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"A STUDY OF THE PATTERN OF CASTEWISE PARTY REPRESENTATION IN VIDHAN SABHA ELECTIONS IN VIDARBHA - 2009-2019"

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ABSTRACT

Caste is an undeniable reality in Indian Social-Political Life. Various factors such as political process, voting, candidature, composition of council of Ministers are compulsorily and irrevocably affected by caste. Castewise reservation was given in post-independence era for the transformation of political democracy into social democracy.

All political parties claim to be all inclusive. They try to get support of all castes and relgions in order to get elected and to continue the acquired power. The present paper has tried to shed light on social representation of various political parties in last three Vidhan Sabha Elections in Vidarbha Region of Maharashtra State in India. It also tries to understand social mass basis of political parties and different communities' priority of political parties.

Need of study: The social mass base of political parties need to be strong in order to win elections and preserve the acquired power in Indian democracy. During last nine Vidhan Sabha elections in Maharashtra from 1990 to 2019, no single political party has got majority. As such political parties have been forced to make alliances to form government. Whether somebody wishes to do so or not, following the obligation of alliance-government has become political need in Maharashtra. The public voted for change of power in the 1995, 1999, 2014 and 2019 elections. The changing social mass base and representation of political parties is responsible to a large extent for these frequent changes in power. Thus study is necessary to understand this phenomenon.

Significance of Study: The success and failure and strength in elections of political parties in

democracy depends on what social group they represent. In democracy representation of various social groups should reflect through political power. Hence study of social representation of political parties is important.

Objectives: Following are the objectives of this research paper.

- (1) To find out exactly which social group do the political parties represent.
- (2) To understand which social group choose which political parties for representation.
- (3) To inspect which social group gets how much representation or not.

Research Question:

- (1) The question whether political parties represent all social groups as per their claim is important in any democratic society?
- (2) Whether all social groups get appropriate and legitimate opportunity of representation in Vidan Sabha in Vidarbha?

Scope and Limitations:

The study in this research paper is confined to the 186 MLA's elelctled from Vidarbha in Vidhan Sabha Elections of 2009, 2014 and 2019.

Research Method:

The information gathered during surveys made in 2009, 2014 and 2019 election of Vidhan Sabha in Vidarbha has been used in these study. Newspaper filings and statistics of Election results published by Election Commission have also been used.

Hypothesis:

- (1) As general category is mostly represented by the two national political parties BJP and Congress, these two parties have maximum support of general category.
- (2) Though BJP has got support of other castes and categories, it is mostly a party of upper caste people.
- (3) OBC category is mostly represented by BJP.
- (4) As most OBC MLA's are getting elected from general category even without reservation, their political empowerment is happenings.
- (5) BJP is the most powerful party which represents SC's one-sided.
- (6) BJP has got maximum support from SC's by using the experiment of social engineering.
- (7) Though BJP is the biggest party in ST category, but Congress is still in the race.
- (8) Among the ST's Congress has retained its mass base to a large extent.
- (9) BJP has forcibly entered into the traditional Congress mass basis by using social engineering.
- (10) The State Level party have not got much success in increasing their social mass base.
- (11) There is one dominant caste in every category such as Brahmin in general, Kunbi in OBC, Mahar in SC and Gond in ST and because of this other social communities do not get proper representation and share in power.

Introduction:

There is an immense variety in Indian democracy various social groups and political parties give preferences to each other and some social groups avoid supporting certain parties. As a result the society recognizes certain parties as being parties of certain social groups. The political future of a party depends on its categorywise social representation and the success it gets in this. The pattern of castecategorywise representation of political parties in Vidhan Sabha Elections of 2009, 2014 and 2019 is displayed in Table No.1 as follows -

TABLE NO 1
TABLE SHOWING NO.OF MLAS CATEGORYWISE OF DIFFERENT
POLITICAL PARTIES IN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS FROM
2009 TO 2019 IN VIDARBHA

Sr.	CASTE	BJP	SHIV	CONG.	N.C.P	IND.	OTHER	TOTAL
No.	(Category)		SENA					
1	OPEN	24	03	13	02	01	0.00	43
		(12-	(1.61)	(6.98)	(1.07)	(1.04)		(23.11)
		90)						
2	OBC	41	08	21	07	09	03	89
		(22.0	(4.30)	(11.29)	(3.76)	(4.83)	(1.61)	(47.48)
		4)						
3	S.C.	17	05	05	01	02	0.00	30
		(09.1	(2.68)	(2.68)	(0.53)	(1.07)		(16-12)
		3)						
4	S.T.	11	00	07	01	01	03	21
		(11.2		(3.86)	(0.53)	(0.53)	(1.61)	(11-29)
		9)						
5	Unknown	0	0	3	0	0	0	3
				(1.61)				(1.61)
6	TOTAL	93	16	49	11	13	04	186
		(50.0	(8.60)	(26.34)	(11.91)	(6.98)	(2.91)	(100.00)
		0)						

Source - (1) DATA collected through survey

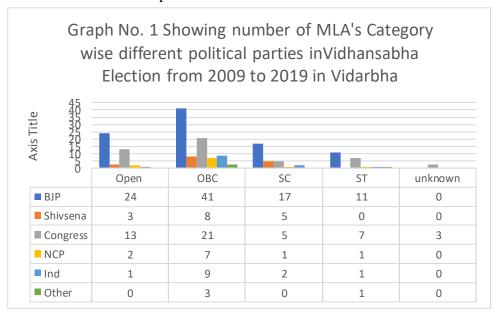


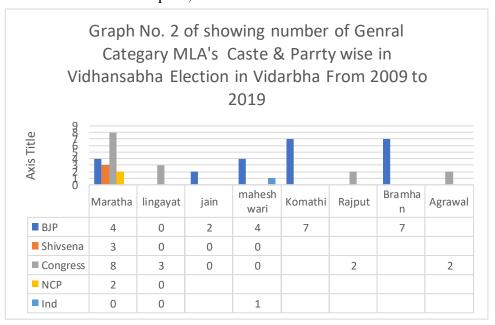
TABLE NO. 2

TABLE SHOWING NO.OF GENERAL CATEGORY ELECTED MLAS CAST WISE AND PARTIWISE IN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS FROM 2009 TO 2019 IN VIDARBHA

Sr.	CASTE	BJP	SHIV	CONG.	N.C.P	IND.	TOTA
No.	Category		SENA				L
1	MARAT	04	03	08	02	00	15
	HA	(2.15)	(1.61)	(4.30)	(1.07)		(8.8)
2	LINGAY	00	00	03	00	00	3
	AT			(1.61)			(1.61)
3	JAIN	02	00	00	00	00	2
		(1.07)					(1.07)
4	MAHES	04	00	00	00	01	5
	HWARI	(2.15)				(0.53)	(2.68)
5	KOMAT	07	00	00	00	00	7
	I	(3.86)					(3.86)
6	BRAHM	07	00	00	00	00	6
	IN	(3.86)					(3.86)
7	RAJPUT	00	00	02	00	00	2
				(1.07)			(1.07)
8	AGRAW	00	00	02	00	00	2
	AL			(1.07)			(1.07)
9	GRAND	24	03	15	02	01	43
	TOTAL	(12.90	(1.61)	(6.98)	(1.07)	(0.53)	(23.11)
)					

Source - (1) DATA collected through survey

(3) Election Commission Report, % on the basis of total MLAs of Vidarbha 186.



Out of the total 186 MLA's in last three Vidhan Sabha Elections of 2009, 2014, 2019 and BJP 93 (50.00), Congress 49 (26.34), Shivsena 16 (8.07), Independent 13 (6.98), NCP 11 (7.91) and other 4 (2.51), candidates got elected.

On the basis of this data it is clear that BJP is number 1 and Congress No.2 party in Vidarbha. Thus the competition in Vidarbha is mainly between the two national parties, BJP and Congress. Shivsena is at third place, NCP at 5th place, Independents at 4th place and other parties are at 6th place.

Out of 186 elected MLAs in Vidarbha 43 (23.11) MLA's of general category got elected, out of 43 general category MLA's, the highest 24 (12.90) got elected from BJP after that Congress 13 (6.58), Shivsena 3(1.61), NCP 2 (1.07) Independents 1 (1.04), MLA's got elected. From this data following things become clear -

- (1) In last 3 Vidhan Sabha Elections in Vidarbha, voters in general category have given first preference to BJP (12.90%)
- (2) The second preference of general category voters has gone to Congress (6.98%)
- (3) The national parties like BJP and Congress have got most success in general category in Vidhan Sabha Elections in Vidarbha. Out of 43 general category MLAs, 19.89% MLA's of these two parties got elected.
- (4) The State level parties like Shivsena and NCP have collectively got only 5 seats in general category. Their performance is not very good. It proves that state level parties are not preferred by voters in general category.
- (5) The miserable conditions of Republican Party, BSP and Left parties can be seen from the fact that they don't got even a single seat.

In general category, BJP gets the highest chances because of the issue of Hindutva. As top leaders of BJP and Congress are from general or OBC categories. Naturally the support of general category voters goes to these two parties. That is why these two national parties have got success in general category seats. They also get benefit because Republican Party and BSP has not concentrated on these voters. Support and representation of various communities in general category castewise to political parties.

To understand social mass base of political parties, we need to analyse the caste-wise support to them.

Caste wise Representation and support base of Political Parties in General Category -

(1) Maratha -

Though 23.11% MLAs from general category have been elected from general category seats, most of them are from Maratha-Brahmin communities. In last three Vidhan Sabha Elections, out of general category 43 MLAs, 15 (8.08) are from Maratha Community. The Maratha Community uhas got 34.88% representation on general category seats. Out of 15 Maratha MLAs highest 8 are from Congress, 4 from BJP , 3 from Shivsena and 2 from NCP. Thus shows that Congress and Maratha community have given performance to each other in these elections. With respect to Maratha MLA's BJP is 2nd, Shivsena 3rd and NCP 4th number party in representation.

(2) Brahmin -

From general category after Maratha community, Brahmin and Komti MLAs are highest in number. This success in election is achieved by the candidates of those communities. Whose voters are less in number but who get support from other

communities also. Out of 43 general category MLA's, 7 MLA's from Brahmin community are elected. They have got 16.27% representation in general category. All 7 MLAs are from BJP. Thus it is clear that Brahmins and BJP are each other's alternatives. The leadership of Devendra Phadanavis and Nintin Gadkari is benefiting BJP.

(3) **Komti** -

Komti and Brahmin castes are at 2nd spot collectively in general category MLAs. Komti is a traderers community spread in Chandrapur, Yavatmal districts. The former Ministers like Sudhir Mungantiwar and Madan Yerawar are BJP leaders of Komti caste. This caste is considered as economically advanced. Out of 43 general category MLAs, all 7 MLAs have been elected from BJP in Chandrapur and Yavatmal District. The trader communities are traditionally regarded as BJP supporters. Komti caste has got important place in MLAs as well as Council of Ministers. Along with Brahmins, Komti Caste is at 2nd Number in number of MLAs in general category.

(4) Maheshwari -

The Maheshwari Caste has got third number representation among MLA's from general category. Out of 43 general category, MLAs, 5 are from this caste. After Komti, Maheshwari Caste is a trader community which is close to BJP. Out of these 5 MLAs, 4 are from BJP and 1 was independent. It shows their closeness with BJP.

(5) Lingayat -

Out of 43 general category MLAs, 3 are from Lingayat Caste. These 3 MLAs have got elected from Congress in Yavatmal, Buldhana District. Other parties have not shown interest in giving candidature to Lingayat. Its benefits has gone to Congress. This caste is mainly present in Yavatmal, Amravati and Akola District and is spread in Nagpur, Gadchiroli and Chandrapur District. Lingayat which is a Shudra Caste has got 1.61% representation among total 186 MLAs and 6.67% as compared to general category. But no Lingayat MLA was made a Minister.

(6) **Jain** -

Two MLAs of Jain religion have been elected from BJP from Buldhana District. After trader communities like Komti, Maheshwari, Jain also a trader caste has got MLAs elected from BJP. It shows the pattern of closeness between trader castes and BJP.

(7) **Rajput** -

Two MLAs of Rajput community have got elected from Buldhana and Amravati District on Congress's candidature. In Vidarbha the Kshatriya castes like Rajput and Maratha seem to be inclined towards Congress.

(8) Agrawal -

Two MLA's of this community have got elected from Gondia district on behalf of Congress. It shows that Agrawal Caste from the trader Community is inclined towards Congress but others are being represented mostly by BJP.

On the basis of above data and analysis, following facts and inferences are found -

- (1) In general category voters have given 1st and 2nd performance to National Parties such as BJP and Congress respectively, hence it can be inferred that the highest representation of general category is done by BJP and Congress.
- (2) The State Level Parties such as Shivsena and NCP are BJP and Congress' younger brothers so far as the representation of general category is concerned.

- (3) In general category the political parties and leaders other than BJP-Shivsena and Congress have an insignificant position.
- (4) Though BJP has got support of other communities but mainly it is a party of Shetji-Bhatji. (Upper caste).
- (5) This proves that farming castes such as Maratha and Lingayat are inclined towards Congress.
- (6) The non-Marathi trader castes such as Komti, Maheshwari and Jain are inclined towards BJP.

From above statistics and analysis, Hypothesis No.1 As general category is mostly represented by BJP and Congress, these 2nd National Parties have maximum support of general category is proved. The Hypothesis No. 2 Though BJP has support of other castes, it is mostly a party of upper caste people is also proved.

Partywise representation of OBC MLAs -

Out of total 186 elected MLA's in Vidhan Sabha Elections of 2005, 2014 and 2019 from Vidarbha, 89 (47.84) OBC MLA's have got elected. From East Vidarbha 51 and from West Vidarbha 28 OBC MLA's have been elected.

Out of total 89 elected OBC MLAs, BJP's 41, Congress 21, Independent 9, Shivsena's 8, NCP's 7 and other political parties 3 MLAs have been elected. BJP had started working in non-Brahmin communities through social engineering from the 1980 decade. Pandurang Fundkar and other OBC Leader represented the OBC category in BJP. BJP increased its acceptability among the OBC's through them. They are getting its benefit BJP has got most OBC MLA's elected in last 3 Vidhan Sabha Elections from Vidarbha. BJP has maintained its No.1 position in the OBC category.

The mass base of Congress among OBC's has gone on decreasing gradually after 1990. Still Congress has got 21 OBC MLA's, second only to BJP. It shows that there is a group among the OBC's and general category which supports Congress.

When a powerful leader is refused candidature by a political party then also people have elected such leader as MLA. At the 3rd number after BJP and Congress, 9 OBC candidates have got elected as MLAs, as independent contestants. Some important leladers among them are Ravi Rana and Bachhu Kadu.

As far as OBC MLA's are concerned Shivsena is at 4th place with 8 MLAs and NCP at 5th place with 7 MLAs. Other parties have got 3 OBC MLAs elected. They are at the 6th and the last place in OBC MLAs representation.

From above data and analysis following things come to light -

- (1) As BJP and Congress are at 1st and 2nd position in the beginning OBC MLAs elected. The National Party like BJP and MLA are big brothers of state level party like Shivsena and NCP in OBC representation.
- (2) Shivsena and NCP are inferior to BJP and Congress in representation of OBCs.
- (3) OBC category has the heightest capacity to get elected as independent MLAs. It is because among 13 independents, 9 are OBC, 2 are SC's, 1 ST and 1 General category MLA.

Caste and party wise representation and share in power of OBC MLAs.

An analysis of caste-wise representation and share in power of particular caste is essential to understand whether that group is socially - politically empowered and whether it has got sufficient political representation or not.

In Vidhan Sabha Elections of 2009, 2014 and 2019 in Vidarbha, out of total 186 seats, 89 (47.48) OBC MLA's got elected on general category seats. Out of these 89 OBC MLAs, BJP contributed 41, Congress 21, Independent 9, Shivsena 8, NCP 7 and other parties 3 OBC MLAs. In last three Vidadhan Sabha Elections 13 OBC castes got elected and represented from different political parties. We have to understand the caste and partywise representation of these OBC MLAs to understand their Social-Political hierarchy. OBC MLAs castewise representation is as follows -

1. **Kunbi** -

Out of 189 MLAs in Vidarbha, 89 were OBCs and 52 (27.41) of them were from Kunbi Caste. Out of 89 OBC (MLA), 53.30% are from this community. So Kunbi is the dominant caste among OBC.

Out of 51 Kunbi MLAs, 24 (47.05) were from BJP, 15 from Congress, 5 Independence, 3 Shivsena and others 1. From this, it is clear that BJP has focused on Kunbi Community and got their highest MLAs elected. They have destroyed Congress's mass base among Kunbis. Hence Congress has been reduced to secondary position in last three Vidhan Sabha Elections. Out of 51 Kunbi MLAs, 15 (29.41) are from Congress's Kunbi MLAs are 9 less than BJP collectively. BJP and Congress have got 39 (76.47) MLAs out of total 51 MLAs. Thus Kunbi community is supporting these national parties. It also means that BJP and congress have given them first preference to Kunbi community. All political parties are endeavoring for the support of OBC and specially of Kunbis to become successful in Vidarbha Politics.

From the number of independence Kunbi MLA's, it is clear that they give preference to state level parties if they are unable to get candidature from national parties. Out of 51 Kunbi MLAs, 5 are independents. They are as 3rd place after BJP and Congress.

From State Level Political Party like Shivsena and NCP, 3 Kunbi MLA's each have got elected. After the independents, they are of the 4th place collectively. Other parties have got only 1 Kunbi MLA. Devendra Bhuyar of Swabhimani Shetkari Sanghatana got elected defeating Agriculture Minister Dr.Anil Bonde.

There is approximately 30% Maratha-Kunbi community in Vidarbha. In Vidarbha, Kunbi community is advanced in the field of educational institutions, cooperative societies, land ownership, contractorship, so their chances of getting elected are more. So they can get elected from any political party on even as independents. So non Kunbi castes don't have much say in electoral politics. This data and analysis shows that Kunbi is the dominant caste in Vidarbha Politics.

From non-Kunbi castes, 12 OBC castes have got elected from various political parties. These caste and party-wise details are as follows

(1) **Teli** -

In east Vidarbha Teli community is in majority after Kunbi Caste in numbers. Specially this caste is dominant in Nagpur, Bhandara and Wardha district. This caste's main occupation is agriculture and they have some educational institutions in their control. In recent times they have getting active in the field of jobs through reservations. There are sub-castes such as Ekl-Baili, Don-Baili, Sahu, Lingayat in Teli caste but they are united politically to counter the dominance of Congress, Maratha, Kunbi supremacy, this caste is supporting BJP since 1990. Its reflection

can be seen in the number of Teli MLAs in Vidhan Sabha elections of 2009, 2014 and 2019.

In last 3 Vidhan Sabha Elections, out of 89 OBC MLAs in Vidarbha, 9 (10.11), Teli MLAs got elected from various parties. Out of these 9 Teli MLAs, BJP has 7 (7.86), Congress 1 (1.12) and NCP 1(1.12) elected MLAs Chandrashekhar Bavankule is the main representative of Teli in BJP in Vidarbha. He was given an important place in BJP's Council of Ministers and was Nagpur's Guardian Minister. In Non-BJP parties there is no strong Teli Leadership. Thus data and analysis shows that BJP has successfully brought Teli Caste into its support by giving it preference. The Kunbis are seems to be inclined towards Congress.

(2) Banjara -

After Kunbi and Teli Castes, the OBC minority Banjara Community has got highest representation and share in power from Vidarbha. This caste is advanced in agriculture, land ownership, educational institutions, jobs and cooperative field too. It is dominant caste in Yavatmal District. Especially in Pusad and Digras Vidhan Sabha Constituencies, other castes candidates find it very tough to defeat Banjara Candidate as they get maximum votes. of Banjaras. And otherhand non-Banjara castes are not united and they are scattered. Last 3 Vidhan Sabha Elections have demonstrated this fact. The leaders from Banjara Caste like Vasantrao Naik, Sudhakarrao Naik, Manohar Naik, Indranil Naik have represented Congress and NCP from Pusad Constituency and Sanjay Rathod as Minister and MLA from Digras constituency. Pusad and Digras Constituencies are an example of Congress, BJP and Shivsena having given preference to a minority caste at their candidate is getting elected repeatedly from a specific plea.

After Kunbi-Teli-Banjara castes, 3 MLAs each of Halba, Beldar and Gandhali castes have ben elected in last three elections. Their analysis is as follows -

(4) **Halba** -

Halba caste is politically important community in Nagpur city. Their role in Nagpur Muncipal Corporation Elections is specially important. BJP has adopted the policy of attracting non-Maratha-Kunbi castes towards it from the beginning Halba Caste has been asking for its inclusion among the S.T.'s from a long time. As BJP has promised to fulfil their demand, this caste has been supporting it. The post of Mayor was given to this caste by BJP. But as BJP could not keep its promise, this caste is somewhat annoyed with it. Vikas Kumbhare of Halba Caste has been elected thrice from BJP as MLA.

(3) Beldar -

This is a minority OBC community specially from Amravati and Yavatmal district. Out of 89 OBC MLA's, 2 Beldar MLAs were elected from BJP and one from Congress.

(4) Gandli -

This caste resides in the borderlines districts of Chandrapur and Gadchiroli in east Vidarbha. Vijay Wadettiwar from Congress has been elected continuously more than 3 times.

(7) **Kalal** -

Ashish Jaiswal was elected in 2009 from Shivsena and as Shivsena's rebellious candidate from Ramtek Constituency in 2019. He has been the Shivsenas OBC face in Nagpur District.

(8) Mali -

Baliram Siraskar of Mali Caste has been elected every time as a candidate of Congress and RPI (Ambekar Group)

(9) **Powar** -

This caste mostly resides in Gondia-Bhandara district. It is present mainly in education, professions and jobs. Ravi Rana, an independent, has been getting elected every time from Badnera constituency in Amravati District. He gets elected every time as he has an image of always doing works of the public though belonging to minority. His wife Navneet Rana is M.P. from Amaravati. BJP has got power caste's candidate elected thrice continuously was Tiroda constituency in Bhandara District. Moreover, Ravi Rana seems to be inclined toward BJP. Powar caste is at 3rd place collectively with Banjara Caste having got 6 of its MLAs elected. This seems to suggest that the Hindi siders, power caste is inclined towards BJP.

Other OBC minorities have got one MLA elected every time. Their details are as follows -

(10) **Kohli** -

This caste lives in Chandrapur, Bhanadara and Gondia districts in East Vidarbha. It is connected with BJP through the medium of RSS. One candidate of this caste has been elected as MLA from BJP.

(11) Yelam Reddy -

Mallikarjun Reddy, a social worker from Yelam/Reddy caste was elected in 2014 from Ramtek constituency in Nagpur during the Modi wave.

(12) **Dangar** -

The candidate of this community has been elected once in Akola district from candidature of RPI according to Akola pattern in politics.

(13) **Gurav** -

One Gurav candidate got elected from Shivsena. By giving candidature to minority caste, Shivsena got its candidates elected.

Following things become clear from above statistics and analysis -

- (1) As Kumbi caste among the OBC's has got highest representation, it is the dominant caste in Vidarbha (27.06%)
- (2) Amount non-kunbi OBC's, minority castes like Teli and Banjara get the highest representation.
- (3) The OBC castes which are not concentrated in any specific constituency get very less representation as MLA and many times don't get representation. Only 13

OBC castes have got representation as MLA in Vidarbh. Only 3 of them got the chance to work as Minister, CM or Governor. Others did not get the chance.

- (4) All political parties have given candidature and representation as MLA To Kunbi, Teli and Banajara castes among the OBCs.
- (5) As a result the minority OBC castes are neglected by all political parties and don't get much chance of representation.
- (6) Though Kunbi case has got highest representation from BJP, the non-BJP parties like Congress, NCP, Shivsena and independent have also given preference to Kunbis.
- (7) The Teli caste gets highest representation from BJP and the first choice of opposition is Kunbi caste.
- (8) BJP has given preference to candidates of Powar, Kohali, Halba, Yelam-Reddy communities whereas Congress has preferred Gandli caste candidates.
- (9) RPI Bahujan Mahasabha has given preference to Non-kunbi castes like Mali, Dhangar through the medium of Akola pattern politics.

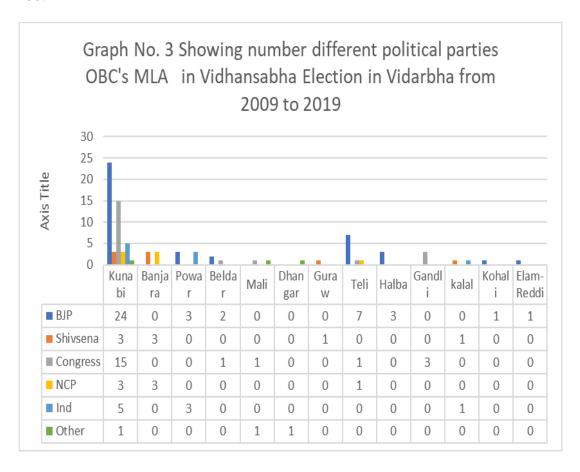
From above statistics and analysis, Hypothesis no.3 (OBC category's highest representation is done by BJP) and Hypothesis No.4 (Most OBC MLA's are getting elected from general category even without representation, so they are becoming political empowered) are proved.

TABLE NO III
TABLE SHOWING NO.OF OBC MLAS IN DIFFERENT POLITICAL
PARTIES CASTEWISE IN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS
FROM 2009 TO 2019 IN VIDARBHA

С	CACTE	DID	CIIII	CONC	MOD	IND	OTHED	TOTAL
Sr.	CASTE	BJP	SHIV	CONG.	N.C.P	IND.	OTHER	TOTAL
No.	Category		SENA					
1	Kunbi	24	03	15	3	05	1	51
		(12.90	(1.61)	(8.06)	(1.61)	(2.68)	(053)	(27.41)
)						
2	Banjara	00	03	00	3	00	00	06
			(1.61)		(1.61)			(3.22)
3	Powar	3	00	00	00	00	00	06
		(1.61)						(3.22)
4	Beldar	2	00	1	00	00	00	03
		(1.07)		(0.53)				(1.61)
5	Mali	00	00	1	00	00	1	2
				(0.53)			(0.53)	(1.07)
6	Dhangar	00	00	00	00	00	1	01
							(0.53)	(0.53)
7	Gurav	00	1	00	00	00	00	01
			(0.53)					(0.53)
8	Tali	07	00	1	1	00	00	09
		(3.76)		(0.53)	(0.53)			(4.83)
9	Halba	03	00	00	00	00	00	03.
		(1.61)						(1.61)
10	Gandali	00	00	03	00	00	00	03.

				(1.61)				(1.61)
11	Kalal	00	1	00	00	1	00	2
			(0.53)			(0.53)		(1.07)
12	Kohali	01	00	00	00	00	00	01
		(0.53)						(0.53)
13	Yelam	01	00	00	00	00	00	01
	Readj	(0.53)						(0.53)
Gran	nd Total	41	08	21	7	9	03	89
		(22.04	(4.30)	(11.29)	(3.76)	(4.83)	(1.61)	(47.84)
)						

Source - (1) DATA collected through survey



Representation and share in power of scheduled castes -

Out of 186 elected MLAs in Vidarbha in 2009, 2014, 2019 elections, 30 SC MLAs were elected from reserved seats. Out of these 30, BJP has 17, Congress 5 and Shivsena 5, Independent 2 and NCP 1 MLA's. As far as getting SC MLAs elected is concerned, BJP is at 1st place, Shivsena and Congress jointly at 2nd place, Independent at 3rd place and NCP at 4th and last place. BJP's experiment of social engineering has succeed in case of SC's following things become clear from above data.

- (1) BJP has destroyed Congress's traditional mass base among SC 's and made its social engineering experiment successful in this catetory.
- (2) The condition of Congress has weakened in reserved constituencies for SCs.
- (3) As Shivsena and Congress are jointly at 2nd place in SC category, their equal representation in this category becomes clear.

Nature of castewise representation among the SCs -

The main competition is between Navboudh and Hindu Dalits in constituencies reserved for SC's. Out of 30 SC MLA's 12 are Bouddha, 12 Hindu and 3 Lingayat Dalits. There castewise details are as follows -

1. Mahar (Navbouddha) -

The number of SC's and their place in politics is quite important in Vidarbha's social success. Amount SC's, Mahar community is the big brother. It is dominant and advanced in the field of educational institutions, jobs, land ownership and politics. Specially in East Vidarbha, Mahar is a dominant caste. So both BJP-Shivsena and Congress have to give preference to Mahar caste. All the political parties are inclined in their favour due to their capability to get elected.

In Vidhan Sabha Election of 2009, 2014 and 2019 in Vidarbha, out of 186 MLAs, 30 were SC's. Out of 30, 12 Mahar MLAs got elected from various parties. Out of 12 Mahar MLAs, BJP's 6 (50.00), Congress 4 and 1 each of Independent and NCP got elected. It is clear that BJP has given highest representation to Mahar caste. Congress has given second number representation to them. After this NCP and independent are placed. From this it is seen that Mahar-Naubuddha caste candidates have chosen BJP as 1st choice in the changed circumstances and also BJP has accepted this. After Mandal Politics of 1990s Mahar caste has turned towards BJP and this is an important event in Vidarbha's politics. It is a political social transformation which is going to help socialization of democracy a lot.

The main competition is between Buddha and Hindu Dalits in politics of SC's in Vidarbha. The castewise representation of Hindu Dalits is as follows.

Hindu Dalits -

(2) **Charmakar** - Out of 30 SC MLAs, 15 are Hindu-Dailits. As these Hindu Dali candidates get more votes from OBC and general category, their chances of setting elected increase. Taking note of this BJP-Sena and sometimes after parties too have given preference to Hindu candidates.

From 2009 to 2019 out of 30 SC MLA's, 6 are of Charmakar caste. After Mahar, the Charmakar get highest representation among the SC's from east and west Vidarbha, 3 Charmakar candidates each have been elected out of those 6, 3 are from BJP, 2 from Shivsena and 1 from Independence. It shows that Charmakar caste is inclined towards BJP-Shivsena. As BJP-Shivsena has beween given preference to Hindu Dalit from 1990s, this is its natural results.

- (3) **Sutar Balai** Shivsena's Raymulkar has got three times continuously elected from Mehkar Constituency in Buldhana District. Though there was controversy about his Sutar-Balai caste certificate, he won the legal battle.
- (4) Mehtar BJP's Lakhan Malik has got elected 3 times continuously from

Washim constituency as Mehtar candidates.

(5) **Khatik** - From east Vidarbha, Khatik MLA has got elected 3 times. From Umrer constituency in Nagpur District BJP's Sudhir Parve got elected in 2009 and 2014. In 2019 Congress Rajiv Parve got elected defeating him.

Out of 15 elected Hindu Dalit MLAs, BJP has 8, Shivsena 5, Congress 1, Independent 1 MLA. Out of those 15, 6 MLAs are Charmakar, 3 Balai, 3 Mehetar and 3 Khatik. In local self-Govt. institutions elections, Mahar-Navbuddha caste has been getting highest representation but this picture has become more competitive in Vidhan Sabha Elections. Thus data and analysis shows that Hindu Dalits are inclined towards BJP and BJP is also inclined towards Hindu Dalits. But BJP has given attention to Bouddha and Lingayat Dalits also, which becomes clear from election results.

(6) <u>Lingayat Dalit</u> -

Lingayat Burud Caste's Harish Marotiappa Pimpale has got elected 3 times from Murtizapur Constituency in Akola District on BJP's candidature.

From above statistics and analysis, following facts become clear:

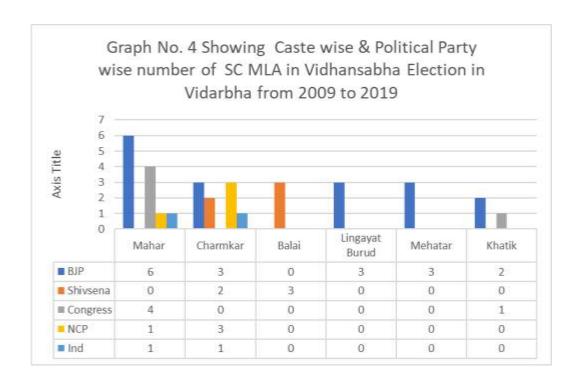
- (1) Mahar Naubuddha caste candidate have got elected most times in SC category, so they set highest representation (12 out of 30)
- (2) The Competition for SC category seats is mainly between Buddha and Hindu Dalits Other Dalits don't have any place (Bouddha 12, Hindu 15, Lingayat 3)
- (3) Out of 30 SC MLAs, BJP has 17, Shivsena 5, Congress 5, Independent 2 and NCP 1 MLA party wise. It proves that BJP's social engineering policy is succeeding. BJP is no. 1 party in SC's representation and support.
- (4) As far as support and representation of SC's is concerned, Congress and other opposition parties need to regain their lost traditional social mass base.

TABLE NO IV
TABLE SHOWING NO.OF CASTESWISE AND PARTYWISE NOS. OF
SCHEDULED CASTE MLAS IN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS
FROM 2009 TO 2019 IN VIDARBHA

Sr.	CASTE	BJP	SHIV	CONG.	N.C.P	IND.	TOTAL
No.	Category		SENA				
1	MAHAR	06	00	04	01	1	12
		(3.22)		(2.15)	(0.53)	(0.53)	(6.45)
2	CHARM	03	02	00	00	1	06
	A KAR	(1.61)	(0.07)			(0.53)	(3.22)
3	SUTAR	00	03	00	00	00	03
	BALAI		(1.61)				(1.61)
4	LINGAY	03	00	00	00	00	03
	AT	(1.61)					(1.61)
	BURUD						
5	MEHET	03	00	00	00	00	03
	AR	(1.61)					(1.61)
6	KHATIK	02	00	01	00	00	03
		(1.07)		(0.53)			(1.61)

GRAND	17	05	5	1	02	30
TOTAL	(09.13	(2.68)	(2.68)	(0.53)	(1.07)	(16.12)
)					

Source - (1) DATA collected through survey



On the basis of above statistics and analysis **Hypothesis No. 6 - BJP has now** become the strongest parts to singlehandly represent SC's and Hypothesis no. 7 - in SC Category BJP has succeeded in using social engineering experiment and got highest support, are proved to be true.

<u>Political representation and share in power of Scheduled Tribes and Political Parties</u> -

In last 3 Vidhan Sabha elections out of 186 MLAs, 21 (11.29) ST MLAs got elected. Out of 21, BJP has 11 (5.51), Congress 7 (3.86), NCP 1 (0.53), others 3 (1.61) and Independents have 1 (0.51) MLAs . In the support and representation of ST category, BJP is at 1st, Congress 2nd and NCP and other jointly at 3rd position. Though BJP is at 1st place in ST category, Congress has kept its challenge alive. So like general category, OBC's and SC's, BJPs experiment of social engineering has not succeeded in case of ST category.

The castewise political representation and support in ST category is as shown in Table No.6.

The caste wise political representation and support -

(1) **Gond** - Out of 21 ST MLAs, the highest 15 MLAs are from Gond caste. Out of 15, BJP has 7, Congress 4, NCP 1, Independents 1 and others 3 MLAs partywise. In support and representation of Gond MLAs, BJP is at 1st and Congress at 2nd position. Other parties are jointly at 3rd position. Gond caste has got place in council of ministers from NCP and BJP.

In ST category, there is political competition between Gonds and non-Gond castes. The non-Gonds are falling behind in it. Their castewise representation is analysed as follows -

- (2) **Korku** Out of 2 Korku MLAs, one is from BJP and other is from other parties.
- (3) **Andh** One MLA of this caste was elected from Congress and got a place in council of ministers.
- (4) **Pardhan** One MLA of this caste got elected. (BJP).
- (5) **Mana**: Two MLAs of this caste got elected from BJP, however, they could not get a place in council of Ministers.

From these statistics and analysis, following things are clear -

- (1) Out of 47 Adivasi Caste, only 5 got representation in Vidhan Sabha.
- (2) Out of 5 castes which got represented in Vidhan Sabha, 4 were from BJP. Congress has represented 2, NCP 1, Others 1 and independents 1 caste in Vidhan Sabha. It shows that BJP has created its place among the non-Gond castes also.
- (3) Though BJP is No.1 in ST category, Congress is not far behind. Thus the experiment of social engineering of BJP has not succeeded in ST category as much as it has in other categories. This is a truth.

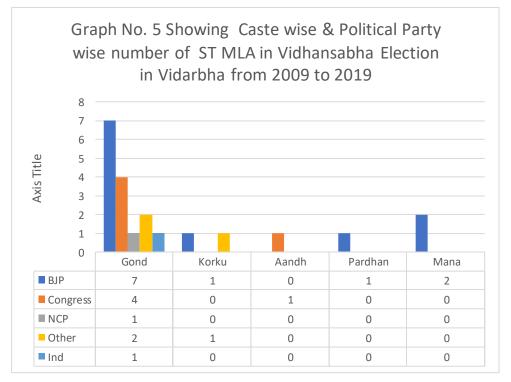
From above analysis, Hypothesis no. 7 - though BJP is the biggest party in ST" category, congress is not far behind and Hypothesis No.8 - Congress has preserved its mass base in ST category to a large extend, are found to be true.

TABLE NO V
TABLE SHOWING CASTEWISE AND PARTYWISE NO. OF SCHEDULED
TRIBES MLAS IN LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS FROM 2009 TO
2019 IN VIDARBHA

Sr.	CASTE	BJP	CONG.	N.C.P	OTHER	IND.	TOTAL
No.	Category				S		
1	GOND	07	04	1	02	1	15
		(3.86)	(2.15)	(0.53)	(1.07)	(0.53)	(8.06)
2	KORKU	01	00	00	01	00	02
		(00.53			(0.53)		(1.07)
)					
3	ANDHA	00	1	00	00	00	01
			(0.53)				(0.53)
4	PARDH	01	00	00	00	00	01
	AN	(0.53					(0.53)
5	MANA	02	00	00	00	00	02
		(1.07)					(1.07)
GRA	ND	11	07	1	03	1	21
TOT	AL	(5.91)	(3.86)	(0.53)	(1.61)	(0.53)	(11.29)

Source - (1) DATA collected through survey

(2) Election Commission Report % on the ba



After analyzing and consolidating the castewise representation and support of general category, OBCs, SCs and STs by political parties, Hypothesis no. 9 - BJP has forcibly entered into the traditional Congress mass base by using social engineering, Hypothesis no. 10 - That the state level political party have not succeeded much in increasing their social mass base, and Hypothesis no. 11 - there is one dominant caste in every category such as Brahmin in general, Kunbi in OBCs, Mahar in SC and Gond in ST and hence other social communities don't get proper representation and share in power, are proved.

In last 3 Vidhan Sabha Elections in Vidarbha, 8 castes from general category, 13 out of 404 in OBC category, 6 out of 59 in SC category, and 5 out of 47 in ST category, could get representation in Vidhan Sabha. As far as Ministership as CM's post is concerned - from general category, 4 from OBC, 1 from SC and 2 from ST categories, got place in council of ministers. Even among them the candidates from dominant castes have remained ministers of important departments for longer time.

From this it can be easily understood whom the political parties represent. It also makes clear that the social need for political reservation exists even today. But no caste has benefited from this in the last 70 years. Following recommendations are made for giving the benefits of reservation to common people.

(1) Census and survey of all castes should be done and reservation should be given

by taking needs of each caste into account based on the facts found during the surveys.

- (2) General category should be given reservation in proportion to their population. It should be divided into four categories Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra and they should be given political, educational, and Employment reservation in proportion to their population.
- (3) OBC's should be given reservation in proportion to their population. Among OBCs (1) Farmer OBC and Artisan OBC, these two categories should be made.
- (4) The reservation given to SCs in proportion to their population should be continued. They should be divided into 3 categories (1) Bouddha Dalit/Nav-Buddhist (2) Hindu Dalit and (3) Lingayat Dalit and each of them should be given reservation in proportion to their population.
- (5) The reservation given to STs in proportion to their population should be continued. They should be divided into two categories Gonds and non-Gonds.
- (6) It should be clearly declared that one person would get the benefit of reservation only once.
- (7) The political reservation given to castes should be for only next 10 years.

If reservation is given in such manner, then it would facilitate conversion of political democracy into social democracy. It will lessen the conflict and tensions among different castes and we will march towards social compatibility and social democracy will be strengthened. For this to happen, all social group need to come forward. The quality of democracy in our country will depend on how the various political party, leaders and social group show such political will.

Glossary

(1) Caste and Indian Politics -

Castes in India is a social system one borns with. One can change one's own religion by will but one cannot change castes even today besides an individual's status and reputation. In India, castes play a major role in deciding the political carrier of people. Even political parties seriously consider caste factor while representing their manifesto. Hence in this research paper, castes politics has been considered as an integral social system. Its interrelations with political system has also been discussed with length.

- (2) SC Scheduled Caste -
- (3) ST Schedule Tribes
- (4) OBC Other Backward Castes -
- (5) Open/General who are not SC/ST/OBC they are general.

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