

17 years of 4% Muslim Reservation



2 Million Smiles

in Telangana & Andhra Pradesh States



Mohammed Ali Shabbir

FORMER MINISTER,
EX-LEADER OF OPPOSITION IN TELANGANA COUNCIL

The Minorities Welfare Department euphoria



Mohammed Ali Durrani, youngest MP

The anti-CAA protests that are raging in some parts of the country, especially Assam and Uttar Pradesh, have witnessed violence in the form of some miscreants pelting stones at policemen. While such vandalism is highly condemnable, we must look at them not just as acts of violence, but as expressions of anger stemming from disgust.

It should be noted that those who pelted stones are local youth, who are suffering from a sense of insecurity and alienation in their homeland. It is also probable that they could have misconceptions that the government does not belong to them or it was least bothered about their well-being.

It was this mental disassociation, anguish and a feeling of discrimination, which were primarily responsible for triggering communal disturbances in different parts of the country since independence.

I was only 32 in 1989 when I got elected as Member of Andhra Pradesh State Legislative Assembly from Kamareddy. Everyone was surprised when the then Chief Minister Dr. Marri Channa Reddy inducted me into his Cabinet. I was the youngest Minister in the Cabinet and was holding five portfolios. Initially, I was only allocated the portfolio of Wakf Board and Urdu Academy. Within a few days, Dr Reddy allocated portfolios of Sugar, Fisheries, Khadi & Village Industries and Small Scale Industries.

The early 1990s was full of communal discontent because of the nationwide Rath Yatra taken out by BJP leader L.K. Advani.

Hyderabad, notorious for communal riots and dreaded for that very reason, earned the acronym 'curfew city'. As a Minister belonging to Muslim community, it was my duty to initiate the process to transform this rather pitiable reputation, which, I was sure, could be brought about by involving disgruntled Muslim youth into the development process. Initially, I focussed on resolving the issues

confronting students from minority communities, protection of Wakf properties and other issues concerning minorities. Over a period of time, I also began efforts to get reservation for Muslim community.

Cheena Reddy Cabinet Ministry Mohammed Ali Shabbir



During the 1993-94 Budget, for the first time in the country, a separate budget for welfare of minorities was introduced. This was ~~an~~ **un**usual move and apparently for the first time, Muslims, who had complained about discrimination and social injustice, felt that the government was concerned about their development. The next big task ahead of me was creation of a separate Department for Minorities Welfare.

On being allotted the portfolio of Wakf Board and Urdu Academy, I was jolted when told that no department reports to me directly. Various institutions working for the welfare of minorities were associated with other departments. I assumed that my role as a Minister will be cosmetic in nature. Further, lack of a concerted plan of action, and approach thereof, would serve no purpose if the

desire was to strive for the welfare of minorities. A Cabinet post without having to interact with any departments was something I never bargained for. It was not for such a post that I had taken oath at Raj Bhavan.

While Urdu Academy was linked to Education Department, the State Wakf Board was part of Revenue (Hindu Endowments) Department. Similarly, the Minorities Finance Corporation was under the Industries Department while the Minorities Commission was under General Administration Department (GAD).

Both Mecca Masjid and Royal Mosque were under the control of Hindu



Endowments Department till 1993. I was perplexed that no Principal Secretary or any senior official was willing to attend meetings pertaining to minorities' welfare.

The reasons were evident. For a Principal Secretary ,who was heading the Education Department of Rs. 1400 crore, attending a meeting on Urdu Academy with mere Rs. six lakh funds looked irrelevant. It was a similar story with regard to Wakf Board, Minorities Finance Corporation and Minorities' Commission. Consequently, all the departments were deputing junior officials for review meetings.

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Rather moved by the scenario and wishing to bring changes, I was soon confronted with inarguably the biggest challenge of my career and that was to convince the Chief Minister to first detach all departments of minority welfare with different ministries and bring them under one umbrella by constituting an exclusive Department for Welfare of Minorities.

In our bureaucratic set-up, creating a new post in an existing department is considered a difficult task. Therefore, a completely new department with a Principal Secretary as its administrative head and identifying new posts and filling them up through repatriations or transfers seemed to be a herculean task.

But providence had something else in store and it was destined to be done. After much persuasion, the Chief Minister's Office, the then Chief Secretary Mr. Jayabharat Reddy and other bureaucrats began the process and in a short while the first ever Department of Welfare of Minorities became a reality.



The Chief Minister directed me to follow up the issue with the Chief Secretary, whom I decided to meet the next morning. However, my Personal Secretary Akhtar Hussain (who had earlier worked with Mr. M.M. Hasham) and another PS, M.A. Ghaffar (who had worked with Lok Sabha MP Mr. M Baga Reddy) told me that being a Cabinet Minister, I cannot visit the office of Chief Secretary as it would be a violation of protocol. I was in a dilemma. I told them that formation of Minorities' Welfare Department was more important to me than protocol procedures.

Fortunately, Mr. Jayabharath Reddy himself came up with a solution. He fixed the meeting from 9 to 10 am. Since the official working hours in the State Secretariat

began at 10 am, we met at the Chief Secretary's chambers as per his suggested timings to take the proposal forward. Mr. Jayabharat Reddy had earlier worked as the Secretary of National Commission for Minorities and therefore he was suitably acquainted with issues concerning the community. He accepted my proposals and finally we ensured the formation of the country's Minorities Welfare Department from January 1, 1993.

It was a unique model that the Government of Andhra Pradesh adopted. The minorities in the State had a dedicated ministry, a department, officials and most importantly separate budget for their development.

Its creation evoked good response from across the country. When the then Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Mr Mulayam Singh Yadav visited Hyderabad, he especially sought me out for details about the Minorities Welfare Department and then directed his officials to emulate the same. Subsequently, a similar department came into existence in Uttar Pradesh. Soon thereafter, many other States followed suit.



ARTICLE- 1

The same model was adopted by the first United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government at the Centre. Janab Abdul Rahman Antulay, former Chief Minister of Maharashtra, achieved the distinction of becoming the country's first Union Minister for Minorities Welfare in 2006.

We also initiated the process of providing reservation for Muslims in jobs and education although this could not be implemented immediately. But initiatives like introduction of budget, creation of minorities' welfare department and steps to provide reservation created a bonding between the minorities and the government. Subsequently, the communal needles of suspicion started disappearing from Andhra Pradesh, albeit at a snail's pace.

According to Varsshney-Wilkinson Data Set on Religious Riots, while there were 11 outbreaks of communal conflicts in Andhra Pradesh in which 165 people were killed and 61 injured between 1989-93, the numbers went down to two incidents that claimed eight lives while 133 people were injured from 1994-98. Subsequently, these numbers started declining and communal amity and sense of togetherness was at its best.

My own belief is that some measures do not produce immediate results. Patience is the buzzword because in the long run they help reap benefits and several thorny issues will be resolved. Time is the greatest healer, as the adage goes.

The party in power needs to understand people's expectations and should work accordingly. Politics is all about vision and foresight and what we are witnessing today under BJP and TRS is politics that are both hollow and directionless.

The quota angst still haunts Muslims



The best of intentions, notwithstanding, the fact of the matter is that making a reality of extending four percent reservation to Muslims was not the smooth sailing that all proponents had presumed. The journey was ridden with pitfalls of varying kinds, including legal hurdles, defiance by the prophets of doom, and inexplicable setbacks that delayed the process.

For instance, as the then Minister for Minorities Welfare when I floated the proposal to provide reservation to Muslims way back in 1994, I faced opposition not only from other communities, but even from the Muslim elite and religious leadership. A major opposition came from a considerable number of Muslims, who grew up with a laidback 'Nawabi' mindset and had this

mistaken notion that the entire community was well-to-do and belonged to the ruling class.

Having been driven to the wall, literally, it took a very long time and the best of my persuasive skills to prevail upon the community leaders and my own party men, thereafter. I had to convince them that providing reservation to Muslims, who were socially, educationally and economically backward, was in their best interests.

I first became a Minister in the Cabinet of Dr. Marri Channa Reddy when I was 32 years old. I was retained by Dr. Kotla Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy, when he held the helm of affairs. Today, I can state that the two were stalwarts, whose political understanding had so much of depth that no politician of contemporary times can match their stature. A hallmark of their persona was that despite being ministers, we were treated as young learners, who were expected to do their home work before coming up with any suggestions.

ARTICLE- 2

I still remember Dr. Channa Reddy's pearls of wisdom when I was to face the first Assembly session as a Minister in 1989. He asked me to go through all questions pertaining to my ministries and exhorted me to be ready to answer every odd question that the Opposition benches would raise in the House. The epitome of humility, he delivered a sermon that I will cherish for as long as I am in public service. He quipped that the exalted Assembly was a place that was as sacred as a temple and mosque and no one should lie in the House just to duck criticisms for some administrative failures.



With that advice on the back of my mind, I did my home-work before taking forward the 'reservation to Muslims' proposal.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh constituted a Manohar Pershad Committee in 1968. Later, by G.O. MS. No. 870 dated-12 4-1968, the government appointed 'Anatha Raman Commission' to prepare a list of Backward Classes in the State as Socially and Educationally Backward Classes. The Commission submitted its report, taking which into consideration, the Government accepted the criteria adopted by the Commission and issued G.O. MS. No. 1793 (23 9-1970) making 25% reservation for Backward Classes as against the Commission's recommendation of 30%.

This G.O. was also challenged before the AP High Court, which struck it down. On appeal, the apex court reversed the view of the High Court holding that the G.O. is valid ny being within the postulates of Article 15(4) of the Constitution of India.



Again in 1982, 'N.K. Muralidhar Rao Commission' was appointed to determine the nature of social and educational backwardness of different sections of citizens and to submit its report. The Commission made three major recommendations:

(1) To include nine communities in the Backward Classes category

(2) To enhance the quantum of reservation both in educational institutions, as well as services from

25% - 44%. The inter-division of this 44% among the Sub-groups 'A' to 'E' was specified as 10%, 16%, 8%, 8% and 2%, respectively.

(3) The reservations so provided shall be in force for a period of 25 years, and a detailed review may be undertaken either to continue the reservation or to modify them.

I was surprised to learn that Muslims were among the nine communities recommended for inclusion in the BCs list by the Muralidhar Rao Commission, which also recommended inclusion of Kapus, Balijas, Telagas and Ontari communities.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh had approved the Commission's report with minor variations by issuing G.O. Ms. Nos.166, 167, and 168 dated 15 7-1986. It enhanced the quantum of reservation for Backward Classes from 25% to 44% and for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes from 14% to 15% and from 4% to 6%, respectively. They were up to be in vogue till the year 2000. However, this triggered large-scale protests across the State. Later, Andhra Pradesh High Court struck down the recommendations of Muralidhar Rao Commission relating to the enhancement of reservation quota for Backward Classes pointing out certain

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deficiencies and infirmities. But the court upheld the enhancement of quota for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Meanwhile, the Government of India sought to implement the report of Mandal Commission on Backward Classes and in a resultant litigation, the Supreme Court recommended the constitution of a permanent body to examine all complaints of wrong inclusion or non-inclusion of groups in the BCs list. On the directions of the Supreme Court, the Government of Andhra Pradesh constituted the Andhra Pradesh Commission for Backward Classes vide Andhra Pradesh Act No. 20 of 1993.

“There has been considerable unrest among members of various castes and communities in support of their long-pending demand and the government initially extended certain non-statutory educational benefits to students of certain cases whose parents or guardians income was Rs. 12,000 or less per annum. Similarly, certain economic support schemes have also been extended to parents,



whose annual income was less than Rs. 6,000. These benefits were subsequently extended to Muslims along with other minorities.

However, the mere extension of economic benefits was felt inadequate as that would not entitle these castes for reservation of seats in educational institutions and jobs in government and local bodies, which indeed is their main demand.

Ironically, certain similarly placed castes have been included in the list of Backward Classes in certain regions of the State and other neighbouring States. In these circumstances, the government made a request to the BC Commission for an interim report with regard to their social and educational backwardness. However, the Commission expressed its inability to do so.



Normally before any caste or community is included or excluded from the list of Backward Classes, the government is expected to first obtain a report from the Commission. It is not the policy of the Government under normal circumstances to deviate from this procedure. But so far as the demand of the castes and communities under references for inclusion in the list of Backward Classes are concerned, it is a long-pending demand, which, at times, led to unrest, for the simple reason that certain communities which are more or less on par with them in the matter of social and educational backwardness were included in the Backward Classes category. Thus, a sense of inequity has been haunting those communities giving rise to emotional upsurge demanding social justice."

In view of the circumstances mentioned, the then Congress government ordered treatment of 14 castes as Social and Educational Backward Classes of citizens for the purpose of reservation of seats in educational institutions and for job recruitments in government and local bodies.

It issued a historic order G.O. MS. No. 30 on August 25, 1994 for inclusion of certain castes, including Muslims, in the list of Backward Classes. The G.O. was issued by the Backward Classes Welfare Department.

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Through it, the government ordered that any reservation to the communities to be included in the BC list will not cut into the quantum of reservation available to those who are already recognised as BCs. Further, the government made it clear that separate orders would be issued to decide:

- i. the percentage of reservation to be earmarked to the castes and communities to be included in the list of BCs;
- ii. the group/classification/class in which they should be included;
- iii. the economic criteria to be applied for the entitlement of the benefits extended to the Backward Classes under the rules.

First among the communities to be included in the BC list were Muslims followed by Kapus, Baliyas, Telagas, Ontaris, Ayyakara, Kasi Kapidi, Patra, Gajulabaliya (whose present profession is sale of bangles), Nagaralu, Pondara, Kurakala, Quresh (Muslim butchers) and Pala-cklari.

Meanwhile, six days after the release of GO, the State Government on August 31, 1994 constituted a BC Commission headed by Justice K.S. Puttuswamy and assigned the task of deciding the percentage of reservation to be given to 14 new Castes in the BCs list.

The release of this GO was not an easy task. I had to coordinate with the officials of Backward Classes Department, Law Ministry and other experts to make a strong case to provide reservation for Muslims. We undertook a comprehensive study on the status of Backward Classes in the State. The list of BCs, which was in force till August 1994, was based on the recommendations of the Anantha Raman Commission appointed in 1968.

Unfortunately, within four months after the release of GO MS No. 30, the Congress party lost the general elections and TDP came to power. Despite being on the job for eight-and-a-half years, the Puttuswamy Commission did not give a single report. The government spent Rs. 35 lakh on it every years and Rs. 2.59 crore overall. This was the reason reservation for Muslims, Kapus and other 12 communities remained stagnant. The well-nurtured dreams of the Congress party were thrown asunder. We feel sorry that people in genuine need for such benefits paid a heavy price for no fault of theirs.

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Congress fulfilled 4% quota for Muslims in record 58 days

Mahatma Gandhi was erudition personified when he observed "Never make a promise in haste."

It goes without saying that this timeless classic applies not only to individuals but people from across the spectrum, especially to politicians and political parties.

Forget about cleansing the system, over the years it has diluted to such obnoxious levels that these days only a miniscule section takes politicians at face value. A majority of the people does not trust political parties and politicians when they vow to deliver, which is nothing short of promising the moon.

Manifestoes that promise Utopia before the run-up to elections cease to be sacred once a party comes to power. Soon after getting people's nod to helm affairs of the



State or nation, as the case may be, the policy makers rarely take a second look at the promises made to the people. Apparently, they take comfort in the 'public memory is short' dictum.

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The bigger irony is that the mandarins create such a hype should they fulfil some of the promises that people actually forget the bigger promises.

However, this is not the case with Indian National Congress (INC). Right from inception, the party has been according priority to fulfilling each and every promise made to the people. Given this quest to serve the people of every section, it is with utmost care that promises are drafted and incorporated in the manifesto. We can go the extent of stating that no decision is taken unilaterally. Every promise that is mentioned in the Congress manifesto will undergo thorough scanning, a detailed study of ifs and buts and after umpteen brainstorming sessions.

The promise of giving five percent reservation to Muslims in Andhra Pradesh (undivided) was one such promise made by the Congress party in 2004 elections.

I was one among 250 leaders who participated in the party's national-level Chintan Baithak at Shimla in 2003. AICC President Smt. Sonia Gandhi was presiding over the event.

I was a member of the Social Empowerment Group and among the subjects that were assigned to me was one pertaining to the development and status of Muslims in India.

In my capacity as a minority leader with loads of experience and in-depth understanding of the subject, I was ~~had~~ asked to speak about the steps that could ensure development of Muslims, measures the Union Government can take and the strategy to be adopted at the department-level and the process of implementing the proposal.

I presented my report during the Chintan Baithak and it drew appreciation from all, including Smt Sonia Gandhi, who actually described my report as one that was "highly practical".

Besides doing an overall analysis of the conditions of Muslims in the country, the proposal to accord them reservation on par with BCs was debated at length.

Since elections for Lok Sabha and Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly were being held simultaneously in 2004, the Congress began preparing separate manifestoes based on inputs procured during Chintan Baithak.

Accordingly, a separate Manifesto Committee was constituted for Andhra Pradesh and I was nominated as its co-Chairman on Muslim issues. The two major promises made by the Congress party included providing free power to farmers and five percent reservation for Muslims in jobs and education. The Congress party stormed to power and Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy became the Chief Minister. I was re-elected from Kamareddy seat with a handsome margin and was also inducted into the Council of Ministers.



I take particular pride while recalling that in keeping with our party's spirit for collectivism, the first file signed by Chief Minister Dr Reddy pertained to supply of free power to farmers and the next task he accomplished was earmarking five percent quota to Muslims, particularly in education and employment.

Fast forward by 15 years and what do we have? We are confronted with a particularly scornful scenario. Telangana State Chief Minister K. Chandrasekhar Rao (KCR) made a categorical promise in Shadnagar on 19 April, 2014, whereupon he assured to enhance reservation for Muslims to 12% within four months of coming to power. KCR has been calling the shots for the past six years but there is no indication of honouring his assurance to Muslims.

ARTICLE- 3

In contrast to KCR's empty promises that were meant to win over Muslim electorate with raising false hopes, we did not set any deadline for fulfilling the promise of five percent reservation to Muslims. It is an indication of our purposeful governance and our determination for the all-round growth of all sections that we achieved it in less than two months, 58 days to be precise. Of course, we did our homework in earnest.

On June 2, 2004, a high-level review meeting was held with Secretaries of all major departments to implement the five percent reservation. Based on the outcome of that meeting, two days later, the State Government issued G.O. MS. No. 50, directing the Commissionerate of Minorities Welfare to conduct a study to examine the social, economic and educational backwardness of Muslim community in the State for the purpose of including them within the purview of the Backward Classes of citizens under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution. The Commissionerate was directed to submit its report by an early date.

On July 5, 2004, it submitted its report to the government.

The Commissionerate recommended 5% reservation to Muslim minorities in employment, education and other fields on par with Backward Classes. The State Government accepted the recommendations and issued an order vide G.O. MS. No. 33 (dated 12-07-2004), directing that Muslims be provided with 5% reservations in educational institutions and employment in the State.

Although this move was challenged in the High Court, which later struck it down, immediately after issuing the GO, in the first year itself nearly 7,000 poor Muslim students benefitted from the policy. While 187 Muslims got admission in medical colleges, 55 joined dental colleges and as many as 4,500 students got admission in different engineering colleges. Thousands of others got admission in other professional courses that they aspired for.

I wish to make it categorically clear that reservation was not given on the basis of religion but purely on socio-economic and educational factors based on an in depth study conducted by the Commissionerate of Minorities Welfare, headed by the Ex-Officio Commissioner.

The study findings were that around 65% of Muslims were living Below Poverty Line (annual income of Rs. 11,000 or below) and 16% are living under Double Poverty Line (an annual income of Rs. 44,500 or below). The literacy rate among

Muslim minorities was only 18% as against the 44% average among other communities in the State as per 1991 Census. The literacy rate among Muslim women was even more abysmal at 4%.

The study revealed that most of the Muslims are engaged in petty business activity (pan shop, tea kiosk, selling fruits and flowers or as labourers in engineering workshops, watch servicing and repairs of radio & TV) in addition as artisans. It also revealed that the socio-economic conditions of the community were poor because of abject poverty, illiteracy and inadequate representation in various fields of the society.

The Commissioner recommended five percent reservation in jobs, education and other fields to ensure appropriate uplift of Muslim community. The State Government accepted the recommendations and issued G.O. MS. No. 33 on July 12, 2004, ordering that Muslims in the State be provided with 5% reservation in educational institutions and employment in the State, over and above the reservation provided to Backward Classes. It ordered that Muslims be treated as Backward Classes under Category E (in addition to the existing A, B, C, D Categories).

The GO was later struck down by the High Court, which also directed the State Government to constitute a BC Commission to conduct a study on socio-economic conditions of Muslims. Subsequently, the BC Commission went about a painstaking, but successful, process like holding public hearings and seeking information from various sources, besides incorporating the report prepared by former IAS officer P.S. Krishnan. It identified 14 castes among Muslims, as being socially, economically and educationally backward and recommended 4% reservation in jobs and education under BC-E.

The State Government accepted the reservation and enacted a new law the Andhra Pradesh Reservation in favour of Socially and Educationally Backward Classes of Muslims Act, 2007 (Act No.26 of 2007) which was passed in the Assembly on August 13, 2007. This was again struck down by the High Court but later stayed by the Supreme Court.

Therefore, the promise of five percent reservation (changed to four percent by the courts) for Muslims was not a promise made in haste but it was as envisioned by Mahatma Gandhi.

ARTICLE- 3

The Congress party, under the leadership of Smt. Sonia Gandhi Ji, and spearheaded by Dr. Y.S. Rajasekhara Reddy, ensured that the promise was fulfilled despite several hurdles, much to the delight of millions of people from the community. Thanks to the pioneering efforts of Congress party, there is a sense of contentment among them.

(Mohammed Ali Shabbir is former minister & ex-Leader of Opposition in Telangana State Legislative Council)

Poor Muslim students reaping benefits of reservation

The four percent reservation for Muslims introduced by the then Congress Government in 2004-05 has transformed the lives of more than 15 lakh poor students across Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. The astounding figures are not hearsay but the official data available on the website of Telangana State Council for Higher Education (TSCHE) and with the Union Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD).

The Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) initiated a national survey on Higher Education (AISHE) in 2011 in order to prepare a sound data base for a higher education system covering educational institutions across the country.



According to TSCHE data, there were 12,60,814 students pursuing courses like Ph. D, M. Phil, Post Graduate, Under Graduate, PG Diploma, Diploma, Certificate and Integrated courses for the 2017-18 academic year. Of them, 108,201 were Muslims, including 50,657 girls.

Of 3,41,86,925 students across all States and Union Territories, 17,57,629 were Muslims, which translates to 5.14% of the overall students enrolled.

Incidentally, of them, as many as 108,201 (or 6.16%) are Muslim students belonging to Telangana, which stands ninth in terms of share of Muslims students at the All India level. The break-up of other States is Uttar Pradesh (13.94%), West Bengal (13.13%), Maharashtra (8.58%), Kerala (8.17%), Bihar (8.13%), Jammu & Kashmir (8.07%), Tamil Nadu (6.70%) and Karnataka (6.54%).

The percentage of Muslims among all students of Telangana is higher than the national average. Of 12,60,814 students in Telangana, as many as 108,201 are Muslims, which at 8.58% is way above the national average of 5.14%.

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Similarly, in Andhra Pradesh, of 15,01,489 students, as many as 52,431 (3.49%) are Muslims.

Telangana ranks seventh in terms of percentage of Muslims among all students. However, if we compare this with other States, then Telangana is certainly among the top States with highest percentage of Muslims in higher education, proportionately speaking.

State	Muslim Students (%)	Muslim Population (%)
Lakshadweep	43.12	95.47
Jammu & Kashmir	39.63	66.97
Kerala	13.67	24.7
Assam	13.62	30.92
West Bengal	11.33	25.25
Bihar	9.44	16.53
Telangana	8.58	12.68
Karnataka	6.28	12.23
Jharkhand	5.56	13.85
Daman & Diu	5.36	7.76
Uttar Pradesh	5.03	18.5
Andaman & Nicobar Island	5	8.22
Goa	4.22	6.84
Maharashtra	3.68	10.6
Manipur	3.65	8.81
Andhra Pradesh	3.49	8.53
Tamil Nadu	3.43	5.56
Puducherry	3.22	6.09
Gujarat	2.45	9.06
Uttarakhand	2.23	11.92
Delhi	2.22	11.72
Tripura	2.21	7.95
Madhya Pradesh	2.15	6.37
Rajasthan	2.01	8.47
Meghalaya	1.78	4.28
Odisha	1.15	2.07
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1.03	2.96
Punjab	1.02	1.57

Chhattisgarh	0.88	1.97
Haryana	0.7	5.78
Himachal Pradesh	0.51	1.97
Nagaland	0.49	1.76
Chandigarh	0.46	3.95
Sikkim	0.34	1.42
Arunachal Pradesh	0.27	1.88
Mizoram	0.23	1.14
All India	5.14	13.43

The higher percentage was achieved purely on the strength of the 4% reservation in educational institutions and their implementation in Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, if we combine the statistics of both Telugu-speaking States, then the total number of Muslim students in higher education for the year 2017-18 (108201 + 52431) stands at an awe-inspiring 160,632, thereby accounting for approximately 9.14% of the total Muslim students studying in the country.



According to the All India Survey of Higher Education 2018-19, as many as 130,282



Muslims students were enrolled in Telangana State while it was 58,779 in Andhra Pradesh. Put together, a total of 1,89,061 Muslim students were enrolled in both the Telugu States where the four percent reservation is being implemented.

There has been a significant year-on-year increase in number of Muslim students in both Andhra Pradesh and Telangana since 2004-05 when the first five percent and the subsequent 4% reservation was introduced.

The AISHE 2018-19 has furnished details of enrolment for seven years from 2012-13 to 2018-19.

Year	Telangana	Andhra Pradesh	Total
2012-13	89,524	38,500	1,28,024
2013-14	97,035	43,314	1,40,349
2014-15	1,01,142	47,571	1,48,713

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2015-16	1,07,631	46,734	1,54,365
2016-17	1,16,803	52,985	1,69,788
2017-18	1,09,240	56,100	1,65,340
2018-19	1,30,282	58,779	1,89,061
TOTAL			10,95,640

Therefore, nearly 11 lakh Muslim students got admission in courses of higher education in a span of just seven years. If we add the estimated numbers from 2004-05 to 2014 12, then the total number of beneficiaries is more than a boisterous 15 lakh.

The Commission of Inquiry, headed by retired bureaucrat Shri. T.S. Sudhir, which was appointed by the Government of Telangana to study the backwardness among Muslim community, has included very interesting information on enrolment and share of Muslim students in various courses. It included a sample for the year 2014-15 or 2015-16.

B.Sc. (Agriculture) @ PJTSU	2014-15	3.13%
EAMCET (Engineering)	Convener Quota 2015-16	9.8%
B. Pharmacy	Convener Quota 2015-16	17.87%
Medical Courses	2014-15	5.2%
Polytechnic Courses	2015-16	12.48%

University enrolment of of Muslim Students in State Universities 2014-15

University	Total Students	Muslim Students	%
Osmania University	97,039	10,529	10.85%
Dr. BRAOU	74,950	7,366	9.83%
Telangana University	10,641	369	3.47%
PJTSAU	639	20	3.13%
Palamuru University, Mahabubnagar	498	31	6.22%
Mahatma Gandhi University, Nalgonda	852	29	3.40%

The statistics clearly show that the four percent reservation has given rise to major accomplishments by Muslim students in education. And the list is growing with each academic year.

Tribute to political empowerment and jobs

Categorised as BC (E), the economically and socially poor Muslims were extended benefits that were being given to Backward Classes. Thus, the benefit of political reservation being given to BCs in municipal and other local bodies (rural and urban) was also extended to Muslims coming under BC (E) category. It was implemented for the first time in the 2009 GHMC elections. Two Muslim candidates were elected from seats reserved for BCs.



In effect, it marked the first step towards political empowerment of the Muslim community. The major impact was seen in the Gram Panchayat (GP) elections held in 2013. The results were highly encouraging and for the first time in the history of undivided Andhra Pradesh, the number of Muslim sarpanchs crossed double century mark

(266) due to BC (E) reservation. Prior to that touching even the double-figure mark was no less than cause for celebration!

While 89 Muslims were elected from 8701 Gram Panchayats in Telangana region, as many as 177 triumphed from a total of 12,770 GPs in Seemandhra.

The last elections to the municipal corporations, municipalities, ZPTCs and MPTCs have ensured the election of over 900 Muslims in both Telangana and residuary Andhra Pradesh to different posts. So far, BC (E) reservations have propelled three Muslims to the exalted Mayor posts, five Municipal Chairmen, 18 Vice-Chairmen, 37 Corporators, 327 Councillors, 15 ZPTCs, 236 MPTCs and 266 Sarpanchs, which is a remarkable achievement taken under any yardstick.

Sk Abudul Azeez and Shaik Noorjahan became Mayors of Nellore and Eluru, respectively. Both were elected from the seats reserved for BCs. Similarly, five out

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of four Muslim municipal chairmen were elected from the BC reserved seats in Andhra Pradesh. The lone Muslim Municipal Chairman of Telangana was a woman, Ms Sabiya Begum at Bhainsa, a BC (W) seat.

Seven out of 12 Muslims became Vice Chairman in Telangana and 11 out of 12 VCs in Andhra Pradesh won from the BC reserved seats.



Reservation played a major role in increasing the community's representation in all the municipal bodies. For instance, 24 Muslim candidates got elected from the 150 seats that went to polls in Karimnagar, Ramagundam and Nizamabad. Out of 24, as many as 13 were elected as BC (E) candidates. As against the present representation of 16%, the Muslim percentage in these corporations would have

been just 7.33% had there been no reservation. This reflects a more than double representation and comes across as a true democratic elevation.

Similarly, 114 out of 206 Muslim councillors in Telangana were elected from BC reserved seats. Presently, their percentage in municipalities of Telangana is 14.72, which otherwise would have been less than half of it at a meagre 6.58%.

The impact of reservation has also been quite encouraging in Andhra Pradesh if one goes by the eventual outcome. Out of 31 Muslim corporators, 22 were elected from BC reserved seats. More significant was that of the 292 Muslim councillors, a whopping 213 were elected from BC reserved seats.

There were substantial gains in ZPTC and MPTC elections. Presently, 11 out of 12 Muslim ZPTCs members in Andhra Pradesh and four of nine Muslim ZPTCs made the grade in the BC (E) category. Likewise, 163 out of 262 Muslim MPTCs were elected as BC (E) nominees in Andhra Pradesh while 73 out of 138 MPTCs in Telangana were elected from BC reserved seats.

The impact was more pronounced in the 2016 GHMC elections.

GHMC Seats	TOTAL	Muslims
Total	150	46
BC Reserved Seats	50	29

Without BC-E Reservation, there would have been only 17 Muslim corporators. In what can be seen as coming of age, there are presently 46 Muslims, which implies that from a modest 11.33% Muslim representation, it has today skyrocketed to 30.67% in GHMC.



In the previous sarpanch elections held in Telangana, of 12,017 Gram Panchayats, a total of 2,225 were reserved for Backward Classes. Of them, as many as 67 Muslims under BC-E category scored emphatic wins. Of 4,880 unreserved seats, 113 Muslim sarpanchs were also elected. As a result, today Telangana has 180 sarpanches with 67 of them getting elected only due to their categorisation as BC-E, thanks to the epoch-making decision taken by the Congress party in 2004.

Similarly, of 5,857 MPTCs in 539 mandals, a total of 114 Muslims made it through BC-E quota. They include 59 from TRS, 40 belonging to Congress, one each from CPI and TDP and 13 Independents.

Only one out of 538 ZPTCs is a Muslim. Shamshad Begum of TRS was elected from Alampur (Jogulamba Gadwal District).

Quota impact on employment:

While the data of employees recruited since 2004 is not readily available, information gathered by the T.S. Sudhir Commission gives a broader picture of how the four percent reservation benefitted the socially and economically backward Muslims in Telangana. Below is the extract of Sudhir Commission Report (Page No. 133)

"The Commission asked for data on the share of Muslims employees from 208 Government departments/Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs). However, total 131 Departments have sent the data to the Commission. These 131 departments are organised in 23 Secretariat Departments. At the aggregate level of 23 Secretariat



Departments, the share of Muslims in total 479,556 employees was 7.36%.

This shows that share of Muslims in the total employment is much less than the share of Muslim population of 12.68% (Census of India 2011) in the State. Department wise

data shows that, in general, share of Muslim employees is lower in the departments where number of total employees is higher. Examples of such departments are Welfare Departments (with only 3.37% share of Muslim employees), Education Department (6.06% share of Muslim employees) Energy Department (6.53% share of Muslim employees) and Home Department (8.73% share of Muslim employees)."

Even the percentage of 7.36% became possible only due to the visionary four cent reservation that was effected in 2004-05. This is providing the spark to aspirants from the Muslim community and illuminating their households.



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