

## Political Exclusion of Muslims in Panchayat Raj Institutions: A Case Study of Telangana State

By  
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*"The Electors (voters) who are on a different side in party politics from the local majority are unrepresented... (This system) is diametrically opposed to the first principle of democracy, representation in proportion to numbers."*

*John Stuart Mill in Considerations on Representative Government (1861)*

### Introduction

Participatory democracy is the form of collective decision making process for the direct and indirect democracies. In this form of government people will decide collective in the affairs of policy making and their representatives simply execute their policy implementation. Though it has many constraints the involvement of local people will enhance the accountability and transparency by social auditing of entire policies and funding.

Panchayats have been the backbone of the Indian villages since the beginning of recorded history. In 1946, Gandhi had aptly remarked that the Indian independence must begin at the bottom and every village ought to be a Republic or a Panchayat with powers. His dream got translated into reality with the introduction of the three-tier Panchayati Raj system to ensure people's participation in rural reconstruction.

Telangana has born as a new Indian state on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2014 after prolong and peaceful struggle. The credit of formation of movement goes to all sections of society including Muslims in Telangana. Though Muslims are living in majority urban areas but they also lives in rural areas. Most of the rural areas in Telangana are Muslim dominated. This paper will assess the share of Muslims and representation in Panchayat Raj Institutions in Telangana.

### Objectives of the Paper:

This paper figure out the share and representation of Muslims in the Panchayat Raj Institutions in Telangana for a period of last ten years before its establishment as 29<sup>th</sup> state of India. Hence a detailed empirical inquiry will be focused on the representation of bodies like Zilla Parishad, Mandal Parishad and Gram Panchyats from 2004 to 2014.

### Methodology:

This study based on the primary and secondary data like Annual reports of the different commissions reports. The records of State Election Commission of Telangana state will be analyzed along with the Rural and Urban Local Bodies Directorates. The Census data of 2011 census will also be used as primary data to assess the election results and the share of Muslims in PRIs. The study of political parties is not been done due to time constraints. The centralized data is also not furnished and made available due to bifurcation of the state.

### Political Participation and Panchayat Raj Institutions:

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Politics could be defined largely as genuine appraisal of humans as true stakeholders of the state making attempts to coexist in an interdependent relationship. Thus every form of human society does have some sort of rhythm of politics and game plan of politics and its related initiatives are true. We recognize this when we talk about politics in private associations such as temples, churches, mosques, businesses, pressure groups, social clubs and so forth<sup>2</sup>.

Political Participation may be defined as those of actions of private citizens by which they seek to influence or to support government and politics<sup>3</sup>. The phrase “rule of the people” may define democracy, but it does not tell us why it is better that people, rather than kings, should rule. Like Mill, contemporary theorists also believe that the equal opportunities of self-development can only be achieved in a truly participatory society (Pateman 1970; Babber 1984). Whether in the workplace or in local self government, participation enhances political efficacy, evokes in citizens a concern for matters of common interest, and helps to create aware and knowledgeable citizens who can contribute constructively to the process of governance<sup>4</sup>.

The panchayat raj is often believed to be the most important political invention of independence India. The panchayat raj institutions (PRIs) are proclaimed as the vehicles of socio-economic transformation in rural India<sup>5</sup>. Article 40 of Indian Constitution calls upon the State to take steps to organise Village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self Government. In order to comply with the mandatory provisions of 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional amendment state government has enacted the law to establish rural local bodies. Article 243 (G) of the constitution provides the powers and functions of the local government.

**Panchayat Raj Institutions in Telangana:**

The state of Telangana has 10 districts erstwhile and out of which 9 districts have Panchayat Raj Institutions. Recently the Telangana state government has increased the districts from 10 to 31. With three lakhs families’ population of each district the governments has finalized 31 smaller districts for easy and smooth administration in the year 2016. In the erstwhile 10 districts of Telangana the Panchayat Raj Institutions comprising Zilla Parishads, Mandal Parishad and Gram Panchayats are 9, 434 and 8703 respectively. The district wise breakup of these institutions and its constituencies/members in Telangana are as follows.

**Table-1**  
**Statement showing the Panchayat Raj Institutions in Telangana**

Sl.No	Name of the District	ZPP	ZPTC	MPP	MPTC	Sarpanchas
1	Adilabad	1	52	52	636	859

<sup>2</sup> Lester W. Milbrath, M.L. Goel, “Political Participation: How and Why do people Get Involved in Politics”, Chicago : Rand McNally College Pub. Co., c1977. p1

<sup>3</sup> Lester W. Milbrath, M.L. Goel, “Political Participation: How and why do people Get Involved in Politics”. Chicago: Rand McNally College Pub. Co., 1977. p2

<sup>4</sup> Democracy in India (ed) Niraja Gopal Jayal, Oxford University Press, 2010 p13

<sup>5</sup> Yatindra Singh Sisodia, “Panchayati raj System in Madhya Pradesh: An Appraisal”, in G. Palanithuria (ed.), Dynamics of New Panchayati Raj System in India, Vol. II, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 2002.

2	Karimnagar	1	57	57	830	1206
3	Khammam	1	46	39	625	718
4	Nizamabad	1	36	36	580	718
5	Nalgonda	1	59	59	835	1166
6	Medak	1	46	46	685	1065
7	Mahabubnagar	1	64	64	981	1328
8	Ranga Reddy	1	33	33	613	668
9	Warangal	1	50	48	705	941
	<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>441</b>	<b>434</b>	<b>6490</b>	<b>8703</b>

Source: Secondary data collected from various resources from Commissioner of Panchayat Raj and Rural Development, Govt.of Telangana.

#### Demographic status of Muslims in Telangana:

The Muslims in Telangana have in considerable size where the total population of the state is more than 351 Lakhs while Muslims are more than 45 Lakhs comprising to 13% of its total population. Hyderabad recorded more than 43 percent and Nalgonda 5.41 percent of Muslim population in the state.

Of the total urban population of the state around 24% of the population is Muslim whereas in the rural areas they constitute only 5.05%. Hyderabad consists of only urban population and 43.4% of the total Hyderabad population is Muslims. Apart from Hyderabad, Nizamabad and Mahbubnagar districts have high concentration of Muslims in urban areas. 35.6% and 24.3% of the urban population are Muslims in these two districts respectively. Adilabad, Karimnagar and Medak districts have also considerable share of Muslim population among their urban population. Muslims constitute 22.35% of the urban population in Adilabad district. In Karimnagar and Medak districts their share is 16.29% and 20.12% respectively. The share of Muslims in the rural population is higher than in the state average in Adilabad, Nizamabad, Medak, Ranga Reddy and Mahbubnagar districts<sup>6</sup>.

**Table-2**  
**Muslim Population in Telangana state (Dist. Wise)**

	Total	Muslim	Share of Muslims(%)
Hyderabad	3943323	1713405	43.45
Nizamabad	2551335	391596	15.35
Ranga Reddy	5296741	617518	11.66
Medak	3033288	342449	11.29
Adilabad	2741239	275970	10.07
Mahbubnagar	4053028	334172	8.24
Karimnagar	3776269	244723	6.48
Khammam	2797370	158887	5.68

<sup>6</sup> Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Socio-Economic and Educational Conditions of Muslims, Govt.of Telangana, August 2016 (Popularly known as Sudheer Commission Report) p16

Warangal	3512576	197333	5.62
Nalgonda	3488809	188646	5.41
<b>Telangana</b>	<b>35193978</b>	<b>4464699</b>	<b>12.69</b>

Source: Census of India 2011

### Representation of Muslims in Panchayat Raj Institutions in Telangana:

This paper mainly focused on the two elections i.e., Third Ordinary Elections, 2006 and Fourth Ordinary Elections, 2014 conducted in erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh to review the functioning of participatory democracy in Telangana. The law relating to Panchayat Raj elections, both direct and indirect is dispersed in various provisions contained in the Andhra Pradesh Panchayat Raj Act, 1994 and various sets of rules issued there under. Apart from that, there are also certain orders issued by the State Election Commission under Section 243K of the Constitution of India governing the conduct of elections<sup>7</sup>. The data on representation in ZPTC elections, MPTC elections and Sarpanch Elections of 2006 and 2014 pertains to caste and community is given below.

**Table-3**

#### Caste wise/ Community wise Political Representation in Telangana - 2006

##### 2006 ZPTC's

S.No.	District	SCs	STs	BCs	Women	Muslims	General	Total
1	Adilabad	7	7	11	17	0	10	52
2	Khammam	5	9	7	16	0	9	46
3	Karimnagar	8	1	17	19	0	12	57
4	Mahboobnagar	6	3	17	21	0	17	64
5	Medak	6	2	13	15	0	10	46
6	Nalgonda	7	5	15	20	0	12	59
7	Nizamabad	4	2	10	12	2	6	36
8	Rangareddy	5	1	9	11	0	7	33
9	Warangal	6	5	13	17		9	50
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>54</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>443</b>

Source: Secondary data collected from various resources from Commissioner of Panchayat Raj and Rural Development, Govt.of Telangana

**Table-4**

#### Caste wise/ Community wise Political Representation in Telangana – 2006

##### 2006 MPTS

S. No.	District	SCs	STs	BCs	Women	Muslims	General	Total
1	Adilabad	69	85	109	188	7	117	575
2	Khammam	66	113	67	228	3	124	601
3	Karimnagar	51	107	247	276	2	119	802

<sup>7</sup> State Election Commission, Andhra Pradesh Handbook of Election Law as on May 2011 p ii

4	Mahboobnagar	99	52	221	274	9	213	868
5	Medak	75	27	172	249	8	137	668
6	Nalgonda	95	70	215	265	2	170	817
7	Nizamabad	56	32	149	175	7	114	533
8	Rangareddy	91	62	236	247	4	134	774
9	Warangal	33	20	57	93	2	39	244
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>635</b>	<b>568</b>	<b>1473</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>1167</b>	<b>5882</b>

Source: Data collected from various resources from Commissioner of Panchayat Raj and Rural Development, Govt.of Telangana.

**Table-5**

**Caste wise/ Community wise Political Representation in Telangana – 2006  
2006 SARPANCH**

S.No.	District	SCs	STs	BCs	Women	Muslims	General	Total
1	Adilabad	92	216	140	286	7	125	866
2	Khammam	64	276	70	251	9	93	763
3	Karimnagar	167	25	345	386	6	259	1188
4	Mahboobnagar	166	97	332	442	7	300	1344
5	Medak	139	40	277	350	9	236	1051
6	Nalgonda	146	77	308	381	3	228	1143
7	Nizamabad	72	37	184	230	11	147	681
8	Rangareddy	95	38	194	224	13	127	691
9	Warangal	119	132	236	326	8	168	989
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>1060</b>	<b>938</b>	<b>2086</b>	<b>2876</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>1683</b>	<b>8716</b>

Source: Data collected from various resources from Commissioner of Panchayat Raj and Rural Development, Govt.of Telangana.

**Table-6**

**2014 ZPTC's**

**Caste wise/ Community wise Political Representation in Telangana**

S.No.	District	SCs	STs	BCs	Muslims	General	Total
1	Adilabad	10	12	24	04	02	52
2	Khammam	08	18	14	Nil	06	46
3	Karimnagar	12	02	29	01	13	57
4	Mahboobnagar	13	07	29	Nil	15	64
5	Medak	09	03	21	02	11	46
6	Nalgonda	11	10	23	01	14	59
7	Nizamabad	06	03	19	Nil	08	36
8	Rangareddy	07	03	16	Nil	07	33
9	Warangal	09	11	20	02	08	50

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>443</b>
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Source: Data collected from various resources from Commissioner of Panchayat Raj and Rural Development, Govt.of Telangana.

**Table-7**  
**2014 MPTC's**

**Caste wise/ Community wise Political Representation in Telangana**

S.No.	District	SCs	STs	BCs	Muslims	General	Total
1	Adilabad	131	137	293	28	47	636
2	Khammam	117	262	138	12	96	625
3	Karimnagar	183	24	489	05	129	830
4	Mahboobnagar	199	108	500	15	159	981
5	Medak	131	47	379	18	110	685
6	Nalgonda	163	119	413	11	129	835
7	Nizamabad	99	62	339	29	51	580
8	Rangareddy	117	53	307	36	100	613
9	Warangal	127	168	332	06	72	705
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>1267</b>	<b>980</b>	<b>3190</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>893</b>	<b>6490</b>

Source: Data collected from various resources from Commissioner of Panchayat Raj and Rural Development, Govt.of Telangana.

**Table-8**  
**2014 Sarpanchas**

**Caste wise/ Community wise Political Representation in Telangana**

S.No.	District	SCs	STs	BCs	Muslim	General	Total
1	Adilabad	133	329	314	16	67	859
2	Khammam	86	428	117	08	113	752
3	Karimnagar	239	46	703	09	209	1206
4	Mahboobnagar	238	171	631	16	272	1328
5	Medak	185	68	587	36	188	1064
6	Nalgonda	215	173	555	13	210	1166
7	Nizamabad	129	87	394	21	87	718
8	Rangareddy	134	18	315	09	223	699
9	Warangal	158	234	426	12	112	942
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>1517</b>	<b>1554</b>	<b>4042</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>1481</b>	<b>8734</b>

Source: Data collected from various resources from Commissioner of Panchayat Raj and Rural Development, Govt.of Telangana.

**Data Analysis**

The data for the two elections conducted in Telangana region shows that the representation of Muslims in the PRIs is very less and figures and negligible, whereas the percentage of elected representatives of all the three bodies is mere 1.39 percent and the gap/deprivation rate is 5.99 percent. This is also shows that the Muslims are never adequately represented in local rural

bodies as such seventy percent of the total community is out of political engagement which is a potential threat to democratic principles and participatory democracy.

**Table-9**

**Statistics showing the share of the Representation and Deprivation index**

Sr. No	PRI	Total Constituencies	Muslims Elected (Representation)	Percentage	No. to be elected as per population share	Gap (Deprivation)
1	ZPTC 2006	443	02	0.45	26	5.55
2	ZPTC 2014	443	10	2.25	26	3.75
3	MPTC 2006	5882	44	0.74	353	5.25
4	MPTC 2014	6490	160	2.46	389	3.54
5	Sarpanchas 2006	8716	73	0.83	523	5.17
6	Sarpanchas 2014	8734	140	1.60	524	4.40
	<b>Total</b>	<b>30708</b>	<b>429</b>	<b>1.39</b>	<b>1842</b>	<b>5.99</b>

Source: Authors assumptions (Computed data from above tables) Share of the Muslim population is taken as a sample of 6% in rural areas whereas the total share of Muslims in the state is 13% of its total population.

### Conclusion

Measuring of grass root democracy can be done through the functioning of panchayat raj institutions in the country and in Telangana. Political engagement of Poor and marginalized communities like Muslims in the grass root institutions shall successful and meet their legitimate local demands of their localities. The principles of participatory democracy and deliberative democracy will be only useful on the participation, mobilization and contestation of all the groups and communities of civil society. Whereas in the case of Telangana the PRIs are not effectively successful. Hence the following suggestions are mentioned hereunder for effective participation and representation of Muslims in Telangana and to meet the democratic challenges to centralization. Secondly the people of the country losing hope in the democracy and in the system. As such the democracy is losing voters. Citizens are deliberately missing from governance and participatory democracy in Telangana. The maximum population of a particularly community like Muslims needs to enjoy political equality for better empowerment and development without discrimination.

1. An adequate constitutional amendment shall be made in 73<sup>rd</sup> Constitutional Amendment Act for reservations to Muslim community on par with the population share. The provisions of nominated persons cannot be useful and not based on the democratic principle.
2. In Telangana, the Govt. shall take a issue very seriously and make consensus on the political participation of Muslims in rural bodies and a minimum 6 percent reservations shall be provided.
3. Special territorial constituencies shall be established in respect of Muslim populated areas by delimitation principles on par with the Scheduled tribes and scheduled castes.



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4. A special data bank in all the District Panchayat offices shall be functional to record the data and its related statistics.

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