil, 2002: 128). However, it was the non-Brahmin movement, which provided this caste association's with a common platform, and held these social groups together.

The non-Brahmin movement in Karnataka took its birth around 1918 and it was spearheaded by Vokkaligas and Lingayats. A delegation of non-Brahmin leaders called on the Maharaja of Mysore in 1918 and protested against the discrimination practiced against non-Brahmins. This resulted in the appointment of a committee headed by Sir Leslie Miller, who submitted his report in 1919. On the recommendation of Miller, the Government passed an order for an equitable communal representation in the public service (Jan Peter Schouten, 1995: 76).

## **2.5 New NBM in Maharashtra and R. N. Chavan:**

NBM (1818- 1936) is termed as old NBM, whereas NBM after 1936 is termed as new NBM. Old NBM is divided into two categories, first is Intellectual Category Movement and the other is Movement of Masses. Political Process occurred due to the intellectual category only (Shahu Maharaj and Sayajirao Gaikwad). Intellectuals like Mahatma Phule, V. R. Shinde, Kruishnrao Arjunrao Keluskar, Rajaramshastri Bhagwat, Bhagwatrao Palekar contributed the old NBM culturally. These all contributions have positively impacted New NBM, Old NBM was having contradictions in it, and New NBM has criticized those contradictions (R N Chavan, Dr. Baba Adhav), New NBM developed in such a way that, it has brought agenda of Social Change. E.g. Emancipation of women, Dalit and Peasant, originally in old NBM this agenda of not successful at mass level, but was successful at a policy level (Kolhapur and Baroda Princely states). Whereas policies and demands of organization originated from new NBMs were successful at Policy making level as well as mass level.

Late R. N. Chavan was one of the honest & prominent twentieth century social reformer and thinker-writers in Maharashtra. He was born on 29th October, 1913 at wai the taluka place which comes under Satara District. Wai was known then as a place for learning & traditional hindu idolatory worship place. "Sanatan Dharma" was followed

then. In such place R. N. Chavan's father Narayanrao Chavan started the Satyashodhak Samaj in Wai in 1920 (Kulkarni Satish, Daily Eakya, 16/4/1993). In the childhood he was brought up in the atmosphere of social change & upliftment of masses movement. He was influenced by the Satyashodhak ideology of human welfare. Prevalent untouchability agitated his mind, upto age of 20, while pursuing his studies; he mastered the philosophy of Mahatma Phule. However, he did not like the need of haltering the particular class to gain social change. Fortunately, he came in contact with Maharshi V. R. Shinde who founded the Wai Brahmo Samaj in 1933 (Kulkarni Satish, Daily Eakya, 16/4/1993). His father & entire Chavan family associated with the establishment of wai Brahmo Samaj & Prarthana Samaj in Wai. This enlightenment movement paved the path of true worship of one God & equality before the God. R. N. Chavan was closely associated with the work of such institutions in Wai such as Shivaji Library, The Brahmo Samaj & Vasant Vyakhyanmala (series of lectures). He grew reach intellectually in the company of Maharshi V. R. Shinde & became his disciple. This association transformed him. He made reading & writing his vocation. In 1936, he wrote his first article on 'The Brahmo Dharma & Bahun Samaj' in Subodh Patrika of Bombay. Article was praised by Maharshi V. R. Shinde who advised him to write for the masses & the rest of his life, he devoted his life for this cause (Laxmanshastri Joshi, Daily Sakal 18/4/1993).

He made the study of almost all the intellectual trends in the country. It was he who persuaded Laxmanshastri Joshi to write an essay on Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, the great 19th century social reformer, in 1947; it was he who drafted its manuscript & wrote introduction to the books on 10th November 1947. His association with Tarkatirth Laxmanshastri Joshi continued till death (Ramesh Chavan, 15/4/2016).

He was most honest & pioneering social reformer & thinker-writer in the Protestant Movement. He focused the social transformation & integration by his consistent writings, thinking & leadership. He traced the multi-dimensional progress of the society & this was the main stream of his thoughts. The four important aspect of his thought are reading, introspection, thinking & writing. He believed that society could achieve the difficult goal of multi dimensional progress through education, spread of education & educational awakening. He has written assiduously & minutely to appeal to practice the humanity as well as social & political values. His strived by writing to remove the evils & demerits

from the established society. He was mainly preoccupied with the socio-historical background of the Enlightenment, the analysis of intellectual pursuits of social reformers in Maharashtra, the comparative of analysis of different reforms movement & social reformers, the greatness of work of the saints, the analysis of the rise, development, nature & function of religious thoughts etc (Laxmanshastri Joshi, Daily Sakal 18/4/1993).

R. N. Chavan became through & deliberative thinker for the uplifting the masses & pragmatic reformer. Throughout his 60 years (1933 to 1993) of his life span he soared as a free bird with subtle understanding only in reading, pondering-contemplating & writing.

R. N. Chavan vivid writings in many fields like social, historical, cultural, political & religious show his tremendous capacity of a progressive researcher. This farmer's son who became a researcher & profile writer, had extensively & deeply studied the social movement in Maharashtra. He has written extensively on Mahatma Phule, Rajarshi Shahu Maharaj, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Yashwantrao Chavan & also on Dalit Chalval (Movement). He has written more than 1500 articles in noted Marathi journals & newspapers. He made a significant contribution to the dissemination of democratic values of social equality and social and economic justice. He devoted his entire life to explore the significance of different social, religious and political movements that emerged before and after Indian Independence (Ravindra Chavan, 3/5/2016).

R. N Chavan used to write many articles in very simple language. He rejected the traditional social order and proposed changes in existing order through his writings. In 1936, he published his first article on “The Brahmo Dharma and the Bahujan Samaj” in *Subodh Patrika*. He was a prolific thinker-writer. He wrote several articles on different social movements and the associated leadership in the modern era (1818 to 1993). He made a very valuable contribution to the Enlightenment Movement in India. R. N. Chavan’s writings were scattered in the form of articles. After his death, Chavan Family established ‘*R. N. Chavan Pratishtan*’. This organisation has been collecting his writings. Some of his articles have been published in the form of books in Marathi. Ramesh Chavan and Vaishali Chavan have edited and published thirty-six books so far. According to Ramesh Chavan, some of the Chavan’s literature available in Wai (Place in Satara district) which remained unpublished (Interview, Ramesh Chavan, 17<sup>th</sup> December

2017). All writing is related to Bahujan society. Idea of Bahujan Society is board according to R. N. Chavan. He includes many social factors in the Bahujan society. R. N. Chavan's writing focused mainly on backward classes (Interview, Ravindra Chavan, 2<sup>nd</sup> June of 2017). Therefore, his writing focuses on social reforms, education, religion, culture, history, historical heroes, social structure and its relations to politics of India. He demanded human rights and negative rights only for first and second generation through his writings. From his literature, he claimed positive rights for third generation in India. Positive rights' claim is in hidden form (Interview, Vaishali Chavan, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2017).

Chavan said that Karmveer Bhaurao Patil was Non-Brahmin leader and he worked in the field of education. He established Rayat Educational institute and through this institute he gave education to Non-Brahmin. This institution is the means of development of Non-Brahmin and Dalits. Chavan said that, Patil used the word 'Rayat' from Phule's book of Slavery. In this books introductory part, the word Rayat was used. Rayat means common masses. Chavan said Patil's major contribution is awaking of masses through education and self sufficiency. Chavan said that Bhaurao accepted the three principles of Satyashodhak Samaj. 1) He refused the concept of Middle Man. 2) Man's qualification is decided on the basis of his qualities not on birth.3) All has equal right of education. There should not be social discrimination. Chavan said that Bahuroao was participated in the movement of removal of the Untouchability. He opened the Shahu boarding to Dalit and tried to establish the unity or social harmony between the touchable and untouchables. He continued the legacy of Shahu Maharaj and V.R. Shinde to remove the untouchablity. Chavan argued that, Bahuroao Patil was not born in dalit family but he was the close friend to the leaders of pre-Ambedkarite dalits (Chavan Sharad (ed.), 1987: 28-49).

## **2.6 Shift of Old NBM to New NBM:**

Keshavrao Jedhe was a significant leader of the Non-Brahmin movement. He was shifted NBM to Congress and PWP. Though, he was born in rich, high-status family and having glorious historical traditions, he fights against injustice. His house "Jedhe Mansion" proved to be his early training school for him. He received inspiration, guidance and encouragement from Rajarshi Shahu Maharaj, Maharshi Shinde and

Baburao Jedhe. After death of Shahu Maharaj in 1922, he assumed leadership of the NBM. He was a major leader of this movement. He spent twelve years of his life for the NBM. He fought against Brahmin conservatism and being the leader of the NBM he always attempted to implement the Satyashodhak ideals of social justice and social equality. His role as a Non-Brahmin member of Pune Municipality was remarkable; he proposed that Mahatma Phule's statue to be installed at a public place in Pune. He took part in Harijan Satyagraha, Mahad Satyagraha and Parvati Satyagraha organized by Dalits. Jedhe was not satisfied with the internal politics within the council and was not happy with council of Non-Brahmin party so he left it and joined the national movement. He drove N.B Peasant masses that were living in the rural area of Maharashtra into the freedom movement. He was also responsible for winning the NB masses to the congress side. Jedhe championed the cause of the peasants.

Jedhe's first priority was to solve problems of the peasants. The major focus of his social service was the service of peasants and workers. He devoted all his life for the welfare of the peasants and workers since 1915, he then organized and awakened peasants. He attended and addressed to peasant conferences. In Nasik, peasant workshop was organized, where he spoke on the peasant problems and advised the peasants to eradicate illiteracy and their backwardness. He said that farmers should celebrate festivals only as per their financial capacity and they should not celebrate festivals by borrowing debts. He stated that the country cannot register true progress without achieving farmer's progress (Nalavade Vijay, 1997:120). He was accountable for organizing a strong peasant organization to protest against the Anti-small Holding Bill and land tax increase proposed by the Bombay provincial government. In 1948, he laid down the foundation of the Peasant and Workers Party. Within six years, he realized that PWP has failed to achieve its objectives and he left the PWP and re-entered Congress in 1954, his role in the agitations for the Goa liberation and for the formation of Unified Maharashtra was significant. He led the Goa Vimochan Samiti (Goa liberation committee) for some period (Nalavade Vijay, 1997:216-224). Jedhe maintained healthy relationship with different sections of the society by his constant tours; he associated himself with PremaKantak's work of awakening women. In May, 1946 Prema Kantak had organized womens symposium in her Ashram at Saswad in Pune district. The Jedhe presided over the

valedictory function of symposium (Nalavade Vijay, 1997:120). In 1927 Sir Chunilal Mehta, then Home Minister of Bombay Presidency, introduced the 'Small Holding Bill' in the legislature. This was against the interests of the peasants, immediately after this bill, the government proposed an increase in the land tax. Keshavrao launched an agitation against these two decisions. On 25<sup>th</sup> July, 1928, Jedhe brothers convened at Pune the Bombay Presidency Peasants Conference. A Morcha (demonstration) of about 5000 peasants was taken to the Council Hall in Poona. Keshavrao had himself organized a number of meetings in Poona district to protest against the proposed increase in the land tax, because of opposition from all political parties and the agitation the government withdrew the small holding bill. All the expenses towards the peasant's conference in Poona were born by Jedhe brothers. Keshavrao used to provide boarding and lodging facilities to many peasants visiting 'Jedhe Mansion'. He also helped them to remove their difficulties. The peasant community in Maharashtra had always been following Jedhe because of his unselfish service to the peasant cause.

### **Conclusion**

NBM started in western and southern India. Basically it was social and cultural movement, against to cultural Hegemony of Upper caste. But its nature shifted in 1936 and it was active as Political Movement. In Maharashtra, R. N. Chavan was follower of NBM, he interpreted NBM's Social, Religious, Political ideology. After 1936, NBM was shift in Political Movement, because it was New NBM. Keshavrao Jedhe and Dajiba Desai were main examples of that shift.

## Chapter- 3

### R. N. Chavan's Contribution

#### Introduction:

R. N. Chavan (1913 to 1993) contributed to Non-Brahmin Movement (NBM). R. N. Chavan has written short biographies of NBM leaders e.g. Vithal Ramji Shinde, Shahu Maharaj, Keshavrao Jedhe, Bhaurao Patil, Bapujirao Salunkhe, Dajiba Desai, Shamrao Desai, Rajaramshastri Bhagwat, etc. He has written on few of the movements associated with NBM e.g. peasant movement, self-respect Movement, Dalit Movement and Women Emancipation Movement. His contemporary social activist contributed to NBM and also given noticeable contributions to NBM in Western India. He has presented several articles on subalterns in various journals as well as news papers. His intellectual contribution to NBM is reviewed in this chapter.

#### 3.1 R.N. Chavan's Writings:

R. N Chavan used to write many articles in very simple language. He rejected the traditional social order and proposed changes in existing order through his writings. In 1936, he published his first article on “*The Brahmo Dharma and the Bahujan Samaj*” in *SubodhPatrika*. He was a prolific writer. He wrote several articles on different social movements and the associated leadership in the modern era (1818 to 1993). He made a very valuable contribution to the Enlightenment Movement in India. R. N. Chavan's writings were scattered in the form of articles. After his death, Chavan Family established ‘R. N. Chavan Pratishtan’ (Interview Ravindra Chavan, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2017). This organisation has been collecting his writings. Some of his articles have been published in the form of books in Marathi (Interview Ravindra Chavan, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2017). Ramesh Chavan and Vaishali Chavan have edited and published thirty-six books so far. According to Ramesh Chavan, some of Chavan's literature available in Wai (Satara district) which remained unpublished (Interview, Ramesh Chavan, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017). All writing is related to Bahujan society and social Justice. Idea of Bahujan Society is board according to R. N. Chavan. He includes many ideas of social justice in the Bahujan

society. R. N. Chavan's writing focused mainly on backward classes (Interview, Ravindra Chavan, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2017). Therefore, his writing focuses on social reforms, education, religions reforms, culture, Subaltern reforms, history, historical heroes, social structure and its relations to politics of India. He demanded human rights and negative rights only for first and second generation through his writings. From his literature, he claimed positive rights for third generation in India. Positive rights' claim is in hidden form (Interview, Vaishali Chavan, 14<sup>th</sup> April 2016, Ramesh Kolwalkar 10<sup>th</sup> May 2016, Rajabhau Patil 6<sup>th</sup> May 2016).

### **3.2 Books and Publications:**

R. N. Chavan started writing during 30's but his socially impactful writing started in 40's. R. N. Chavan's writing includes *Sulabh Lagna Sanska rVidhi (1946)*, *Gostirup Santa Charitra mala (1951)*, *'Satyashodhak' Jotirao Phule (1952)*, *Mahatma Jotirao Phule krut Sarvajanic Satyadharmasar (1973)*, *Maharshi Vitthal Ramji Shinde Yanchya Kahi Athwani(1975)*, *R. N. Chavan-Nivdak Vangmaya(1986)*, *Karmveer Bhaurao Patil-Shodhani Bodh(1987)*, *R. N. Chavan Vichardarshana(1987)*, *R. N. Chavan Akshar Shradhanjali – Pushpa Pahile (1994)*, *Janajagaran (1995)*, *Sevita Ha Rasa, Vatito Anika (Vol-1)(1996)*, *Sevito Ha Rasa, Vatito Anika (Vol-2)(1997)*, *Sevito Ha Rasa, Vatito Anika (Vol-3)(1998)*, *Prabodhan (1999)*, *Parivartanachi Kshitije(1999)*, *Maharshi Vithal Ramji Shinde-ShodhVa Bodh(2001)*, *Loknete Rajarshi Shahu Maharaj: Kal Ani Karya (2002)*, *R. N. Chavan YancheVichardhan (2003)*, *Mahatma Phule- ShodhVa Bodh (2004)*, *Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar- ShodhVa Bodh (2005)*, *Satyashodhakachi Chintanika (2006)*, *Shakakarte Raja Shivchatrapati(2007)*, *Mahatma Phule Yanche Navadarshan-Ek Toulanik Abhyas (2008)*, *Mahatma Phule, Satyashodhak Samaj VaSamajik Prabhodhan (2009) etc.*

He wrote more than 1000 articles in prestigious Marathi journals and news papers such as *Subodh Patarika*, *Lokrajya*, *Sadhana*, *Asmita Darshan*, *Nav-bharat*, *Deenbandhu*, *Rashtraveer*, *Gavgada*, *Maratha*, *Satyashodhak*, *Jagruti*, *Yugkarta*, *Krantisinha*, *Shivaner*, *KamgarJagat*, *Sakal*, *Pudhari*, *Satara Samacharetc* (Interview, Ramesh Chavan, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017). In 1994, right from the first Death Anniversary, the Chavan family inaugurated the tradition of "Akshar Shradhanjali" (A tribute in the

form of Writings). They have edited and published 36 volumes from his writings till April 10<sup>th</sup>, 2018. Upcoming volume named '*Hindu, Hindutva ani Hindu Sanghatan*' will be published in September 2018 (Interview, Ramesh Chavan, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

### **3.3 Style of Writing:**

Like a researcher, R. N. Chavan aimed at reaching the rootcauses of different urgent problems; he sought truth and expressed his analysis using illustrations. His personality was enriched by subtle power of observation, versatility and avid book reading; it was characterized by analytical process of reason and sense of balance; his writings were similarly characterized by sense of control and sense of synthesis (Interview, Pandit Tapre, 16<sup>th</sup> September 2017). R. N. Chavan's style was characterized by moderation, balanced attitude, comparative perspective and revolutionary sense, sense of objectivity, disinterestedness and pure reason (Interview, Baba Adhav, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2016). R. N. Chavan was staunch supporter of 'Satyashodhak' ideology; he died on April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1993. The tributes paid by nearly ninety thinkers and scholars from Maharashtra after his death bear witness to the influence of his unique personality on the twentieth century intellectual life in Maharashtra (Speech, Sadananda More, 10<sup>th</sup> April 1998).

### **3.4 Research Methodology:**

Methodology of R. N. Chavan's writings was dialectic. His literature depends upon synthesis process. Therefore, his research methodology is similar to Neo Marxism. Structure and superstructure have influenced each other, according to R. N. Chavan, structure and superstructure is not independent but they are dependent upon each other (Pawar P.R., Introduction, 2015: 14). R. N. Chavan analyzed superstructure and his writings focused on relationship between structure and superstructure. According to him, superstructure has an active impact in the field of social change. Following points are superstructure in his writings.

1) Social Leaders are important part of superstructure. R.N.Chavan wrote on many leaders, his inspiration of writing was related to social change and limitations of leadership. Idea of leadership is focused on social change for example – Gautam Budha,

Shivaji Maharaj, V. R. Shinde, Karmveer Bhaurao Patil, Rajarshi Shahu Maharaj, Rajaramshashtri Bhagwat, Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar, Yashwantrao Chavan, etc (Interview, Satish Kulkarni, 16<sup>th</sup> September 2017).

2) Idea of R. N. Chavan dealt with superstructure. He identified many new ideas, as well as modified old ideas for example – Idea of Satyashodhak, idea of religion, idea of social harmony, idea of *bahujan*, etc( Speech, Ashok Chosalker, 10<sup>th</sup> April 2017).

3) R. N. Chavan’s argument of education was depending upon relationship between structure and superstructure. He argued education is a way of social change. Education is means of cultural change and process (Speech, Sadanand More, 10 April 1998, Interview, Satish Kulkarni, 16<sup>th</sup> September 2017).

4) Media is important part of superstructure. Newspaper and journal are related to media. He hadwritten many articles in Non-Brahmin Newspapers and Journals. Media is a part of culture; hence R. N. Chavan’s work is related to cultural change. In this sense media is part of research methodology by R. N. Chavan ( Speech, Naganath Kothapalle, 10 April 2013).

5) Intellectual analysis is a part of research methodology. R. N. Chavan was active in intellectual activity. His intellectual activities dealt with social movement, cultural movement, educational movement, religious movement etc. it means that it is a cultural angle of analysis. He collected many intellectual facts and presented in his articles, books and social movement (Interview, Satish Kulkarni, 16<sup>th</sup> September 2017).

### **3.5 R.N.Chavan’s writings about NBM:**

R. N. Chavan’s writings focused on Non-Brahmin leaders for exampleV. R. Shinde, Shahu Maharaj, Sayajirao Gaikwad, Rajaramshastri Bhagwat who were intellectual leaders of NBM. R. N. Chavan had written many articles on these leaders(Interview, Ramesh Chavan, 17<sup>th</sup>December 2017). Articles are collected by Ramesh Chavan and published in the form of book.

### **V. R. Shinde**

1) V. R. Shinde was an intellectual leader of NBM. R. N. Chavan was inspired by V. R. Shinde.Four books have been edited by Ramesh Chavan about V. R. Shinde as *Vithal*

*Ramji Shinde-Shodh Va Bodh (2001), Maharshi Vitthal Ramji Shinde ek Darshan (Volume 1), Maharshi Vitthal Ramji Shinde ek Darshan (Volume 2) and Maharshi Vitthal Ramji Shinde Yanchya Kahi Athwani (1975) (Interview, Pandit Tapare, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2016).*

2) *Gostirup Santa Charitramala (1951)*: Bhagwat movement was deeply influenced on NBM. Idea of *Sant* is related to Bhagvat religion movement (Interview, Vaishali Chavan, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2017). Bhagvat religion was revolt against to exploitation and it is one of the cultural factors of research method.

3) Idea of Satyashodhak is tremendously influenced on NBM. He wrote a book '*Satyashodhak*' *Jotirao Phule (1952), Mahatma Jotirao Phule krut Sarvajanik Satyadharmasar(1973)*: idea of Satyashodhak implies creation of Knowledge. Objective of Knowledge is to change social order and restructure the society on the basis of liberty, equality and fraternity. This idea includes cultural factor.

4) Education movement was emerged under the NBM. Bhaurao Patil was main leader of NBM. R. N Chavan wrote book entitled *Karmveer Bhaurao Patil-Shodhani Bodh (1987)*.

5) R. N. Chavan was written many books related to NBM for example *Vichardarshana (1987), R. N. Chavan Akshar Shradhanjali – Pushpa Pahile (1994), Janajagaran(1995), Sevito Ha Rasa Vatito Anika-Bhag- 1(1996), Sevito Ha Rasa, Vatito Anika-Bhag-2 (1997), Sevito Ha Rasa, Vatito Anika-Bhag-3 (1998), Prabhodhan (1999), Parivartanchi Kshitija (1999), R. N. Chavan Yanche Vichardhan (2003), Mahatma Phule Shodh Va Bodh (2004), Dr.Babasaheb Ambedkar–ShodhVa Bodh (2005), Satyashodhakachi Chintanika (2006), Shakakarte Shri Raja Shivchatrapati (2007)*. R. N. Chavan explains ideology and history of NBM through these different books. (Interview, Ramesh Dubal, 17<sup>th</sup> September 2017, Ravi Patil, 10 April 2018).

### **3.6 Important Thoughts:**

It must be admitted that R. N. Chavan was the first person, who did the most valuable work of exposing cultural conspiracy of the elites of isolating the Dalit Community (the Depressed Classes) from Bahunjan Samaj (the Other Backward Classes); he did this by his constant expression of the view that there is no absolute dualism

between Mahatma Phule and Shahu Chhatrapati. R. N. Chavan was one of the socialist who showed that Mahatma Phule's 'Satyashodhak' movement was not simply aimed at the struggle against the domination of the caste system and priest craft, but unleashed the battle of emancipation for empowering the masses in the fields of education, religion, economy, morality, literature, agriculture, science, industry, politics, etc (Interview, Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017). R. N. Chavan highlighted the role played by Shahu Chhatrapati in reviewing the 'Satyashodhak' movement which became dormant after the death of Mahatma Phule and in performing the actual implementation of Mahatma Phule's ideology of equality and freedom ( Interview, Shivaji Patil, 17<sup>th</sup> September 2017, Shiriram Gundekar, 10/12/2016).

R. N. Chavan was the person who found out the source of two different movements viz. the Non-Brahmin Movement and the Dalit Movement in the lack of a programme for the Depressed Classes in the 'Satyashodhak' Movement after Phule's death though the movement spread across Maharashtra. Expressing his strong opposition to polytheism and theories of incarnations, he propounded the radical and progressive view of throwing off idolatry from Hinduism. His religious thought demanded the synthesis of four qualities of philosophy, ethics, conduct and reason in the concept of religion. Although R. N. Chavan strongly believed that every movement, party or organization created on the basis of caste distinctions was harmful to social and national integration and progress, he recommended the implementation of the report of the Mandal Commission by calling it a means of transforming the social structure. Taking a step further, he even justified the partiality to the Dalits and Untouchables in granting justice and rights (Interview, Nitin Birmal, 15/8/ 2016, Kiran Survase, 20<sup>th</sup> October 2017).

R. N. Chavan explained relation between politics and social change. He was the one who draw attention to the fact that the problem of the Dalits had become political and economic; that forced Dr. Ambedkar to initiate a separate movement, but today there is a need to throw off dissociation between the upper and lower castes; and it was power-oriented politics of the new leadership from the Bahujan Samaj which remained responsible for the adverse and orthodox attitude of the people in the villages towards the untouchables (Interview, Vinay Kamble, 18<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

Although R. N. Chavan's style is characterized by restraint and balance, it never compromises with basic ideology. On one hand he repeatedly claimed that Samartha Ramdas was never a Guru of Shivaji the Great but frankly admits that Ramdas's *Dasbodh* is a significant contribution for its spiritual guidance on matter of devotion and acquiring knowledge. His fearlessness is reflected in his strong suggestion that there is no point in harping upon the old 'Satyashodhak' practice of trivializing Ramdas simply for him being a Brahmin. R. N. Chavan's writings aim at maintaining social values; it will definitely enable students, researchers, scholars, thinkers to maintain objectivity and reason while doing research in social sciences (Interview, Nitin Birmal, 15/8/ 2016, Sanjoyat Apte, 12<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

### **3.7 Relevance of R. N. Chavan:**

Tarkateerth Laxmanshastri Joshi explained importance and relevance of R. N. Chavan's writing. "R. N. Chavan has taken cognizance of the period of 150 years during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from the historical, cultural, social, political and intellectual points of view. His writings reveal the presence of pure feelings without any egoism. These feelings provide a source inspiration to the ideology of logically pure philosophy and idealism. There is no outburst of feelings; there is no excitement; though he hated old blind practices, the objectivity and reason of his writing style has not been marred by this hatred (Chavan R.N.,1994:22). This is the unique characteristic of R. N. Chavan," says Tarkateerth Laxmanshastri Joshi in one of his introductions to R. N. Chavan's writings.

Chavan examined different problems such as the problems of caste system, removal of untouchability, conversions, abolition of superstitions such as idolatry, charlatanry, the theory of incarnation, blind adherence to the written words etc. and suggested solutions to these problems. R. N. Chavan's political thought dealt with individuals, institutions, movements, the society, the state and the nation. He examined the role of power, leadership and politics of different social reform movements in Maharashtra, the relationship between religion and power, political concepts, values and ideologies, the politics for the masses, etc. He was exceptionally concerned with human oppression in terms of caste, religion, sex, race, language, and bringing in human welfare

(Interview, Vaishali Chavan, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2017). He aimed to spread awareness of knowledge in order to achieve the all-round development of society.

R. N. Chavan made a significant contribution to the dissemination of democratic values of social equality and social and economic justice. R. N. Chavan devoted his entire life to explore the significance of different social, religious and political movements that emerged before and after Indian Independence. He fought his battle for the spread of democratic values such as freedom, equality, justice and fraternity; he worked hard to carry forward the ideology of Mahatma Phule, Rajarshi Shahu Maharaj and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar which gave importance to human values and rights to the masses, especially to the depressed and the suppressed classes (Interview, Vinay Kamble, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

R. N. Chavan insisted that people of all religions should take precaution to ensure communal harmony; he advocated that education and democracy should be means of national integration and creation of an entirely new and different nation. Public opinion has a decisive and sovereign power in democracy; it is the primary duty of all social workers to make it perceptive and powerful. R. N. Chavan drew comparison between the life of Shivaji the Great who put his life at risk for securing political freedom and the life of Mahatma Phule who struggled hard to abolish religious, social and economic slavery of the masses; he differentiated between politics and religion and strongly condemned the interference of religion in politics. His emphasis was on moral a value which is quite relevant today (Interview, Praveen Gaikwad, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2017).

R. N. Chavan continuously supported the progressive ideology. Citizens in Wai were divided in two groups, one is progressive and other is conservative. So he decided to live with progressive group (Speech, Sadanand More, 10 April 1998, Interview, Pandit Tapre, 16<sup>th</sup> September 2017). He observed a sense of control and balance in his writings. He became the father figure of the masses for his devotion to the uplift of the depressed classes, the emancipation of women and the unity of the communities. The members of the elite class enjoyed satisfaction in defaming the leaders of the masses and the social reformers. Against this background, R. N. Chavan's reflection on the enlightenment has casted its spell on the minds of the common readers.

He never adopted the casteist position of the “protector” of the masses and the “destroyer” of the elites. It happened because of his sense of proportion that he studied Tukaram’s *Gatha* on the one hand and Ramdas’s *Dasbodh* on the other, Mahatma Phule’s *Shetkaryancha Asud* on the one hand and Lokhitawadi’s *Shatapatre* on the other (Interview, Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017). Thus, R. N. Chavan’s thought and work will prove very helpful for the revival and cultivation of rational, constructive and healthy traditions in Maharashtra.

### **3.8 The Ideology of R. N. Chavan:**

The Ideology of R. N. Chavan had a five points these are as:

- 1) The collective thoughts of R.N.Chavan are called ‘Ranavad’ (Ranaism) three generations in Maharashtra were termed R.N.Chavanas Rana. The word Rana originates from Ramchandra and Narayan (Ramchandra himself and Narayan his father). His thoughts are famous in Maharashtra as a Rana. Ranavad includes the influence of Narayan Chavan, (Father of R.N.Chavan) and the influence his son Ramesh Chavan who edited all the literature of R.N.Chavan. The bunch of jointed thought of Narayan, Ramchandra and Ramesh is called Ranavad (Chavan R.N., Prakash Pawar, Introduction, 2015:13).
- 2) After independence Rana explained Maharashtra Politics in social and cultural framework. Social and cultural reforms after 1970 are also one aspect of Ranavad (Chavan R.N. Prakash Pawar, Introduction, 2015:13).
- 3) The thought of Ranavad was developed in social and religious philosophy in the period of eighteenth and nineteenth century. So Ranavad discussed the principals of modern liberalism, modernity. Thesis, anti thesis and synthesis are the core of this thought and it implies through renaissance, social democracy, social justice, Satyashodhak Samaj, Pratanasamaj, Brahma samaj, Non-Brahmin movement and Dalit movement. Ranavad discussed the social issues within the framework of Hindu (Hinduism); from those movements the process of synthesis was taken place. When Ranavad was discussed in the framework of hindu, then Ranavad was also Hindu. Although R. N. Chavan was Hindu, he and his Ranavad criticised idea of hindutva. Ranavad interpreted the idea of Hindutva as to accept the

harmony, multiculturalism and populist (Prakash Pawar, Introduction, 2015:14). Hindutva was against these principles. The Ranavad doesn't glorify the traditions. The Hindu identity comes from Ranavad is different from the Hindu identity that comes from Hindutva (Interview, Ramesh Chavan, 1<sup>st</sup> May 2017).

- 4) He classified concept of Hindu into four social and political categories as Liberal Hindu, Alternative Hindu, Homogeneous Hindu, and Cleavages based Hindu. R. N. Chavan accepted category of Liberal Hindu and Alternative Hindu and rejected Homogeneous Hindu and Cleavages based Hindu (Interview, Ramesh Chavan, 1<sup>st</sup> May 2017). The Idea of Hindu has been classified in Hindu, Hindutva, and Hindu Sanghatan book and presented of follows.

**Table 3.1 Classification of Hindu Idea**

Type of Hindu	Organization	Leader	Feature
Liberal Hindu	Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Non-Brahmin Party, Depressed Classes Mission	Raja Ram Mohan Roy, M.G. Ranade, Atmaram Pandurang, Shahu Maharaj, etc.	Reformist, Dialectic base, thesis, anti thesis and synthesis Emancipation in the framework of Hindu
Alternative Hindu	Scheduled Caste Federation, Independent Labour Party, Muknayakan, Bahishkrut Bharat	Dr. B. R. Ambedkar	Dalit Emancipation, Women Emancipation, Annihilation of Castes, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and idea of Justice.
Homogeneous Hindu	Rashtriya Swayansevak Sangh Parivaar	Dr. K.B. Hedgewar, M.S. Golwalkar	Cultural Hinduism Hindu Nation state Nationalism
Cleavages based Hindu	Shivsena	Balasaheb Thakre	Political Hindutva

R. N. Chavan accepted Liberal Hindu Idea. In Ranavad Hindu religion, Hindu culture and the reissuance of Hindu religion was used for social change. Ranavad propounded that social revolution must need cultural elements as a part of structure.

- 5) Ideologically Ranavad was classified in negative sense and positive sense as well. In a negative sense R. N. Chavan rejected the idea of homogeneous Hindu and Cleavages based Hindu. In a positive sense he accepted idea of Liberal Hindu and Alternative Hindu. The idea Bahujanvad (sakaljanvad) is imbibed in positive sense of Ranavad. Ranavad adopted the principal of Social inclusion and rejected the principal of Exclusion. Ranavad has succeeded to give revolutionary approach to the idea of Hindu (Interview, Ramesh Chavan, 1<sup>st</sup> May 2017).

### **3.9 Literature of R.N.Chavan and its Critic:**

Ramesh Chavan studied the cultural aspect in R.N.Chavan's literature and he published around 36 books on R.N.Chavan's literature. Eminent personalities and progressive intellectuals have given introductions to these books. Laxman Shastri Joshi, R.G.Jadhav, Dr. Ramesh Jadhav, Dr. S.S. Bhosale, Dr. M.P. Mangudkar, Dr. B. H. Kalyankar, Dr. Jayasingrao Pawar, Dr. Ashok Kamat, Dr.A.H. Salunkhe, Dr. Sadanand More, Govind Pansare, Dr.Baba Adhav, Dr. Ashok Chowsalkar, Dr.Raosaheb Kasabe, Dr. Nagnath Kotapalle, Dr. Rajendra Vora, Bhai Vaidya, Dr.Prakash Pawar, however all the above intellectuals differ in opinion related to on the sources or bases of literature of R. N.Chavan (Interview, Ramesh Chavan, 1<sup>st</sup> May 2017)..

- a) This proves the significance of Chavan's literature. His literature has provided energy to the left ideologyas well to the progressive thoughts. As his work was related to emancipation of society, individuals and Dalits, we can trace R.N Chavan's direction of literature was inclined towards left (Interview, Baba Adhav, 17/12/2017).
- b) Dr.Surendra Jondhale stated that literature of R. N. Chavan was focused on reforms within Hindu framework only, so he cannot be termed as total change (Chavan R.N., Surendra Jondhale, 2012: 11-21.

- c) Progressive intellectuals like Govind Pansare, Bhai Vaidya, Dr Baba Adhav, Dr. Rajendra Vora, Dr.Ashok Chowsalkar and Dr. Prakash Pawar argued that literature of R.N Chavan also includes the perspective of socialism and Marxism (Interview, Baba Adhav, 17/12/2017).
- d) Intellectual like Raosaheb Kasbe stated that R.N Chavan has also included few facts from idea of Buddha, thought of Ambedkar and Marxism (Kasbe, 2005: 10-11 and 2011: 10-13).
- e) Intellectuals like Dr Sadanand More, Dr. Ashok Kamat from Bhagwat Movement, stated that this literature includes ideas from Bhagwat literature. Dr Sadanand More further argues that he himself thinks on the line of philosophy of R N Chavan ( Speech, 10 April 1998) .
- f) Linguists like Laxman Shastri Joshi, Dr.Nagnath Kotapalle and Dr.Randhir Shinde term R. N.Chavan's literature as a source of renaissance and social reform (Chavan R.N., Shinde Randhir, 2018: 13-29).
- g) Historians like Jaysingrao Pawar argued that literature of R N Chavan talks on rigorous historical facts and events.
- h) N.D. Patil, Arun Shinde, Ravi Patil argued that literature of R N Chavan also includes the perspective of farmers and agriculture peasants as well educational thought ( Speech, N. D. Patil, 10 April 2014) .

The thought of R.N.Chavan dialogues with Gautam Buddha, Samrat Ashok, Samrat Akbar, Shivaji Maharaj, Maharana Pratap, Phuleism, Ambedkarism, Modern Liberalism, for the idea of social reform it dialogues with Satyashodhak movement, NBM, Dalit Movement, Social reform movement and Indian National movement. The broad meaning of Ranavadi ideology is liberty, fraternity, justice and equality (Especially affirmative action) so that the spread of Ranavadi means the concept of emancipation - emancipation from discrimination of caste, emancipation from religious exploitation, emancipation from discrimination between men and women (Interview, Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017). The concept of emancipation by R.N.Chavan implies emancipation of individuals and society from religious, social and economic exploitation. This is the humanitarian thought of R.N.Chavan, he recognised person as an individual and rejected individual as a mean

to achieve the end, he believed in monotheism and emancipation from exploitation (Interview, Ramesh Chavan, 1<sup>st</sup> May 2017).

Rana's ideology discussed the truth and untruth, good and bad. R.N.Chavan discussed traditions, exploitations, caste discrimination as false consciousness. He opposed the traditional conservatism. Rana developed his ideology in the context of enlightenment. Rana spread the concept of enlightenment of Mahatma Phule, V.R.Shinde, Raja Rammohan Roy and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. He propounded the concept in the framework of Democracy and Social Justice. He tried his best to create a modern value and ideal society (Interview, Rajkumar Surwase, 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2017, Nitin Birmal, 16/12/2017).

Rana explained the meaning of Social democracy and social justice. Rana criticised on exploitation and undemocratic thought. Rana was a strong follower of Satyashodhak thought. He follows the traditions of Satyashodhak samaj. He developed the thought of tradition of Satyashodhak in his writing. His writing is centred on thoughts of Mahatma Phule. He wrote on V.R.Shinde, Shahu Maharaj, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Satyashodhak, Non-Brahmin, Dalit movement and reform in Hindu religion, Public dialogue, multiculturalism and social Harmony. These three principals were the central idea of Chavan's thoughts. Public dialogue is the core part and multiculturalism and social Harmony. These are the foundations of Rana's thought (Interview, Bhalchandra Shinde, 10/12/2016, Sanjay Landage, 15<sup>th</sup> May 2017).

#### **Theoretical framework for R.N.Chavan's thoughts:**

- 1) Investigation of Truth
- 2) Critic on Caste discrimination
- 4) Democracy as a lifestyle
- 5) Gender Equality
- 6) Religious reform and synthesis
- 7) Critic on idea of 'Hindutva'

8) Enlightenment

9) Educational Reform

10) Co-ordination

These rules reflect the meaning of social democracy and social Justice. From his writings, Chavan demanded the social justice. He gives much evidence from social movement. He didn't accept the consideration of Brahmins as conservative and Non-Brahmins as progressive because this was generalization of all the Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. Brahmins like Justice M.G.Ranade, Raja Rammohan Roy, Rajaram Shastri Bhagawat were progressive, he has proved this by giving multiple evidences on it (Speech, Ashok Chousalkar, 10<sup>th</sup> April 2017). Non-Brahmins are closely related to modern liberal culture because of the cultural change occurred in Non-Brahmin Samaj and it termed as Enlightenment. New literature, new arts, new politics emerged from it, old patterns of social relations between Brahmin and Non-Brahmin were rejected and new patterns of social relations were emerged. In this context Brahmin and Non-Brahmin accepted modern liberal thought, public dialogue, multiculturalism and social harmony (Interview, Nitin Birmal, 16<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

Justice Ranade and other liberal reformer gives support to Non-Brahmin movement, which was initiated by Mahatma Phule (Interview, Sanjot Apte, 12<sup>th</sup> December 2017, Nitin Birmal, 16/12/2017). As Shahu Maharaj got the leadership to NBM, majoritarian Maratha community also got participated in NBM. This movement was used by Maratha leadership for the caste based representation (Interview, Arun Chavan, 9th June 2017). Firstly, Brahmins are excluded from religious rites and then excluded from politics as well. Some Marathas included in Non-Brahmin Movement, perform religious rites at their home, for this they invited the Purohit (Priest) but they did not sanction any position to Brahmin in politics. Today the nature of Brahmin class is not exploited class, but the Brahmins are progressive, reformer and scientific, where as Maratha caste became conservative so the issue of untouchability remained same. According to R.N.Chavan the issue of untouchability is not because of Brahmins but it is because of economic and social interest of Maratha caste. Agarkar and other Brahmins

have given the importance to the issue of women's emancipation, but early Non-Brahmin movement did not give importance to the issue of women's emancipation. In 1916 Maharshi Shinde said to Chandavarkar that, Brahmins are much aware towards the issue of women's as compare to Maratha caste. Influence of basic values from Mahatma Phule's movement on majoritarian Bahujansamaj was not found, but they were seen hating Brahmins, after this the religious social content was disappeared and this content remained only to protect the political interest. The thought of Satyashodhak movement is not related to the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin movement but to the social enlightenment movement and this movement differed from political interest (Chavan R.N., 2015:250).

R.N.Chavan has written extensively, his primary focus was on end of nineteenth century and start of twentieth century. He wrote on the personalities, incidents, movement and on various issues. His writings were useful to understand the social history of Maharashtra of about hundred year's period will be used in future for societal good. The reality of our society was that it wasn't just society, so there was need of changes to be brought in society. Basically our society was traditional, if we desire change in tradition, then there is a need of reforms in tradition. Chavan said that sometime we go against majority because every time majority cannot be correct, majority can lead to discrimination and exploitation. According to Chavan, in order to bring change in society there is at most need of reforms in it. He argued the increasing need of critic and evolution. He emphasised need of rational critic to get away with communalism and also argued the need of constant rational thoughts from thinkers, He has agreed on importance of freedom of expression. According to him rational thinking is nothing but freedom of thoughts and it is basic fundamental freedom. Critic, rationality and balanced thought were the features of R.N.Chavan's personality (Chavan R.N., Chavan Vaishali (ed), 1995: 18).

R.N.Chavan gave the Ideological formula to the progressive movement of Bahujan Community in Maharashtra. V.R.Shinde was source of inspiration for him (Interview, Randhir Shinde, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2017). Chavan's personality was transparent and visionary as well, his thoughts were important for the movement as the movement tried all the other possible thoughts. He accepted the comparative approach and wrote on

progressive movement and its leaders. According to him lot of alternatives were available for Jotiba Phule i.e. to Parthana Samaj, Christian religion, National Movement, but why did they chose Satyashodhak Samaj only. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar also had many alternatives like National Movement, Socialist Movement, Communist Movement, but he formed Schedule Caste Federation, Independent Labour Party, and Republican Party and accepted Buddhist religion. As per Chavan eradication of untouchability should happen through economic and educational reforms. The spread of education can lead to the removal of untouchability. Chavan said that the followers must follow the thoughts of Phule, Ambedkar and act on line of their thoughts. Bahujan Samaj (Non-Brahmin) must follow the thoughts of these great leaders (Ramesh Chavan (ed), 2005:59).

### **3.10 Raja Rammohan Roy**

R. N. Chavan said that Modern scientific approach and national democratic approach was given by Rajaram Mohan Roy. He refused to social radicalism, which was actual base of practice of Sati. With his efforts the age of renaissance started in India. Chavan said that, many thinkers described Roy as a father of modern India and established Brahmo Samaj, his priority was truth. He said that human being behaves according to truth. The core conflict of the world is between Truth and False, Justice and injustice (Chavan Sharad (ed), 1987: 1-3).

### **3.11 Rajaram Shastri Bhagawat**

Chavan wrote on Rajaram Shastri Bhagawat. He was Brahmin by birth but he refused the Brahmanism. He was the liberal thinker. Rajaram Shastri Bhagawat was born on 1851 and died on 1908. He lived for 57 years. He gave message of social reform and public education through his speeches, writing and actions. He did his research around a century back where he raised questions on intellectual field. V.R. Shinde tried to find out solutions for these questions. He was closely associated with the leaders of Non-Brahmin Movement, after Mahatam Phule he speeded up the Non-Brahmin Movement (Speech, Ashok Chausalkar, 10 April 2017).

Chavan had belief in the principles of liberty, equality and justice. He strongly argued that society should be based on these fundamental principles. Liberal religion can

be acceptable by all. Hindu society and Hindu religion must incorporate these principles. According to Chavan, Bhagawat has worked in the field of renaissance, social reform and society education but he was neglected. So Chavan worked hard and wrote an essay of 95 pages in 1977. Chavan wrote on social reform movement in 19<sup>th</sup> century. He criticized it, but his approach was neutral. Chavan argued that thoughts of Phule and Ranade helped society to become progressive whereas Chiplunukar and Lokmanya Tilak opposed the social reform movement, this impacted negatively on Maharashtra's social reform movement. Chavan said that Bhagawat's thoughts on Justice and Injustice has taken the side of Non-Brahmin (Bahujan Samaj), he has given priority to public interest. A person may get birth in specific caste but his qualification will be defined on the basis of his work. In Vedokta Controversy Bhagawat as supported Shahu Maharaj and Sayajirao Gaikwad (Interview, Pravin Gaikwad, 27<sup>th</sup> May 2017).

The word 'Non-Brahmin' was first ever used by Bhagawat. Bhagwat was closely associated with Shahu Maharaj and the right of Veda should be given to all Hindus so he came to Kolhapur and Belgaum and performed the *Munjavidhi* of Maratha boys and visited hostels and taught the Non-Brahmin students Gayatri Mantra. Chavan said that, he rejected the one caste approach and accepted the principle of equal opportunity for development. Bhagwat had his own thoughts justice, social harmony, balanced thoughts, rationality, against the caste discrimination, upliftment of untouchables and Non-Brahmin these are the features of Bhagwat's writing ( Ashok Chausalkar, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2017). He never thought of position, power and publicity. As per Chavan Bhagwat was the intellectual foundation of Non-Brahmin Movement and by giving priority to Humanism supported Non-Brahmin Movement, but this doesn't mean he accepted all the thoughts of Satyashodhak Samaj. He argued that the more than Vedokta Controversy absence of education and knowledge to be focused more. He raised self-consciousness among shudras that they were not slaves. He gave priority to establish unity among Maratha and Non-Maratha castes. According to him they should be aware of their limitations and reform themselves accordingly. He rejected the belief in Hinduism on God Purshuram's twenty-one attempts of doing earth non-kshatriya.

Bhagavat said that Shivaji's sawaraj was sovereign and all the castes in the region were included in it. Shivaji was independent king. Dadoji Kodadev and Ramdas Swami was not his teacher. As compared to Shivaji Maharaj, Peshavas kept on declining the discipline of Maratha state till it's dismantled. Justice, Morality and self-control was absent in Peshava's Maratha state. Caste discriminations, non-morality, selfishness were the major features of Peshava's Maratha state (Chavan Ramesh (ed.), 2011 : 10-26).

### **3.12 Bhai Madhavrao Bagal:**

R.N.Chavan argued that Bhai Madhavrao Bagal was the member as well as great leader of Satyashodhak Samaj. He was literally Satyashodhak and published his thoughts in Non-Brahmin Journals. *Rashtraveer*, *Vijayi Maratha* and *Maratha Jagruthi* were the famous weekly of Non-Brahmin Movement. He published two books in the memory of Shahu Maharaj and Satyashodhak Hira Mohastav (1933). He was influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's thoughts. First Chief Minister of Maharashtra Mr. Yashwantrao Chavan, invited Bagal to deliver the speech at Congress Conference in 1933-34. In Congress Conference Bagal emphasized on Peasant Economic Issues, as per Chavan this was major contribution of Bagal. Then congress prioritized on framing the agricultural policy. As per Bagal the scope of Satyashodhak movement was wide. Satyashodhak Samaj studied the limitations of Country, Time, and Religion. Bagal argued, as Yashwantrao Chavan, Babasaheb Desai, P.G. Patil believed in idol worshipping so they cannot be termed as Satyashodhak. He also said that rational don't follow god (Chavan Sharad, 1987: 75-78).

### **3.13 Social Harmony:**

R.N.Chavan said that Baburao Ghokhale was the liberal Thinker. Ghokhale noticed that, Last Satara's Chatrapati Pratapsingh given primary education to her daughter named Gojarabai. Before Savitribai Phule, Gojarabai learned to write and read. Chavan said, that Ghokhale has given the approach to see the person according to his thought and work. Ghokhale refused to evaluate the person according to his caste. He said that, Although, Bhide was a Brahmin, he gives his Bhidewada (Pune) to Phule to start a first school for girls in 1848. This contribution of Bhide is important for women's education but it was not recognized. Ghokhale also noted that Mahadev Shastri Koletkar

has given funds to girl's school, but this was effort not recognized. Chavan collected this unpublished facts and said that this is not the issue of Brahmin and Non-Brahmin difference as liberal Brahmin helped for the upliftment of Non-Brahmin caste. Chavan published it and tried to prove that the relation between Brahmin and Non-Brahmin was not always conflictive, some efforts were made to establish the social harmony (Chavan Sharad (ed.), 1987: 71-74).

### **Conclusion**

After independence R.N. Chavan was continuously writing on NBM. The whole Chavan family has been active participant in NBM. His son Ramesh Chavan agrees to his thoughts and published 36 books on R.N. Chavan's intellectual literature. Hence, carrying forward legacy of R.N. Chavan. R.N. Chavan classified the idea of Hindu and accepted liberal idea of Hindu. His main contribution is synthesis of social and religious argument. This chapter only deals with the outline of R.N. Chavan's intellectual contribution. On these basis chapters IV discusses R.N. Chavan's views on peasant and contemporary peasant movement.

## Chapter- 4

### **NBM as a Peasant Movement: Subaltern Framework**

#### **Introduction**

Non-Brahmin Movement (NBM) is closely related to Agrarian society. As the Leadership of NBM came from agrarian society; they were always supportive to agrarian interest. Though their personal contextual was associated to the Social and Educational Movement, their historical background was mostly connected to agrarian society. It was new class, which was thinking on agrarian society. Krushanarao Keluskar, Shamrao Desai was teacher and was thinking around agrarian society.

V. R. Shinde was associated with Depressed Class Mission, he was consistently thinking over issues related to agrarian distress too. Shahu Maharaj and Sayajirao Gaikwad both belonged to ruling class, but they were always trying to work on agriculture reforms (Interview Pravin Gaikwad 27<sup>th</sup> May 2017). They developed an 'Idea of Peasant'; idea of peasant was differ from farmer. Workers working on the agriculture fields, were termed as peasant, livelihood was main feature of being peasant. Since Indian independence, the concept of Peasant has been changing; it has changed from peasant to farmer. Idea of farmer has been linked to market. Market based farmer class is a new class, which is not as significant as old class of peasant. The decades of fifties and sixties was a period of paradigm shift in it, therefore peasant movements and farmers movements separated from each other and eventually their meaning was transformed (Interview, Vilas Sonawane, 1<sup>st</sup> May 2016). Dajiba Desai, Shamrao Desai, R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Bharat Pathankar have been reinforcing peasant movement and Political Leaders are also been supporting to peasant and farmer. Political leader's focus was on both farmer and peasant, whereas NBM's focus was only on peasant. Y. B. Chavan, Dayanant Bhandarkar was supporting to peasant and farmer, but not to rich farmers, in the decade of eighteen, the idea of peasant was started to decline. Farmer class started to dominate in the agrarian society and political society. It brought big change in Indian society, therefore, NBM also took stance against rich farmer movement, and this divided agrarian society further into four classes- Movement oriented peasant class, Peasant-

farmer class, Farmers class and Rich farmer's class. This ultimately resulted giving peasant movement four multiple meanings and its effect also changed against political power and state. This is the central story of NBM after independence and new classes also emerged alongside to peasant movement. Its main paradigm, developed in nineteen centuries. In this context, political thought of agriculture can be evaluated.

#### **4.1 Mahatma Phule's views on Peasant**

In the Early 1883 Mahatma Phule was working on his book 'The Whipcord of the Cultivator's' (Shetkaryancha Asud-In Marathi) which he was writing in the interests of the shudra peasant community. Mahatma Phule was a great reader, He was fascinated by the readings of various personalities, and during his travels he studied manuscript as well. 'The Israeli Dharmadeep' a Marathi Weekly published by the Bombay Israelites, gave an account of a speech made by Jotiba Phule at Byculla in Bombay on December 10, 1882, The Speech was on the condition of peasants. It was very interesting speech (Keer Dananjay, 1964: 181- 192).

After completing the book he went to Baroda and read it out before Sayajirao Gaikwad, as the King of Baroda was gifted with a quick grasp of social problems, he showed genuine interest in the well-being of the lower classes, After listening parts of 'The Whipcord of the Cultivator's' (Shetkaryancha Asud-In Marathi), maharaja offered him financial help (Interview Baba Band, 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2017). Mahatma Phule completed the book by July 1883 and submitted copies of it to the Maharaja of Baroda (Keer Dananjay, 1974: 182). In the introduction of book Mahatma Phule stated in his thesis that the Kunbis, Malis and Dhangars were originally agriculturists, but because of pressure on land, the growth of population and the fragmentation of land, some turned to gardens for livelihood were called Malis and some those who turned to tend sheep were called Dhangars i.e. the shepherds. Originally they belonged to single community and interlined also but did they not intermarry (Keer Dananjay, 1974: 182). The first part of 'The Whipcord of the Cultivator's' described how a Brahmin priest persecuted a Shudra farmer all the year round from cradle to cremation, from pregnancy to pilgrimage, and how all this exploitation was done under the cloak of religion and its unending rites and rituals (Keer Dananjay, 1964: 181- 192) .

The farmer had no money to send his children to school. The British officers, who mostly were given to merrymaking, did not pay close attention to the grievances of the agriculturists (Interview Akush Aware 9<sup>th</sup> February 2018). The British officers relied upon the guidance of Brahmins who worked under them. The farmers did not have sufficient food and clothes for their families. Buddhism had exposed the designs of the Brahmanical religion and tried to save the poor classes from its clutches. The Brahmins did not admit the children of farmers to their Sanskrit Pathshalas (Interview Akush Aware 9<sup>th</sup> February 2018). Bajirao II patronized the Brahmin Pandits, he did not care for the children of the poor peasants who were the chief source of his income. The Brahmin clerks and officers in Government courts who ran the administration and dispensed justice were corrupt. They distorted the farmer's applications, evidences and documents, and managed to decide cases in favour of those who gave them the highest bribe (Keer Dananjay, 1964: 181- 192) .

Although the farmer and his whole family toiled hard, their monthly income was Rs. 31 while a European or native officer spent freely on enjoyment and drink Rs.15 or more a month. The big salaries of collectors and other officers indicated the unjust policy of the British Government. The income of a British soldier in India was ten times higher than the income of a hardworking farmer who with all the members of his family, toiled on the farm. Mahatma Phule compared peasant condition to that of the British soldier (Keer Dananjay, 1964: 188) .

Mahatma Phule made an appeal to Government to fix a reasonable assessment on land and to free the farmer from ignorance and the superstition, so that he might not join any Brahmin revolt and perish in that rebellion. Jotiba desired to put science at the service of agriculture, and to develop the idea of scientific breeding of farm-yard cattle. He gave a moving account of an Indian farmer who was engaged in a desperate struggle for a bare living, and was illiterate, ignorant and unemployed for a third part of the year (Keer Dananjay, 1964: 181- 192)

## 4.2. Vitthal Ramji Shinde's Views on Peasant

Vitthal Ramji Shinde was Non Brahmin Leader in Maharashtra (Bombay state in British India). His Thought and work on Peasant and agriculture is fundamental. Agriculture thoughts of V. R. Shinde are multidimensional, because of his complex understanding on agriculture (Interview Randhir Shinde, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2017). Shinde argued that the issue of Peasant was different from the Dalit issue. He said that we must think of Dalit issue when we think of the peasant issue. V. R. Shinde, born in farmer's family at Jamkhandi in Karnataka. Being the part of farmer's family he was aware of the problems of peasants. He said that the work of Peasant and Peasant Movement was sacred. He organized farmer's conferences (Shetkari Parishad) in Pune, Terdal (Karnataka), Borgaon (Tal- Walava), Satara and Chandavad from 1922 to 1932. He propounded the thought of the Peasant interest. In Maharashtra and Outside of Maharashtra he worked on the making peasant aware. In Vidharbha, Marathwada and Karnataka he delivered various lectures on peasant issues (Interview, Randhir Shinde, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2017). He focused on education on peasant as a Priority. When he went to oxford (1898-1901) for religious education, he studied the British peasant and their agriculture status. Based on that he wrote on agriculture life in England, France and Holland. In 1926-1927 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Organized Bardoli Movement against the government, at the same time Mumbai Council introduced the bill to increase revenue of agriculture but farmer protested against it again another bill 'Separation of Farming' (Tukade Bill) was introduced which was again opposed by all farmers (Interview Randhir Shinde, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2017). During the same period the capitalist class was purchasing large scale of Land for Sugar industry. Shinde noted peasant's unrest on this and opposed this bill by organizing and chaired meeting of 5000 peasants meeting in Ray market in Pune (Interview, Baba Adhav 12<sup>th</sup> April 2016).

Shinde Actively participated in Maharashtra Peasant Movement from 1926 and 1932. He organized many peasant conferences and he chaired some of these conferences. Shinde defined the peasant community, as per him peasant were those who lived in village and are far from civic culture. Peasant born, brought and died in the farm only (Interview, Randhir Shinde, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2017). In ancient time 'peasant' was this king of

Maharashtra. Kunbi was the king of Maharashtra. Brahmin and Vani were completely depending on peasant. Shinde opposed the concept of Mavla. Followers of Shivaji Maharaj were referred as 'Mavla', but Shinde explain the meaning of mavla. According to Shinde Mavla means Maratha who works in his owner land? Mavla concept was used from the period of Shivaji Maharaj. Shivaji Maharaj did not create the concept of Mavla but Mavla concept created Shivaji (Magudkar M.P (edit), 1963: 284).

#### **4. 2.1 Idea of peasant**

V. R. Shinde defined the concept of peasant who belonged the land according to his and family needs and work hard (Magudkar M.P (edit), 1963: 291). Social needs, Limited storage and work on the field these three principles are important in Shide's concept of peasant. Those make a lot of storage of land and do not work on filed these are not peasant. Shinde Independent thinking opens mind, *soshik*, *hikmati*, *hadachaemani* and *jivachakarari* these are some features of Marathi farmers according to Shinde. He identified and wrote the causes of exploitation of peasant (Interview Randhir Shinde 6/8/2017). India now and then was an agricultural state. 80 percent of the population was dependent on agriculture. Indian farmer was weak, under debt and cheated by others and was under control of others. He was the nations *poshida* but he was backward (Interview, Arun Chavan 9<sup>th</sup> June 2017).

#### **4.2.2 Priority to peasants' class**

Shinde published manifesto of Bahujan Party in 1920. Peasant class was given priority in it. He classified forward and backward class. Those who are rich in education, property and power, they are forward class and those who are poor in it, these are backward class. Peasant classes are the backward class. He classified 'Bahujan Samaj' in 8 types, but he gave at most priority to peasant class. As per him the landlords are not included in peasant class. Those who work on land and those who give the equal wages to the worker, this class included in peasant concept. He centralized peasant issue on political agenda (Interview, Randhir Shinde 6/8/2017).

### **4.2.3 Analysis of exploitation of peasant**

He wrote peasant was exploited in different ways and levels. Colonial rulers, princely state, middle man (*Dalal*), capitalist class and bureaucracy exploited the peasant in all possible ways. Shinde said that every government was in the favor of rich class. Government was not ready for the distress of rich but it is easy to exploits the poor. Economic crisis, drought these are the major causes of peasant backwardness. Entire currency is in the hands of merchants and power holders. Shinde argued that, although currency will not be produced in the farm, the peasant will be exploited (Magudkar M.P (edit), 1863: 277).

### **4.2.4 Critic on capitalism**

Shinde said that, in every stage of history capitalism exploited the peasant. Shinde criticized on the different type of capitalism. Capitalism is the main obstacles before the progress of peasant. Peasant loved land like his child but capitalists always tried to take the land. In this way capitalists were the enemy of the peasants (Interview, Vilas Sonwane 14<sup>th</sup> September 2017).

### **4.2.5 Agriculture and Untouchability**

Agriculture was solely depend upon peasant, Shinde argued that, 'we neglected the inter-relationship between Agriculture and other social units'. Shinde was the chairman of 'Untouchables Peasant Parishad' in Pune on 30<sup>th</sup> Oct 1926 (Interview Kiran Surwase, 20<sup>th</sup> October 2017). He disagreed with the British agricultural policy. He criticized it, that it is a dual meal of British capitalism. He studied the relation between agriculture and untouchability. He said that, the issue of agriculture is economic while the issue of untouchability is related to exploitation of social, religious and political interests. Untouchables are not counted as a worker (*Majur*) but slavers on the land (Interview Kiran Surwase, 20<sup>th</sup> October 2017).

#### **4.2.6 Independent village for schedule caste**

In 1914 Shinde tried to establish an independent village of 'Mang' caste (Schedule caste in Maharashtra). For this he took help from British government. Government agreed to give one thousand acre land to depressed class mission near Sangli, around the same time world war started and the conflict or debate between Brahmin and Non-Brahmin started among the Kolhapur and Patwardhan Princely State. Tilak participated in this debate. As the result of this, government took the land from mission and gave it to start the Lord Wellington College at Sangli (Interview Randhir Shinde 6<sup>th</sup> August 2017).

#### **4.2.7 Politicization of peasant issue**

Shinde stated that no political party was the savior of peasant. As during the every party regime the peasant remained poor only. Congress was not only the party of peasants, but of landlords and rich people. Congress did not give prioritized importance to the interest of the peasant class. As per him there is need of Peasant acquiring entire congress party or peasant should get the political power. If peasants get the political power then they can solve their problems. Shinde analyzed reason behind why the peasants were not organized? As per him peasant community is more exploited and in order to protect their interest they should be organized. They should form organizations which should struggle with the state for their upliftment (N. D. Patil, 26th June 2017).

#### **4.2.8 Solutions on Peasant Issue**

In Bargaon peasant conference Shinde give solutions on issues of peasant.

- 1) Peasants should establish talukawise peasant organizations as well as talukawise workers organizations.
- 2) Both of them should work together with establishing with joint organization and they should cooperate to each other.

3) People migrated from village to city as the peasants didn't get the work. Shinde said that not only peasant or workers unity is essential but also laborers class cooperation was important.

4) Peasants should try to come to power in local bodies. Peasant should take political power at Municipalities, boards and local self-government. Peasant should capture the political power.

5) Peasant has a right to confirm the price of his agricultural products. Capitalist class or politicians should not give the right to confirm the price.

6) Peasant should have to right to confirm the price of row material.

According to Shinde, peasant was working class only. Peasant is never depend upon the others work. He produces and gets feed, he is independent, but most exploited one. If peasants will united and get the political and decision making power then they will surely get better life (Interview Randhir Shinde 6<sup>th</sup> August 2017).

### **4.3 Dayanand Bandodkar Views on Peasant**

Dayanand Bandodkar was two term chief minister of Goa in the period of 8 June 1962- 2 Dec 1966 and 5 April 1967- 12 August 1973 (Bhatt S. C. and Gopal Bhargava (ed) 2006: 67). Bandodkar was born in Pednem in northern Goa on 12 March 1911. Dayanand Bandodkar's work as Chief Minister of Goa, Daman and Diu can be considered as revolutionary in nature. His far-sighted vision for Goals development, deep concern for the people and his undisputed leadership, made him to be compared as 'Nehru of Goa' and 'Kamaraj of Goa'. He was the first leader to rule Goa in a democratic setup after centuries (Interview Ramesh Kolwalkar 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

He did his early education in Marathi and later in the Portuguese Lyceum, but besides these two languages he also acquired knowledge of French and Hindi. However, his love and devotion to Marathi as language and culture was predominant. As the leader of Maharashtra Gomantak Party in the Goa Legislative Assembly, he was seemingly torn between two options during the period of agitation that prevailed over the Opinion Poll demanded by the Central Government to decide the future of the territory- whether it

would merge with Maharashtra or retain its distinctiveness as the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. Bandodkar's love of his people asserted itself. His ministry resigned on 3 December 1966 and Goa won the Opinion Poll (Interview Ramesh Kolwalkar 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

At the same time, the faith and trust of the people in Bandodkar's impartial and objective judgment was considerably strengthened and, in the general elections that followed the Opinion Poll in April 1967, his party was voted back to power. The people sustained their confidence in his leadership throughout, and for a third consecutive term of office he took over again as Chief Minister of Goa, Daman and Diu on 23 March 1972. During his fairly long tenure as Chief Minister, Bandodkar enjoyed full cooperation from his Cabinet colleagues and with his encouragement they set themselves to streamline the administrative machinery, agriculture and industry, and thus brought about speedy economic development of the territory. Several progressive legislative measures were introduced and among these was the radical Tenancy Act which fixed the rent for the tenants at one sixth of the produce and made their eviction punishable under the law (Interview Ramesh Kolwalkar 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

The regime of D. B. Bandodkar was noted for peaceful and harmonious relations between Hindus and Catholics, the two major communities, thereby continuing the tradition of over four hundred years (Interview Ramesh Kolwalkar 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

#### **4.3.1 Bandodkar's views on Peasant**

Major work of Bhadodkar was anti feudalism, he was provided political power to the movement of anti-feudalism. He has great work on emancipations of tenets in Goa (Interview Ramesh Kolwalkar, 20/6/2017). Goain society was based on a ruling class of slave owners and a class of slaves; feudalism was based on landowners and serfs. Bhatakar (landlords) was the part of feudalism and tenants were slavers during the period of Portuguese government. Feudal Structure of society was maintained by the Portuguese government (Goa). Goain rural society had been divided between landlords and landless people; there was conflict between them. This was the major conflict in rural society

(Interview Ramesh Kolwalkar, 20/6/2017). Bhandodkar was influenced by M. N. Roy and he was the friend of Yashwantrao Chavan; his vision was to focus on changing agricultural society (Government of Goa, 1975, N. Radhakrishnan, 1994: 122-123). By then Bhandodkar had already chalked out a program (i) to give relief to the tenants and 'Mundkars' by introducing the tenancy as soon as possible and similar agrarian legislations; (ii) to provide as many amenities and facilities as possible to the people particularly in rural areas; (iii) to provide better road communications as far as possible, particularly in rural areas; (iv) to ensure that Gram Panchayats function effectively and efficiently; (v) to remove all obstructions in the way of Gram Panchayats; and (vi) to rehabilitate the political sufferers as far as possible. These were then the main items of work needed to be undertaken for the people (Aureliano Fernande, 1997: 183, N. Radhakrishnan, 1994: 122-123). His major contribution to agricultural society is as following:

### **Agriculture**

Bhandodkar gives priority to Agriculture. He made Agricultural Tenancy Act in 1964. This act was against to *Bhatakar* (Jamindar) (Sirdesai Manohar, 1991: 471). The act of Land to the tiller (*KaselTyachiJamin*) was not passed in his tenure. On 20<sup>th</sup> April 1976, the act of land to the tiller was passed in Goa Assembly (5<sup>th</sup> Amendment to Agricultural Tenancy Act). Those tenants worked on Bhatakar's (landlords) land, he became the owner of the land (Sirdesai Manohar, 1991: 472). Sashikala Kakodkar was the daughter of Bhandodkar, she was the Chief Minister of Goa from congress party. She passed the act of 'Land to the tiller (*Kasel Tyachi Jamin*) and Agricultural Tenancy Act in Goa Assembly (Khalap Ramakath, Times of India, 29 Oct 2016). This law was based on Maharashtra's Land to the tiller and Agricultural Tenancy Act, law was implemented to paddy land as well as irrigated land, the landlords in Goa went against Sashikala Kakodar government because of this law. Landlords petitioned against this law in high court. High court declared that, this law was unconstitutional, but Sashikala Kakodar with the help of Morarji Desai included this law in the ninth Appendix of Indian constitution. This led to dismiss tradition of landlord and tenants got the lands and they became the owners of the land.

## **Modernization of Land production**

Indian Agricultural thinker, M. J. Rande propounded land modernization in nineteenth century (Prakash Pawar, 2017). This thought was discussed in the Non-Brahmin Movement. Issue of modernization of land was brought in the policy of Maharashtra and Goa government led by Yashwantrao Chavan and Dayanand Badodkar respectively (Prakash Pawar, 2017). The process of land modernization rapidly occurred under the leadership of Badodkar in Goa. Bandodkar had a dream to develop the agriculture in Goa for the reason that it was the most important resource of livelihood to the big mass. Though agricultural output was very low, in the decade of fifty and sixty, sixty-four percent of the labour force was engaged in agricultural and allied activities. N. Radhakrishnan has given some example on this. These examples are following-

- A) Swamps has major problem of Agriculture. Government of Badodkar was working on swamps reduction and it was successfully changed swamps into useful land, about 11,000 hectares of land were reduced to useful land (N. Radhakrishnan, 1994:135).
- B) Bandodkar government was working on horticultural so, production of horticultural crops had increased Coconuts, areca nuts (Ramesh Kolwalkar, 20/6/2007).
- C) Paddy farm was the base of rural society, but the production of paddy was very less in decade of fifty. Bandodkar government was working on increasing of paddy production. Bandodkar government took several steps to strengthen agricultural activities. He was determined to develop the conditions of farmers. As a result of his efforts, food shortage of 30,000 tons of rice was reduced to 10,000 tons only (N. Radhakrishnan,1994: 135 )
- D) They supported the change in crop pattern and groundnut cultivation was started for the first time in Goa during the tenure of Bandodkar government. Bandodkar adopted various strategies to enhance agrarian productivity. He launched high yielding seed programs and provided chemicals and fertilizers to cultivators at subsidized rates. The government also supplied tractors and bulldozers for the agricultural operations of ploughing and leveling at nominal

charges and provided financial assistance towards land reclamation for agriculture, improvement of land, irrigation works and purchase of pumping sets and fertilizers. Crop competitions were organized to provide incentives to increase the average yield per acre of land. By 1971, the production of rice had increased by 45 per cent (Parag Parobo, 2016: 180).

- E) They also changed the methods of cultivation. Japanese method of cultivation, construction of minor irrigation works, reclamation of '*khajan*' lands and mechanical cultivation, etc. were some of the programs initiated. Investigation Division of the Central Water Commission was set up and explorations began, in 1964-65. By March, 1966, 30,000 acres of land were brought under cashew nuts, 3000 acres under coconut, 500 acres under pineapples, 1000 acres under mango, banana, jackfruit and chickoo (N. Radhakrishnan, 1994: 136 )
- F) The Agricultural Tenancy Act which was brought out on his personal initiative gave security of tenure to cultivators and also ensured efficient management of land, leading to increase in output. The situation in the live-stock, forestry and fisheries and other sectors of the economy was not far different. Animals were malnourished and prone to diseases and veterinary services were absent. Fishing was declined because of absence of modern technologies used for fishery (N. Radhakrishnan, 1994: 136 ).
- G) The Mundkar law is yet another important legislation which brought the relationship between the Bhatkars and Mundkars on a more rational and permanent basis which also had a radical effect on the life of the common people. Many attempts were made by temple Mahajans to usurp the land of the temple servants that had actually been given to them for rendering services to the temple and cult. Liberation saw several emigrants returning to Goa. Many of them now wanted to see immediate displacement of the Mundkars who had been staying for more than one generation. The 'Lei de Mundcarato of 1959' regulated the relationship between a Bhatkar and Mundkar failed to provide adequate protection, leading to a large-scale eviction of Mundkars from their houses. There was no protection for a Mundkar under law if Bhatkars decide to evict them from their home. Taking resources to the law

was expensive and time consuming and so a Mundkar choose a life of dependence rather conflict (Parag Parobo, 2016: 177). The Mundkar Act abolished the system free labour at the service of a Bhatkar. The rights of the Mundkars were made inheritable and they became deemed owners of land, having the right to repair, maintain and improve their dwellings (Parag Parobo, 2016: 179). This is considered as an important contribution of Bandodkar which has gone a long way in transforming the living conditions of the masses in Goa. Bandodkars contribution led to reform feudal structure and value system among in Goain society which resulted to bring in humane relationship among Bhatkars and Mundkars. Bandodkars contribution also led to provide dignified life to Mundkars and now they were actually enrolled as citizens in Goain society.

- H) Forest resources were exploited and illegal felling of trees reduced the forest wealth. Bringing in the various legislations during his tenure was a revolutionary work, which has enabled Goa to be on par with other parts (N. Radhakrishnan, 1994: 144 ).
  
- I) Over 130 legislations were introduced and passed. Some of these laws, like the Agricultural Tenancy Act and the Mundkars Act have had a radical effect on a long-term basis on the welfare of the poor and the suppressed people who had no security of their dwelling lands and houses and who were entirely at the mercy of the landlords for centuries (N. Radhakrishnan, 1994: 145). These progressive and helpful legislations implemented for the common people were a product of Bandodkar, his far-sighted vision and enthusiasm for the emancipation and prosperity of the common people of Goa is considered as a memorable event in the history of Goa (N. Radhakrishnan, 1994: 145 ).

**Dam:**

- A) Bandodkar was attentive that dams are the major sources to uplift the life of the masses, so he approved long-term irrigation projects. He constructed two

dams across Paroda and Khandepar Rivers. Bandodkar gave priority to the irrigation in Goa (Interview Ramesh Kolwalkar 17 December 2017). In his period Central Water Commission was opened in Goa. He studied Salaulim project firstly then gave permission for it to enhance develop Goa.

- B) He tried his best to make Goa self-sufficient in food-grains. Agricultural production was increased during his period. He was a visionary leader; his vision was to complete the project so that it would help to raise the output of food grains. The project has brought under irrigation for 8200 hectares of land. This project also helped to increase production of sugarcane and was also helpful for drinking water (Ramesh Kolwalkar, 17/ 12/2017).
- J) Sanguem, Quepem and Salcete talukas as were beneficiary of this project. Bandodkar also planned other projects like namely Damanganga project (for Daman), Tillari project, Dudhsagar project and Anjunem projects. (N. Radhakrishnan, 1994: 185 ).
- K) Tillari project site is in Maharashtra, the Govt. of Maharashtra agreed to set up this project which will give 75% benefit to Goa, this could happened only because of political will and great interstate relations of Bandodkar with political leaders of western Maharashtra (N. Radhakrishnan, 1994: 185 ).

Bandodkar ruled Goa under the leadership of Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party for ten years. Being the activist politician he was aware about equity and justice. Common mass was his priority. He worked on motto: *Bahujan Hitay, Bahujan Sukhay* (For the Interest of Bahujan community and for their happiness).He gave belief to the people that this government is their own government. His political will power always solved the problem of masses. Bandodkar worked on women issues and heard their grievances whenever required (Interview Alaknanda Shingare, 20<sup>th</sup> June 2017).

#### **4.4 Baba Adhav's views on Dams and Development**

The dam Oustees organization in South Maharashtra has led historic sit-in struggle (thiyya andolan) in Satara. Seven local revolutionary dam outstees organizations from different projects in Satara district came together to launch Do or Die indefinite sit in

struggle from December 24, 2001. Under the banner of the Maharashtra State Dam-Oustees and project affected peasants organization, with Bharat Patankar as an organizer, the sit-in struggle was launched with a bang, with the support of various sections. Local politicians also supported it. The specificity of the struggle was that seven dam-oustees organizations had launched the aggressive united action of indefinite, sit-in struggle, till their demands, including that for financial allocation were granted (Phadke Anant, 2002: 1016).

The sit-in struggle has resulted in the actual delivery of ownership deeds of a minimum of two acres each to all the dam oustees in Satara district irrespective of their landholding. Rs. 2 crores was sanctioned by the chief minister towards the outstanding water-allowance dues to the dam oustees. The sit-in demanded that no future progress will be made in any dam construction till the water in existing dams was equitably distributed. The policy for Equal water Distribution is important (Interview Sampat Desai, 5<sup>th</sup> August 2017). It also opposed in concrete terms the privatization and commercialization of the dam water. Equitable distribution of water would stop to practice; it would also mean construction of canals and lifts through public funds (Interview Bharat Patankar, 10<sup>th</sup> November 2017). The agitation has indicated the new path of unity of two of the most unorganized sections of the toiling poor in Maharashtra. It also shows the way to eradicate drought and to lay the foundation of an alternative path to development. This project affected people have been propagating this path of development (Phadke Anant, 2002: 1016).

The freedom struggle in Satara district, during the early 1940s led the way for the freedom struggle in rural Maharashtra. Patankar's father was one of the leading activists of this struggle, including the famous Parallel government in Satara district. Nagnath Anna Naikwadi (Satyashodhak and Non-Brahmin leader) has been the leader of the oustees dam struggle in south Maharashtra was himself a part of this parallel government. This Satara heritage of path breaking struggle is being continued in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Phadke Anant, 2002: 1016).

#### **4.5. R.N.Chavan's views on peasant**

Chavan wrote various articles in edited books, journals and newspapers related to peasant issue. Just few to name : Workers World (KamgarJagat, Miraj), Greatness of peasant and peasantry (*Kasth, KasthkaryanchiMahanata*) and Rationality of worker's world, Diwali 1992.

He authored ten articles on peasant issue in newspapers entitled, *Rashtra Veer* (Belgavi, Karnataka). Intellectuals and labors (*BuddhijiviandShramjivi*), 21, 28 March and 4 April 1958, Thought and idea of Agriculture and peasant (*ShetivaShetakaryachaacharvaVichar*), 24 Jan. 1979, renaissance of peasant Samaj, 28 Feb. 1979 and 6 Feb. 1980, peasant workers party, 20 may 1969, A Study of peasant and workers party and Marxism, 27<sup>th</sup> July 1977, Development and conservation of peasant workers party part-1,2, 31<sup>st</sup> Jan. 1990 and 7 Feb. 1990, Ways of upliftment of peasants and rural people, 20 Nov. 1985. News of Satara (*SataraSamachar*). Importance of workers, 3 April 1984.

His articles on peasants in Newspapers entitled, *Sagaram* (Thane) was focused on giving priority to issues of rural people and their development, 15<sup>th</sup> August 1979, Policy of secularisms and peasant's workers party, 8<sup>th</sup> Oct.1979, Mouth piece and literature peasant's workers party, 12<sup>th</sup> March 1979, Peasant and Bureaucracy, 18<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1980, Vision and action of peasant, 14<sup>th</sup> July 1980, Peasant and workers party of India, 6<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1983, Vision of Indian peasant and workers, Dec. 1975, Thoughts on Agriculture and peasant, Diwali 1982, Mahatma Phule and Issue of peasant and labour, 1979.

#### **4.6 R.N.Chavan's views on peasant and worker:**

Peasants, workers and Bosnians (labour) are in every state and all over in India as well. Peasants were facing issues but them actually not aware on its roots, this was the major reason behind their unorganization and this was same in Maharashtra and other part of India as well (Interview Anant Awati, 16<sup>th</sup> October 2017). In urban area or metropolitan cities, mill workers established their organizations to solve their issues as well as all political party took support of workers for election gains. In metropolitan cities trade unions were actively working to protect the interest of the workers. In order to do

reforms in agriculture or to improve the standard of peasants, there was drastic need of united or organized peasant class. Peasant conferences were not held regularly. Peasant organizations were weak as compare to workers organization. Workers in urban area were more aware of their interest but peasants in the villages were not (Interview Anant Awati, 16<sup>th</sup> October 2017). As per R.N.Chavan, India being an agricultural state, peasants in whole country should come together for their good even the political leaders elected from rural area were not aware of its benefits.

#### **4.7 India and All India**

According to R.N.Chavan, After First World War, western economic philosophy and communism came to India. In big towns, industries and mills were established and then issue of worker started emerging, but peasant issue was still persistent from ancient era. During war or civil war peasants crops were destroyed and kings of princely states ignored issues confronted by farmers and also ignored to develop agriculture. Some severe droughts occurred during the British time; British kept on ignoring on problem arose by droughts. Indians started accusing British as a responsible for these droughts and demanded British to quit India, for their irresponsible approach. During the droughts, lack of food forced common Indians to face starvation. In 1877 a severe drought happened, and then Deccan Agricultural Act was passed. Indian National Rashtra Sabha was established for reducing gap among common mass and government, before this Madras, Kolkata, and Bombay associations were established (Interview Nisha More 21<sup>st</sup> January 2018). In 1885, Indian national congress was formed, after Congress many organizations were established, these all claimed themselves as Akhil Bharatiya e.g. *Akhil Bharatiya samajik parishad*, *Akhil Bharatiya Industrial Parishad*. Calling organizations as *Akhil Bharatiya* became a fashion Exception was Peasant Workers Party. They called themselves as *Bharatiya*, which mean they accepted the western economic socialism or communalism but its nature was Indian. Peasant Workers Party adopted the principles from outside and connected it with local situation.

#### **4.8 Regionalism and Peasant Approach**

R.N.Chavan argued that, Regionalism carries a separate importance in India, as it doesn't danger Indian nationality. More than the regional politics the issue of peasant was more important. Chavan differentiated urban worker and labor. Urban worker works in industry or mill, his rights are protected by law and he is salaried employee, whereas labor is different from urban worker. India being the agricultural country, the peasants are more in number and as Indian constitution have given the freedom of doing work, service or business anywhere, irrespective of his caste, creed, religion, languages. So as per Chavan the issue of workers was not religious or caste and creed related. Indian workers workaholic approach is now secularly organized. Bureaucratic staff was organized and demanded increase in salary and other facilities, whereas pension for the peasant was totally neglected by the bureaucracy as they remain within the framework of secularism and socialist democracy Therefore Chavans at most priority was to solve the issues of peasant, worker and Labor.

Chavan argued that, Maharashtra congress had failed to protect the interest of the peasant. Congress also failed to create welfare peasant state. If congress neglects the issue of peasant or women, then it will not survive Congress has to follow rural approach for its survival (Bikaji Bhilare 8<sup>th</sup> June 2016).

#### **4.9 Importance to work and workers**

1.R.N.Chavan gives importance to work and workers, basically society was not given status to the workers and peasants. Chavan argued that non-Brahmins were the peasants and workers. In ancient period in Indian society was based on *balutedars class* consisting twelve *balutedars*. They were working as servants (sevak). Balutedar class was worker class. Landlords treated these baluthedars as slaves. To end the slavery of Scheduled Caste and other Backward Class, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar introduced the bill of Balut and to end slavery of Kunbi(Caste in Maharashtra), he introduced the bill of *Khoti*. To end discrimination of SC and ST (Shudra and Atishudra) Ambedkar introduced Hindu Code Bill. He established his first political party named Independent Labour Party focusing emancipation of workers (Interview Sanjay Landage, 15<sup>th</sup> May 2017).

## **2.Creator (Nirmik)**

Chavan argued that peasants and workers was the creator (*Nirmik*). According to Chavan those who work in the farm and produce the gains, are called peasant. Tenancy (*Kul*) worked in the farm so that the Law of Tenancy should get merged and finally Tenancy gets the ownership of the land. Workers working in the farm and mill (Girani) called *Kasthakari* class. *Kasthakari* class works very hard and create things. Peasant, workers and their women were never ashamed working hard in the farm as they were getting feed by this work. Landlord and mill owners of the Girni were lived upon the work of these peasants and workers (Interview Vilas Sonawane, 14<sup>th</sup> September 2017).

## **3. Discrimination among the women**

Women from family of small farmer and landless workers were working on the farm, but women from landlord family were not preferred working on farm. They were asked to follow the *padada*(curtain) system. These women were so called *Khanadani* women. Chavan argued that, there was discrimination among peasant, workers women and landlord's women (Interview Vaishali Chavan, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2017).

## **4. Mahatma Phule against the Middle Man (Agent)**

R.N.Chavan said that Jotiba Phule, the leader of peasant and workers conveyed the importance of hard work. Phule argued, happiness is found in hard work. Human being work hard and maintain happiness of their family.

Pujari (Priest class) in temples exploited peasant and workers by imposing unnecessary religious rituals on them. Peasants fear of God was the actual strength of this priest class, so Phule argued that, *Pujari*(priest) or middle man are the real exploiter, they actually cheat people for their source of revenue by giving false promises to people on the name of God. According to Phule, priest has a big fat belly, while farmer's stomach touches to his back because of his hard work and lack of food, Mahatma Phule started his struggle against the people who live on others work (Interview Dnyanesh Maharav, 15<sup>th</sup> July 2017).

## **5. Political Leaders- Modern Purohit or middle man**

Chavan argued that, political leaders became a *purohit* (middle man) and they have a big fat belly. They are actually not independent, but were depend indirectly on the work of peasant and worker. Capitalists also carry big fat belly and they too are dependent, capitalists don't work, don't do any physical work. According to Chavan, peasant and worker are independent because they work themselves and live their life. They are not depending on others, but the political leaders and capitalist class always depended on the work of peasant and worker (Interview Ramesh Chavan, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

## **6. Classification of workers**

Chavan classified various forms of workers. e.g. workers who work on the street, building worker, mason, carpenter, Coolie, Home maid servants, wood cutter, farm workers, fishermen. Price rise was the main enemy of the working class. Low supply of subsidized Sugar and Kerosene was the obstacles before the peasant and working class, because of less supply the working class stands in the line for a long time but they were not able to get the sugar and kerosene. After independence a lot of laws protected the interest of the working class but they were not useful in practice because improper implementation. Chavan argued that there was not a rule of law.

Chavan made difference between the *Kokani* peasant and other peasant. Kokani peasant is hard working as compare to other peasant this difference was mainly because of the natural and geographical terrain conditions, Chavan said that working class is poor than the merchant class. And merchant class depend on them for profit. He gave an example of an ant who makes her home but snake lives at ant's home, where he equals ant with working class whereas snake with merchants.

## **7. Issues of working class**

In modern era multiple issues of working class started emerging. Before Marx the literature on working class was not available, no independent thought was put forth, when the cotton mills started in Mumbai then with issue of workers the Working Class emerged. These issues reflected in literature. Working class is the new emerged class in

urban area and by industrialization, it further increased, but in rural area low industrialization created low working class (Interview Sushil Daskate 18<sup>th</sup> August 2017).

Chavan Said that Absence of awareness, liquor consumption, ill-literacy, debt, absence of family planning, extreme importance to religion rites and caste dogma, indiscipline, bankruptcy, superstition these are the major issues faced by peasant and the working class. Peasant are exploited form the co-operative institutions. He was economically and culturally backward, if he would develop economically then he will automatically develop culturally. Peasant didn't belong to single category. Small farmers, rich farmers and labor these were the various types of peasant. According to Chavan, in Maharashtra poor peasants are large in number. These peasants need address issue of Dalits and landless people; this is actually responsibility for peasants (Interview Ramesh Dubal 17<sup>th</sup> September 2017).

According to Chavan, Working class women too were facing these problems but because of the of consumption of liquor by male partners, some workers families and their wives got suffered, which further resulted to put pressure on women of a dual responsibility of domestic work and work outside the home for the need of extra income.

## **8. Difference between urban and rural**

Peasant lived in rural area and most of the villages were formed around the fertile farms in river basin. Urban people are depending upon the rural people for agricultural produce like milk, fruits and vegetables and food grains. Chavan argued that urban and rural difference is quite natural as majority of population of Bahujan Society is involved in agriculture only. If peasant class gets develops itself then it will help country for its progress. Village centric literature should be created, this will help in communicate the issues of peasant at a larger extent and basically the nature of agriculture and peasant is religious (Interview Rajan Gavvas, 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2017). Cow and Ox were given status equal as God and it is been told that every fruit and flower belongs to particular god or goddess. e.g. Lord Shankar will be treated with *Bel* and any white flower, Lord Ganesh will be treated with a red flower and Dhurva (green grass), but leaving this side and

peasant should accept knowledge based scientific approach (Chavan R.N. Sangram, Nov.Dec 1975).

Chavan argued that intellectual work and physical work is differs from each other. Physical work is difficult and intellectual class lives upon the work done by worker class. In Mumbai cotton mill workers are exploited by the bureaucracy (Karkun), emergence of *Satyashodhak* movement was originated from this exploitation only. Dinbandu was the mouth piece of the mill worker. Chavan stated that Narayan Meghaji Lokhade was the trade union leader and he worked for the interest of the working class. Hamal Panchayat and Mahatma Phule Samata Partishthan, Pune under the leadership of Dr. Baba Adhav also worked for the working class (Interview Ramesh Chavan, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

Peasants were in trouble and remained poor because of constant droughts, diseases like plague and *Pataki*. Peasant land was captured by rich landlords (*Savkars*) so in 1877 peasant agitation occurred. During the period of Mahata Phule, there was no discrimination among the peasant on the basis of economic level, so Phule didn't classified classes based on economic level of peasant. Later during green revolution rich and poor peasant were seen among the peasant class. Government also classified peasant into rich and poor from the policies but Chavan argued that, rich and poor classification found in every class and caste. E.g. rich and poor merchant, rich and poor capitalist. In Brahmin caste there were rich and poor Brahmins. So Chavan argued that, poor's should not be classified in class or caste. Poor's should get united and should form their organization (Interview Pandit Tapre, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2016).

Chavan said that, urban intellectual class blamed rich peasants as the their peasants richness was depend upon the rate of his food gains. If his agricultural produce priced low, then he becomes debt ridden and financially unstable, whereas intellectual class's salary is depending upon the market rate and dearness allowance is not cut down if the market rate is down (Interview Pandit Tapre, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2016).

Some peasants are economically rich but culturally poor; Peasants were divided in different political parties and were part of much traditional conflict also there. Even after election result is out, they hardly forget their conflict, but they forget the basic thought of

agriculture, development of agriculture and increase in production (Interview Pandit Tapre, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2016).

Chavan said that, peasants sit on a Panchayat to discuss their agriculture problem, but there is no proper mechanism to solve their problem. Chavan insisted need of a proper local mechanism to solve the problems of peasant. Gram Panchayat must think about agriculture and peasant (Interview Nitin Birmal, 16<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

Chavan said that agriculture is a business but in this business there was no method to put the record of profit and loss, both poor as well as rich peasants did not keep any audit of their profit and loss. Peasants will be happy if he has produced enough food grain for his family, peasants were seen satisfied in that. Peasant did not see agriculture as a business model so the agriculture as a business model did not get developed. As per Chavan this was major problem as peasant remained old fashioned and lost an opportunity to become modern. Eventually peasants next generation were educated, they joined various services and jobs and they never wanted to return to agriculture (Interview Rajan Gavas 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2017).

### **9. Peasants and workers party of India (PWP) and peasant**

According to Chavan, PWP worked for peasant. It established for the interest of the peasant, basically it is a rural party. With the help of PWP, Sahrad Pawars party formed government in Maharashtra in 1978. PWP's aim was not to achieve the political power. Yashwantrao Chavan criticized on this stance of PWP, but PWP's principles, programs were important and value based. R.N. Chavan argued that, though PWP is local party today but it would be All India Party.

Chavan argued that, PWP's thought is mixture of economic as well as political ideas. The responsibility of all round development of a village is on PWP. Politics cannot be excluded from life, Panchayat Raj and co-operative institutions are important. After independence Public Works Department and Postal departments were established, but these departments were occupied by urban bureaucracy and poor and rich farmers remained debt ridden at rural level (Interview Pravin Gaikwad 27<sup>th</sup> May 2017).

## **10. R.N. Chavan views on Peasant**

R. N Chavan considers, Ideology reflects in voting pattern; peasant voters must have their own thought. In democracy if the peasant thinks before voting then democracy will surely be modified and will help to become a peasants self-state (*swaraj*). Peasant must be aware on who his friend is and who is enemy? He must know his interests and should understand his own identity. In order to get succeed in politics peasant must have their own literature, they must have their own journal, which can work as their mouth-piece. These journals and mouth pieces must reach home of every peasant of every village. This journals and mouth pieces central idea should only be the interest of the peasant. They must think about the village. Village problems, issues must be reflected in these journals. Overall welfare of peasant should be taken into account. Peasant should be visionary while working on agriculture. For peasant agriculture is a culture as well as a business. Agriculture is a business of life and death. Chavan argued that agriculture is done by peasant. He has status of owner of the land, in this context peasant is called as a *Dhani(Owner)*, so peasant is a landowner as well Dhani. Peasant must be independent. Peasant should not be slaves and should be liberal and board minded (Interview Pravin Gaikwad 27<sup>th</sup> May 2017).

Chavan said that, Bahujan literature is nothing but literature of peasant. The ultimate aim of peasant literature should be, welfare of the peasant. Peasant and agriculture should be connected with science. If peasant is doing physical work, they should think. Peasant should have rational thinking and they must apply it on field. Peasant have own rational thinking. On that basis only he checked the rain water, he saw the quality of soil then after he cropped the seeds. It proved his rational thinking. In the period of election, peasant should be more aware, he must be aware in day today life as well. Peasants do not have financial discipline. These are the real obstacles before the peasant (Chavan R.N., 2015, 229-231).

### **4.10 Dajiba Desai's view on peasant:**

Dajiba Desai was the Non-Brahmin leader. He was the leader of the Maharashtra EakikaranSamiti. He was the leader of Peasant Workers Party (PWP). Dajiba has given

intellectual foundation of (PWP). Dajiba and PWP developed three traditions- First tradition was about Mahatma Phule and NBM. Second tradition was about Marxism and third was freedom struggle against the colonism. This was started by V.R. Shinde in 1928-30 to organize peasant parishad and demanded to give fare rates for peasant's gain and peasant's control over the gain market. He worked as a member of Legislative Assembly of Mumbai, Maharashtra and Karnataka. He also worked as a member of parliament. He was the member of Raj Sabha and in 1977 Lok Sabha election he elected from Kolhapur Lok Sabha constituency. He was having very strong experience of Legislature. He participated and gave a leadership to various movements i.e. United Maharashtra Movement, Peasant Movement, movement against price hike. Dajiba Desai worked in Maharashtra and Karnataka region (Interview, Anant Desai, 14<sup>th</sup> August 2017).

Dajiba Desai stated that, Bahujan Samaj (Non-Brahmin) was involved in traditions and rites, rituals. Bahujan Samaj did not have self confidence. It was very urgent need to save the Bahujan Samaj from the dominance of Brahmins. He was the strong follower of Mahatma Phule. He said that upliftment of Bahujan Samaj is the main motto of Mahatma Phule. Phule was against of absolute Slavery. The main reason of absolute slavery was Purohit (Preist) class. He strongly argued that elite Brahmin are holding their positions. If they do not leave these positions, then Shudra and Anti-Shudra caste will rebel against them. Dajiba argued that Phule wrote on education, religion, women and agriculture. Dajiba said that this discriminated system was created by the Brahmins for their self interest. The basis for classification of work is discrimination. Dajiba said that Phule's thoughts inspired him to fight against the system of discrimination and the concept of God. Dajiba argued that Hinduism followed system of Varna and on the basis of Varna they discriminated the society. So the progressive forces should stand against it. Doing the work and getting the right payment for it is necessary. He tried to create a new society where worker should get their rights (Interview, Rajabhau Patil, 29<sup>th</sup> August 2017).

#### **4.10.1 Reservation**

Dajiba was in the favor of Reservation. He argued that, in India, caste is the basic condition of social and educational backwardness. Mandal commission followed the process of constitution. In Government services and educational institutes government reserved around 27 % for the backward caste. Dajiba agreed with the Mandal commission's recommendations. He said that without reservation backward caste will not get the right of sharing. He said that backward caste development must happen through reservation but the issue of unemployment and poverty must be solved for more backward, they should get the entry in education and in services. The demand of backward caste is supportive to socialist movement. Dajiba said that the recommendations of Mandal Commission and demands of socialist movement don't have much difference and these were the demand of part of socialist movement (Interview, Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

#### **4.10.2 Land to the Tiller**

Dajiba wrote on the issue of agriculture. Dajiba's noted three important issues in agriculture. Land to the Tiller, right price for agricultural produce, emergence of rich peasant class. In 1955 the Mumbai government papered a bill of Land to the Tiller. They wanted an amendment in Tenancy law. In order to form the socialist society, the agricultural relations should be inducted with the principles of Justice. He opposed the concept of Dalal (middle man). According to Dajiba this law was in the favor of peasant but peasant did not aware about it so he focused to create awareness among the peasants (Interview, KrushanaShapurkar, 29<sup>th</sup> August 2017).

Dajiba Desai said that PWP was the part of International Socialist movement. PWP published its ideological document called as Dabhadi Convention. In this Dabhadi Convention, they were against of Capitalism and imperialism. They led this fight by democratic way. This struggle was so big that PWP decided to unite all the leftist parties. PWP did work for peasant and worker and subaltern class. PWP'S main demand was that give peasant fix market rate for his goods. For this demand PWP was first organized a movement in 1948. In 1963 they organized one lakh peasant Morcha (Agitation). In

1972-73 PWP organized Peasant's Morcha against the drought. After this incident, Employment Guarantee Scheme was emerged (Interview, Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

Dajiba propounded the PWP's role was about the issue of agriculture. He said that in Maharashtra the method of Rayatwari was in practice but the system of agriculture was feudal in nature. The object of PWP was to form the democratic revolution in India. PWP accepted the modern techniques of farming. Small peasant must get united and opt co-operative farming. If they kept away from the peasant business, then the condition of peasant would be better, on this demand he published seven articles. All the problems of peasant will be solved through this policy. Dajiba said that in the development of agricultural process the rich class of peasant emerged, but this class was not independent, they are the slaves of capitalist economy. This class was dependent upon the capitalists and government for help. The rich class emerged only because of concessions given by government, grants and facility of co-operative institutions. As the congress government approved concession to this class, this class voted to Congress again. This rich Peasant class exploited small peasants, workers, dalit and tribal peasants. Dajiba said that because of the political influences, all power is centered in rural area in the hands of rich peasants. In 1979, he has mentioned that the conflict between rich and poor peasant started emerging in rural area (Patil N.D, RajabhauPatil (edit), 2010: 11 – 22).

## **Conclusion**

Four major debates on agricultural issues occurred in recent two centuries, first debate was regarding exploitation of peasant by the socio-religious traditions, led by Mahatma Phule. Second debate was on use of modernization for agriculture reforms led by M. G. Ranade which was further developed by Sayajirao Gaikwad, Shahu Maharaj, Pandit Nehru and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as well. They amended this model according to their respective thoughts. Ambedkar came up with idea of State Socialism in the field of agriculture where as Nehru came up with Nehruin Socialism, with the combination of Ranades and Phules outcome, the model of Y.B. Chavan and Dayanand Bhandarkar was created. Third debate was regarding use of small machines for agriculture led by Mahatma Gandhi; this model was developed by R. M. Lohia. Forth debate was between

socialist and Marxist where redistribution of land and ownership of sources of production was debated. If we see the recent PWP's model we can trace that it is the blend model of all the four debates where PWP has accepted and rejected ideas from these debates and has created a blend model based on above four debates. (Chavan Bandodkar Model) this model also includes Yashwantrao Mohite- Karad, Shankarao Mohite- Akhuj, etc. Therefore few of the leaders from PWP joined Indian National Congress. As we hardly trace any difference in ideology and programs undertaken by them, in a same way some followers from Maharashtra Gomantak Party of Goa joined Congress (Shashikala Bandodkar Kakodkar, Ex CM of Goa); however a group of socialist and Marxist kept on targeting Congress for its idea of Capitalism. This whole process led to synthesize thoughts of Mahatma Phule, Socialism and Marxism (PSM Model) this includes R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Bharat Patankar, etc. R. N. Chavan criticized Chavan Bandodkar Model as this model limits itself to resolve issues with poverty, landless laborer, and agricultural worker. Whereas PSM model does not show any limitations in resolving issues mentioned above. Therefore Chavan argued importance of awareness of peasant in his issues and emphasized on their financial development as well as education. Chavan also emphasized need to form their organization and need of their participation in politics for giving voice to their issues and demands.

## Chapter- 5

### Non- Brahmin Movement and Caste issue in India

#### Introduction:

In British India the issues of Backward Castes was addressed by NBM. Idea of Backward caste has been very broad, which includes Peasant, Scheduled Castes, and Women. SST rejected the caste discrimination. The NBM was also against the caste discrimination. NBM not only opposed caste discrimination but also focused on the emancipation of untouchables and lower castes. This chapter deals with R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Rajaram Paignikar, Dayanand Bhandodkar's views on caste system.

#### 5.1 Idea of Subaltern:

The term 'subaltern' designates the populations which are socially, politically and geographically outside of the hegemonic power structure. The term 'subaltern' was coined by Antonio Gramsci through his works on cultural hegemony (David Coghlan, Mary Brydon-Miller, 2014: 401). The term subaltern is used in this chapter as an analytical tool. Jyotirao Govindrao Phule was an Indian social progressive thinker, and subaltern thinker. His efforts were in the fields of anti-caste movement, abolition of untouchability, Women's liberation and the reorganization of Hindu family life and law. He founded SST (*Satyashodhak Samaj*) on 24<sup>th</sup> September 1973 (Rosalind O'Hanlon, 1995: 230). He and his organization (Society of Seekers of Truth) demanded equal rights for Peasant, Scheduled Castes, and Women. He and his wife, Savitribai Phule, were pioneers of Women's education in the British India. His work was focused on Peasant, lower caste people and Women. Therefore, he was Subaltern activist as well as Non-Brahmin thinker. He mapped Subalterns expectations and gave remedy on them (Class agreement, education, and revolution). Movement of Seekers of Truth was later restructured NBM. Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur (1912) and Sayajirao Gaikwad (Maharaja of Baroda- 1919) developed subaltern movement and thought. Both of them were related to Phule's thoughts, in that sense, they were close to Peasant, lower caste people and Women. Its focal point was on Subaltern.

## 5.2 R. N. Chavan's views on Caste

### 5.2.1 Upper Caste:

According R. N. Chavan, Upper caste is divided into two groups. First group is educated and intellectual class. They have a tradition of social renaissance. Second group is socially traditional with sound economic background. In social sphere they followed the caste and Varna system. Therefore, they accepted the discrimination within the caste and Varna system. Upper caste accepted ideology of caste system as an idea of Hinduism (Interview Ramesh Chavan 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

### 5.2.2 Maratha Caste Cluster

Chavan wrote various articles in edited books, Journals and Newspapers related to Caste. Below table enumerates the different articles written by R. N. Chavan on the Maratha Caste.

Sr.No.	Article Name	Journal	Publication Year
1	Dinbandhu and Maratha community	Dinbandhu	4 June 1976
2	Marathe, <i>samyukta Maharashtra</i> and Maratha Awareness.	Maratha Jagruti	April 1954
3	Maratha, Marathe and Maharashtra	Maratha Jagruti	Nov. 1954
4	Social Nature of Maratha-Bahujan samaj	Maratha Jagruti	July 1954
5	Definition, Awareness and upliftment of Bahujan Samaj	Maratha Jagruti	June 1955
6	Maharashtra religion, Development and Maratha Awareness.	Maratha Jagruti	July 1966
7	Need of Maratha Awareness	Maratha Jagruti	Feb. 1984
8	Communication of Maratha Community	Maratha Jagruti	Diwali 1985
9	Maratha Lobby or Brahmin lobby	Maratha Jagruti	Diwali 1987
10	Social thought and disease of Maratha community	Maratha Jagruti	June 1989

11	Maratha-Marathi-Marathe-Maharashtra-Maratha Awareness	Maratha Jagruti	Diwali 1983
12	Maratha and Marathi culture and religion	Sangmeshwar (Mumbai)	10 Oct 1950
13	Maratha is not a caste, it is a <i>samaj</i> (community)	Sangmeshwar (Mumbai)	3 Oct 1957
14	Maratha- Marathi language and religion	Sangmeshwar (Mumbai)	24 Oct 1957
15	Marathi culture, language and religion	Sangmeshwar (Mumbai)	5 Dec 1957
16	Progress of <i>Maratha Mahasangh</i>	Sadhana (Pune)	27 Feb. 1982
17	Maratha-Marathi-Marathe-Maharashtra	Sangram (Thane)	16 June 1980
18	Maratha Education Society ( <i>Maratha Shikshan Parishad</i> ).	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	20 and 27 Sept. 1957
19	Maratha-Marathi-Marathe-Maharashtra	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	4 June 1980
20	Cunning policy to increase the conflict between Maratha and non-Maratha	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	1 Nov.1972
21	Maratha-Marathi-Marathe-Maharashtra and Kirloskar	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	25 Nov. 1981
22	Challenges to Maratha community	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	11 Oct 1978
23	Maratha community	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	18 Oct 1978

24	Where is the political dominance of Maratha Community?	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	5 Oct 1977
25	Organization of Maratha Graduate's	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	4 August 1982
26	Contemporary situation of Maratha community part-1-2 and 3, 8	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	16 and 23 Oct 1991
27	Maharashtra and Marathe part-1 and 2	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	29 August and 5 Sept 1990
28	Challenges before Maratha community part 1,2 and3, 7	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	21, 23 March 1990
29	Unity and Progress of Maratha community	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	29 march 1989
30	Observations and critic on Maratha community part-1 and 2	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	8 Oct 1991
31	Identity of Maratha, part-1and 2	Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka)	22 and 29 July 1992
32	Change and Maratha community	Navshakti (Daily Newspaper)	28 may 1983
33	Who is <i>Marathe</i> ?	Navshakti (Daily Newspaper)	7 Nov.1978
34	<i>Ishara</i> (Caveat) to Maratha	Shivner (Daily Newspaper)	5 July 1971

35	Maratha is not a Caste	Shivner (Daily Newspaper)	9 June 1971
36	Who said, Maratha is communal?	Shivner (Daily Newspaper)	6 Oct 1957
37	All India Maratha Education Council. ( <i>Akhil Bharatiya Maratha Shishan Parishad</i> )	Shivner (Daily Newspaper)	18 may 1973
38	Marathas, Aren't you going to think? Part -1,2 ( <i>Marathyano vichar karal kay?</i> )	Maratha (Daily Newspaper)	22 and 29 march 1945
39	Maharashtra and <i>Akhil Bharatiya Maratha Mahasangh</i>	Souvenir	1987

Above articles were collected by Ramesh Chavan and Published in a book entitled, 'Maharashtra and Marathe' (2010). According to R. N. Chavan, the idea of Maratha is not only related to Maratha Caste. R. N. Chavan explained idea of Maratha with two levels (Interview Ramesh Chavan 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017). At first level, Maratha means state established caste cluster and a language group. It is a cluster of four Varna systems. Therefore, from upper castes to Dalit's all are included in the idea of Maratha. Second level is Maratha as a caste cluster. Maratha caste cluster is divided into three groups. First group is of ruling elite class Maratha, which is rich and power holder group. This group is separate from other Maratha. Second group is of *Kunbi*, it is also separate from elite class Maratha. Status of *Kunbi* cluster is lower, because they are by profession cultivators. Third group is of middle class Maratha; which emerged from peasant class. This group is separate from peasant. They live in urban and semi urban areas. All three groups are educationally backward. They are not developed as an intellectual class (Interview Chandrakant Patil 31<sup>st</sup> May 2017). According to R. N. Chavan, process of renaissance among the Maratha's was developed by Shahu Maharaj, V. R. Shinde, Bhaskarrao Jadhav, Bhagvantrao Palekar. This process of renaissance was stopped, after the formation of '*Maratha Mahasangh*' organization. Chavan said that, Maratha was liberal, had friendly relations with other sections of society but these features of Maratha

were declined in the eighties. Village society was based on democratic values, this was because of Maratha. (Interview Rajan Gavas 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2017). As a result of the division or differences within the Maratha, those democratic values vanished. Maratha was divided into congress and Non-Congress Parties (Peasant Workers Party, Shiv Sena). Chavan criticized the backwardness of Maratha. According to Chavan, Caste conciseness is not in the Maratha Caste cluster but they have a clan conciseness. Although, Maratha caste cluster was closely related to other castes, they have an individual perspective but not collective perspective. He argued that, Maratha caste cluster was not liberal with respect to women; this resulted into social and educational backwardness of Maratha women (Interview Shobha Ingawale 10<sup>th</sup> June 2017).

### **5.2.3 Dalit Caste:**

In the last quarter of 19th century three Census reports were published in British India. In these Census reports, untouchable population was included into Hindu category (Phadake Y.D., 1989: 297) but Muslim's opposed this inclusion of untouchable population in Hindu category. This event sparked major debate, whether untouchables are Hindu's or not? Muslim organizations argument was that untouchables are not Hindu's (1909). Congress accepted Dalits as a Hindu. Dr. Ambedkar and Southborough Commission accepted the separate identity of Dalits. This point was also propounded by R. N. Chavan. According to Chavan, V. R. Shinde also accepted the untouchables separate identity, but Shinde considered untouchables as a part of Hindu Society (Interview Randhir Shinde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2016). This inclusion of untouchables into Hindu as propagated by Shinde was rejected by Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar was concerned with the political rights of Dalits. To accomplish this goal he initiated the 'Temple Entry Movement' in Nashik, Maharashtra (1927-1931). Temple Entry Movement was carried out in Nashik, Maharashtra (1927 to 1931). Ambedkar took the leadership of Temple Entry Movement. He realized that, Untouchables will never get the rights if they live as a Hindu (Interview Vinay Kamble 17<sup>th</sup> May 2016). During that time 'Round Table Conference' was convened in London. In which Dr. Ambedkar demanded separate electorates for Dalits. Congress denied Dr. Ambedkar's demand of separate electorates for untouchables. V. R. Shinde also rejected separate electorate system; instead he

favoured ‘Co-opt system’ for Dalits (Interview Randhir Shinde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2016).

According to R. N. Chavan, emancipation of Dalit was Ambedkar’s life goal. Chavan argued that Ambedkar’s criticism about Hinduism was started because of Dalit issue, but Ambedkar’s criticism wasn’t limited to only Dalit issue. Ambedkar criticized inter- relationship between caste system, Varna system and Hindu religious philosophy ((Interview Rjkumar Surwase 25<sup>th</sup> May 2016). According to Chavan, Ambedkar explained structure, function and value system of the Hindu Society. Inequality and discrimination was a value system of Hindu Society. According to R. N. Chavan, Ambedkar demanded Equality, Liberty and Fraternity among the Hindu Society, but Hindu social order denied the value system of Equality, Liberty and Fraternity. As a result, Ambedkar converted into Buddhism (Interview Kishor Mhetri 11<sup>th</sup> May 2016).

Chavan wrote 31 different articles in edited books, Journals and Newspapers related to Dalit issue. Following table gives the list of these articles.

**Table: 5.1 Article’s in Books on the issue of Dalit.**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Article Name</b>	<b>Book</b>	<b>Publication Year</b>
1	Dr. Ambedkar’s articles in Bahishkrit Bharat	(Bahishkrit Bharatatil Dr.Ambedkar’s lekh). Edited by Ranaveer Ratanakar.	Ratanamitra publication, Nagpur in 1976.
2	Pioneers of Dalit Movement- Dr. Ambedkar and Phule. ( <i>Dalit chalavaliche pranete – Dr. Ambedkar, Phule.</i> )	Traditions of renaissance of Ambedkar . Edited by Gavane sharad.	Progressive youth organization in 1982

**Table: 5.2 Article's in Journals on the issue of Dalit**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Article Name</b>	<b>Journal</b>	<b>Publication Year</b>
1	If Dr. Ambedkar was alive today.... ( <i>Aaj Dr. Ambedkar hayat aste tar...</i> )	<i>Rashtra veer</i> (Belgavi, Karnataka) Editor- Shamrao Desai.	27 <sup>th</sup> Sept 1972
2	Issue of Indian Dalit and V.R.Shinde ( <i>Bhartiya Dalitancha Prashna ani Vitthal Ramji Shinde</i> )	<i>Navbharat (Wai)</i>	Feb 1973
3	Issue of untouchability of Dalit and powerless Congress part-1 and 2. ( <i>Asprushyatecha dalitancha prashna va Congress abala</i> )	<i>Rashtra veer</i> (Belgavi Karnataka) Editor- Shamrao Desai.	4 <sup>th</sup> and 11 <sup>th</sup> July 1973
4	Problems and solutions of Dalit ( <i>Dalitanchya Samasya ani upay</i> )	<i>Samarth (satara)</i> Editor- A. K. Kulkarni	13 <sup>th</sup> and 27 <sup>th</sup> March 1975
5	Dalit literature of exploited class their development ( <i>Pilale janaryanche dalit sahitya va tyacha vikas</i> )	<i>Rashtra veer</i> (Belgavi, Karnataka) Editor- Shamrao Desai.	28 <sup>th</sup> May 1975
6	Problems and solutions of Dalit ( <i>Dalitanchya Samasya ani tyavaril upay</i> )	<i>Navbharat (Wai)</i>	Jan 1976
7	Solution to Dalit problems; a thought ( <i>Dalit samsyechi ukal; ek samajik chintan</i> )	<i>Rashtra veer</i> (Belgavi, Karnataka) Editor-Shamrao Desai.	7 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1977
8	Maharshi Shinde's service of Dalits (Maharshi shinde yanni keleli dalitanchi seva)	<i>Asmitadarsh</i> Editor- Gangadhar Pantavane.	April- June 1978

9	Comprehensive nature of Dalit literature ( <i>Dalit Prashnanche nave vyuapak swaroop</i> )	<i>Samaj Prabodhan Patrika (Pune)</i> Editor- B. S. bhanage.	Nov-Dec 1978
10	Rational thinking on Dalit issue ( <i>Dalitanच्या prashnavaril sarasar vichar</i> )	<i>Maharashtramitra (Satara)</i>	23 <sup>rd</sup> August 1979
11	Dr. Ambedkar and his Philosophy ( <i>Dr. Ambedkar ani tyanche bhimyaan</i> )	<i>Samaj Prabodhan Patrika (Pune)</i> Editor- B. S. bhanage.	July-August 1979
12	Thought Process of Dr. Ambedkar. ( <i>Dr. Ambedkar vichar pravah</i> )	<i>Asmitadarsh</i> Editor- Gangadhar Pantavane.	Jan-Mar 1980
13	Precautions and solutions to violence against Dalits. ( <i>Dalitanvaril atyachar dakshata va upay</i> )	<i>Maharashtramitra (Satara)</i>	19 <sup>th</sup> June 1980
14	Buddha and his Buddhadarshan	<i>Asmitadarsh</i> Editor- Gangadhar Pantavane.	Oct-Dec 1980
15	Essence of Dalit and Approach of Dalit literature ( <i>Dalitatva ani dalit sahyachi disha</i> )	<i>Sangram (Kalyan)</i>	27 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1980
16	A Review of Dalit Movement ( <i>Dalit chalavalicha magova</i> )	<i>Samaj Prabodhan Patrika (Pune)</i> Editor- B. S. bhanage.	Nov-Dec 1980
17	Untouchability in mills and Ambedkar ( <i>Girnyan madhil sprushya-asprushyata va Ambedkar</i> )	<i>Asmitadarsh</i> Editor- Gangadhar Pantavane.	April-June 1983

18	Dalits should not become untouchables themselves (Dalitani punha swatacha aspurshya hou naye)	<i>Maharashtramitra (Satara)</i>	23 <sup>rd</sup> June 1983 and 16 <sup>th</sup> June 1983
19	Dr. Ambedkar's Hindulism(?) and Savarkar.	<i>Maharashtramitra (Satara)</i>	12 <sup>th</sup> July 1983
20	Issues of Dalit education ( <i>Dalitanच्या shaikshanik samasya</i> )	<i>Maharashtra rajya madhyamik shala, mukhyadhyapak sangh mahamandal, Satara. Silver Jubilee Souvenir</i>	Oct 1984
21	Dalit Literature : a new critic ( Dalit Sahitya ek chikitsa)	<i>Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka) Editor- Shamrao Desai.</i>	28 <sup>th</sup> Aug 1985
22	Dr. Ambedkar and M.N.Roy	<i>Asmitadarsh Editor- Gangadhar Pantavane.</i>	1987
23	Non-dualism of Shivpower and bhimpower ( <i>Shivshakti ani Bhimshakti yanche advait</i> )	<i>Rashtra veer (Belgavi, Karnataka) Editor- Shamrao Desai.</i>	<i>Shiv Jayanti Visheshank</i> 1988
24	Memories of Dr. Ambedkar	<i>Asmitadarsh Editor- Gangadhar Pantavane.</i>	Diwali 1988

25	Dalit literature is a living literature ( <i>Dalit sahitya eka jivant sahitya ahe</i> )	<i>Tambadi Mati (Wai, Maharashtra)</i> Editor- Bharat Sonawane.	9 <sup>th</sup> May 1989
26	Phule, Ambedkar and Bahujan Samaj	<i>Asmitadarsh</i> Editor- Gangadhar Pantavane.	1991
27	Dr. Ambedkar's Dalit Movement and Dalit Movement after Ambedkar	<i>Asmitadarsh</i> Editor- Gangadhar Pantavane.	Jan- March 1992

**Table: 5.3 Article's in Daily Newspaper's on the issue of Dalit**

Sr. No	Article Name	News Paper	Publication Date
1	Only empowerment of Dalits won't make village empowerment ( <i>Dalitoddhar zalyane kharya arthane gramoddhar honar nahi</i> )	<i>Dainik Ajintha</i>	23 <sup>rd</sup> Dec 1977
2	Issue of Dalit Women is critical ( <i>Dalit striyancha prashna chintajanak</i> )	<i>Dainik Sakal</i>	18 <sup>th</sup> Nov 1988
3	Issue of Dalit unity ( <i>Dalitanmadhil aikeya prashna</i> )	<i>Bhim Times (Satara)</i>	14 <sup>th</sup> April 1990

#### 5.2.4 History of Dalit:

R.N.Chavan wrote a history of the Dalit Movements which was published in a book format in 2012 by name-'Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar and Dalit Movement'. This was edited by Ramesh Chavan. This book is developed in the framework of procedure.

1. R. N. Chavan said that term Schedule Caste was not used by V. R. Shinde. According to R. N. Chavan, the term Schedule Caste was firstly used by Bengal government in 1932. In 1935 it was approved by Government of India act 1935 and then other Caste's of some regions were included in Schedule Caste. R. N.

Chavan said that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar wrote the book entitled, Who Were Shudra? In this book he answered that shudra were Kshatriya. Joytiba Phule wrote a *povada* (Type of Ballad) on Shivaji Maharaj. In which he wrote that, the war was fought between Parshuram and Kshatriya. Kshatriya known as a *Mahar*. Parshuram won this war and he made the Kshatriya as slave. Phule said that in this way the untouchability and slavery system emerged. Phule said that Arya means Brahmins and non arya means non-brahmin. *Marathe* and *Mahar* these castes have same race (Interview Baba Adhav 12<sup>th</sup> April 2016).

2. Satyashodhak, Non-Brahmin and Dalit movement's work resulted in the awareness of social, religious and political in modern Maharashtra. In the colonial era, these movements spread the modern thoughts and approach among the Bahun samaj (Interview Anant Awati 17<sup>th</sup> May 2017).
3. These movements rejected the notion of caste system in Hindu religion and they embraced the ideas of equality, freedom and Justice for human beings. Chavan said that untouchability and discrimination based on caste are the two sides of the same coin of the Hindu religion. Chavan's approach towards the Phule, Ambedkar movement and thought was of equality, justice and co-operation.
4. R. N. Chavan compared touchable and untouchables movements. Social reform was classified in two groups, Self upliftment and upliftment. Phule and ambedkar's movement was the movement of self upliftment. Touchables movement like Brahmo samaj, Arya samaj, Prathana samaj and V. R. Shinde's movement of upliftment of untouchables are the examples of upliftment movement (Interview Ramesh Dubal 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2016). Dr. Ambedkar stressed on self upliftment of dalits and he created new identity among the dalits. Chavan argued that, Dr. Ambedkar's major contribution was that he creates the ambition among the dalits to become a ruling class.
5. Two major frameworks were available for solving the issue of Dalits. Dr. Ambedkar finally accepted Buddhist framework of solving the Dalit issue. But R. N. Chavan accepted the Hindu framework to solve the issue of Dalits. Chavan didn't look at the issue of Dalits in the framework of traditional approach of Hindutva but he thought within the frame work of Hindu religion. Chavan said

that upliftment of dalits means protection of Hindu religion within the framework of Hindu religion and Hinduism. Unity between the Hindu will remain and the Dalit issue will get resolved. This view was taken by Chavan. The issue of Dalit can be solved only through Social Harmony (Interview, Ananda Kamble 19<sup>th</sup> May 2016). Chavan said that Dalit and Bahujan samaj lived together. They do not conflict each other. This view is related to the principle of Social Harmony (Sakal, Pune, 12 April 1993).

6. R. N. Chavan accepted the Dalit issue as a national issue; it is neither local nor Dalit issue. Dalit issue is not limited to any political party or creed but it is a national issue and it should be solved by a new Humanitarian approach (Interview, Baba Adhav, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2016).
7. Chavan argued that it is not totally true that, untouchability remains only because of religion. Village institution is also responsible for that. Within the structure of village there are two types of villages. One is touchable and second is untouchable. Religion gives spiritual status to untouchables but village structure give economic status to it. Caste and sub-caste is the reality of Indian social system. It is a social antagonism. Chavan argued that if we want to remove the untouchability or caste system, we should change the structure of village. Dr. Ambedkar also said that village is a pond so that Dalit should go to the cities. Dr. Ambedkar refused to solve the Dalit problem or issue within the framework of village structure (Interview Vinay Kamble 17<sup>th</sup> May 2016).
8. Chavan said that in the history of Dalit movement Ambedkar's thought is important. Pre-Ambedkar Dalit movements were deeply connected to Bhakti Movement, Dalit leader's and masses get influenced by Bhakti Movement in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Goa. Firstly some liberal leaders of Dalit started social reforms for the dalits. E.g. Gopalkaka Valgankar, Shivram Janaba Kamble, Dulatrao Jadhav. Ambedkar rejected ideology of Bhakti Movement because ideology of Bhakti is connected to Hindu. Therefore Dr. Ambedkar rejected the symbol of Saint Chokhamela. He classified the idea of Bhakti into two groups; Revolutionary idea of Bhakti and spiritual idea of Bhakti. Saint Kabir was symbol of revolutionary idea of Bhakti and *Saint Chokhamela* was symbol of spiritual

idea of Bhakti (Interview, Chavan Ramesh 15<sup>th</sup> April 2016).

9. According to R. N. Chavan, Dr. Ambedkar created self-respect within the Dalit Community. In 1917 Ambedkar came to India from foreign country. He gave leadership to Dalit Movement. Human rights, Justice, equality, abolition of slavery, etc. are the contributions of Ambedkar to Dalit Movement. He gives philosophical base, religion and independent press to Dalits. Ambedkar abolished the dependency of Dalit movement and made it independent. Ambedkar said that, Dalits should uplift themselves. Dalit must be ruling caste. Ambedkar created the identity and self-respect among the Dalits (Chavan, R. N., 2012: 188).
10. According to R. N. Chavan, after the independence, making of the constitution of India and Buddha Deeksha these two events are important, because they uplifted Dalits socially and politically. Ambedkar gave reservations and facilities to Dalit community. After independence Ambedkar changed his views. Ambedkar gave importance to National integration rather than conflict. His political policy was secular. He accepted Buddhism although he said that, state should be secular (Chavan, R. N., 2012: 183).
11. According to Chavan, Dalit literature is by nature scientific and rational. It is not Spiritual but Material. The objective of Dalit literature is the emancipation of Dalits and to create a new society based on Social Harmony. Renaissance is the core of Dalit literature; it works not only for Dalit but also for non-Dalits. Dalit literature not only comments about spirituality but it also handled social, political and economic issues. Buddha literature gives the teachings of humanism and religious equality. Buddha literature created a new path of equality (Interview Kiran Surwase, 20<sup>th</sup> October 2017).
12. Ambedkar's father Ramji Ambedkar wrote the application to British government in which he demanded that, Mahar community should be recruited in the military; Justice Ranade helped Ramaji Ambedkar in preparing and writing the draft of this application (Chavan R.N., Maharashtra Mitra, Satara, 25 April 1986). This history was important for social harmony because upper Caste Ranade supported Dalit. He focused the co-operation between the Upper Caste and Backward Castes. On 18<sup>th</sup> January 1943, Dr. Ambedkar delivered the lecture on "Ranade, Gandhi and

Jinnah” on the occasion of 101<sup>st</sup> birthday celebration of Ranade at Gokhale Memorial Hall, Pune. R. N. Chavan noted this fact which is an example of social harmony (Chavan Ramesh 15<sup>th</sup> April 2016 ).

13. According to R. N. Chavan, after the independence the atrocity act was passed. Untouchability was abolished by law but in rural India it remained in practice. Caste discrimination and untouchability created the issue of Dalit. In rural area discrimination is found everywhere. In marriage ceremony the existence of caste can be easily seen. In rural area peasant class is more rigid. So the changes in the village society is not easy. Caste discrimination and untouchability these are the traditions among the village society. As the caste system is based on the birth, it is the mother of untouchability (Chavan R.N. 2012 : 5). This view of R. N. Chavan is social observation; it is similar to Dr. B.R.Ambedkar’s thought on village society.
14. According to R. N. Chavan, all people and their business and services are important for the country. Workers and *sharmik* works hard and clean the city and village. It is important to the nation. In democracy it is important because they maintain the social life. No business is lower or higher. Every business and service is equally important for the country. Caste will not be obstacles before the public interest. Chavan propounded the concept of integrated *lokraj* (People’s State). According to him this integrated *lokraj* is more important. In this *lokraj*; there is no discrimination between humans on the basis of caste, creed, religion and language. There is no discrimination between the different types of services or business. All human beings are equal. Chavan gives importance to the principle of equality (Interview Chavan Ramesh 15<sup>th</sup> April 2016).
15. Chavan said that, within the framework of Hindu religion Mahatma Phule described the problems of Dalits. Saints tried to remove the untouchability by the way of Parmartha. Mang and Mahar these Dalit caste whether they should live or not in Hindu religion? was the big question before the Mahatma Phule (Chavan R.N.,2012 : 16). Phule said that, *Mang* and *Mahar* are *Shudra* but later on they became *ati Shudra*, *ati Shudra* means those lived outside the village. Phule called peasant as a *shudra* and untouchables as *Ati shudra*.
16. Chavan said that, V.R.Shinde gave message to all Maharashtrian people that,

Brahmin and Maratha should give rights to Non-bramhins, Dalits and other communities and they should work to protect the interest of the weaker sections of the society (Interview Shivaji Patil 4<sup>th</sup> June 2016).

17. Chavan said that, V. R. Shinde refused Dr. Ambedkar's views on Conversion of Religion. Mahatma Gandhiji called untouchables as a Harijan but Shinde was not agreeing with this views. Shinde himself was a Buddhist. He knows the language of Pali and Prakrut. He was present in Brahmadesh for the conference on Buddha religion. Shinde revered the Buddhism, philosophy of Buddha and *Buddha Pournima*; although he was not agreed to the Conversion of Dalits from Hinduism to Buddhism. The conversion of Dalits led the division among the society. Distance will be created. In villages, this view of Shinde is correct. Difference can be seen in villages among the Buddhism and Hinduism. Only Mahar community of Dalits had accepted the Buddha religion. Other caste of the Dalits are not accepted the Buddha religion. Emotional unity between the Hindu and Buddha was destroyed (Interview Chavan Ramesh 15<sup>th</sup> April 2016).
18. Chavan said that, V. R. Shinde tried to abolish the untouchability. When Shinde went to villages, he visited *Mahar Vada* (the place where Mahar Caste lived). In every public programme or public meal attended by Shinde, he ensured the presence of Dalit's also. If there wasn't any Dalit, Shinde also refrained himself from attending that programme (Interview, Randhir Shinde, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2016).
19. In Maharashtra among Dalit's, the Mahaar Caste is in majority. In rural Maharashtra peasant Maratha caste is a majority caste then comes the Mahaar caste population. In the structure of village, owner and servant relation is there. Dalit's are treated as a servant. Rural peasant Maratha community traditionally thought that Dalit's are servants. Because of this approach Dalit's are exploited in rural area (Interview, Vinay Kamble, 17<sup>th</sup> May 2016).

### **5.3. Baba Adhav's Views on Caste and Dalit:**

Baba Adhav is a multi-dimensional person; he is strong supporter and activist of NBM, social aspect of his biography is as follows.

#### **5.3.1 Social Biography of Baba Adhav:**

Baba Adhav is a leader, social activist and thinker. He belongs to Non-Brahmin and Satyashodhak movement. He is follower of Satyashodhak movement. Baba Adhav is a doctor by profession. Since last fifty years, he is doing practice at Nanapeth, which is located in east Pune. Social profile of east Pune is Non-Brahmin community. This community remained socially, economically and educationally backward in fifty years. Adhav family belongs to Maratha caste and active in Mercantile. Baba Adhav was born on 1<sup>st</sup> of June in 1930. After the death of his father, he shifted to his mother's home place (1930). His grandfather named Vitthal Sakharam Zende was a leader of Satyashodhak and NBM. In 1925 the Pune Municipal Corporation propounded a bill to establish the statue of Mahatma Phule instead of Lokmanya Tilak, Mr. Zende was one of the supporters of this bill (Interview, Baba Adhav, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2016). Zende was inspired by thoughts of Shahu Maharaj, same is the case for Baba Adhav. Baba Adhav's Mother was educated from Sevasadan institution, which was established by Ramabai Ranade. This institution's tradition was liberal, progressive which influenced Baba Adhav. Baba was introduced to *Rashtra Seva Dal* and he became the member of *Rashtra Seva Dal* (1943 to 1950).

He was the chief of Ganjpeth branch of RSD (Shakhanayak) and also was the organizer of Night Worker's branch. He started the Adult education classes during night for these Workers (Interview, Baba Adhav, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2016). He completed his Primary education from Municipal corporation school and his secondary education from Shivaji Maratha High school (Shukrawar Peth, Pune). He passed the matriculation exam of Bombay University in 1947. He completed his Higher education from Pune University. After completing his education in 1953, he started Medical practice at his home (Nana Peth, Pune). In 1955 he started second clinic in Hadapsar area of Pune. In the same year he had participated in Goa Liberalization Movement (Interview, Baba Adhav, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2016). Rambhau Tupe, Nanasaheb Gore, Sharad Limaye, Bhaiya Vaidya and Baba

Adhav etc participated in medical service unit at Goa. He donated his hospital to *Maharashtra Arogya Mandal*.

S. M. Joshi was the president of this Mandal. Initially he took the monthly salary of only 250 rupees. He worked as a doctor in *Sane guruji hospital* of *Maharashtra Arogya mandal* from 1955 to 1966 (Interview, Baba Adhav, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2016). Baba Adhav was also influenced by Mahatma Joytiba Phule. He tried to implement Phule's thoughts of equality. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Ram Manohar Lohiya and S.M. Joshi, Nanasahab Gore, Vinayak Kulkarni, Baburao Jagtap also influenced Baba Adhav (Interview, Baba Adhav, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2016). He was related to *Dhoke Talim* (Gymnasium) and *Hamal Talim*, where he understood the issues of exploitation of masses. In 1950 he was actively participated in agitation against food inflation. For this agitation he was punished for three weeks in jail (prison). It was socialization process happened in the life of Baba Adhav. He was punished 53 times for the participation and leadership of agitation. In 1952 he was punished for the first time in his life. (Interview, Baba Adhav, 12<sup>th</sup> April 2016).

### **5.3.2 Ek Gaon Ek Panvatha Movement (One Village One Pond)**

On 24th sept. 1973 Society of Seekers of Truth (SST) completed his 100 years. On this occasion of that Baba started a programme Ek Gaon Ek Panvatha (Adhav Baba, 2005: 6). Mahatma Phule had opened his well for the Dalits. In Sadashiv Peth, Pune the Dalits held satyagrah for drinking water. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had a Satyagrah in *Mahad Chavadar Pond*. After the Pune pact Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar wrote a letter to Thakarappa and gave the programme to upper caste for eradication of untouchability. These programme's first Article deals with, all the wells in the villages should be open to all untouchables. On this background Baba started his programme of "*One Village, One Panvatha*" (Interview, Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017). Baba established *Mahatma Phule Samata Pratisthan* on 27<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1971 and he started his programme on 28<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1971.

In his journey, he visited thirty Taluka's and four hundred villages in Maharashtra and Karnataka. When he visited the villages he found many problems in them. The major

problem was that of Reservation. The Dalits have got the Reservation in Gram Panchayat. But the structure of the village was not allowing Dalit to vote. Those who were defeated in election, they attacked Dalits but at that time no one comes to their protection. Members of Mahar caste who were converted into Buddhism, contested the election by mentioning their caste as Mahar (to contest from the reserved seat) Because of this other caste's among Dalit's (*Matang* and *Charmkar*) opposed it. This was the major conflict and political crisis within the Dalit Caste cluster. Baba tried to maintain social Harmony within the Dalits Caste Cluster and the other castes (Interview, Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

As a result of Baba Adhav's efforts the Maharashtra government launched a new scheme by name- "*One Village, One Panvatha*". Government formed the committee for that and appointed Baba as a member of that committee. But Baba refused the membership of that committee, he argued that if this program was taken by the government then the nature of this programme will become 'village Glorification'. According to Baba, Government is doing nothing except publishing the news. When the socialist leader; Bhai Vaidya was the Mayor of Pune city. He declared to implement this scheme near the village of Pune city; but it was not implemented in the process (Interview, Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

For the purpose of, "*One Village, One Panvatha*" Baba travelled all over Maharashtra, from Region to Region; Western Maharashtra, North Maharashtra, *Vidarbha*, *Marathawada* and *Konkan*. In his diary; he wrote the experiences of this movement. Then he published a book in Marathi entitled, "*Ek Gao Ek Panvatha*" (One Village One Pond). During the period of 1960-70 he found that in every village of Maharashtra the untouchability was the common practice. Dalit's were not allowed to enter in the Temple. Their homes were separate from the village; they were not getting the water. The government had given a land to them but they didn't have enough money for that. The touchable's were not giving water to Dalit's land. Untouchables were eating a non-veg so the touchable were not ready to touch them. But some Dalit's shared their experience with Baba Adhav. They said that in village Dalit has a liquor shop. Men of all Castes come to Dalit's liquor shop to drink the liquor, there wasn't any untouchability.

When they were drunk all are equals. They took the liquor glasses from the untouchables but in the village they followed untouchability. It is contradiction between social behaviors in village society. Baba propounded that this contradiction was sharply seen in the village society. Through this process Baba did the renaissance in the society. He appealed to society to established social harmony in the village. Most important point Baba propounded through this movement is that; Right to Equality and Right to Water (Interview, Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

### **5.3.3 Hamal Panchyat (Load Carriers Organization)**

Shankar Paranjape established National Hamal Organization in Dhule, P D'Mello established Dock Workers Union in Mumbai and Manohar Khotawal also worked for these worker. But this work was not proper.  $\frac{3}{4}$  workers were unorganized workers, they have no laws, no representation and no facilities. What is the role of this class in Socialist Society? How give the guarantee of work, salary and basic needs of life? What is the role of this class in the changing techniques of production? These issues were raised in the society; on this background; Hamal Panchayat (HP) was established under the leadership of Baba Adhav in Pune (1955). Baba Adhav is the President of Hamal Panchayat. Baba Adhav, the veteran labour right activist, and more famously, the leader of hamals (porters) and mathadis (head-loaders) in Pune ( Hamal Panchayat is working for the unorganized workers of the Society. Hamal Panchayat organization of the load Carriers or Coolies is a glaring example of efforts at political mobilization within the informal sector (Deshpande, 1999: L-19). During the last 63 years it has helped the Hamals in Pune and many other parts of the state to lead a financially better and Socially Secure life. To organize the Poor and uneducated people is very difficult task because external and internal factors do influence this work. The objective of Hamal Panchayat is not only limited to giving benefits, facilities to Hamal but through this organization he wanted a large Social Change. In the beginning Baba took a lot of meetings with Hamal and he understood the problems of Hamal. In the beginning very less number of Hamal's remained present for the meeting. After six Months 700 Hamal's registered in Nanapeth, Ganeshpeth, Bavaniipeth and Gulatekadi in Pune city. In 1963 Shivajinagar Godam workers, in 1965 Timber Market workers and in 1970 *Maldhakka* (Dockyard) workers

joined as a members of Hamal Panchayat. “No free work, no work without payment, no work in night” this slogan was used by the organization. Baba Adhav became successful in cultivating bond of unity among the workers and faith on the organization. Not only workers but he himself participated in actual work which means he accepted the principal of self-sufficiency (Deshpande, 1999: L-19).

“*Mazi Path Mazya Malakichi*” (My back is my Property) is the slogan of this organization. It is new idea of Property propounded by Baba. This idea of property focuses on hard work. Therefore, the meaning of property means the hard work. Without hard work there will be no property. This is the new definition of Property. Big weight carrying workers are called as ‘*Majur*’; this is the meaning of Hamal (bitterly- hard use of strength). The Hamal describes the nature of their work as a, ‘we gave our bone on rent’. The concept of Hamal is used uniformly, but it is not the same. Every Hamal work is different. So that Hamal is classified into many types. E.g. Grain Hamal, Jaggery (Gul) Hamal, Chilly (Mirachi) Hamal, Market yard Hamal, Stack builder (Thapi Lavanare) Hamal and Munda Pod (100 k.g. Mal bharanare) (Interview Datta Kalbere, 10<sup>th</sup> December 2017). These Hamals had no Guarantee of the work. No fixed salary, no fixed working time; hamal works full day and night according to the nature of the work. He lived on a Bus-Stand, Railway Station, under the bridge, in the slum or on the road. He was unable to fulfill the basic needs of his family. Drinking water is the basic need of human beings; but this was not available to Hamal. Health facility is not for him. Good work place, permanent work, house, drinking water and health facility; Baba Adhav raised these issues through this movement. This issue is deeply related to right to home, right to water, right to health, right to food, right to work; which are recognized as Fundamental Rights under article 21 of Indian Constitution. These human rights were denied to Hamals that were demanded by Baba through this movement (Interview Datta Kalbere, 10<sup>th</sup> December 2017). Eradication of Caste, eradication of traditions and the upliftment of the subaltern masses these are the main features of Baba Adhav’s work.

#### 5.3.4 Social Composition of *Hamals*

In Maharashtra Pune is a big industrial and trade centre. Naturally, the services of hamals are required at various levels. There are no official figures available with regard to the exact numbers of hamals working in Pune. However, the panchayat estimates that there are around 30,000 hamals working in various trade centers in the city (Interview Datta Kalbere, 10<sup>th</sup> December 2017). More than 1/3 of these are members of the Panchayat. Most of the hamals in Pune belong to the early migrant groups. In a Survey of Panchayat members conducted in 1985-86 it was noted that more than half of the hamals had migrated to the city from the surrounding rural areas of Maharashtra. A large number of them were from the drought prone districts of the *Marathwada* region. These families had migrated to Pune during the 1970s (Deshpande, 1999: L-19).

More than half of the surveyed hamals were Marathas. Along with the Marathas, Muslims and Dalits had also entered this occupation. However there was and is a significant absence of the OBCs among hamals. This can be related to their traditional occupational pattern. Marathas were traditionally engaged in agriculture and were used to intense physical labor. The OBC castes mainly worked as artisans and thus were not used to physical labor. Poorer Marathas migrating to urban centers in order to add to merge their earnings from agriculture; became load carriers. As a result of this the labour market of the load Carriers seems to be largely dominated by poor Marathas (Interview Baba Adhav 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017). It is evident not only in Pune but many other urban trade centers including Mumbai. Marathas in Maharashtra are one of the dominant social groups. Through the hamals hail from economically poor families among Marathas they enjoy the high social statues within the caste hierarchy. Their social statues and traditional occupational pattern has helped them retain their ties with the villages unlike most of the other migrant social groups. In the survey mentioned above more than 75 percent of the hamals reported owning agricultural land in their native villages. Hamals in Pune were among the first migrant families coming to the city soon after independence. Therefore they had comparatively easier access to the labour market. These features of the social composition of hamals have significant implications for their unionization and political role (Deshpande, 1999: L-20).

### **5.3.5 Issues and agitations:**

#### 1) *Miravnuk* (Long March)

In 1956, 1200 workers took a march in Pune to show their unity and power. Within the framework of Democracy Hamal's raised their demands (Interview Datta Kalbere, 10<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

#### 2) Bullock cars Satyagrah (1956)

Baba organizes bullock cars satyagrah in 1956. "*Aami Malakache Chakade Chalavnar nahi*" (We won't drive the owner's bullock cars) this slogan was given by him (Interview Datta Kalbere, 10<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

#### 3) Movement of Oppose to the tradition of *Mukadam*

Traders used to appoint Mukadam's (Middle Man) through which workers were hired. A trader doesn't appoint workers directly. The *mukadam*'s the mediator between Trends and the workers. *mukadam* gives less wages and more work to the workers. Traders give a commission to these *mukadam*'s. But this commission was given form the wages of Hamals. Hamal Panchayat opposed this tradition and established a movement against the tradition of *mukadam*. (Interview Datta Kalbere, 10<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

### **5.3.6 Collective bargaining Power of *Hamal Panchayat*:**

The Organization established itself as a mediator between traders and hamals. The Panchayat insisted that traders' association in respective markets sign a three – year contract with them regarding payments to the workers. It was decided that any person willing to work as hamal should register himself with the panchayat. Thus the process of recruitment to the labour market was more or less monopolised by the Panchayat till 1975. It helped in relieving hamals for their feudal bondages with traders. The Panchayat emerged as a platform for collective bargaining of payments (Deshpande, 1999: L-20).

### **5.3.7 Contract between *Hamal Panchayat* and Poona Merchant Chamber**

The Panchayat organised its first successful strike in 1968 in which more than 3,000 hamals participated. The agitations culminated in a contract signed between Hamal Panchayat and Poona Merchant Chamber. In this contract 15 rules and regulations for load carrying work and fixed rates for as many as 46 different tasks performed by hamals. Such contracts became a regular feature of the work of the Panchayat. The Panchayat has to agitate against the traders' associations in various market places over the details of the contract. The Panchayat not only pushed forward the economic demands for hamals but also insisted upon having proper and healthy conditions of work, arrangements of safety and security as a part of the contracts.

### **5.3.8 *Mukta Vahatuk Samp* (Open Transport strike)**

In 1979 hamal started Open Transport strike. If the goods transported into a trader's vehicle, then hamal loses his wage. So that hamal opposed the open transport. Traders had accepted new technology. Because of that the nature of the work has been changed. hamal Panchayat is actively engaged in dialog with the traders and makes deal with them for the wages (Interview Nitin Pawar, 13<sup>th</sup> April 2016).

### **5.3.9 Functions of the Hamal Panchayat**

Hamal Panchayat mobilized the unorganized workers. This organization is working for the upliftment of the unorganized workers. This Organization enlightened the workers and made them conscious about their rights. Hamal Panchayat had started a Mass movement. Through this they represent the hamal and works for eradication of the exploitation of workers. Because of the work of this organization hamal had got stability and security. Because of this movement, to appoint a new worker or to dismiss the old worker is not the easy job for the traders. Consensus of the Panchayat is mandatory to appoint or to dismiss the worker (Interview Nitin Pawar, 13<sup>th</sup> April 2016).

### **5.3.10 Hamal Panchayat's influence on Public Policy**

#### **The Maharashtra Mathadi, Hamal and other Manual Workers Act, 1969**

The most significant accomplishment of the Panchayat during the initial period was a creation and implementation of The Maharashtra Mathadi, Hamal and other Manual Workers Act, 1969. The act was passed by the government of Maharashtra in 1969 and was implemented in 1980 (Interview Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

#### **Objective of the Act:**

An ACT for regulating the employment of unprotected Manual Workers employed in certain employments in the State of Maharashtra to make provision for their adequate supply and proper and full utilization in such employments and for matters connected therewith.

#### **Definition of Employer according to the Law**

Employer in relation to an unprotected worker engaged by or through contractor, means the principal employer and in relation to any other unprotected worker, the person who have ultimate control over the affairs of the establishment and includes any other person to whom the affairs of such establishment are entrusted, whether such person is called an agent, manager or is called by any other name prevailing in the scheduled employment.

#### **Definition of worker according to the Law**

Worker means a person who is engaged or to be engaged directly or through any agency, whether for wages or not, to do manual work in any scheduled employment and includes any person or not employed by any employer or a contractor, but working with the permission of, or under agreement with the employer or contractor, but does not include the members of an employer's family.

## **Definition of Establishment according to the Law**

Establishment means any place or premises, including the precincts thereof, in which or in any part of which any scheduled employment is being or is ordinarily carried on.

Because of this act the confusion about the Hamal had gone. The act is considered to be greatly beneficial to workers of unorganized sector and was seen as one of the radical measures undertaken by the state in fulfilling its welfare responsibilities. The Hamal Panchayat played an active role in realization of the act. Panchayat had always insisted on providing economic and social security to hamals and other manual workers. The Mathadi Act was an attempt to make the state play an active role in providing such security to the workers.

Manual workers in unorganized sector especially in the service sector could not get protection under existing labour laws due to lack of a definite pattern of employer-employee relations in their occupations. Organizations of these workers suggested that the state itself can mediate in evolving such a pattern of relations. The government of Maharashtra appointed number of committees to look into the issue. The committees suggested a separate law for the workers in the unorganized sector rather than amending the definitions of employer and employee in existing labour laws. Accordingly the Mathadi Act provides for the establishment of tripartite district level boards (Mathadi mandals) consisting of representatives of traders, workers and the state. An apex body Maharashtra Rajya Hamal Mathadi Mahamandal, was created to supervise and control the work of the district level boards. Its chairperson was to be appointed by the government. Both traders and workers have to register themselves with the mathadi mandals. Thus the labour market is regularized and controlled. Registered hamals deposit their payments with the mandal. Traders contribute some amount (maximum of 50 per cent of the payments) to this as a provision for a future economic security for hamals. This is known as "Levy". It is in this sense that the Mathadi Act looks after the future welfare of hamals and makes them liable for minimum benefits of definite employer-employee relations. Actually, the act does not establish a definite employer-employee

relations between traders and hamals but it compels the traders to accept responsibility for the workers economic security and welfare.

### **Politicization of the workers**

Local mathadi mandals have emerged as a new center's of power with huge economic resources with them in the form of wages of hamal's and levy. Dominant political interests operating at both state and local level started manipulating the mandals for their own purposes. The act provides for the appointment of state's representatives on the mandals. This gave rise to a new system of political patronage. It led to politicization of the workers organizations as workers representatives played a crucial role in managing the mathadi mandals. The Congress party in Maharashtra almost exclusively dominated the overall political process in the state till 1995. The congress tried to appropriate mathadi mandals in various ways as it did in the co-operative movement. As stated earlier the hamal mainly comes from poor Maratha families and Marathas have always supported Congress in the state. These linkages made it easy for the congress to appropriate mathadi mandals and patronize hamals. The politicization of mathadi mandals made the politics of hamal's more vulnerable in character. The Hamal Panchayat also had to participate in more open political contests due to the political overtones attached to the work of mathadi mandals (Deshpande, 1999: L- 21).

### **The Unorganized Worker's Social Security Act (2008)**

#### **Objective of the Law**

An act to provide the social security and welfare of unorganized workers and for other matters connected therewith or incidental thereof.

This law was made for unorganized workers. Home-based worker, Construction worker, Kagad, Kach, Patra collect worker are included in unorganized worker category by this law.

## **Definitions of Unorganized Workers according to Law**

Home based worker means a person engaged in the production of goods or services for an employer in his or home or other premises of his or her choice other than the workplace of the employer, for remuneration, irrespective of whether or not the employer provides the equipment, materials or other inputs.

Those women worked as a Home base worker, they are not included in the concept of Worker. But this law included home based women as a worker.

### **Home based worker included in unorganized worker**

Unorganized Worker means a home based worker, self- employed worker or a wage worker in the unorganized sector and includes a worker in the organized sector who is not covered by any of the Acts mentioned in Schedule II to this Act.

Because of this law all schemes of central government has given to these workers and also State government started new schemes for them.

Baba Adhav and his movement's main contribution is that they influenced the government about public policy. They forced the government to prepare a law for these workers. Law recognized them as a worker and gave the facilities. Home based servants are more benefited from these laws. This is the major contribution of Baba Adhav's Hamal Panchayat towards unorganized workers.

#### **5.3.11. *Kashtachi Bhakar* (Earned Bread)**

Hamal's suffer from a number of health problems due to non-availability of clean and healthy food. Most hamals leave their families in their native villages when they migrate to urban centers in search of work. They are, therefore, forced to eat outside food. Besides they do not follow a fixed routine of work and unable to make permanent arrangements for their meals. The panchayat started its own food centres- community kitchens for the hamals known as Kastachi Bhakar. Kastachi Bhakar means hard earned bread, started as a small kitchen in 1974, aiming to provide basic nutritious food to less privileged sections of society on a no-profit-no-loss principle. There are in all 13 centres

run under the scheme. There are around 103 employees among them around 53 are women and mostly from families of hamal's and also the destitute, deserted women. Baba said that the basic idea is to provide fresh, healthy and affordable food not only to hamals but to all the poor people of the city (Interview Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

### **Hamal Nagar, Hamal Bhavan and Hamal Panchayat Kashtkari Vidyalaya**

There are a number of other welfare projects and development schemes run successfully under the aegis of hamal Panchayat- Hamal Nagar, a housing scheme for hamals. The Hamal Nagar comprises 420 houses built on a five acre plot near the Market Yard, allotted by the Maharashtra Government in 1975. Hamal Panchayat pursued their demand for affordable housing with the government and as per the Mathadi Act asked for land to construct the houses. Hamal Bhavan, three – storied community centre which also houses a school and library for 350 children; and a credit facility with nationalized banks through the Hamal Panchayat and Mathadi Board to make loans accessible for hamals. In 1972, Hamal Panchayat Kashtkari Vidyalaya, self-financed by the hamals was set up. The school runs classes from grade five to ten. The hall on the ground floor is also rented out for wedding and functions enabling the institution to sustain itself (Struggle and strength, INHAF: 28).

### **Features of Baba Adhav's Movements**

- 1) Baba Adhav established various social movements for the unorganized workers in the decade of seventy. E.g. Dam project affected people and Hamal Panchayat people.
- 2) Hamal Panchayat is not only limited to the issues of workers but also the Hamal participated in different movements. E.g. Muslim Satyashodhak Movement.
- 3) In the decade of ninety Baba established an organization for the Homemade servant, Auto driver, Pathariwale
- 4) Baba has given the self-respect to these workers. He built conciseness of their rights among the unorganized workers.

5) Baba is working as a bridge between the government and the workers. He propounded the problem of workers to the government and forced them to make laws for these workers. Hamal Panchayat works as a pressure group.

6) Because of this organization the exploitation of Hamal is declined.

7) Baba Adhav's movement for the unorganized workers is beyond the barriers of caste, religion, language, and creed. It gives importance to the Equality between men and women.

8) His movement opposed the established class and accepted equal society.

9) Baba Adhav's movement mobilized exploited unorganized worker and organized them, gave welfare agenda for them, to fight for that with government and sanction demands from the government.

10) This movement clearly classified between the intellectual class and workers class. This movement is useful to build the politics of poor class. New classification of workers in the framework of India emerged because of Hamal Panchayat.

11) Hamal Panchayat is successful in influencing the government about the process of making Public policy. E.g. The Maharashtra Mathadi, Hamal and other Manual Workers Act (1969), The Unorganized sector workers social Security bill (2008).

### **5.3.12 Mahatma Phule Samata Pratishthan**

In 1970 *Mahatma Phule Samata Pratishthan* was established at Khanawadi village. Khanawadi gaon is the Mahatma Phule's birth place. *Mahatma Phule Samata Pratishthan* accepted the ideology of Satyashodhak Movement. The Pratishthan works for the weaker section of the society. This pratishthan started a number of different movements for the upliftment of the weaker sections of the society. It serves as an organizing centre for workers of Pune's large service industry, including rickshaw and tempo drivers, waste pickers and recyclers, handicapped people and farmers (Struggle and strength, INHAF: 30). Baba Adhav was the chairman of this pratishthan. He works on the issue of Drought. Khanawadi comes under the drought prone area. Baba took

inspiration and started his movement of *Ek Gaon Ek Panvatha*. This was the movement of equality through one water centre. When he started this movement many issues were raised. This movement mainly worked in rural Maharashtra. One farmer belonging to the other backward caste said that, we don't even have a village, then how can we get a *panvatha*? Thus, Baba demanded one village one *panvatha* along with one village one *masanvata* (a place where dead bodies burned) (Interview Baba Adhav 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

#### **5.4 Gomantak Maratha Samaj in Goa**

Rajaram Paiganiakar was the main leader of Gomantak Maratha Samaj in Goa. He was born in the family of Gomantak God's ritual dancer family. Gomantak Maratha Samaj had a ritual of prostitute business, which was rooted in *Devdasi* ritual. (*Devdasi's* were the ladies servants of God). Devdasis considered entartaing others by the way of dancing and singing as a service of God (Interview. Ramesh Kolwalkar 10<sup>th</sup> May 2016) (Interview Alkanda Shingare 10<sup>th</sup> May 2016). Rajaram's mother was a *Devdasi* named 'Rangi'. Paiganiakar started a movement against this ritual. He wrote a famous book entitled, '*Mi Kon?*' (Who am I?). Saraswat Brahmin is upper Caste in Goa. Gomantak Maratha Samaj is impure Caste cluster. Purity is feature of Saraswat Brahmin and pollution is the feature of Gomantak Maratha Samaj. Therefore, right to equality is a major issue in Gomantak Maratha Samaj (Interview. Ramesh Kolwalkar 10<sup>th</sup> May 2016). Social Statues, Self-respect, right to religion, right to dignity, and right to Father's name were major philosophical issues in Goan Society. It was the exploitation of Gomantak Maratha Samaj. Therefore; Gomantak Maratha Samaj movement was initiated in the Goa under the leadership of Rajaram Paiginakar and Dayanand Bandodkar (Interview. Ramesh Kolwalkar 10<sup>th</sup> May 2016).

- 1) Saraswat Brahmin declared them as upper caste. They didn't give equal rights and equal status to the Gomantak Maratha Samaj and to women. They perform the art of dancing and play tabala. Brahmins used to come to hear the tabala. Rajaram paiginakar learned the tabla from Bhaskar Guruji. One day Vaikuntha Prabu, Shabu Acharya, Padmnabha Bhatt, these Brahmins came to hear the tabala from bhaskar guruji. They sit on the *Chatai* (Mat), Rajaram also sat on that *Chatai* and

played the tabala. When Rajaram finished the tabla, Vaikuntha Prabu said to the Guruji, you have teaches very well to this boy but you forgot to tell him, not to sit on the *chatai* (Mat) where Brahmin sit. Rajaram replied that, 'this house, mat and tabala etc belongs to us, Brahmins came from outside so they should not sit on the mat'. This is the discrimination between upper caste and Gomantak Maratha Samaj (Rajaram Paiginakar, 1969: 15-16).

- 2) Rajaram's father was a Saraswat Brahmin. Rajaram started a newspaper and he mentioned his full name on that news paper. Rangaji Bhede told this to Rajaram's father. Rajaram's father furiously complained about this to Rajaram's mother. His mother said that, 'Rajaram you shouldn't use your father's name without his permission'. About this event Rajaram stated that, my father was angry only because I used his name, then why should I call him as my father. He is only nominated father' (Rajaram Paiginakar, 1969: 21).
- 3) He arranged the *Satyanarayan* ritual (Pooja). All people came to this ritual except Brahmin's. Rajaram said to gathered people that you all must take education; you should also teach your children. Brahmin didn't like this. They said that right to take education is reserved for Brahmins. Brahmins boycotted the Rajaram's family. Those who spoke with this family and those who visited this family were declared as criminals. The shopkeeper refused to sell his goods to this family. The barber and other service providers refrained from providing their services to this family. The family was not allowed to enter the temple. Those who haven't followed these rules they were punished by fine of twenty rupees. Brahmins also confiscated the family's rice field. They also took the coconut farm. It all proves that they disobeyed the rules of the Portuguese government (Rajaram Paiginakar, 1969: 79).
- 4) Not only the Saraswat Brahmin but Gomatak samaj also think that, the people of the Gomatak samaj were the servants of the temple which means the slaves of the Saraswat Brahmin. While Rajaram was giving his testimony in the court, and when his name was announced, the translator named, Mr. Rayu Rege wrote 'my business servant of the God'. Rajaram said that Brahmin's do not left any chance to prove Gomantak's as slaves. Gomantak Maratha named, Narsigh Jabvalikar

went to advocate Shabhu Pandikar. He sat on the chair nearby Pandikar. Pandikar felt that it is his insult so he refused to give the expert guidance to him.

- 5) Saraswat Brahmin were organized and educated. All temples were in the hands of Brahmins. They dominated the public sphere. They were the land owners and also controlled the business and trade. They had too much property. They had religious dominance on the Bahujan samaj (Interview. Ramesh Kolwalkar 10<sup>th</sup> May 2016).

**Conclusion:**

Indian Society is divided into Caste system and Varna system. This society is socially Feudal Society. Values of Feudalism can be seen in the social structure. Therefore, R.N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Rajaram Paiginakar and Dayanand Bhandodkar etc. led agitation against the Hindu feudalism. They demanded equality based society. The base of Society should be liberty, equality, fraternity. This model is to be developed in the framework of Hinduism, so that this model will be different from the Hindutva model as well as Ambedkar's Buddhist model. This model is not against the Buddhist emancipation model, but it is different from Buddhist emancipation model. This model is active in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Goa.

## **Chapter- 6**

### **Gender Equality**

In the decade of seventy gender based studies was started in the context of world agenda. Before world agenda on Gender came in picture, various movements in India were already working on Gender equality, Non-Brahmin Movement (NBM) also discussed woman issue in British India. Therefore, this chapter deals with NBM's Legacy in the framework of Gender equality, chapter also discusses NBMs shift of legacy from single movement to various movement on various issues.

This chapter deals with below selective movements: Movement led by Socialist Party, Mahatma Phule Samata Partisthan (Pune), R. N. Chavan Pratisthan (Wai), Movement led by Peasant and Workers Party, Self-Respect Movement (Civil Society), Education Movement and Maharashtra Gomantak Party's Movement and movement led by Dr. Baba Adhav through his *Kagad Kach Parta Kashkari Panchayat, Molkarin Panchayat*. This chapter speaks on Gender issues which includes problem faced by Waste Pickers, Devdasi, Domestic Workers, Poor and Dalit Women. Chapter also accounts on women related thoughts and related work of Mahatma Phule, Tararbai Shinde, Shahu Maharaj, Chimanabai Gaikwad, Vimalabai Bagal, and Baba Adhav, whereas though R. N. Chavan did not initiated or participated any of the movements, through his literature he has indirectly contributed to gender related movements.

#### **6.1.1 Contemporary NBM:**

An issue of Women's emancipation, which was focal point of Non- Brahmin Movement and Contemporary Movement; it is discussed in this chapter. Two points are most noteworthy in this discussion; one is critic on dominance of patriarchy and second is new idea of Women's liberation. Critic on dominance of Patriarchy was to reject of Patriarchy, but which types of meaning of Women's liberation had accepted by Non-Brahmin Movement. Comparative to Man and Women, Women are a one type of class, which are included in the idea of Subaltern (Interview Baba Adhav 17<sup>th</sup> Dec 2017). This

issue was discussed by R. N. Chavan. Baba Adhav and Rajaram Painganikar worked on Women's issue. Dominance of Patriarchy, new idea of Women's liberation has center of attention by R. N. Chavan in his writing and Baba Adhav has rejected dominance of patriarchy and included new idea of women liberation in his social work. This chapter tries to analyze this central point.

### **6.1. 2 Idea of Women's Emancipation**

Relation between men and women, in the patriarchy, Caste, Religion, Gender were the primary grounds of women's oppression (Interview Baba Adhav 17<sup>th</sup> Dec 2017). Its relation is not only institutional but also socio-economic. Idea of Women's emancipation has rejected institutional locality and socioeconomic relation on the basis of women's oppression, which is main cause. Thought of emancipation has rejected the authority of religion (Laura Schwartz, 2013: 1). It is true that this happened in women's liberation campaign. The idea of emancipation is linked with Law. It intended to promote the advancement of women morally, intellectually, socially and economically as the by-laws Movement (Ulla Manns, 2004, 153). The Manusmriti was first translated into English in 1794 by William Jones. In Eighteenth century the text's fame spread outside of British India. The text can be broadly divided into four, each of different length (Interview Baba Adhav 17<sup>th</sup> Dec 2017). And each further divided into subsections: 1) Creation of the world 2) Source of Dharma 3) The dharma of the four social classes 4) Law of karma, rebirth and final liberation were rejected by Indian Women's emancipation Movement (Interview Ramesh Kolwalkar 20<sup>th</sup> June 2017). Society of Seekers of Truth (Satyashodhak) and Non- Brahmin Movement had rejected Law of Manu, for the women's emancipation (Interview Baba Adhav 17<sup>th</sup> Dec 2017).

### **6.1.3 History of women's emancipation Movement:**

Women's emancipation movement was active in 1975. But women's emancipation movement was initiated in British India itself Raja Ram Mohan Roy effectively campaigned against sati (the practice of burning widows). Jyotirao Govindrao Phule was an Indian Social forward looking and a Subaltern thinker (Keer Dhananjay, 1964: ix). He also made efforts was also in the field of Women's emancipation and the reorganization

of Hindu family life and law. He was the pioneer of women's education in Maharashtra (Interview Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017). He had great influence and remarkable contribution towards education, empowerment of women and widow upliftment. He is a well-known reformist for his efforts to educate women. He established Society of Seekers of Truth (SST) on 24 September 1873. He and his organization (SST) demanded of equal rights for Women. He and his wife, Savitribai Phule, were pioneers of Women's education in the British India. His work was focused on Women. Therefore, he was Subaltern activist as well as Non- Brahmin thinker (Interview Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017). He was mapping Women's exploitation and give remedy on Women's exploitation (Class agreement, education, and revaluation). So Phule was concerned on Subaltern classes. Movement of SST had relocated into NBM. Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur (1912) and Sayajirao Gaikwad, Maharaja of Baroda (1919) developed subaltern movement and thought (Interview Baba Bhand 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2017). Both of them were related to Phules thought, in that sense, they were close to peasant, lower caste people and women.

Mahatma Phule belonged to Maharashtra. Jyotiba Phule appeared on the political map of India in 1850s as a critic of Brahmins and a champion of backward classes. He criticized the hierarchical system of Hindu Society. He questioned the injustice led by Brahmin superiority. He denounced the caste system. The non-Brahmin Movement took inspiration from his ideas (Interview Baba Adhav, 17<sup>th</sup> December 2017). He is one of the foremost persons who encouraged women's education. In 1891 he established a high school for women. Jyotiba and Savitribai phule were pioneers of women's education in India (Interview Sharda Wadekar 6<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2017).

Tarabai Shinde(1850–1910)was born in 1850 to Bapuji Hari Shinde in Buldhana (Berar Province). Her father was a radical and working as head clerk in the office of Deputy Commissioner of Revenues; he also published a book titled, "*Hint to the Educated Natives*" in 1871 (Interview Ramesh Chavan 15<sup>th</sup> April 2016). There was no girl's school in the area. Tarabai, was the only daughter and was taught Marathi, Sanskrit and English by her father. She also had four brothers. Tarabai was married when quite young, but was granted more freedom in the household than most other Marathi wives of the time since her husband moved into her parents' home. Shinde was an associate of

social activists Mahatma Jotirao and Savitribai Phule (Interview Ananad Awati, 16<sup>th</sup> October 2017).

Tarabai Shinde was a founding member of the SST (*Satyashodak Samaj*). She was a Non- Brahmin Women and author of a fiery tract on gender inequality which was largely ignored at the time but has recently become well-known. She is famous for her book, '*Stri purush Tulana*' (A Comparison between Women and Men), originally published in Marathi in 1882. It is considered the first modern Indian feminist text (Interview Randhir Shinde, 12<sup>th</sup> May 2016). She presents her own views on men. She has complaint against patriarchy and caste in 19<sup>th</sup> Century in British India. Her work is a critique of upper-caste patriarchy (Interview Gail Omvedt 21<sup>st</sup> May 2016). It was common understanding that challenging the Hindu-religious Scriptures as a source of women's oppression was a matter of controversy. In the same time she started working towards knowledge of gender arrangements and gender relations by means of a process of reversal. Her most touching view is that "Powerless dull women is prisoner in a Maratha household". It was a critique on patriarchy by Tarabai. Manu's Law, Caste Law and religion Law were also rejected by Tarabai. Therefore, she was active in the Women's emancipation Movement (Interview Rajan Gavas, 20<sup>th</sup> May 2016).

V. R. Shinde was prominent among the liberal thinkers and reformists in India. He was influenced by the writings of intellectual as a John Stuart Mill. Modern Liberalism has influenced by Shinde from Mill (Speech G.M. Pawar, 10<sup>th</sup> April 2005). He felt that unless the condition of women in society is improved there would be no social progress. Indeed Shinde believed that progress of women was basic to all progress. Like Phule he was a champion of lower caste and therefore felt that if education was given to the girls of the lower castes they would be freed from the shackles of superstition and slavery and would also improve their families and bring about a general elevation of their caste to higher culture. (Interview Sujata Pawar, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2017).

Shinde, has already witnessed the exploitation in private life of his mother and sister (Jannaka Shinde). He became well aware on private life of women (V.R.Shinde, Rojnishi). He developed the concept of love, He used the word Rasikta, Love, Bhakti synonymously. According to him, the relations among men and women are based on purity and they should respect each other (Interview Randhir Shinde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2016).

More indifference is not good for their relation. Shinde encouraged his wife and sister to participate in public life and inspired them to participate in social activities. According to Shinde, the idea of love was different from lust (*Vasana*). He knew that women too had physical desires therefore; he goes beyond the traditional symbol of mother and sister, his thoughts were focused on woman desires (Interview Rajan Gavas, 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2017). He criticized on child marriage. He argued that women should participate in the religious movements (Interview Randhir Shinde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2016).

According to Shinde, women population is half of the total; still they have been dominated by male. In the practical life women are considered as the public property of male. He refused patriarchy because this was the major obstacle in the development of women. Shinde argued that, women should go beyond their beauty and think on Right to Thought, Right to Love, and Right to Opportunity (Shinde, religion, life and philosophy: 385). According to Shinde, the difference between men and women was not physical but it was psychological. Shinde made difference between matriarchy worship and women worship; he accepted women worship over matriarchy worship (Interview Randhir Shinde 12<sup>th</sup> May 2016). He argued that, if someone worships his mother and exploits his wife, daughter and daughter in law, then this not acceptable. Shinde said that Women work more but are given low salary, because of these women are considered as secondary. This is Brahminical approach which keeps women backward in education (Interview Shobha Ingawale, 20<sup>th</sup> December 2017).

In ancient society, women were given more importance than men. This social structure was called Matriarchy. Shinde argued that, women were not suppressed in all time of the history. Men were not king, but they worked on name of women, in ancient period the male were known on name of their mother's name. E.g. Mogali putra Satkarni, Gauami putra Satrkarni, Caste and family were introduced according to name of their mothers. Three thousand years ago, in eastern and southern region, there was women's power (Interview Rajan Gavas, 23<sup>rd</sup> September 2017). Shinde argued that, the power of the state was in the hands of the women. Males were not included in major tasks so they did not know the importance of the home. Shinde said that, The King Alkaadar had won the world, but power his house was remained with his wife. God gives emotions and instincts to women. In ancient period in a matriarchal system women had reason and will;

their main power was emotion and instincts. In human life women were more important than male, but eventually, women ignored their reason and will as because of emotions and instincts women were defeated by Male at home and at on society level. Shinde said that, like Dalits, Women too forgot their glorious history. Shinde said that women have knowledge and ethics, but physically they are not strong. Society was not ready to give the half share to the workers, how this society can give equal statues to women (Interview Sujata Pawar, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2017). Women are only carriers of family reputation (Interview Randhir Shinde, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2017).

Shinde argued that in ancient period, there was matriarchy, but the religious books like Veda emerged. Veda described women as a *Maaya* (Ilusion). Vedas were not written by women but by male according to their interest (Shinde V.R, Rashtra Veer, 26 oct. 1926, Belgavi, Karnataka). Shinde described the importance of the women in Hindu family. He wrote an article in ‘The Acquirer’ on 14<sup>th</sup> march 1903 in England entitled, ‘The Romance of Social Reform in India’. It was again published in Marathi daily newspaper Maharashtra Times on 2<sup>nd</sup> Jan 1994on Shinde’s fiftieth anniversary.

Women were exploited and were not given equal payment for work. As a human being women too have right of love, education property, opportunity. This all is found in Shinde’s writings. He demanded equality among men and women (Interview Randhir Shinde, 6<sup>th</sup> August 2017).

### 6.2.1 R. N. Chavan’s Views on Women

Chavan wrote different articles in edited books related to women. Following table gives the list of these articles.

**Table: 6.1Article in Edited Book on the issue of Women**

SrNo.	Article Name	Book	Publication Year
1	Punsholak Savitribai yacha Shodh va Bodha	Search and Message of Savitribai’s	1973 to 1988

Chavan wrote various articles for Journals on issues related to women. Following table enumerates the different articles written by R. N. Chavan on the women, from 1973 to 1988.

**Table No. 6.2 Article's in Journal**

<b>Sr.No.</b>	<b>Journal</b>	<b>Article</b>	<b>Year of Publication</b>
1	<i>Krantydynya</i> (Kolhapur)	Family Planning is the Real Religion.	20 Dec. 1976
2	<i>Nabharat</i> (Wai, Satara)	The Poem of Savitribai Phule : Nature and Critic	July 1983
3	<i>Dinbandu</i> (Pune)	Religion, Religious Guru and Family Planning	June 1973
4	<i>Lokrajya</i> (Mumbai)	Family Planning is the real religion	16 Oct 1973
5	<i>Rayat shikshan patrika</i> (magazine)(Satara)	Development of Modern India and women's Emancipator.	Dec. 1975
6	<i>Sangram</i> (Thane)	Situation of Rural Women	15 Aug 1980
7	<i>Maratha</i> (mouth-piece of Peasants and Workers Party)	Tradition and Development of Women's Education	1987

Chavan wrote different articles in Daily Newspaper related on women issues. Below table gives the list of these articles.

**Table No. 6.3 Article's in News Paper**

<b>Sr.No.</b>	<b>Daily Newspaper</b>	<b>Article Name</b>	<b>Publication Year</b>
1	<i>Navshakti</i>	Inter-caste and Inter-religious Marriages	23 Jan. 1973
2	<i>Sakal</i>	Women are the to priority, Issue of Dalit Women.	8 Feb 1986 18 Nov., 1988

Discourse of women's emancipation has been dealt mainly modern and medieval period. However, non-brahmin thinkers started dealing with this aspect from ancient period (Chavan R. N. 2011: 20-25). R. N. Chavan was Non- Brahmin thinker. He has taken into consideration this aspect from ancient, medieval and Modern period. He

focused Contemporary women's idea with the help of history of ancient, medieval and modern period. Bahujan Feminism emerged from the non-brahmin movement (Sonawane Vilas, 2017: 10). Chavan explained the meaning of Bahujan Feminism. Therefore; his views on women relates to Bahujan Feminism. According to Chavan, Women are knowledgeable and imaginative. Women were participating in the rural production process. Women's History, views on Savitibai Phule and socio-economic analysis made by R. N. Chavan, with the help of these points are discussed below in the framework of Bahujan Feminism.

Chavan's research method is mixed. In these research methods, he adopted the theology, history, anthropology and feminism. According to Chavan, women's political work and contribution had great importance in History (Pawar Prakash 2017: 28). He gives credit to historical women and present right to intellectual, right to property, right to states, right to dignity and right to liberty. Chavan throne light on political work of those women who were ignored in the mainstream history. Chavan narrated women's imaginative work and contributes through ancient, medieval and Modern periods. He dealt with Non- Brahmin tradition through ancient and medieval period; he focused on non- Brahmin tradition of women's emancipation to brought forth imaginative reality of Gautama Buddha (C-563-C-483 BC) to the period of Savitibai Phule (Interview Baba Adhav 17<sup>th</sup> Dec 2017).

### **6.2.2 Ancient Era:**

In the fifty decade, two types of discourse about Buddhism and women's emancipation were in existence. **One**, Gautama Buddha, permitted women to join his monastic Community. **Second**, Early Buddhism had eliminated the women's participation in his monastic. Out of two discourses, R. N. Chavan accepted, first view of women joining monastic community. He has narrated shortly contribution of Nakulmata, Shubha, Kshama, Utpalvarn, Vishakha alis Migarmata and Punnika. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar wrote a book, "The rise and fall of Hindu woman" in which he argued that Buddhism had not eliminated the women's participation in Buddha's monastic as original Buddhism has accepted the concept of the emancipation of women. Dr. Ambedkar further points out that during the pre-Manu years women occupied a very high position in the intellectual and social life of the country.

### 6.2.3 Symbol of Bhavani

R. N. Chavan used an Idea of “Bhavani”. He explained an idea of Bhavani, in formwork of theology, history, anthropology and feminism.

- A) Idea of Bhavani has linked to Goddess Parvati (Chavan R.N, 2007:12). According to Chavan, Shivaji Maharaj believed in the symbol of Bhavani and symbol of Mahadev (Her her Mahadev), Shivaji accepted both the symbols. Through this interpenetrations of Chavan create a meaning of gender equality (Chavan R.N, 2007:78).
- B) According to Chavan, Bhavani has a form of Durga, who is worshiped in Maharashtra. Bhavani and Durga had more impact on Maharashtra, Rajashtan and West Bengal. She was the icon of revolutionary freedom fighters. Saint Ramdas also had written a poem on Bhavani (Chavan R.N, 2007:78). These facts show that the symbol of Bhavani has tremendous influences on Indian society. Chavan argued that Saffron flag (bhagva zenda) was related to Bhavani. Saffron flag has been symbol of Bhavani which denotes political will from ancient to modern period.
- C) Meaning of Bhavani and Saffron flag means right to life (giver of life), wisdom the power of nature and the resource of creative energy. Symbol of Bhavani was important in providing justice to peasant and women (Interview Ramesh Chavan 15<sup>th</sup> April 2016).
- D) According to Chavan, Shivaji and his mother was great devotee of Bhavani. Goddess Bhavani giving the weapon (Bhavani Talwar) to Shivaji. Weapon as means (medium), not as aim; Aim has political will of common wealth. Idea of Bhavani, it means that, woman articulated the Political will; icon of Bhavani has linked to Political will and welfare of grassroots mass means the Political will. Symbol of Bhavani, antagonism against wrong and violence for liberation and destruction to empower creation (Chavan R.N, 2007:12).
- E) Symbol of Bhavani, has presented as a peaceful life of grassroots mass. So that, according by R. N. Chavan an idea of Bhavani is against the war and pro pacifism (Interview Tapare pandit, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2016). All above analysis of chavan shows that Indian society has matriarchy; Bhavani denotes the symbol of matriarchal political

power. Symbol of matriarchy has given the right to political power to the male. Therefore; ultimate the control over the political power of matriarchy. Origin of political power from matriarchy. This Theory is propounded by R.N.Chavan.

#### **6.2.4 Medieval Era:**

Medieval period's Women thought were explained by R. N. Chavan. He focused on the symbol of Jijabai (12 January 1598 – 17 June 1674), Sayibai (1633- 5 September 1659) and Tarabai (1675-1761).

- A) Jijabi developed herself through anti political and social environment. The nature of this environment was dual. One was internal harmony within two family had decline (Jadhav and Bhosale). Political and social environment of Lkhoji Jadhv and Shaji Bhosale hadn't felt appropriate to Jijabi. Therefore, Jijabi was restless of then political and social environment. Second was the relations with the society was not favorable (anti-loyal, anti-national). Most of the saramjamdar were loyal to property. Jijabai rejected this environment and created new environment (Chavan R.N, 2007:24-25).
- B) He described Jijabai as a Rashtramata (Nation Mother), it had narrated this in many denotation. Chavan used the concept of Rashtramata as a psychological because he connected the idea of Nationality, Nation and Nationalism to Rashtramata. After decline of yadhav state, patriotic felling had also decline. Especially maintaining sovereignty (self- governance) over the homeland had decline. According to Chavan, Jijabai was origin of a nation as she propagated idea of govern themselves, free from outside intervention, and connected this idea of self- determination. Jijabai was architect of National identity. According to her the nation should control the country's government by developing national organism. Those ideas were developed by Jijabai and planted to Shivaji and other people. Therefore, Maratha state had established and spread out. So that, Symbol of Jijabai denotes Nationalism.
- C) Symbol of Jijabai represents as Motivators, Adviser, Political, ambitious and creative thinking according by Chavan. She was adviser of Chtrapati Shivaji Maharaj.

- D) Jijabi was first teacher of Shivaji Maharaj. She was strategic as well as inventor of Maratha state (Chavan R.N, 2007:25).
- E) According to R.N.Chavan, Sayibai (wife of Shivaji Maharaj) had given the content to established independent state (Chavan R.N, 2007:27).
- F) After Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj, Tarabai Bhosale was the queen of Chhatrapati Rajaram Bhosale, daughter-in-law of the Maratha states founder Shivaji as well as daughter of famed Maratha state General Hambirao Mohite. She took charge of the war against Aurangzeb's military. Tarabai was skilled in cavalry movement and made strategic movements herself throughout wars. She face-to-face led the war and continued the battle against the Mughals (R. N. Chavan, 2007, 151). Therefore, Chavan had accepted and explains women's political right to rule in the medieval state. Chavan gives another example of Tararani. Chavan presents above mentioned fact and he concludes following four points I) in the medieval period women's political work was creative. Women established state and ruled state. II) in the medieval period ruling women were Decision maker, policy maker (R. N. Chavan, 2007, 151). III) Aim of state was to deal with women and peasant's welfare. IV) Inclusion was the main feature of social policy in the period of Jijabai and Tarabai.

### **6.2.5 Modern Era:**

R. N. Chavan propounded gender equality, socio-economic equality and religious equality in modern era. This began from biography of Savitribai Phule.

1. When Mahatma Phule started the girl's school in Pune in 1848, Savitribai was its first teacher. According to Chavan, The school mistress, the wife of a man who educated her... drew her saree over her face... was with difficulty persuaded to examine a class in my presence and a band of young matrons, who had formed themselves into a normal class-refused to see me on any terms (Chavan R.N., Purogami Satyashodhak, July-Sept 2009, p.g. 85).
2. R.N.Chavan propounded the thoughts on Savitribai Phule. He described Savitribai as a Guruhini (House wife) in first stage and then after he was changed his views about Savitribai because no information available till 1965. In 1911 the second

edition of the book of Gulamgiri (slavery) was published in satyashodha parishad pune. That time the chairman of that parishad described savitribai as a Shriratan, it means that she was not the shadow of Mahatma Phule. Chavan accepted this point and propounded her contribution in different way. In 1953 leela pande had written a biography on savitribai. Bhaskarrao Jadhav had written an introduction to this biography. Jadhav said that, although limited resources had available; biography made. R.N.Chavan was not satisfied. K.P.Deshpande published savitribai phule's poem describing nature and critic. Chavan remarked that some part of that is acceptable but some part will have be proved (R. N. Chavan, 2013, 1-10).

3. The women belonged in the mali community was literate. As compare to them savitribai was not only literate but also intellect. She didn't known English but she taken Marathi education and became a teacher. In that period, women teacher was very new concept. She achieved this marvelous position (R.N.Chavan, Purogami Satyashodhak, July-Sept 2009, p.g.84). All the literature was not available to write savitribai phule's sketch. R,N.Chavan tried to collect the fact and references about savitribai phule. Chavan noted that Yashwant with Joytiba photo was available but savtribai photo single or jotiba was not available (R.N.Chavan, Purogami Satyashodhak, July-Sept 2009, p.g.84).
4. R.N.Chavan described phule as a true reader and his own library. Chavan argued that Savitribai used this library. Conclude of R.N.Chavan is that she used to read some literature (Non – Brahmin Journals- Danodhya, Subhodpatrika, Gruhini, Danaprakash).
5. After the death of Mahatma Phule, Savitribai Phule continued his social work. R.N.Chavan argued that mali community boycotted mahatama Phule. Reason of boycott was that he accepted the christhan religion. Social boycotted was 13 years. Savitribai suffered from that boycott. The nature of this social boycott was caste violence. The boycott was given up on 22 march 1938 by pune mali samaj. Chavan argued that it is a caste violence against to savitribai phule (R.N.Chavan, Purogami Satyashodhak, July-Sept 2009, p.g.86).

### 6.2.6 Views on Social Reform

R. N. Chavan was social and religious reformer. In the view point of women, he was influenced by Vittal Ramji Shinde. He has written women's social history ((Interview Baba Adhav 12<sup>th</sup> Feb. 2018).

A) Chavan compared man and women. According to him as compare to the men, women had backward. Men were forward. All caste women are not equal. As compare to upper caste women, bahun women are backward.

B) In Buddha religion women are allowed to participate. Hindu religion had not given education to women but Buddha religion has given women right of education (Interview Ramesh Chavan 11<sup>th</sup> Feb. 2018).

C) In rural area caste has his own business. e.g. Sutar, Kubhar, Lohar, Shipi, sonar, Parit etc. In that period women were illiterate. But they have the professional skill of their own caste profession. So that, they have equal share in resources and income. Women had work hard and they have productive. Women have freedom of traditional education of their caste profession. It was not restricted to the women. Although women have freedom of caste profession they have not allowed to take formal education. But upper caste didn't give freedom of professional education to their caste women. E.g. Joshi did marriage ceremony or other spirituals but his wife was not allowed to do this work. In medieval period identity of caste and verna is permanent. Because of that Non-Brahmin's were not allowed as right of education. Non-Brahmin women were more free than Brahmin women. E.g. Mirabai, Kanopathara these are the Non-Brahmin Saints. In Jain and Buddha religion women also saints (Interview Ramesh Chavan 11<sup>th</sup> Feb. 2018).

D) Indian culture is male dominated as well as Brahmin dominated. All religious books were written by male. Women get knowledge from Kirtan and Pravachan but from that critical approach were not developed among the women. Child Marriage, Padda tradition had prevalence. Padda tradition was the symbol of Upper or high or rich family. Poor family women were not following the tradition of Padada. There is no padada tradition. Lord, rich and upper caste women must follow the tradition of Padada. E.g. Patil, Desmukh. Because of this padada

tradition women were excluded from education and external knowledge (Interview Vaishali Chavan 10<sup>th</sup> Feb. 2018).

E) After independence women got the right of education. But as compare women's education to urban area education to rural women is less proportion. Because of so many reasons education of women in rural area are restricted. According to chavan urban women are more free than rural women. Urban women are ready to work in rural area also but rural women have not given freedom to go and work in urban area. Chavan also critic on the education of women. Women got degree but the scientific approach had not developed. Educated women will be free from misconception this hypothesis become wrong. Chavan argued that an educated woman were more followers of misconceptions. The aim of education is to create a happy individual but educated women were not happy. Educated women are not confident. Education had not given them confident (Interview Ravindra Chavan 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2017).

F) In urban area most of the education institutions are in the hands of upper caste. But in those institutions non-Brahmins were very less. Upper castes oppose univerlization of education. But non-Brahmin institutions give education to all non-Brahmins but women's education was not priority of these institutions. These institutions opened hostels for boys but they didn't opened girl's hostel. They give scholarship or fundings to brilliant student for their future study at aboard but they didn't give this to women. According to chavan the peasant class pay local fund, from that fund the college run but in that colleges children of peasant's are not taking education, upper and urban students are taking education (Speech Bhosale D. T. 10<sup>th</sup> April 2004).

### **6.2. 7 Inter-caste marriage**

Chavan was a strong supporter of inter-caste, inter-religious and inter-regional marriage. Ramesh Chavan (Son of R.N.Chavan) stated the memories of chavan as follows

Bablya Shinde (Maratha) was the relative of chavan. He lived in Kokamb ali, Dapoli (Kokan), In the decade of fifty, he was marriage with the girl of Bhagi caste

(Schedule caste). His family was not agree, but chavan was supported him for inter caste marriage. He told him that if your partents not given permission of inter-caste. Then you oppose them and marry, I will be with you. When inter caste marriage happened, chavan told his parent to give him his property. It means chavan not only support but also help him. Fifty decade; this period was not favorable to inter caste marriage (Interview Vaishali Chavan 10<sup>th</sup> Feb. 2018).

Dr. Bal Dasai was one of chavan's friend. He married with teluge girl. Dr. Bilamppali (Satara) also marriage inter caste. His marriage with the girl of Asharm (Pandarpur). Chavan supported Both marriages. This example shows that chavan had a liberal thinker.

### **6.2.8 Chavan's Views on Rural Women**

Chavan was liberal in the family and society. Chavan give freedom to her wife. He was a Satyashodhak, therefore, he didn't worship of idol, but his wife was worship of idol. He didn't against to his wife. Chavan expressed his views on women especially on rural women. He said that rural women were not free. The structure of the village has not given freedom to women (Speech Govind Pansare 10<sup>th</sup> April 2012). Rural women were not educated as compare to urban women. Those women were educated like doctor, nurses are not ready to go village and work there. If women doctor or nurses are not working in villages, then how can solve the problems of health. The issue of health is major issue in villages but still it is continuous. In villages those women did the service, they are not secure. Girls in villages are educated upto 7 std or 10 th std. After they were not educated. They are not reached upto Higher education. Foreign education is far away for them. In villages also there was a terrorism of local gundas sothat the parents of girl did their marriage early. Insecure social life this was the main reason of women's backwardness or exploitation in villages. Chavan said that although the rural women were not educated, not secured, exploited but they are not drugs.

### **6.3 . Vimalbai Bagal's Views on Women**

Vimalabai Bagal was influenced by ideology of TSS. Vimalbai Bagalwas daughter of Ganpatrao Pawar, he was lawyer in Kolhapur Princely State. Vimlabai Bagal married

with Vasandrao Bagal and her father in law Khanderao Bagal was activist of TSS. Her marriage happens through new rituals of Satyashodhak. Vasandrao Bagal was the famous lawyer and first person elected mayor of the Kolhapur Princely State (1941). Following are the views of Vimalabai Bagal about Women.

A. Issue of codification and reform Hindu personal law should be debated in the Fourth decade. In 1941, the colonial government had appointed a four-member Hindu Law Committee, known as the Rau Committee after its chairman B. N. Rau. B. N. Rau, prepared a Draft Code dealing with Succession, Maintenance, Marriage and Divorce, Minority and Guardianship and Adoption. It was that Code that was widely circulated and discussed and given the name "Hindu Code Bill". Then Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was review of Hindu Code Bill. Therefore, issue of Hindu Code Bill had in the debatable in India. Vimalabai Bagal had supported and actively participated in the movement of codification and reformation of Hindu Personal Law (Pawar Chhaya, 2014:21).

B. In 1947 All India women' association Conference happened in Kolhapur (Maharashtra). Vimalabai was active in the conference and propounded following four points in this Conference,

1. Widow should have right to adopt the children.
2. Widow should have right over her husband's property.
3. Divorced women should have right to her husband's property.
4. Boy and Girl child should have equal rights over Father's property.

These four points were modern in 1940's and moreover they were in favor of women.

### C. **Anti- Polygamy Movements (APM)**

Anti- Polygamy Movement (*Dvibhariya Pratibandhak Andolan*) started at Kolhapur in 1943. N. C. Phadke (Professor and well known writer) married for 2<sup>nd</sup> time while he already had a wife. All women organizations in Kolhapur organized meeting of Prohibition against the 2<sup>nd</sup> marriage of N. C. Phadke, Vimalabai also participated in this Prohibition Meeting. She had propounded following four points in APM Conference (Pawar Chhaya, 2014: 17-18).

1. When first wife is alive (or not divorced), husband has no right to marry again.
2. Such Second marriages should be declared as illegal.

3. If such couples have children, they should be declared illegal.
4. Government should ban such practices through law.

APM demanded to make such laws at Kolhapur Regency Council, but the demand of APM was rejected hence APM boycotted on Kolhapur Regency Council. APM sent Anti-Polygamy Law draft to Bombay Legislative Council it was accepted and its bill had passed in Bombay Legislative Council, it transformed in law (Power Chaya, 2014: 17-19).

D. Vimalbai Bagal had expressed her views on Hindu Code Bill in the Public sphere following are those:

1. The Agenda of All India women conference on change in the Hindu Code Bill at Kolhapur in 1947 was propounded by Vimalbai Bagal.
2. Lalita Vihar Women's Organization (LVO) held at Kolhapur, Queen Indumati was the chairman of LVO. She calls a meeting to discuss on Hindu Code Bill. Well known lawyer Adv. Pusalkar also invited for this meeting. He argued that this law depends upon Hindu religion. So that the demand to changes in this law was not rational. Vimalabai opposed to him and argued that those religion and law rejected women as a human, why should women follow the rules of that religion and law? She raised important question in public sphere and she demanded the amendments in law as a human being. She also argued that women are rational and knows their interest very well. Because of this law women became economically independent and women got property in their hands; and women better knew how to protect that property from males. Women are not ready to become a target of law. Women will act with their own consciousness but never act according to irrational (Power Chaya, 2014: 21-25).

E. In 1948 Vimalabai was elected as a member of Kolhapur Nagar Parishad and became a Chairman of Sanitary Committee. She propounded two major points in the meeting of sanitary committee.

1. Should have Day Care Centre for children's of women employee of Kolhapur Nagar Parishad (Pawar Chhaya, 2014:29).
2. For the poor women should have Maternity home at the Kolhapur City. The sanitary committee sanctioned the demand of Maternity home and sent to civil

board and it will be rejected. Vimalabai organized protest meeting against it in various places of Kolhapur. At the meeting of annual budget session of municipal council Vimalabai opposed to sanctioned amount of swimming pool against Maternity Home of poor women. This means Vimalabai demanded women's human rights and negative rights and council was demanded positive rights for citizens.

She denied and walk-out from that meeting. Because of walk-out; councils calls a special meeting for the same. Meanwhile Vimalabai mobilize number of women and present for that meeting with majority, because of mobilization of women, pressure was created tremendously and Mayor of the city was changed his decision. He announced the demand of Maternity homes was stationed and *Royakel Wakhar's* place was given for this home. But one day this place was given to school board. Vimalabai went to mayor office and argued that within next 24 hours this place will not give to Maternity home then she will be on fasting. Her demand was stationed on 15 August 1951 and Maternity home was inaugurated and named as a Savitribai Phule Maternity Home. Vimalabai proves following capabilities of women

1. Vimalabai creates political power through mobilization of women.
2. With the help of political power the constructive work happens.
- F. Rajaram Maharaj had started a free Maharani Laxmibai girl's high school in Kolhapur Princely State. After the independence it transferred to Bhkati Seva Institute. This university increased the fee so that many poor girls drop out from school (Powar Chaya, 2014: 29).

#### **6.4 Chimanabai Gaikwad's views on Women**

Chimanabai II was the wife of Sayajirao Gaikwad of Badora. She came from aristocrat family of Davas Princely State. After married to Sayajirao Gaikwad, her views were changed (Interview Baba Adhav 17<sup>th</sup> Dec 2017). Sayajirao Gaikwad gives her modern and Liberal education, firstly her relatives and she oppose to modern education, but Sayajirao was the modern and liberal king. She visited many western countries along with him then she became broad minded and accepted to take education. In 1885

Maharaja take a charge of his state. He decided to convert his state from traditional to modern state. He decided to educate her wife. He appointed two lady teachers Sagunabal Dev and Nandabai Patel for teaching Marathi and English respectively. She learned many different languages like Marathi, English, Gujarati and Sanskrit. She also went for hunting with her husband and alone also. She was well-known hunter. She gave priority to her health. She did exercise regularly, walk 75 minutes every day, did horse riding, did 35 minutes physical exercise every day, plays table- tennis. She opposed and did not follow the curtain tradition (*Pardah tradition*) (Hindurao Manda, 2015:164).

**6.4.1** In 1911 she wrote book on the Status of women in India in Gujarathi language. This book focused on Patriarchal system of Indian Society where in all social structures of life the dominance of male was found. European countries modern liberal idea of equality was her utopia. She compare Indian women with European women and her main observation was Indian women were excluded from social life. Women were not participated in public life therefore the policies and schemes were not successes in society. She argued than women should participate in the public life (Education, business, banks, science and technology, health and medicine). She argued that women should participate and improve their position, but without help of male they didn't get the status. Therefore in order to develop our society, it is necessary to have co-operation among men and women. (Interview Baba Bhand 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2017).

**6.4.2** Her priority was women education; she gave economic assistance by giving Rs. 200 every month. She also sponsored scholarship to few selected women who were studying Bombay College (100000 rupees). Being the trustee she sponsored for girl student as well. In 1926 the Irish lady Margarat Kzins established All India Women's Paridhad, its first conference was held at Pune in 1927. Chimanabai Gaikwad chaired Parishad. In this, Parishad she strongly emphasized on primary education for the girl child. She condemned the tradition of child marriage. Sarojini Naidu, Kamala Devi Chatopaday, Mahalaxmi Reddy, Princess Amarut Kaur, Hansa Meheta were participated in this conference. All the

participants came on conclusion that women should get education by considering bottom-up approach rather than traditional top-down approach.

#### **6.4.3. Chimanbai's work for women**

- 1) **Queen Chimanbai Ladies Club:** On 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1903 Chimanbai established Queen Chimanbai Ladies Club. The major objective was to improve the relation among the women so they should come together and discuss their ideas and experiences. Many royal family women joined this club for sporting activities.
- 2) **Chimanbai Women Industry:** Chimanbai desired to see economic independence for women. As Economic independence was the base of all freedoms, she emphasized professional education for them. She requested Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad to provide financial assistance for this. Maharaja temporarily rejected this request as the treasury of the state belongs to common mass so he couldn't give immediate funding. He asked Chimanbai to convince her concerned views to people in order to get financial assistance. Considering the treasury issue Maharaja decided to provide financial assistance from his private property. In India, first time *Anand-melava* (Happy Conference) was organized by Chimanbai Gaikwad, which earned funding of 3500 rupees. In 1910 Maharaja and Maharani additionally provided 6000 and 4000 rupees respectively for the same. Skill based institution was originally formed for the upliftment of poor women, institution provided training of stitching and tailoring and every participant woman got 2 rupees stipend for that (Hindurao Manda, 2015:164). Every year around 200 women enrolled for this training and hostel facility was provided to rural women.
- 3) **Maharani Chimanabai Women's Society (MCWS):** With the objective to provide modern liberal approach to the middle class women, Shardaben Mehta established MCWS institution on 20<sup>th</sup> Feb 1915. Institution was to provide the basic human rights and negative rights for their socio-economic upliftment which will also help to improve their living. In the institution

activities like lectures series, Nursing, Tailoring, Drawing, typing courses were conducted (Hindurao Manda, 2015:176).

- 4) **Girl's Health Centre (Kanya Arogya Mandir):** For providing physical training to girls, in 1915 this institution was established. The ultimate goal behind this was health and self-defense for girls. Every year 300 girls were benefitted from this activity (Hindurao Manda, 2015:176).
- 5) **Girls Maharani High School:**In 1931-32 this school was establish to provide higher education to women it was then best school in Baroda state. Institution ran courses like Home sciences, music, drawing, handloom, embroidery, gardening, etc. In the same year around 76 girl students were benefitted by the school (Hindurao Manda, 2015:176).
- 6) **Bhagini Samaj:** Bhagini Samaj was established by Gulabbai Zaveri on 8<sup>th</sup> April 1921. Ultimate objective behind this was to provide skill of language and to develop the social sense and awareness of Marathi speaking women. Programs like exhibition, Essay, singing, Debate competition, were organized by the Bhagini Samaj (Hindurao Manda, 2015:177).
- 7) **Maharani Chimanabai Child welfare institution:** To promote institutional delivery among economically backward women Maharani Chimanabai established this institution was established. Institution provided medical check-up facility for every school in Baroda State (Hingurao Manda, 2015: 176,177).

## 6.5 Baba Adhav's Views on Women

After independence, Baba Adhav started taking efforts in the field of women emancipation. He has been working on social reform with ground-breaking schemes. His thoughts reflect synthesis of Mahatma Phule, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Maharshi Shinde and Ram Manohar Lohia's women thought (Interview Baba Adhav 17<sup>th</sup> Dec.2017). He was influenced by Mahatma Phule's women related Satyashodhak thought. Dr. Adhav's idea of human being is not only liberal, but it deals with freedom, equality and fraternity as well. According to him, Male and female both are included in the idea of Human being.

**6.5.1.** According to Dr. Adhav, Woman is a rational being. Dr. Adhav's Women ideology has been developed in the ideological framework of Mahatma Phule. Male female discrimination is a critical issue, it has to do with power, justice, rights, law. Baba Adhav's views have been critical to Gender discrimination, feudalism and semi-feudalism (Interview Baba Adhav 17<sup>th</sup> Dec.2017). He has belief that with the help of constitution women's right can be guaranteed through the principles of equality, fraternity, dignity and freedom from discrimination. Baba Adhav consistently working for the right to equality, right to dignity, right to freedom, right to work, right to equal status, and right to girl education therefore, his comprehensive approach is reflected in his institutional mechanism (Mahatma Phule Samta Pratisthan), as well as in some of the policies of Maharashtra government (Interview Sharda Wadekar 6<sup>th</sup> Nov.2017).

**6.5.2 Views on Women's Education:** Dr. Adhav is a staunch supporter of women education. Woman being a rational human being and a citizen as well, he emphasized on women education. He stated Men and women have equal right of education and co-education. He rejected classical and neo classical liberal thought on women's education. As per him the role of state is most important in women's education, by this way he supported human rights and negative rights like civil and political rights such as freedom of speech. Dr. Adhav has articulated following thought on women's education (Interview Baba Adhav 17<sup>th</sup> Dec.2017).

- A) According to Dr. Adhav, education helps human being to lead life with humanity and education helps to provide humanitarian sense to a woman that is why women should provide with education therefore, he has linked women education with the progress of entire human being. According to Dr. Adhav, humanism refers to a perspective that affirms notion of human freedom and progress (Speech Baba Adhav 10<sup>th</sup> April 2003).
- B) Women education provides an opportunity to develop the family in the framework of humanism therefore he has been working on the unit of family (Speech Baba Adhav 10<sup>th</sup> April 2003).
- C) Baba Adhav is founder of the Social Conference Association. According to Baba

Adhav, Education is extremely significant for the reason that it leads women to great opportunities to in good health themselves. With education women has the authority to achieve greatness. Getting an education is a big part of living an energetic life. Education gives women broad minded approach and helps to do well in everything they do. Women being the half of the population of the country, there is a need of right kind of education for women as women education helps to change the society (Speech Baba Adhav 10<sup>th</sup> April 2003).

- D) According to Dr. Adhav, women's education is not confined to close doors, their education would be better if they get out of their homes. Women education should be linked to employment as women are workaholic in the field of job. They develop collectiveness in the job (Speech Baba Adhav 10<sup>th</sup> April 2003).
- E) Dr. Adhav, connected women's education to health, educating women is the best way to improve the health, nutrition and economic status of a household. Traditionally women's are victims of hunger than the men, Dr Adhav argued that this awareness helps women to get aware on hunger and distribute it equally among male and female, which ultimately helps to distribute family food equally irrespective of gender (Speech Baba Adhav 10<sup>th</sup> April 2003).
- F) Dr. Adhav's vision on Women's education has interrelated to Social economy as well as National economy, which constitute a micro unit of a national economy. In this context, it can be argued that lack of women education can be an impediment to the country's economic development. In India, women achieve far less education than of men. As per the Census report 2001, the literacy rate of women is 54.16 per cent and that of men is 65.38 per cent. There is a need of a sincere effort to improve the education attainment of women education at both government and voluntary organizations (Speech Baba Adhav 10<sup>th</sup> April 2003).

### **6.5.2 Dr. Adhav's Views on women History**

According Dr. Adhav there was myth that only males have created history of social movement so far, Dr Adhav rejected this myth and argued that both men and women created Social movement history. Women were excluded from the records of the history. He represented and rewriting female centric history. E.g. Satyashodhak Samaj,

Non-Brahmin Movement as well as Maratha State in medieval period.

- A) Dr. Baba Adhav gave credit to women for establishing Maratha State during medieval India. Mahrani Jijabai was founder of Maratha state. She was policy maker and policy executor, her administration was best example of good governance. She was advisor to Chtrapati Shivaji Maharaj.
- B) Dr. Adhav has accepted and explained women's political right to rule in the medieval state. He gives another example of Raani Tararani and Raani Jijabai (Second). Dr. Adhav mentioned above facts and he concluded following four points
- I) In the medieval period women's political work was creative. Women took part in establishing state and ruled state wherever needed.
  - II) In the medieval period ruling women were Decision maker and policy maker (Baba Adhav, Rajaramshastri Bhagavat).
  - III) Aim of state was to liberate and emancipate women and peasant's welfare.
  - IV) Social Inclusion was the main feature of social policy in the period of Raani Tarabai and Raani Jijabai.
- C) Dr. Adhav's view was different from other social reformer because practice of Sati is prevalent in eastern and northern states of India, it was not practiced in Maratha State during the regime of Shivaji Maharaj (medieval period). To substantiate this he gives four major examples,
- I. When Jijabai's father died her mother did not follow practice of Sati (Sindkhadraja).
  - II. When Malojiraje died his wife did not undergo practice of Sati (Indapur).
  - III. When Sahaji Maharaj died Jijabai did not undergo practice of Sati.
  - IV. When Rajaram Maharaj died Tararani did not undergo practice of Sati (Karveer).

According to Baba Adhav above mentioned facts show that, practice of sati was not prevalent in the Maratha state. Maratha state was against this practice. Statute of Manu was established in the premises of Jaipur high court. Practice of Sati was legitimized by Law of Manu (Manusmriti) therefore, he participated in agitation to remove the Statute of Manu in Jaipur high court premises. Dr. Baba Adhav recently criticized Hindi film Padmavatas film glorifies the practice of sati.

D) Dr. Adhav is against social glorification. Real social fact has been shown by Dr. Adhav as he shows that real social history, Mahadji Nibalkar was Son in law of Shivaji Maharaji, he died in the battle of Malshiras (Solapur), that time his wife Sakhubai underwent practice of Sati, but Bajaji Nibalkar her father in law had accepted Muslim religion. Moreover, he again rejected Islam and accepted Hindu religion. After his acceptance of Hindu religion Sakhubai, daughter of Shivaji was married with Mahadhji. As in the battle of Malshiras her husband and father in law led their lives she kept on facing social pressure for undergoing practice of Sati. According to Dr. Adhav, religious practice and political religious practice were vary as per the situation. Political religious practice has strategy to gain Political control. Even after this entire incidence Maratha State did not believe in theory of pollution. According to Dr. Adhav, Shivaji differentiated Political and religious practices. (Adhav, Purogami Satyashodha, July-sept. 2010: 6-7). Dr. Adhav concluded that Sakubai's undergoing practice of Sati was not a major fact was just an exception. This incidence can be neglected as accepting Islam was a political strategy to achieve political gains, therefore this has nothing to do purity and impurity. As per Dr. Adhav this is the real history but some projected this in other way for their personal interest.

E) Shahu Maharaj was irreplaceable leader in Non-Brahmin movement. To support women's right of education, he established women's school in Kolhapur Princely State. In the royal family of Shahu Maharaj, Vijayamala (daughter in law of Shahu) was widow, he provided her English education. Princess Indumati was widow in early period; Shahu Maharaj gave her right of knowledge and right of participation in public life. According to Adhav, Shahu Maharaj was promoted and inspired Princess Indumati to express her thought in public life but Aakka Maharaj was against women's participation in public life.

Dr. Adhav considers this as very important because women's history and historical view has not reflected in Non-Brahmin Movement. Non-Brahmin leaders in the second rank didn't accepted historical legacy of women's emancipation. Non-Brahmin Movement's conference held in *Akhil Bharatiya Maratha Shikshan Parishad* (All India Maratha Education Conference). In the same conference Mrs.

Shinde argued that *Akhil Bharatiya Maratha Shikshan Parishad* was dominated by the male and women were excluded. Baba raised consistent question on shift of women's right in Non-Brahmin Movement. He assumes this as a blockage for social movement.

#### **6.5.4. Molkarin Panchayat**

Through the organized Molkarin Panchayat Baba Adhav started to gather female Domestic workers. Pune has been a centre and home to many progressive social movements (Interview Baba Adhav 12<sup>th</sup> Feb. 2018). In recent times, Pune has witnessed unprecedented growth in population along with its geographical expansion. As a vibrant urban centre, Pune also represents an educated urban middle class which contributes to rising demand for paid domestic work. The history of organizing domestic workers in Pune can be traced back to 1980s when the first organization of domestic workers in the city was formed. It was a successful agitation in the sense that it brought about some increment in wages for the domestic workers and more importantly brought the plight of domestic workers to the forefront. The formation of *Pune Shahar Molkarin Sanghatana* was in fact a result of self organization and initiative shown by the domestic workers themselves. In recent times, many other organizations of domestic workers have started organizing and mobilizing domestic worker (Interview Sharda Wadekar 6<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2017). These include mainstream trade unions like CITU and BMS as well as domestic workers informal sector unions like Molkarin Panchayat.

#### **6.6.1. Anti- Devadasi Movement (Maharashtra and Karnataka)**

The tradition of Devadasis (Female servants of God) still exists in many Indian states in different forms. The common features of these systems is that these devdasis come from the lower castes and serve the priest class and ruling class as free sex workers. The system of devdas is might have originated from old matriarchic tribal system. One may look at story of Pururava and Urvashi from Vedas in the context. There are references groups of yoginies begging for sex in old scripts this free women dominated

tribes might have been conquered by male dominated tribes and then the Braminical scripts modified their myths to exploit the female dominated tribes the bunch of dirty dead and living hairs on head of Devdasis imposes lower states and forces her to serve higher caste people. The process of enslaving the woman from lower caste women is certainly a complicated socio-religious process (Interview Rajan Gavas 23<sup>rd</sup> Sep. 2017).

Some individuals like Jotiba Phule , Chatrapati Shahu Maharaj, Maharshi Vitthal Ramaji Shindeand Rajan Gawas, Sadhana Zadbuke and institutions working in rehabilitation of Devadasis, the health problem of jata (matted hairs) has been interpreted with normal women in more or less same negative manner. The rituals and stigmatization has been very distressful Gender issue (Interview Rajan Gavas 23<sup>rd</sup> Sep. 2017).

In Maharashtra and Karnataka the Devadasis and Jogatin ritual is very famous. Virgin daughters are dedicated to goddess *Yallamma* by certain tribal (Harijan) communities in North Karnataka and border areas of Maharashtra and Andra Pradesh. The goddess *Yallamma* is the south Indian name of Devi Renuka. The girls bestowed to *Yallamma* are called Devadasis (slaves of goddess) or *jogin* (female devotee or goddess). The communities have a prejudice that if they do not do this to their girls, the goddess will certainly take revenge. Once a girl is offered to the goddess, she can neither marry nor come back to family life. She can be coveted and she cannot refuse him, even if he suffers from an incurable disease her duty is to satisfy them all (Interview Rajan Gavas 23<sup>rd</sup> Sep. 2017).

The master who would buy one of these girls for anything between Rs.1000 to Rs.4000 would keep the Devadasi for as many months or years he wants. Once he is fed up, he would get rid of her, selling her in the market from where she may end up in one of the many red-lights areas. In case of the master wishes, having enjoyed her for a couple of years, he may pass her to the village to be a public property. If she bears a child, and it happens to be a female, the child's luck is sealed the day she is born. She will be considered as a devadasi. Although the Karnataka government slapped a ban on the devadasi system a number of years ago, the evil practice continues in some parts of north Karnataka and quite openly at two places Saundatti in Belgaum district and Chadragutti in Shimoga (Interview Rajan Gavas 23<sup>rd</sup> Sep. 2017).

According to government survey in 2007, some thirty thousand devadasis are living in Karnataka, across fourteen districts. Every village in the northern part of Karnataka, and many more in western Andhra Pradesh and Southern Maharashtra, has a small Yellamma temple in it. The Puja in these temples is virtually always conducted by a *Jogatin* from the Dalit Community. Yellamma is the most popular deity in the region, half a million devotees from all castes throng to her main temple during the pilgrimage season, making her temple by the side of the Malaprabha River the most significant pilgrimage site in northern Karnataka. Until recently, dedications of girls were performed at this temple. Every year in February (on the full moon day) a festival is organized at the Yellamma hill temple in Belgaum district, where thousands of young girls is dedicated to the goddess Yellamma in a ritual. They are in fact later driven into prostitution. The custom of devadasi (jogin) is prevalent among the Dalit communities in villages of the artisans. Although even the rich and higher communities believe in goddess Yellamma, it is only the poor and Harijan girls who are dedicated because of poverty and economic necessity (Twilight Zone, 1997:127-128). While Maharashtra government has been consistently denying that the devadasi tradition is prevalent in the state, the Karnataka government passed a stringent law, the Karnataka Devadasis (Prohibition of Dedication) Bill, in 1981, to prevent the devadasi system. The Andhra Pradesh government also passed a similar Bill in 1987 (Kumbhar Sudhir, 2009:129).

The issue of matted hairs was prominent among the devadasis, which were victims of the custom of devdasi, sacrificing life for god by marrying and serving until death. A mated hair has been a major problem for many women who were not devdasis. There is another custom called *potraj* where, like devdasis, a male is isolated to become servant of god. Historically, there have been several actions taken up against such evil traditions that marginalized men and women from lower strata of society (Interview Shivaji Patil 4<sup>th</sup> June 2016).

Chatrapati Shahu developed an act against such evil tradition and attempted a policy induced legislative solution. Jotiba phule did strike of barbers against the evil tradition of Keshvapan. Maharshi Vitthal Ramaji Shinde worked on the rehabilitation of

devdasis. These have been the foundational forces, which formed the knowledge and value base of movement (Interview Baba Adhav 12<sup>th</sup> Feb. 2018).

The movement against superstitions was led by activities of various organizations, to name of few, Mahatma Phule Samta Pratisthan, Vidnyan Prabodhini Kolhapur, Russell Club Mumbai, Lok Vigyan Sanghatana, Indian Renaissance Institute, Keral Shastra Sahitya Parishad was leading the way. In the decade of eighties, the community of rational thinkers geared up against hundreds of superstitious traditions that were degrading human life in the name of religion. These were not organized movements but individual led actions against various unscientific things mostly in the religious domain. Simultaneously, there were various activists working independently on this agenda in their socio-religious contexts. The matted hair or *jata* has been the most recognized symbol of the women victimized by *devdasi* tradition. Many activists feared and felt need of removing this symbol of oppression among devdasi to promote their escape from the evil tradition. Matted hairs removal happened mainly with Devadasis. It took very long to consider matted hairs as an issue of suffering of larger women.

There have been several activists, which have done remarkable work in Jata Removal Movement. In the decade of eighty, an independent activist Shobhatai Shipurkar was working on the matted hairs among women. Karad based M.N.Roy institute for non-formal education and education started its activity against the Devdasi tradition through Jata removal in 1986. In some parts of Satara district Movement was active ( in Southwest Maharashtra). This institution started organizing Devdasi and developing their self-help groups to remove the tradition of Devdasi and rehabilitating them by providing support and facilitation. Removing Jata, which is the basic identity feature of *devdasi*, was one of the main objective of this movement. Many Devadasis removed their matted hairs and formed a group that sensitized other Devadasis to remove their matted hairs.

In the decade of eighties new activists were participated in anti *devdasi* movement. Vitthal Banne did excellent work on Jata removal in southern regions of Kolhapur district. Activist couple Anand Vaskar and Puspha Vaskar conducted several actions against the tradition and removed matted hairs of many affected women in

Gargoti region in southern Maharashtra. Dr. Rajan Gavas, Professor, writer and activists from Gargoti and activists of Vidnyan Prabodhini Kolhapur also conducted more than 150 Jata removals (Interviews, Rajan Gavas). The action of Vidnyan Prabodhini has been happening under the leadership of Uday Gaikwad. Maruti Bansode also has done notable work on matted hairs of *Potraj*. Tanaji Patil, From Gargoti from Ajara block of Kolhapur District has been doing innovative awareness generation through folk arts. Through his mass communication he is trying to work on removing the *devdasi* and *Jogatin* practices (Rajan Gavas, Kumbhar Sudhir, 2009: 7-8).

### **6.7.1 Women Emancipation Movement (Goa)**

Issue of woman was complex on the basis of religion and caste in Goa. Society of Goa had been stratified into religion and caste. Social order was not uniform. Therefore, women freedom and social status was different (on the basis of religion). Human rights and negative rights were not accepted for low caste woman. During the colonial era, the Portuguese had developed religious and non-religious institutions that aimed to protect, and to control women, so freedom was restrained. Education had pushed forward this discrimination, giving Catholic women more opportunities than those offered to their Hindu mates, although ideally also confined to the domestic sphere by traditional and moral patterns. (Lina Fruzzetti and Rosa Maria Perez, *the Gender of the Nation*: 52).

Catholic women were extremely fragmented with their identities. with which they were neither familiar nor comfortable. Even when speaking fluently the official language, more unfamiliar than English, the vernacular means of communication in the country. In the most cases women took on new skills, and accepted small jobs they were not trained to undertake (Lina Fruzzetti and Rosa Maria Perez, *The Gender of the Nation*: 53). Woman had fewer opportunities as compared to men, no matter the from which religion she belongs. Hindu women had fewer opportunities as compared to Catholic women. Moreover, upper caste Hindu woman had more opportunities then lower caste Hindu woman.

*Devadasi* is related to Hindu religion. Human rights and negative rights were denied to *Devadasi*. The Hindu women were much closer to Indian values and traditions,

which allowed them to take the lead after liberation. In Goa, the stigmas associated with violence and lasciviousness was assigned to two categories of Hindu women. The violet side was represented by sati, the wife who would immolate herself on her husband's pyre; the lascivious side was prefigured by the devadasi, the ritual dancer (Lina Fruzzetti and Rosa Maria Perez, *The Gender of the Nation*: 54). In Portuguese and European narratives in Goa the *devadasi* represents eroticism. The Ritual role of the *devadasi* was culturally speaking as odd as it was problematic for the colonizer. First European translations of the *devadas* was 'Women of infamy', more sophisticated women than other Indian women, and she could read, sing and dance (Lina Fruzzetti and Rosa Maria Perez, *The Gender of the Nation*: 54). *Devadasi* means servant of the deity, fulfilling the role as the temple dancer, intimately related to the temple's rituals. Both concerning state and status, she is very unique type of women. First, because she is symbolically married to the temple's god, she does not marry a common man; secondly, theoretically, she is not ascribed to any sociological origin, and she has no caste (Lina Fruzzetti and Rosa Maria Perez, *The Gender of the Nation*: 55).

### **6.7.2 Rajaram Paiginakar Viwes on Woman**

Rajaram Paiginakar was the main leader of Gomantak Maratha Samaj in Goa. He was born in the family of Gomantak. Society of Gomantak was based on ritual dancing family. Gomantak Maratha Samaj had a ritual of prostitution on the name of god. This prostitution roots were in Devadasi practice. Paiginakar started a movement against this ritual. He wrote a famous book entitled, *whoarewe? (Amhi Kon)*. His book is rejected ritual of Prostitution (Paiganikar, 1969). Rajaram Paiginakar was born in 1911 in Paingin village (Kankon). His Mother's name was Rangi. She was a dancer. She was born in Shenavi Wagh family (Paiganikar, 1969: 5). Her mother was widow. She was the child of widow. So her mother gave her to Putalabai. Putalabai adopt this girl to continue her business of Prostitution. She learned singing and dancing for Prostitution. In the age of fourteen the Saraswat Brahmin Rangaji Shenavi Bhende kept a mistress. This family thought if they don't do dancing and singing then god will not be happy. It was superstitious belief, therefore, Rajaram Paiginakar did not believe in this ritual which was ritual less Prostitution more. According to rules of the village norms they were not

allowed to work in the temple. It was discrimination between Gomantak and Non-Gomantak society (Paiganikar, 1969: 16).

Interesting events were noted down by Rajaram Paiganikar about discrimination. The issue of dancing in the temple was created, Putalabai and Brahmins were struggle each other. Putalabai was bitten by the Brahmin. Putalabai went to court and court was given the decision in the favour of Putalabai. But then after Brahmin argue that if you want to dance in the temple then you will give two k.g. coconut oil to the god. She accepted this condition and gives two kilogram oil to the temple. This event showed that, 1) It was economic exploitation. 2) Relation of Woman and god was artificial. 4) Relation of Woman and upper caste was unnatural. 5) Upper caste was dominant and woman was powerless. Approach of society was conservative, as like Woman was incapable. But Rajaram Paiganikar was rejected this approach (Paiganikar, 1969: 35).

According to Rajaram Paiganikar, society of Gomantak was unorganized and illiterates. All males are depending upon the women for livelihood. Women were doing the Prostitution. Every person gives respect to others only those who were capable for Prostitution. This outlook was anti- women's freedom. So that Rajaram Paiganikar was discarded males depending upon the women for income. His thought was modern for man and women. Relation of man and women were equal and mutually respected. Gomatak samaj should be acquiring the capability and qualification. Rajaram said that we do not blame on Brahmin but we try to improve our mistakes. We must think in the interest of the community (Paiganikar, 1969: 44).

### **6.7.3 Upliftment of the Gomantak Maratha Samaj**

Hirabai Nageshkar wrote article in the journal of Manoranjan entitled, 'women education'. The Gomantak Maratha Samaj organized meeting in Pengin village.

The meeting propounded following Agenda (Paiganikar, 1969: 34):

- 1) How Gomantak Maratha Samaj can be uplifted. Naik, Bande, Devali, Bhavini, Peni, Pharjat these are the different sub-caste in Gomantak Maratha Samaj. All should be united.

- 2) Prostitution should be stopped.
- 3) Need to spread of education among this sub-castes. Women must be educated.
- 4) Girls should be married. Dowry should not be given or taken.
- 5) Widow remarriage
- 6) Prostitutes should be given permission of marriage.

This agenda was signed by 17 males and 20 women. In order to implement this agenda 8 males and 06 women gives economic support (Paiganikar, 1969: 36,37,38).

The nature of conflict between the Gomantak Maratha Samaj and Brahmins, Saraswat Brahmin. Conflict was actually progressive vs conservative. It opposed the tradition of prostitution. It fought for the education especially women's education. Women were given a practical education with the house work. Women must be economically educated as well. Women should be given access to the public sphere, e.g. Paingnikar talked on women's freedom to go to the market and purchase, to drive the vehicle. If women did this work skillfully, then it will be helpful to the male. Women must be given practical knowledge. In most of the families only male knows everything about the economic expenses and if male is not alive then entire family gets suffer. So women must be aware about this. This all conveys that, in a family woman to hold equal ownership of everything, the same way a man holds it.

### **Conclusion**

NBM was working in the field of women's emancipation. Idea of emancipation is different from western woman political thought and NBMs thought on women differs from idea of women studied on International level around 1970. The idea of NBM is synthesis of many non-Brahmin scholars. For e.g. Thought of Mahatma Phule, Shahu Maharaj, Sayajirao Gaikwad, Vithal Ramji Shinde, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, etc. NBM has been influenced by Modern liberalism in area of women emancipation therefore NBM is seen fighting for human rights and negative rights for women, e.g. demand of education for women by Chimnabai Gaikwad (Baroda), Vimalabai Bagal (Kolhapur), Indumati Patankar (Kasegaon), Painginkar (Goa). This movement led to demand freedom from social rituals and practices for women by Baba Adhav, Rajaram Painginkar, Rajan Gavas,

Krantisinh Nana Patil, etc. This movement also demanded equal status to women in private as well as public life and institutions. As the political representation of women is low, the movement demanded women reservation government bodies. Movement also emphasized the need of equal distribution of property among male and female child, this specifies the demand of social justice through the equal distribution of property. NBM leaders like R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Vimalabai Bagal, Rajaram Painginkar believed that social background is pre-requisite for social justice. This stand point is communitarian but Rawls stand point is different from this point of view. Rawls argued original position is most important. NBMs point of view and Rawls point of view differs in social background as Rawls did not consider social background as pre-requisite for social justice.

Leaders of NBM consider family as public unit whereas Rawls consider family as a private unit. NBMs idea social justice includes Right to property, right to divorce, right to adoption, and these ideas actually deal with family but they are public in nature e.g. Shahu Maharaj passed law on Domestic Violence in Kolhapur Princely State, Anti-Devdasi bill was passed by Maharashtra and Karnataka Government, Tarabai Shinde gave voice against to family and caste, Vimalabai Bagal demanded Hindu Code Bill, therefore NBMs idea of justice looks progressive than the Rawls idea of justice. NBM emphasized on ideal of dignity and self-respect as well, in the modern time Idea of Justice is related to the dignity and self-respect, that is why NBMs ideology was ahead of its time. R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav and Painginkar have consistently emphasized on improving capability of women through various women related issues e.g. education, economic empowerment, right to work, which ultimately helps to improve overall Capability of women. In modern time Amartya Sen talked on capability approach in justice, this means the leaders of NBM were ahead of their times.

## Chapter 7

### Conclusion

NBM was famous historical movement in Eastern and Southern India in nineteenth and twentieth century, during second half of twentieth century NBM was shifted into political movement e.g. *Dravid Munyatra Kalgham (DMK in Tamilnadu)*, PWP and Congress in Maharashtra, *Mharashtrawadi Gomantak Party* in Goa and *Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti* in Belgavi Karnataka. Under the leadership of Shahu Maharaj NBM was spread in Bombay and Nagpur Province but NBM specifically had its four schools of thought in Western India.

First school of thought was started by Shahu Maharaj and now it is well known by his name. Second school of thought was naturally developed in Baroda by Sayajirao Gaikwad. Third thought was known by the name of Vitthal Ramji Shinde. Forth thought was famous by the name of Jagrutikar Palekar. These thoughts had drastic effect on Yashwantrao Chavan, R.N. Chavan, Balasaheb Desai, Bhilare Guruji, Bhai Madhavrao Bhagal, Shakarao More, Kesahvrao Jedhe, Yashwantrao Mohite, Baba Adhav, Dajiba Desai, Shamrao Desai, Dayanand Bandodkar, Rajaram Painginkar. Although NBM was shifted as a political movement these people turned it into a social movement and consistently demanded subalterns human rights and natural rights.

R.N. Chavan (1913-1993) was disciple of Vitthal Ramji Shinde. He spent his whole life in writing on Non-brahmin movement. He was committed towards the progress of Non-Brahmin community; because of this commitment his writings separate himself from other writers. The concept of '*Bahujan Samaj*' (Bahujan Community) was first propounded by Vitthal Ramji Shinde and The Concept of 'Non Brahmin' was coined by Rajram Shastri Bhagwat, Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat was supporter of Gaikwad and Shahu Mahrajs school of thought, considering *Bahujan Samaj* as a central theme R. N. Chavan studied Gautam Buddha, Sant Tukaram, Sant Eknath, Akbar, Shivaji Maharaj, Mahatma Phule, Chatrapati Shahu Maharaj, Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Keshavrao Jedhe, Bhaskarao Jadhav, Shankarao More, Dajiba Desai, Shamrao Desai, Dayanand Bandodkar, Rajaram Painginikar. Even after having

ideological differences among all the personalities mentioned above R. N. Chavan succeeded to synthesise their thoughts in various themes. Out of which only four themes have been studied in this project.

1. Intellectual Foundation (Books, Articles and Publishing Homes)
2. Peasants(Landless, Small land holder, Farmer, Peasant and Workers Party of India, *Shramik Mukti Dal, Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party*)
3. Caste system and Dalit
4. Gender (Waste Pickers, Devdasi, Domestic Workers, Gender perspective history)

This project studies issues related to above four themes only. Project consist of seven chapters, below is the brief account for all the seven chapters.

### **7.1 Brief account of Seven chapters:**

Project facts, Research Methods and conclusion has been presented in seven chapters. First chapter deals with Introduction of research project, literature review and research methodology. Second chapter focuses on biography of R. N. Chavan and NBM, This Chapter covers historical background of NBM in Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu and features of NBM. Third chapter gives facts related to intellectual foundation (Books, Articles and Publishing Homes) of R. N. Chavan. Chapter reviews the literature of R N Chavan on NBM and its principles. Fourth chapter deals with Peasants (Landless, Small land holder, and farmer). This chapter accounts agricultural thoughts of R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Dayanand Bhandodkar and Peasant and Worker Party, Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party. Fifth chapterspeaks on Caste system and Dalit discrimination, this chapter accounts R. N. Chavans and Baba Adhavs thoughts on caste discrimination and their work. Chapter covers thorough information on '*Ek gaon Ek Panwatha*'.Sixth chapter speaks on Gender issues which includes problem faced by Waste Pickers, Devdasi, Domestic Workers, Poor and Dalit Women. Chapter also accounts on women related thoughts and related work of Mahatma Phule, Tararbai Shinde, Shahu Maharaj, Chimanabai Gaikwad, Vimalabai Bagal, R. N. Chavan and Baba Adhav. Last chapter elaborates outline of all the chapters, successful

models, and NBMs contribution to the society, recommendations and concluding remarks.

### **Debates on R. N. Chavans Literature:**

R. N. Chavan's literature is very extensive and was published after his death. In the framework of ideology; Intellectual literature of R. N. Chavan is broad and comprehensive. Seven different debates are seen on R. N. Chavan's intellectual literature those are as

- A. Dr. Surendra Jondhale stated that literature of R. N. Chavan was focused on reforms within Hindu framework only, So he cannot termed as leftist.
- B. Progressive intellectuals like Govind Pansare, Bhai Vaidya, Dr Baba Adhav, Dr. Rajendra Vora, Ashok Chowsalkar and Dr Prakash Pawar argued that literature of R.N Chavan also consisted the perspective of socialism and Marxism.
- C. Intellectual like Raosaheb Kasbe stated that R.N Chavan has also included few facets from idea of Buddha, thought of Ambedkar and Marxism.
- D. Intellectuals like Dr Sadanand More, Dr. Ashok Kamat from Bhagvat Movement, stated that this literature includes ideas from Bhagvat literature. Dr Sadanand More further argues that he himself thinks on the line of philosophy of R N Chavan.
- E. Linguists like Tarktrith Laxman Shastri Joshi, Nagnath Kotapalle and Randhir Shinde term R. N. Chavans literature a source of renaissance and social reform.
- F. Historians like Jaysingrao Pawar argued that literature of R N Chavan talks on rigours historical facts and events.
- G. N.D. Patil, Arun Shinde, Ravi Patil and Govind Pansare argued that literature of R N Chavan also includes the perceptive of farmers and agriculture peasants as well educational thought. His thoughts were class based

### **Nature of NBM:**

NBMs nature was multidimensional and it contains social, religious, economic, cultural and political dimensions. To understand NBM there is need to go through with all dimensions of NBM. From above explained opinions of various leaders ideas of R. N. Chavan and NBM was inclusive. The core part of NBM was demand of human rights and

negative rights. Many scholars critic NBM as feudal movement but NBMs work on emancipation of Women, Dalit and peasants proves that critics were incorrect.

## 7.2 Successful Models:

As per the data collected this project put forth successful models which are as follows

### A. Peasant:

1. Four major debates on agricultural issues occurred in recent two centuries. All the four models emphasize on idea of social justice.

Debate	Model	Mixture	Leaders	Ideology
First	Phule Model	1. Critic on socio-religious traditions 2. Demand of Negative Rights	Mahatma Phule	Anti-Brahmanism, Emancipation of peasants from exploitation. ( <i>Stri Shudrati shudra</i> ), welfare state, human rights and negative rights
Second	RSG Model	modernization of agriculture	M. G. Ranade, Shahu Maharaj Sayajirao Gaikwad	Modernization, welfare state, human rights and negative rights
a	Nehruvian Model	modernization of agriculture Socialism	Pandit Nehru	Modernization, welfare state, human rights and negative rights
b	Ambedkar Model	State Socialism modernization of agriculture	Dr. B. R. Ambedkar	Modernization, welfare state, human rights and negative rights, state socialism

c	Chavan-Bandodkar Model	modernization of agriculture Agro based industry	Yashwantrao Chavan Dayanand Bandodkar	Modernization, welfare state, human rights and negative rights
Third	Gandhian Model	Village based development, Use of small machines, Self sufficient village	Ram Manohar Lohia, Dr. Baba Adhav	Self-sufficient villages
Forth	PSM Model	Small land holding, equal distribution of water, rehabilitation of displaced	Baba Adhav, Bharat Patankar, N. D. Patil, Dajiba Desai, Shamrao Desai	Equal distribution of resources, Anti-Brahmanism, Emancipation of peasants from exploitation.

### I. Phule Model:

First debate was regarding exploitation of peasant by the socio-religious traditions, led by Mahatma Phule. This model emphasized on social justice and emancipation of peasants from socio-religious exploitation. Phule model also criticizes bureaucracy for its exploitative approach towards the peasants. It also accused congress for representing only elites and demanded inclusion of peasants into the congress. It positively impacted NBM.

## II. RSG Model (Ranade Shahu Gaikwad):

Second debate was on use of modernization for agriculture reforms led by M. G. Ranade which was further developed by Sayajirao Gaikwad, Shahu Maharaj that is why this model collectively termed as RSG Model (Ranade Shahu Gaikwad).

- a) **Ambedkar Model:** Dr. B. R. Ambedkar also contributed to the original RSG model. State Socialism and Modernization were the two features of the Ambedkars model. Dadasaheb Gaikwad has used Ambedkar Model and demanded land for landless Dalit, he gave slogan: *Kasel Tyachi Jamin Nasel Tyache Kay* (Land for the tiller). This model used by both the Bahujan Mahasangha and Bahujan Samaj Party in Maharashtra.
- b) **Nehruvian Model:** Pandit Nehru further contributed to the RSG model. He argued use of Science and Technology for the development of Agriculture. Features of the Nehruvian Model were modernization of agriculture, development, mixed economy, agro-industrial alliance, techno-agro alliance and inclusion of agri and agro-based leadership in state politics eg. Yashwantrao Chavan, Dayanand Bandodkar, Yashwantrao Mohite, Ratnappaanna Kumbhar, S.R. Patil, Balasaheb Vikhe-Patil, etc.
- c) **Chavan-Bandodkar Model:** In Maharashtra Y.B. Chavan government and Dayanand Bandodkars government in Goa accepted the Nehruvian model. This model was known as Chavan and Bandodkar Model in state level e.g. co-operative movement and agro based industries.

## III. Gandhian Model :

Mahatma Gandhi emphasized village development. Gandhian model is based on third debate .Village based development, Use of small machines; self sufficient villages were the agrarian philosophy of Gandhian Model. This model was developed by Mahatma Gandhi. R. M. Lohia further contributed to this model. In Maharashtra Dr. Baba Adhav again contributed to this model.

#### IV. PSM Model:

Forth debate was between socialist and Marxist where redistribution of land and ownership of sources of production was debated. If we see the recent PWP's model we can trace that it is the blend model of all the four debates where PWP has accepted and rejected ideas from these debates and has created a blend model based on above four debates. (Chavan Bandodkar Model) this model also includes Yashwantrao Mohite- Karad, Shankarrao Mohite- Akulj, etc. As we hardly trace any difference in ideology and programs undertaken by them, few of the leaders from PWP joined Indian National Congress, in a same way some followers from Maharashtratravadi Gomantak Party of Goa joined Congress (e.g. Shashikala Bandodkar Kakodkar, Ex CM of Goa); however a group of socialist and Marxist kept on targeting Congress for its idea of Capitalism. This whole process led to synthesize thoughts of Mahatma Phule, Socialism and Marxism (PSM Model) this includes R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Bharat Patankar, etc. R. N. Chavan criticized Yashvantrao Chavan-Bandodkar Model as this model limits itself to resolve issues with poverty, landless labor and agricultural workers, whereas PSM model does not show any limitations in resolving issues mentioned above. Therefore Chavan argued importance of peasant getting aware in his issues and emphasized on their financial development as well as education. Chavan also emphasized need to form peasant organization and need of their participation in politics for giving voice to their issues and demands.

2. NBM strongly and consistently demanded tenancy law, it agitated for the same on multiple occasions, considering the massive pressure by common mass Government of Maharashtra, Government of Karnataka and Government of Goa passed tenancy law which helped peasants to become owner of the land. This is how issue raised by NBM became a part of public policy. In this way Journey of peasant from land labourer to owner of land was the success of NBM.
3. *Maharashtra Dharanrast va Punarvasan Parishad* strongly and continuously demanded displacement first before the actual construction of Dam project. For this agitation was organised by this conference, considering this demand Government of Maharashtra passed bill of Maharashtra Project Affected Persons

Rehabilitation Act 1972. Maharashtra has a continuing legacy movement against hydropower projects from Mulshi Satyagraha in 1921. Between 1947 and 1960 several dams were built in Maharashtra and sporadic agitations took place against several of them. Most of these struggles were waged by indigenous tribal and the rural people but they failed to achieve the demands of the displaced person. The first major struggle of the *Maharashtra Rajya Dharangrast va Prakalpgrast Shetkari Parishad* (MRDPSP) began with the dam evicted masses when the Panshet dam was constructed. The Panshet dam broke on 12<sup>th</sup> July 1961. When the dam was being rebuilt, farmers who lived around the reservoir vehemently opposed its reconstruction, because the reservoir would submerge their lands. The MRDPSP took up the issue under the leadership of Datta Deshamukh and his associate Baba Adhav. They demanded something new – *vikashan-shil punarvasan* (“developmental rehabilitation”) – for the Panshet dam-evictees. Datta claimed “developmental rehabilitation” as a progressive demand that not only entailed a claim for land in lieu of submerged land, but also an equal share in the fruits of “development”. The MRDPSP claimed that everybody living in an area that faces submergence should be rehabilitated before construction begins. So, a strategic position of *Pehla punarvasan, phir dharan* (“First rehabilitation, then construction of the dam”) emerged in this phase. Later, this became the principal slogan of the dam-evictees’ movement in Maharashtra.

In 1974, Maharashtra Govt. appointed a committee on Rehabilitation of Project affected people. The committee recommended a law to safeguard the interest of the dam-victims. This law was passed in 1976, is known as the Resettlement of Project Displaced Persons Act, Maharashtra. It was the first resettlement and rehabilitation law to be passed in India.

In Sangli district (Atpadi, Tasgaon and Kavthemahankal) of Maharashtra the land is being bought for hydroelectric project but as land was not fertile, government couldn’t make proper valuation of that land. In this area wind has speed and solidity for wind energy. Therefore Shramik Mukti Dal (Labour Liberation Party) demanded the royalty of wind and started agitation for it under its famous slogan “*Vara amchya hakkacha*”(Natural

wind is our right) and government agreed on demand of SMD and gave the royalty of wind to peasants. As well as in Sangli district of Maharashtra SMD demanded Equal Distribution of water for agricultural activities, because of the scarcity of water resources SMD demanded for Equal Distribution of available water through agitation. SMD proposed unique model of equal distribution of water resources as per area of farm and it will be examined through the reading meters.

### **Major Findings on Agriculture and Peasant Thought:**

1. NBM identified the causes of exploitation of peasants; social system, religious system and political system are exploiting them therefore NBM traced on to change those systems. This exploitation was systemization hence the exploitation has legitimate and NBM declined the systemization and legitimacy of the exploitation. This argument was developed by R. N. Chavan in his literature.
2. R. N. Chavan classified peasant in two categories farmer and peasants are different categories. According to him, poor peasant, landless labor are the peasants. Rich farmer, landlords are included in Farmers category. R. N. Chavan takes the side of peasants. Colonial rulers, Princely state, middle man (*Dalal*), capitalist class and bureaucracy exploited the peasant in all possible ways. As per R. N. Chavan and NBM, state itself exploited the peasants. If peasant become the ruling class it may be possible to eradicate exploitation of them. This idea makes peasant power holder. He said this work was done by PWP and *Lal Nishan Party* as well as under the leadership of Yashwantrao Chavan and Dayanand Bhandarkar congress does the same.
3. From 1960 to 1970 many efforts are taken for eradication of exploitation of farmers and after 1970 the agrarian society was fragmented into peasant and farmers. This idea was followed by the Baba Adhav, Dajiba Desai, Shamrao Desai, N. D. Patil.
4. The concept of Dalit peasant was also emerged from NBM. Shahu Maharaj abolished Mahar Vatan system and gave them *rayatava* (land and work wages). Dr. B. R. Ambedkar congratulated Shahu Maharaj for developing *rayatava* system and declared him as a leader of Dalits. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar proposed bill in

Bombay Provisions legislative council for abolition of *Khoti* (Landlords) System. In fifty's decade Yashwantrao Chavan abolished the Mahar Vatan through passing the law of Maharashtra State. In sixty's decade Dadasaheb Gaikwad was demanded for provision of land to the landless dalits, for this he used very famous slogan '*Kasel tyachi jamin; nasel tyache kay*' (Land to the Tiller)

5. Modernization of Land production: Indian Agricultural thinker, M. J. Ranade propounded Land's Modernization in nineteenth century. This thought was discussed in the Non- Brahmin Movement. Issue of Modernization of land was brought in the policy of Maharashtra and Goa led by Yashwantrao Chavan and Dayanand Bandodkar. The process of land modernization had rapidly happened under the leadership of Bandodkar in Goa. Bandodkar had a dream to develop the agriculture in Goa for the reason that it was the most important resource of livelihood to the big mass. In the decade of fifty and sixty, sixty-four percent of the labor force was engaged in agricultural and allied activities.
6. Dams and Development: The dam Oustees in South Maharashtra have done historic sit-in struggle in Satara. Seven local revolutionary dam outstees organizations from different projects in Satara district came together to launch a do or die indefinite sit in struggle (thiyyaandolan) from December 24<sup>th</sup>, 2001. Under the banner of the Maharashtra State Dam-Oustees and Project Affected peasants 'organization, with Bharat Patankar as an organizer, the sit-in struggle was launched with a bang, with support from various sections. Local politicians also supported it. The specificity of the struggle was that seven dam-Oustees organizations had launched the aggressive united action of indefinite, sit-in struggle, till their demands, including that for financial allocation were granted. (Interview Bharat Patankar 10<sup>th</sup> Nov 2011)

## **B. Successful Model of Social Harmony and Dalit Emancipation**

According to R. N. Chavan Indian Society is divided into Caste system and Varna system. Society is socially Feudal Society. Values of Feudalism can be seen in the social structure. Therefore, R.N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Rajaram Paiginakar and Dayanand Bandodkar etc. led agitation against the Hindu feudalism. They demanded equality based society. The base of society should be liberty, equality, fraternity. This model is to be

developed in the framework of Hinduism, so that this model will be different from the Hindutva model as well as Ambedkar's Buddhist model. This model is not against the Buddhist emancipation model, but it is different from Buddhist emancipation model. This model is active in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Goa.

1. Thoughts of R. N. Chavan became an ideology, followers of this ideology emerged from the middle class (Sadanand More, A. H. Salunkhe) and movements (BAMSEF). As well as family members of R. N. Chavan also became a follower of his ideology for e.g. Ravindra Chavan (Son), Ramesh Chavan (Son), and Vaishali Chavan (Daughter in law). The Ideology of R. N. Chavan had a five points. these are as:

- 1) Collective thoughts of R.N.Chavan are called Ranavad,for three generations R.N.Chavan is known as '*Rana*'. The word Rana originates from Ramchandra and Narayan (Ramchandra himself and Narayan-his father). His thoughts are famous in Maharashtra as a Ranavad(Ranaism). In Ranavad the influence of Narayan Chavan, (Father of R.N.Chavan) was included along with the influence his son Ramesh Chavan who edited all the literature of R.N.Chavan. The bunch of jointed thought of Narayan, Ramchandra and Ramesh is called Ranavad (Chavan Ramesh (edited), 2015:13).
- 2) After independence Rana explained the meaning of Maharashtra Politics in the social and cultural framework. Social and cultural reforms after 1970 is also one meaning of Ranavad.
- 3) The thought of Ranavad was developed in social and religious philosophy in the period of eighteenth and nineteenth century. So Ranavad discussed the principals of modern liberalism, modernity. Thesis, anti thesis and synthesis are the core of this thought and it implies through renaissance, social democracy, social justice, Satyashodhak Samaj, Prathana Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Non-Brahmin movement and Dalit movement. Ranavad discussed the social issues in the framework of Hindu (Hinduism). From those movements the process of synthesis was taken place. When Ranavad was discussed in the framework of Hindu, then Ranavad was also Hindu. Although Ranavad was Hindu, it criticises the Hindutva. Ranavad interpreted the idea of Hindutva as to accept the harmony, Multiculturalism and populist. Hindutva

opposed these principles. The Ranavad ideology didn't glorify the religious traditions. The Hindu identity comes from Ranavad is different from the Hindu identity that comes from Hindutva.

- 4) He classified concept of Hindu into four social and political categories those are Liberal Hindu, Alternative Hindu, Homogeneous Hindu, and Cleavages based Hindu. R. N. Chavan follows Liberal Hindu and Alternative Hindu and rejects Homogeneous Hindu and Cleavages base Hindu.

**Table 7.2: Classification of Hindu Idea**

Type of Hindu	Organization	Leader	Feature
Liberal Hindu	Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj, Non-Brahmin Party, Depressed Classes Mission	Raja Ram Mohan Roy, M.G. Ranade, Atmaram Pandurang, Shahu Maharaj, etc.	Reformist, Anti-radicalism
Alternative Hindu	Scheduled Caste Federation, Independent Labour Party, Muknayak, Bahishkrut Bharat	Dr. B. R. Ambedkar,	Dalit Emancipation, Women Emancipation, Annihilation of Castes, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity and idea of Justice.
Homogeneous Hindu	Rashtriya Swayansevak Sangh Parivaar	Dr. K.B. Hedgewar, M.S. Golwalkar and other	Radical Hinduism
Cleavages based Hindu	Shivsena	Balasaheb Thakre	Anti-minority

In Ranavad Hindu religion, Hindu culture and the reissuance of Hindu religion was used for social change. Ranavad propounded that social revolution must need cultural elements as a part of structure.

- 5) Ideologically Ranavad was classified in negative sense and positive sense. In a negative sense R. N. Chavan rejected the idea of homogeneous Hindu and Cleavages based Hindu. In a positive sense he accepted idea of Liberal Hindu and Alternative Hindu. Bahujanvad (Sakaljanvad) is imbibed in positive sense of Ranavad. Ranavad ideology adopted the principal of inclusion and rejected the principal of Exclusion. Ranavad has succeeded to give revolutionary approach to the framework of Hindu.
- 6) Annihilation of Castes: In order to check the caste discrimination in rural society of Maharashtra Dr. Baba Adhav and R. N. Chavan came up with idea of '*Ek Gaon Ek Panvatha*' (One village one Pond). This initiative helped villagers to gather together for water irrespective of their castes. This model helped villagers to get away with caste discrimination and join hands for the need of water; eventually this model was followed throughout the rural Maharashtra, which ultimately helps to maintain social harmony and to eradicate caste discrimination. This initiative was praised by many intellectuals as model of annihilation of castes.

#### **7.4 Idea of Women's emancipation**

Idea of Women Emancipation is central theme in NBM. It co-related with idea of social justice therefore ideas of justice is reflected in programs of NBM. Relation between man and women, in the Particularly, Caste, Religion, Gender was the primary grounds of women's oppression. Its relation is not only institutional but also socio-economic. Idea of Women's emancipation has rejected institutional locality and socio-economic relation on the basis of women's oppression, which is main cause. Thought of emancipation has rejected the authority of religion.

It has been fact; it has been happened in the women's emancipation movement. The idea of emancipation has linked to Law. It intended to promote the advancement of women morally, intellectually, socially and economically as the bylaws Movement. The *Manusmriti* was first translated into English in 1794 by William Jones. In Eighteenth century the text's fame spread outside of British India. The text can be broadly divided

into four, each of different length. And each further divided into subsections: 1) Creation of the world 2) Source of dharma 3) The dharma of the four social classes 4) Law of karma, rebirth and final liberation were rejected by Indian Women's emancipation Movement. Society of Seekers of Truth (Satyashodhak) and Non- Brahmin Movement had rejected Law of Manu, for the Women's emancipation. This all proves NBM has rejected idea of Hindu justice. The idea of justice by Plato and Idea of Hindu was same, both concepts are rejected by NBM as both the concepts were depend on political obligation. NBM not only rejected this idea but resisted this.

### 7.3 Table Principles of Social Justice and comparison with NBM

No	Principle of Social Justice	NBM	Philosopher
1	Hierarchical Justice	NBM is against to Hierarchical Justice	Plato, Manu
2	Distributive Justice	Tarabai Shinde, Savitribai Phule, Chimnabai Gaikwad, Indumati Patankar, R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Vimlabai Bagal, Rajaram Painginbkar, Bahusaheb Bandodkar, Yashwant Mohite, Dajiba Desai, Sharadabai Pawar, N. D. Patil, Vilas Sonavne, Bharat Patankar, Sampat Desai	Mahatma Phule, Shahu Maharaj, Sayajirao Gaikwad Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, John Rawls
3	Guarantee of Consumer	R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Vimlabai Bagal, Rajaram Painginbkar, Bahusaheb Bandodkar, Yashwant Mohite, Sharadabai Pawar, Bharat Patankar, Sampat Desai	Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Shahu Maharaj, Sayajirao Gaikwad Gopal Guru
4	Nature of family is public	Tarabai Shinde, Savitribai Phule, Chimnabai Gaikwad, Indumati Patankar, R. N. Chavan, Baba	Mahatma Phule, Shahu Maharaj, Sayajirao Gaikwad

		Adhav, Vimlabai Bagal, Rajaram Painginkar, Sharadabai Pawar, Bharat Patankar, Sampat Desai	Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Susain Moller Okin
5	Social position (Communitarian)	Tarabai Shinde, Savitribai Phule, Chimnabai Gaikwad, Indumati Patankar, R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Vimlabai Bagal, Rajaram Painginkar, Bharat Patankar, Sampat Desai	Mahatma Phule, Shahu Maharaj, Sayajirao Gaikwad Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Susain Moller Okin
6	Self-respect	Tarabai Shinde, Savitribai Phule, Chimnabai Gaikwad, Indumati Patankar, R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Vimlabai Bagal, Rajaram Painginkar, Bharat Patankar, Sampat Desai	Mahatma Phule, Shahu Maharaj, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Sayajirao Gaikwad
7	Capability	Tarabai Shinde, Savitribai Phule, Chimnabai Gaikwad, Indumati Patankar, R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Vimlabai Bagal, Rajaram Painginkar, Sharadabai Pawar, Bharat Patankar, Sampat Desai	Sayajirao Gaikwad Shahu Maharaj, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Amartya Sen,

1. Table number 7.3 shows that NBM was working in the field of women's social justice. Idea of women social justice is different from western women political thought and NBMs thought on women differs from idea of women studied on International level around 1970 (See Table number 7.3).
2. Table number 7.3 shows that the idea of NBM is synthesis of thoughts of many non-Brahmin scholars e.g. thought of Mahatma Phule, Shahu Maharaj, Sayajirao Gaikwad, Vithal Ramji Shinde, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, etc. Principles of Social Justice include Distributive Justice, Guarantee of Consumer, Nature of family is public, social position, Self-respect, Capability are acknowledged by NBM.

3. Table number 7.3 shows that NBM has been influenced by Modern liberalism in area of women emancipation therefore NBM is seen fighting for human rights and negative rights for women, e.g. demand of education for women by Chimnabai Gaikwad (Baroda), Vimalabai Bagal (Kolhapur), Indumati Patankar (Kasegaon), Painginkar (Goa). This movement led to demand freedom from social rituals and practices for women by Baba Adhav, Rajaram Painginkar, Rajan Gavas, Krantisinh Nana Patil, etc. This movement also demanded equal status to women in private as well as public life and institutions. As the political representation of women is low, the movement demanded women reservation government bodies. Movement also emphasized the need of equal distribution of property among male and female child, this specifies the demand of social justice through the equal distribution of property.
4. Table number 7.3 shows that NBM leaders like R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav, Vimalabai Bagal, Rajaram Painginkar believed that social background is pre-requisite for social justice. This stand point is communitarian but Rawls stand point is different from this point of view. Rawls argued original position is most important. NBMs point of view and Rawls point of view differs in social background as Rawls did not consider social background as pre-requisite for social justice.
5. Table number 7.3 shows that Leaders of NBM consider family as public unit whereas Rawls consider family as a private unit. NBMs idea social justice includes Right to property, right to divorce, right to adoption, and these ideas actually deal with family but they are public in nature e.g. Shahu Maharaj passed law on Domestic Violence in Kolhapur Princely State, Anti-Devdasi bill was passed by Maharashtra and Karnataka Government, Tarabai Shinde gave voice against to family and caste, Vimalabai Bagal demanded Hindu Code Bill, therefore NBMs idea of justice looks progressive than the Rawls idea of justice.
6. Table number 7.3 shows that NBM emphasized on ideal of dignity and self-respect as well, in the modern time Idea of Justice is related to the dignity and self-respect that is why NBMs ideology was ahead of its time.
7. Table number 7.3 shows that R. N. Chavan, Baba Adhav and Painginkar have consistently emphasized on improving capability of women through various women

related issues e.g. education, economic empowerment, right to work, which ultimately helps to improve overall Capability of women. In modern time Amartya Sen talked on capability approach in justice, this means the leaders of NBM were ahead of their times.

8. Many examples related to Women Social Justice these are as :
  - a. Waste Pickers were marginalised section of society; most of the poor women were involved in this job. Dr. Baba Adhav strived hard to organise these waste pickers and to pass their demands to the governing body consistently. Through this demands waste pickers got human rights as well as negative rights.
  - b. Devdasi's were recognised as a human being because of the contribution of *Devdasi Pratha Nirmulan Samiti*. She was freed from the superstitious rituals performed by devotees and was enrolled in a social life with the same dignity of a normal human being. Ant-Devdasiactivist's consistent efforts brought fruit by passing Devdasi system (Abolition) Act by Maharashtra, Karnataka, Goa governments.
  - c. Molkarin (Domestic Workers): The domestic work done by women was not recognised as a part of work in society; where as any type of work done by men is considered as a matter of dignity. Molkarin Panchayat's agitation gave domestic work as status of actual work. They also demanded security of job, working hours, weekly holiday, sick leaves, and pension for the domestic workers, the same way organised sectors employees get. For this purpose Molkarin Panchayat in Pune organised Health Check-up camps, Free legal counselling.
  - d. Gender equality as an issue of woman was dealt by various movements in pre-independent India. Non-Brahmin Movement (NBM) also discussed woman issue in British India. But issue of Gender equality has been pending after independent era.
  - e. Communist Party, Socialist Party, *Praja Samajvadi Party*, *Gomantak Party (Goa)*, *Mahatma Phule Samata Partisthan (Maharashtra)*, *Sharmik Mukti Dal (Maharashtra)*, *Maharashtra Eakikaran Samiti (Belgaon)*, *Muslim Satyashodhak Mandal (Pune)*. NBM'S Legacy was shifted in these organizations. That Movement's have been demanding Gender equality. It is most important discourse on gender

equality. Right to rational Man, right to freedom, Right to equality, right to anti-exportation, right to education, right to property etc are main thought of NBM'S Legacy. It was deal with Caste, religion, and class. They has been explain woman right with Caste, religion, and class.

### **NBM and Journalism:**

Journalism of NBM has been devoted to subaltern.(Peasant, Dalit and Women.) R. N. Chavan actively participated in NBM journalism according to him it is the process of mass education so that he continuously writing for it. He studied NBM journalism within the framework of equality based value system. He also argued that NBM journalism has been played major role making awareness within the common masses against atrocities employed upon them. So it is active in the NBM.

NBM (1818- 1940) is termed as old NBM, whereas NBM after 1940 is termed as new NBM. Old NBM is divided into two categories, first is Intellectual Category Movement and the other is Movement of Masses. Political Process occurred due to the intellectual category only (Shahu Maharaj and Sayajirao Gaikwad). Intellectuals like Mahatma Phule, V. R. Shinde, Kruishnrao Arjunrao Keluskar, Rajaramshastri Bhagwat, Bhagwatrao Palekar contributed the old NBM culturally. These all contributions have positively impacted New NBM, Old NBM was having contradictions in it, and New NBM has criticized those contradictions (R N Chavan, Dr. Baba Adhav), New NBM developed in such a way that, it has brought agenda of Social Change. E.g. Emancipation of women, Dalit and Peasant, originally in old NBM this agenda of not successful at mass level, but was successful at a policy level (Kolhapur and Baroda Princely states). Whereas policies and demands of organization originated from new NBMs were successful at Policy making level as well as mass level.

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## Interviews

Sr. No	Name	Place	Origination	Date
1	Dr. Baba Adhav	Pune, Maharashta	Mahatma Phule Samata Pratishtan	12/4/2016 17/12/2017 12/2/1018
2	Mr. Nitin Pawar	Pune, Maharashta	Mahatma Phule Samata Pratishtan	13/4/2016 6/11/2017
3	Mrs. Vaishali Chavan	Wai, Maharashta	R. N. Pratishtan	14/4/2016 2/6/2017 10/2/2018
4	Mr. Ramesh Chavan	Wai, Maharashta	R. N. Pratishtan	15/4/2016 17/12/2017 11/2/2018
5	Mr. Ravindra Chavan	Wai, Maharashta	R. N. Pratishtan	3/5/2016 2/6/2017
6	Mr. Pundlik Patil	Kanapur, Karnataka	Maharashtra Eakikaran Samiti	4/5/2016 6/5/2017
7	Mr. Krushna Shahapurkar	Belagavi, Karnataka	Senior Journalist	5/5/2016 29/8/2017
8	Adv. Rajabau Patil	Belagavi, Karnataka	Editor Rashtraveer	6/5/2016 29/8/2017
9	Dr. Pandit Lawand	Barsi, Maharashta	Peasant Movement	7/5/2016 25/6/2017
10	Dr. Alkanda Shingare	Panji, Goa	Civil Society	10/5/2016 20/6/2017
11	Mr. Ramesh Kolwalkar	Panji Goa	Editor Lokbhumi	10/5/2016 20/6/2017

12	Mr. Kishor Mhetri	Sawantwadi , Maharastra	Dalit Movement	11/5/2016 9/7/2017
13	Dr. Randhir Shinde	Kolhapur, Maharastra	V. R. Shinde Pratisthan	12/5/2016 6/8/2017
14	Dr. Ashok Chousalkar	Kolhapur, Maharastra	Civil Society	13/5/2016 6/8/2017
15	Mr. Sampat Desai	Ajara Maharashtra	Shramik Mukti Dal	14/5/2016 5/8/2017
16	Mr. Vinay Kamble	Kolhapur, Maharashtra	Dalit Movement	17/5/2016 11/11/2017
17	Mr. Vasant Bhosale	Nipani, Karnataka	Senior Journalist	18/5/2016 7/01/2018
18	Mr. Ananda Kamble	Bhogavati, Maharashtra	Dalit Movement	19/5/2016 10/9/2017
19	Dr. Rajan Gavas	Gargoti, Maharashtra	Jata Nirmulan Movement	20/5/2016 23/9/2017
20	Mr. Anil Patil	Kameri, Maharashtra	PWP	21/5/2016 10/11/2017
21	Dr. Bharat Patankar	Kasegaon, Maharashtra	Shramik Mukti Dal	21/5/2016 10/11/2017
22	Gail Omvedt	Kasegaon, Maharashtra	Eminent Thinker	21/5/2016 10/11/2017
23	Dr. Rajkumar Surwase	Malegaon, Maharashtra	Dalit Movement	25/5/2016 2/10/2017
24	Mr. Pandit Tapure	Wai, Maharashtra	R. N. Pratishthan	2/6/2016 16/9/2017
25	Mr. Satish Kulkarni	Wai, Maharashtra	R. N. Pratishthan	2/6/2016 16/9/2017
26	Mr. Ramesh Dubal	Satara, Maharashtra	R. N. Pratishthan	3/6/2016 17/9/2017

27	Dr. Shivaji Patil	Satara, Maharashta	Civil Society	4/6/2016 17/9/2017
28	Madhuri Sawant	Koregaon, Maharashta	Women Movement	5/6/2016
29	Mr. Bikaji Bhilare	Bhilarwali, Maharashtra	NBM Leader	8/6/2016
30	Dr. Shobha Ingawale	Pune, Maharashta	A.B.M.S. parishad	9/6/2016 20/12/2017
31	Sujata Pawar	Solapur, Maharashtra	Social Worker	10/6/2017
32	Mr. Arun Chavan	Indapur, Maharashta	Peasant Movement	12/6/2016 9/6/2017
33	Dr. Sanjay Landage	Lonawala, Maharashta	Dalit Movement	14/6/2016 15/5/2017
34	Mr.Sushil Daskate	Pune, Maharashtra	Bahujan Feminism	16/6/2016 18/8/2017
35	Dr. Sanjot Apte	Pune, Maharashta	Civil Society	14/8/2016 12/12/2017
36	Dr. Nitin Birmal	Pune, Maharashta	Political Economist	15/8/2016 16/12/2017
37	Dr. Nisha More	Pune, Maharashta	Dalit Movement	9/9/2016 21/1/2018
38	Dr. Anant Desai	Belagavi, Karnataka	Civil Society	7/11/2016 2/06/2017
39	Mr. Deepak Desai	Belagavi, Karnataka	Civil Society	7/11/2016 3/6/2017
40	Mr.Baba Band	Aurangabad Maharashtra	Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad Pratishtan	2/5/2017

41	Dr.Ulas Udhan	Aurangabad Maharashtra	Congress Leader	2/5./2017
42	Dr. Anant Awati	Buldhana, Maharashtra	Civil Society	17/5/2017
43	Mr. Pravin Gaikwad	Pune, Maharashtra	Peasant & Workers Party	27/5/2017
44	Mr. Chandrakant Patil	Radhanagari Maharashtra	Senior Journalist	31/5/2017
45	Mr. Dnyanesh Maharav	Mumbai, Maharashtra	Senior Journalist	15/7/2017
46	Mr. Vilas Sonawane	Chichwad, Maharashtra	Communist Movement	14/9/2017
47	Dr. Shamshuddin Taboli	Pune, Maharashtra	Muslim Satyashodhak Mandal	8/10/2017
48	Dr. Kiran Surwase	Solapur, Maharashtra	Dalit Movement	20/10/2017
49	Adv. Sharadha Wadekar	Pune, Maharashtra	Molkarin Panchayat	6/11/2017
50	Mr. Datta Kalbere	Pune, Maharashtra	Hamal Panchayat	10/12/2017
51	Shriram Gundekar	Latur	Eminent Writer	10/12/2016