

# Inclusive Urban Governance: A Study of the Representation of Muslims in Urban Local Bodies

S. Mohemmed. Rafi Ahmed<sup>1\*</sup> and Syed Najiullah<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Dr. Ambedkar Centre of Excellence, Pondicherry University, Puducherry, India

<sup>2</sup>Department of Public Administration, Maulana Azad National Urdu University, Hyderabad, Telangana, India

\*Corresponding author: rafiwelcomesu@gmail.com

Received: 16-04-2024

Revised: 20-07-2024

Accepted: 01-08-2024

## ABSTRACT

The largest democracy in the world, India, struggles with its minorities' under representation in political offices. The level of deprivation of Muslims in the legislative bodies ranges from 20 to 50 per cent. Similar circumstances exist in local government units like municipalities and *panchayats*. Factors like caste, religion, money, and physical strength all have a significant impact on Indian politics, which leads to the under representation of marginalized groups like minorities, SCs, STs, and BCs. Nonetheless, SCs and STs were able to obtain appropriate representation in the Parliament, State Assemblies, and local bodies as a result of the government's affirmative action policies, which included reservations in elected entities. In the same way, seat reservations helped the Backward Classes in the local bodies. Without an affirmative action strategy like this, minorities, including Muslims are glaringly underrepresented in local government bodies as well as in state and federal legislatures. Based on field data, the current study examines how Muslim minorities are represented in the Rayalaseema region of Andhra Pradesh's Urban Local Bodies.

**Keywords:** Urban local bodies, minorities, Muslims, inclusive policies, democracy, and political representation

Popular sovereignty, which holds that the people are paramount in a democracy, is the foundation of democratic governance. In a democratic government, the ultimate authority is vested in the hands of the people. Additionally, it implies that the majority have a responsibility to ensure that minority in the realm of politics are afforded equal opportunities and space, thereby ensuring their equitable access to progress and representation within a democratic system. A representative democracy becomes a participatory democracy when minorities are brought into the democratic realm. Therefore, it is essential that minorities participate in democratic institutions.

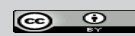
India, widely recognized as the greatest democracy globally, faces challenges pertaining to the inadequate representation of its minority populations in the democratic institutions. The 2014

Lok Sabha election provides a clear demonstration of the significant under representation of minority groups in Parliament, particularly Muslims, the largest minority community.

Muslims constitute approximately 14.23 percent of the total population of the nation, whereas their representation in the Lok Sabha stands at a mere 3 percent (Rukmini S. & Byatnal, 2015). In the year 2014, Muslim representation in the Lok Sabha is at its lowest in the last 70 years of the Parliament. The majority of the Indian states are experiencing a similar problem. The level of deprivation of Muslims in the legislative bodies ranges from 20 to 50 percent (Gayer & Jaffrelot, 2012).

**How to cite this article:** Mohemmed. Rafi Ahmed, S. and Najiullah, S. (2024). Inclusive Urban Governance: A Study of the Representation of Muslims in Urban Local Bodies. *Educational Quest: An Int. J. Edu. Appl. Soc. Sci.*, 15(02): 65-72.

**Source of Support:** None; **Conflict of Interest:** None



Similar circumstances also exist in local government units like municipalities and *panchayats*. Factors like caste, religion, money, and physical strength all have a significant impact on Indian politics, which leads to the under representation of oppressed groups like minorities, SCs, STs, and BCs. Nonetheless, SCs and STs were able to obtain appropriate representation in the Parliament, State Assemblies, and local bodies as a result of the government's affirmative action policies, which included reservations in elected entities. In the same way, seat reservations helped the Backward Classes in the local bodies. Without an affirmative action strategy like this, minorities including Muslims are glaringly underrepresented in local government bodies as well as in state and federal legislatures.

The Muslim community constitutes a somewhat higher proportion of the urban population compared to the general population. Consequently, their active involvement in the decision-making processes of urban governance holds significant importance for the advancement of urban India as well as the nation as a whole. Muslims have been predominantly residing in metropolitan areas due to a range of factors. One plausible argument posits that the original influx of Muslims into India can be attributed to their roles as traders, Sufis, and then as rulers. Urban areas served as the central locations for all of these activities. Consequently, urban areas have become their preferred residential locations. Furthermore, although seeing a decline in their hegemony due to the British rule, they have successfully transitioned into alternative occupations and continue to maintain a presence in urban areas as traders, craftsmen, and textile producers. The state of circumstances has continued to remain the same until the attainment of independence.

The Muslim population in India is 18.23 per cent of the total urban population of the country and the proportion of the rural population constituted by this demographic group amounts to merely 12.41 per cent (Census, Indian Religious Population, 2011). Among the Muslims, a notable proportion of 36 per cent reside in urban areas, surpassing the national average for urban population. It is noteworthy that over 50 per cent of the Muslim population is concentrated in urban areas of seven states in India (Gayer & Jaffrelot, 2012).

The proportion of urban to rural population in the recently established state of Andhra Pradesh is 33.36 percent and 66.64 percent, correspondingly. Among the several regions in the state, Rayalaseema has the most substantial proportion of Muslims, accounting for 12.5 percent of the population, which surpasses the overall state average of 7 per cent. Moreover, it has been observed that a significant proportion of population, ranging from 30 to 40 per cent, residing in the urban areas of the Rayalaseema regions identify themselves as followers of the Islamic faith (India, 2010).

Majority of the Muslims of this region are backward in terms of a number of socioeconomic and educational indicators mainly due to inadequate representation in elected bodies and lack of voice in the decision making at the local level. It is in this context the current study, which examines the presence of the Muslim minority in the urban local bodies of the Rayalaseema Region of Andhra Pradesh assumes greater significance.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Muslims, despite facing stigmatization and discrimination are actively engaged in the progress of society and the promotion of the economy. The civic engagement of the members Muslim community leads to the creation of both intra and cross-community networks, and their religious beliefs do not hinder their commitment to active citizenship (Peucker, 2016). Major concerns for the Indian Muslim community encompass identity and security, education and empowerment, impartial state support, and equitable share in decision-making. All of these are fundamental rights granted to citizens. Muslims should develop effective plans and methodologies to address their challenges. The objective of '*Sab ka Saath Sab ka Vikas*' is both commendable and imperative for fostering constructive initiatives (Ansari, 2015). Ansari, provides a contextual framework for the concepts of 'Equality for All: Justice for Each,' affirmative action, positive discrimination, and reservation across many contexts. Opponents of affirmative action, reservation policies, and minority rights undermine the constitutional principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The author further asserts that the implementation of affirmative action and quotas should be taken into account in order to strike a

balance with the fundamental rights outlined in Articles 14-17. It is imperative that minority rights align with the Constitutional Fundamental Rights (Puniyani, 2014). India, as the third-largest Muslim nation globally, is characterized by its Muslim population, which distinguishes itself from other minority groups due to its complex historical background. The division inside the nation imposes a social embarrassment upon its citizens. The loyalty and identity of minorities have been subject to scrutiny and suspicion, resulting in the experience of hardships and uneasiness (Gayer & Jaffrelot, 2012).

## OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

- ❑ To study the level of representation of Muslims in the Urban Local Bodies in the Rayalaseema region in Andhra Pradesh.
- ❑ To assess the extent of involvement of Muslim minority groups in the urban decision-making process.

## METHODOLOGY

In order to obtain logical and scientific research findings, the current study uses a holistic research methodology. The application of this methodology enhanced the scientific rigour of the study by incorporating diverse viewpoints from various stakeholders pertaining to the participation and representation of Muslims in urban municipal politics. Both empirical and analytical methods have been used to achieve this goal, using surveys and in-person interviews with elected officials and members of the public. The multistage stratified random sampling approach is used to collect primary data from Muslim and non-Muslim elected representatives and the general public.

## Sampling

Andhra Pradesh has 110 municipalities in total. The Rayalaseema region consisted of four districts prior to reorganization of the district. There are forty-three Urban Local Bodies in Rayalaseema, of which five are Municipal Corporations and the remaining 38 are Municipal Councils. One municipality or municipal corporation from each of the four districts of the region have been chosen for the sampling in order to guarantee representation from all four districts. The towns and cities that have the largest

percentage of Muslims living in them have been chosen.

From Kurnool district, which has 16.55 percent Muslim population, Nandyal Municipality is selected as it has a 32.63 percent Muslim population (Census, Nandyal City Population, 2011). Kadapa Municipal Corporation with 31.65 per cent of Muslim population is chosen from the Kadapa district, which has a 15.75 percent Muslim population (Census, Kadapa City Population, 2011). Kadari Municipality, which has the greatest percentage of Muslims in the district at 44.25 percent (Census, Kadari Population Census, 2011), is chosen from the district of Anantapur, which has 10.87 per cent Muslims (Census, Anantapur District Population 2011-2021 data, 2011). Similarly, from Chittoor district which has 9.53 per cent Muslim population (Census, Chittoor dist: Population, 2011) Punganur, the Municipality with the largest percentage of Muslims that is 37.30 per cent has been chosen (Census, Punganur Population, 2011). Multistage Stratified Random Sampling approach is used to pick 288 voters and elected representatives including Muslim and non-Muslim in order to gather empirical data.

## Findings of the Study

The field data from the Rayalaseema region on Muslim representation in urban local bodies reveals that Muslim presence is insufficient at all levels of the local bodies, including mayor and chairperson, deputy mayor and vice-chairman, corporators, and councillors (Commission, 2014). In the 2014 local body elections, the Rayalaseema Region, which has a 24 per cent (Irfan, 2012) Muslim population in urban areas, did not elect a single Muslim to lead any of its five Corporations as mayor. The deputy mayor of the Kadapa Municipal Corporation is the sole representative of the Muslims among the mayor and deputy mayor of the five Municipal Corporations.

The participation of Muslims in the offices of municipal chairpersons and mayors is significantly deficient, with only five out of a total of 33 municipal councils and five corporations being led by individuals from the Muslim community. This discrepancy amounts to a fifty per cent shortfall in Muslim representation in these influential roles (Commission, 2014). There should have been a

minimum of ten Muslim Chairpersons/Mayors, based on the population share.

The degree of under representation of Muslims differs from district to district. In Kurnool district, where Muslims make up 28.3 per cent of the urban population (Irfan, 2012), three chairpersons from the Muslim community ought to have been appointed. However, there is just one municipal chairperson who is Muslim. 66 per cent of the Muslim population in the district is so underrepresented. In a similar vein, just two municipal chairpersons elected from the Muslim community out of twelve municipalities represent the fifty percent of the chairpersons from the Anantapur district. The district should have a minimum of four chairpersons, considering the Muslim population of 25.16 per cent. In the Kadapa district, where urban Muslims account for 30.15 per cent, it should be three Muslims as mayors or chairpersons. However, from the nine municipalities in the district, only one individual from the community has been selected to serve as chairperson. Consequently, there exists a 66 per cent deficit in Muslim representation within the district. Conversely, Chittoor district, with an urban Muslim population of 12.54 per cent, demonstrates sufficient representation as one community member serves as one of the district's eight municipal chairpersons (Commission, 2014).

Muslims are represented in deputy mayor and vice chairman positions in accordance with their percentage of the population. Nine Muslims make up the 33 vice-chairpersons and 5 deputy mayor positions, with one serving as deputy mayor and eight as vice-chairpersons. The role of vice-chairperson or deputy mayor, in contrast to the post of mayor, holds less significance in the functioning of metropolitan local councils. Their only role in the corporation's or council's decision-making process is to preside over meetings in the absence of the chairperson or mayor (Commission, 2014).

Similarly, there is a notable deficiency of representation of Muslims in the elected positions of corporators and councillors in the Region. Out of the total of fifty seats corporators in the Kadapa Municipal Corporation, twelve were secured by candidates belonging to the Muslim community. The number of community members among the corporators should have been sixteen, in accordance with their proportionate population. It is noteworthy

that a majority of the elected Muslim corporators, specifically nine out of twelve, belong to Muslim backward classes. In 2014, the implementation of a 50 per cent reservation policy for women led to the election of five Muslim women as corporators (Commission, 2014).

The Nandyal Municipal Council consists of 42 council members, among whom Muslims constitute 29 per cent of the representation. It is noteworthy that Muslims account for 33 per cent of the overall population of the municipality. Out of the twelve council members who were chosen, five belong to the general category, and the remaining seven are affiliated with the Muslim backward class. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that out of the total twelve council members, eight are female (Commission, 2014).

Out of the total allocation of 36 seats for the Kadiri Municipal Council, a proportion of 16 seats were successfully secured by candidates belonging to the Muslim community. In the year 2014, a Muslim woman was chosen to the position of chairperson specifically designated for women from Backward Classes. It is noteworthy that the municipality with 44 per cent Muslims, which provides adequate representation to Muslim Community.

A total of eight individuals, constituting approximately 34 per cent of the Muslim populace within the Punganur Municipal Council, were successfully elected as council members. Four individuals were selected from a pool of eight council members who hold positions in both the general and BC seats, all of whom identify as Muslim. Three female candidates were selected to fulfil the role of council members. The chairwoman position, which is specifically reserved for females, was filled through an indirect election method, resulting in the selection of a Muslim woman. Muslim individuals were thus adequately represented in the municipal body in proportion to their demographic representation. Additionally, they were entrusted with the significant responsibility of serving as the chairperson (Commission, 2014).

Thus, Kadapa Corporation and Nandyal Municipality had lower Muslim representation among the four local government entities chosen for the empirical study from the area. Whereas Muslims in Kadiri have proportionate representation in the



council, Muslims in Punganur Municipality have practically adequate representation (Commission, 2014).

The analysis of elected Muslim representation indicates that while the proportionality of Muslim representation remains inadequate, a significant number of Muslims have been elected mostly due to the successful candidature of individuals from Muslim backward classes who have secured reserved seats. In the year 2005, under the BC-E category 14 Muslim backward castes were provided reservations to secure their employment and educational opportunities which is later extended to the elected posts of both urban and rural local bodies. Consequently, the number of elected ward members from the Backward Class Muslim community exceeds elected ward members from the general Muslims resulting in an increased political representation for marginalized groups within the community. In a parallel vein, a significant number of Muslim women were elected to fulfil the role of ward members as a result of the implementation of women's reservations. It is noteworthy that among the four municipalities examined, two are currently under the leadership of Muslim women.

The findings derived from the empirical study examining the qualitative dimensions of political engagement among Muslims in urban local bodies indicate that their limited socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, the sway of prevailing local leadership, and the inclination of political parties towards successful candidates collectively hinder their ability to exert substantial political influence or cultivate leadership commensurate with their numerical representation. This conclusion is drawn from an analysis of data collected from a sample comprising 288 elected representatives and voters, both Muslim and non-Muslim.

Given that money has a significant impact on election outcomes, the poor economic situation is still another significant factor contributing to their under representation. Comparing Muslim elected members to their non-Muslim counterparts, they are more in the lower income category (under two lakh) and fewer in the higher income category (over five lakh). Approximately 15 to 17 per cent of elected Muslim representatives originate from affluent socioeconomic origins, whereas the bulk hail from lower middle class ones. Muslim

candidates face significant financial challenges when it comes to meeting the substantial costs associated with election campaigns, particularly for general seats. The majority of individuals assumed their positions through electoral processes primarily facilitated by the support of influential local figures or through the allocation of reserved seats designated for marginalised populations. Due to their disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds, those elected to positions of authority often exhibit a tendency to maintain a subordinate role rather than assuming a leadership position.

The brief political tenure of the elected Muslim community members is another significant discovery. Comparatively speaking, 50 per cent of non-Muslim elected representatives have served more than one term in office, whereas only 31 per cent of Muslim elected representatives have done so. The rotation of designated seats and the poor socioeconomic circumstances of Muslim women and lawmakers in general prevent them from holding their positions. This has made it more difficult for Muslim minorities to develop leadership.

A significant proportion of Muslim elected representatives, specifically 54 per cent, tend to raise general issues rather than focusing on matters that are special to their community during local body meetings. This observation lends weight to the perception that Muslim officials exhibit hesitancy in addressing concerns that are specific to their group. Discrimination based on caste and religion constitutes an additional deterrent for elected officials in addressing issues that pertain specifically to the Muslim community. Accordingly, a significant majority of Muslim elected representatives, up to 62 per cent, reported instances of bias from political and government officials throughout the execution of their responsibilities within municipal local governments. In comparison to their non-Muslim counterparts, a larger proportion of Muslim elected representatives encounter challenges while engaging with politicians and government officials over matters of local development. The percentage of non-Muslim elected officials who reported encountering difficulties was 33 per cent, whereas Muslim lawmakers experienced difficulty at a higher rate of 67 per cent. The majority of Muslim respondents, specifically 92 per cent, hold the belief that community representatives are more adept at

addressing matters that impact their community. However, a significant proportion of Muslim elected respondents (54 per cent) and non-Muslim respondents (58 per cent) asserted that local political leaders, Members of Legislative Assembly (MLAs), and other public servants impeded the functioning of municipalities.

When queried about the impact of the Municipality's initiatives targeting Muslim minorities, 31 per cent of the elected Muslim respondents asserted that there was no measurable impact due to the absence of programmes specifically tailored for minority groups. Additionally, they cited lack of awareness regarding the limited number of existing schemes and programmes. However, the remaining 69 per cent of the elected representatives asserted that community advantages are derived from various programmes, such as pensions, scholarships, the Dulhan scheme (which facilitates the marriage of underprivileged girls), and Ramzan Tohfa (which offers food packages for festivals).

## DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Three presumptions form the core of the research investigation. First, the inclusive development of urban centers is negatively impacted by the inadequate representation of Muslim minority in Urban Local Bodies. Second, Muslims have been left out of the development narrative due to the under representation of Muslims in urban decision-making organizations. Thirdly, there is a strong correlation between the participation of Muslims in local bodies and the provision of essential services in Muslim-populated areas.

The research conducted on the involvement of Muslim minority groups in urban local governance, with a specific focus on the Rayalaseema region of Andhra Pradesh, has highlighted various issues pertaining to the inadequate representation of minorities in elected bodies, specifically within urban local governance structures. The recommendations presented herein have been derived from the study's empirical observations and extensive interactions with a wide range of stakeholders. These proposals are intended to effectively solve the identified issue at hand.

The empirical inquiry findings indicate that a notable number of Muslims have been elected, however not in proportion to their population.

This can be primarily attributed to the reservation policy under which certain percentage of seats are allocated to the Muslim Backward Classes along with other backward classes in the local bodies. In contrast to Muslims in the unreserved category, a greater proportion of Muslims from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are elected to positions of power. The lack of this reservation would likely have resulted in a further decrease in the representation of Muslims. Consequently, it is imperative to undertake measures aimed at addressing the legal impediments that looming large on the provision of reservations to Muslims from Andhra Pradesh. The validity of the 4 per cent reservations to the Muslim backward classes in Andhra Pradesh is under judicial scrutiny leading to uncertainty. Furthermore, it is recommended that the allocation of seats in Urban Local Bodies be based on the urban population, with the Municipal Corporation or Municipal Council being seen as a unified entity rather than being treated as part of the state. The inclusion of underrepresented minority groups, such as Muslims, in affirmative action programmes and the reservation of seats in the Assembly and Parliament should be considered by both state and central governments. This is necessary as marginalized groups are unable to fully benefit from the democratic process without the implementation of affirmative action.

One additional aspect that serves as a deterrent for Muslim individuals belonging to low-income families to participate in local body elections is the substantial financial costs associated with running for office. Candidates belonging to marginalized groups, including Muslims, face financial constraints that prevent them from spending as much funds as their counterparts from privileged backgrounds due to the substantial expenses associated with campaigning in general constituencies. State should allocate funds to cover the election expenditures of candidates affiliated with recognized political parties or those who meet a predetermined threshold of votes. The government should provide reimbursement to the expenditure of the election campaign by the candidates, up to the maximum sum specified by the election commission.

The successful election of a significant number of Muslim women candidates to municipal councils can be attributed to the provision of a 50 per

cent reservation policy for women. Nevertheless, according to empirical research, a notable percentage of female elected officials rely on their male family members to carry out their responsibilities. The candidates chosen from reserved seats, who typically come from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds and have lower levels of education, rely on the mentor-ship and assistance offered by their mentors and local party officials in order to effectively carry out their responsibilities as ward members, chairpersons, and vice-chairpersons. The provision of suitable training in the management of municipal affairs, understanding of local legislation, and development of leadership skills can decrease individuals' reliance and promote the improvement of their leadership capabilities.

The reserved seat rotation system poses an additional obstacle to the cultivation of leadership within marginalized communities including Muslims. Due to the rotation of seats among different categories, the likelihood of re-election of the elected representatives will be considerably diminished. The candidates' complacency in their work in the area may be attributed to the low probability of their running from the same ward. Hence, it is recommended that the allocation of seats be rotated among the different groupings, at a minimum of two terms. Individuals will be afforded the chance to pursue candidature for public office and fulfil their duties to the electorate for a duration of no less than 10 years. This extended period of political engagement will enhance their tenure in the realm of politics, fostering a greater sense of accountability and responsibility. The cultivation of leadership skills within minority populations at the local level is also crucial in this regard.

Political parties tend to prefer candidates from the dominant and affluent sections of society above those from marginalized groups, based on their perceived likelihood of winning elections. The selection process for chairpersons is conducted indirectly, with local MLAs and political party leaders exercising the authority to choose candidates. This approach often results in a misalignment between the interests of numerous marginalized groups, such as Muslims, and the individuals chosen. It is advisable that political parties institute an internal mechanism with the objective of ensuring that marginalized groups are provided with fair

and just representation in leadership positions within Urban Local Bodies. In order to ensure the inclusion of marginalized sections of society in the political process, it is recommended that all political parties adopt the YSR Congress Party's approach of reserving 60 per cent of seats in indirectly elected and nominated positions for individuals belonging to Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), Backward Classes (BC), and minority communities.

The lack of funds for development in backward areas represented by the elected representatives from the marginalized groups is another area of concern. The findings unequivocally demonstrates that elected representatives hailing from marginalized communities, specifically those of the Muslims, encounter elevated levels of prejudice in their capacity as development workers, in comparison to their counterparts from non-Muslim communities. Therefore, it is imperative to provide sufficient support to Local Bodies, particularly focusing on the regions that have greater levels of deprivation. The allocation of funding should be structured in a manner that places priority on undeserved and underdeveloped regions, while also ensuring the prevention of discriminatory practices. Given the insufficient provision of essential municipal services in Muslim-populated neighborhoods, it is imperative to allocate dedicated money for these areas. Furthermore, the involvement of local elected officials in the development process is crucial.

Moreover, it is imperative to guarantee that the involvement of Urban Local Bodies in the development planning process to adequately tackle the issues of urban poverty, underdevelopment and unemployment. To promote the inclusion of women and young individuals in the workforce, it is crucial to establish targeted programs and activities that address the unique requirements of these demographic groups. To improve the overall civic well-being in metropolitan areas, it is advisable to implement specialized training and skill development initiatives for local elected officials. These programs should prioritize the needs of marginalized sections, such as the Muslim population. It is suggested that these programs be implemented in conjunction with the standard supply of municipal amenities.

Enhancing the democratic and inclusive nature of urban local bodies through the active involvement

of marginalized and underrepresented segments of society in urban governance can significantly contribute to mitigating various urban challenges such as poverty, inadequate living conditions in slums, segregation, unemployment, and social unrest.

## REFERENCES

- Ansari, H. 2015. Challenges before India's Muslim Community, *Economic & Political Weekly*, 40.
- Census. 2011. Anantapur District Population 2011-2021 data. Retrieved on 05.8.2019. from <http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/139-anantapur.html> accessed on 18.05.19.
- Census. 2011. Chittoor dist: Population. Retrieved on 05.8.2018. from <http://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/140-chittoor.html>, accessed on 18.05.18.
- Census. 2011. Indian Religious Population. Retrieved on 04.2.2019. from <https://www.census2011.co.in/religion.php>
- Census. 2011. Kadapa City Population. Retrieved on 05.8.2018. from <http://www.census2011.co.in/census/city/418-kadapa.html> accessed on 18.05.18.
- Census. 2011. Kadari Population Census. Retrieved on 05.8.2018. from <http://www.census2011.co.in/data/town/803011-kadiri.html>, accessed on 18.05.18.
- Census. 2011. Nandyal City Population. Retrieved on 05.8.18. from <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/city/421-nandyal.html>
- Census. 2011. Punganur Population . Retrieved on 05.9.2018. from <http://www.census2011.co.in/data/town/803018-punganur.html>, Retrieved on 18.05.2019
- Commission, A.P. 2014. Andhra Pradesh State Election Commission. Retrieved on 12.03.2019. from <http://www.apsec.gov.in/>
- Commission, A.P. 2014. 4<sup>th</sup> Ordinary Election List of Candidates in Municipal Corporation of Andhra Pradesh. Retrieved on 12.03.2019 from Andhra Pradesh Election Commission: [https://sec.ap.gov.in/Documents/Elec\\_Results/ULBs/4th\\_OER\\_2014/detailed\\_ward\\_members\\_results\\_of\\_municipal\\_bodies.pdf](https://sec.ap.gov.in/Documents/Elec_Results/ULBs/4th_OER_2014/detailed_ward_members_results_of_municipal_bodies.pdf)
- Gayer, L. and Jaffrelot, C. (Eds.). 2012. Muslims of the Indian City: From Centrality to Marginality, 1 edition, 1-22. In L. G. Jaffrelot, *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalization* (p. 10). New Delhi, Harper Collins Publishers.
- Irfan, M. 2012. Social Exclusion and Muslim Ethnography. Jaipur, Aavishkar Publishers.
- Peucker, M. 2016. Muslim Citizenship in Liberal Democracies: Civic and Political Participation in the West. Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Puniyani, R. 2014. "Affirmative Actions, Reservation or Appeasement" in Rudolph C Heredia Taking Sides: Reservation Quotas and Minority Rights in India, New Delhi: Penguin,. *Economic Political Weekly*, 49(35).
- Rukmini S. and Byatnal, A. 2015. Fewer Muslims, more women in new house. *The Hindu*, Retrieved on 11.3.2023. from <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/fewer-muslims-more-women-in-new-house/article6017632.ece/amp/>
- Sri Krishna Committee. 2010. Report of the Committee for Consultations on the Situation in Andhra Pradesh, 115. Hyderabad, Govt. of India.
- Verma, S. 2015. More Religious Minorities live in Urban areas than Rural. Retrieved on 11.7.2020. from <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/more-religious-minorities-live-in-urban-areas-than-rural/articleshow/4>