Muslim Representation in the Rajya Sabha: Forms and Trajectories

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Executive Summary

The systematic exploration of the Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha underlines the fact that, apart from other considerations, political parties do nominate Muslim candidates for the House to evoke their inclusive character. However, the adherence to inclusiveness depends on number of factors, including the ideological orientation of political parties. This significant *Muslim presence* in the Rajya Sabha plays a crucial role: it strengthens the capacity of the House to offer symbolic representation to social groups; it contributes in making the legislative discussions more deliberative and above all, it helps in producing new political ideas. This form of political representation, I argue, evolves out of the postcolonial Indian political experiences. Therefore, there is a need to pay close attention to our parliamentary practices and political norms to evaluate the larger objective of political inclusion of minority/marginalized social groups. This is what this study recommends.

Acknowledgement

1.   Introduction

1.1   Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha is a highly unexplored area of research. One may identify two *implicit* explanatory claims in this regard. First of all, there is a strong assertion that the constitutive mechanism by which the Rajya Sabha is formed as a permanent legislative body (the indirect election of its members except those who are nominated) does not have any direct relationship with Muslim electorates. Therefore, it is asserted, that the Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha is analytically less significant for measuring Muslim presence in the Parliament. There is another contention. The Rajya Sabha is usually seen as a *safe* legislative body for accommodating politically influential individuals. In this sense, the induction of a few Muslims in the Upper House of the Parliament is often seen as a 'back-door' entry or politically motivated moves by the political elites. These claims are not entirely unsubstantiated—members of Rajya Sabha are elected indirectly and many prominent figures are often given Rajya Sabha seats for obvious political purposes. Precisely for these reasons, the emphasis (or rather over-emphasis) is given to the Lok Sabha for evaluating Muslim representation/underrepresentation.

1.2   It does not, however, mean that the study of the socio-religious profile of Rajya Sabha is analytically irrelevant. The Rajya Sabha represents the interests of the States in the larger federal perspective. Theoretically speaking, the elected Muslim members of the House are supposed to represent their respective States, not the aspirations of any particular social-religious group(s). However, the actual political discourse functions rather differently. Apart from the issues emerging from the Centre-States relations, the interests of the political parties and/or certain political coalitions actually influence the socio-religious configuration of the Rajya Sabha. In this sense, the Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha not only introduces us to the actual functioning of political processes but also highlights a very different logic of representation, which has not yet been adequately analyzed.

1.3   A study of the Muslim members of the Rajya Sabha might lead us to two fundamental questions:

- What are the trajectories of Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha?

- Do political parties nominate Muslims for the Rajya Sabha elections simply to draw attention to their inclusive character? Does this acceptable political *practice* represent any specific form of political representation?

1.4   These questions are very relevant. Almost all national parties (as well as the leading regional parties) give adequate representation to Muslim individuals in the Rajya Sabha. In fact, this is the reason why the Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha is much higher in comparison to the Lok Sabha (Table 1, and Table 1. a). Therefore, a systematic exploration of this kind could help us in developing a comprehensive explanation on Muslim representation in the Parliament.

2.   Three theses on Muslim representation

2.1   The political representation of Indian Muslims in postcolonial India is often seen in three very different ways. First of all, there is a *legal-constitutional thesis* on Muslim representation, which recognizes the Indian Muslim community as an identifiable religious minority and envisages its appropriate representation in legislative bodies so as to ensure the implementation of the constitutional provisions related to minority rights. This perspective derives its moral strength from the

Constitution and emphasises the fact that, in principle, the success of Indian democracy depends on the adequate and proper representation of minorities in decision making process. The writings of Syed Shahabuddin[1] and Iqbal A. Ansari[2] can be a relevant example in this regard.

2.2   The legal–constitutional thesis is based on following three broad assumptions:

- There are some collective identifiable interests of a pan-Indian Muslim community.

- Adequate (proportional) representation of Muslims is an essential means to safeguard these collective interests in the existing legal -constitutional framework.

- Muslim political representation is inextricably linked to legislative bodies. Therefore, we need to think of a legally justifiable and constitutionally permissible alternative institutional design by which the adequate number of Muslim legislators (MPs, MLAs and members of local [elected] bodies) can be elected.[3]

2.3   In a comprehensive study on political representation of Indian Muslims in post-colonial India, Iqbal Ansari argues that Muslims are not adequately represented in the legislative bodies. This study, for instance, reveals that Muslim representation has not been satisfactory in the Parliament (Lok Sabha). Except in 1980 and 1984 Lok Sabha, the Muslim underrepresentation, or what Ansari calls, the Muslim political deprivation, remains around 50%.

2.4   Ansari points out that the political parties are mainly responsible for the Muslim political deprivation. He shows that almost all the major political parties did not nominate Muslims for Lok Sabha elections. Analysing these trends, Ansari concludes that the present mechanism of electoral system is inadequate because it does not provide proportional representation to Muslims. Therefore, some kind of alternative should be worked out. In Ansari's opinion, following steps should be taken to increase Muslim representation:

'(a)   All political parties nominate fair share of minority candidates under the Representation of the People Act…at least making Parties accountable for any persistent under-representation of minorities; (b) Dereserving those constituencies reserved for the Scheduled Castes (SCs) which have a good percentage of Muslim voters. Alternately, the category of SC should be defined in terms of social origin, irrespective of faith, allowing Muslim and Christian Dalits to seek election from seats reserved for the SCs; (c) Redrawing constituencies with a view to enabling underrepresented groups

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1   Syed Shahabuddin, 'On secularism and Neo-Secularism in a multi-religious Society', *Muslim India*, 58(October) 1987.

2   Iqbal. A Ansari, Political *Representation of Muslims of India: 1952-2004*, Delhi, Manak, 2006.

3   Ansari takes a strict legal-constitutional line. One does not find any space for active 'Muslim politics' in his framework. Therefore, 'Muslim representation' is simply understood as 'Muslim participation' in the political processes. Shahabuddin, however, takes a very different position. Shahabuddin argues that the institutional design should be made compatible with the plural character of Indian social life so that Muslims, including the other sections of Indian society, could easily be accommodated in legislative bodies. Moreover, he also points out that the active participation of Muslims in free, fair and regular elections at every level of political system is also important for the smooth functioning of the political system. (Shahabuddin, 1987, pp. 435-437)

like Muslims...; (d) Forming multi-member constituencies and allowing cumulative voting or adopting Single non-transferable vote (SNTV) system...; (e) In case list system is adopted, the party list should assign fairly high ranking to proportionate numbers of minority candidate; (f) Threshold of minimum percentage of votes, say 5% should not apply to minority organizations; (g) A fixed number of uncontested seats, say 100, may be earmarked for allocation to identified communities like religious minorities and other regional and social groups, including women, who are found to be underrepresented after election results are available. Out of the total uncontested seats, part of their deprivation may be compensated by allocating the seats to the best losers in the elections from the concerned groups, on the basis of a defined formula for defined categories' (Ansari, 400-401).

2.5   One cannot ignore the relevance of such a well-argued legal-constitutional proposal. It forces us to rethink the question of Muslim underrepresentation in the exiting institutional setup. More broadly, Ansari offers us an alternative reading of the Indian political system, which, according to him, has not accommodated the cultural, religious and sociological diversity of Indian communities.

2.6   However, Ansari's work does not capture the complexities of Muslim political representation. Apart from being a highly mechanical agenda for political reforms, there are two internal inconsistencies in Ansari's argument. First, his argument underlines a kind of 'conspiracy theory' against Muslims. For example, his criticism that all the political parties ignore the genuine aspirations of Muslims is quite vague. All political parties cannot be placed in one category to make such kind of generalisation. In fact, we cannot underestimate the stated ideologies of political parties, which play a very crucial role in nominating candidates for elections. It is true that political parties in India are not properly organized and their internal democracy has always been an important issue. But, it does not mean that political ideologies are completely ineffective and do not have any analytical value. Political parties are divided on ideological basis, which offer them conceptual tools to take stand on various political issues. Precisely for that reason, we cannot have one 'politically correct' position on Muslim representation. For example, the cadre based Communist Party of India (CPI) of the 1950s and 1960, in principle regarded religion or caste as an inseparable part of 'superstructure' or a kind of a 'false consciousness'. For them, at least in the early decades after the Partition, class division of Indian society and its exploitative mechanism were the larger political questions, in which the representation of minorities was placed simply as 'subsidiary' or short term concern. How could we expect CPI of the 1950s to follow the political correctness of the 1990s and recognize Muslims comrades simply as Muslim candidates!

2.7   There is another problem with this line of reasoning. Following Ansari one may also conclude that since Muslims have been allegedly betrayed by all the secular/communal parties therefore they should form their own 'Muslim' political party. Ansari, of course, does not subscribe to this conclusion, and very clearly suggests that Muslim underrepresentation is inextricably linked to the legal-constitutional system. However, despite this thought out scheme of argument, the crucial dividing line between *Muslim exclusiveness*, which is clearly marked by highlighting Muslim underrepresentation in this framework, and a less-obvious political trajectory called *Muslim separatism*, is not entirely clear.

2.8   This kind of political oversimplification is quite problematic. Ansari seems to ignore the post-1950 Muslim politics simply to justify a mechanical interpretation of Indian politics. Even he pays no attention to the fact that in colonial India, the Muslim nationalism of Muslim League, particularly in the 1940, was not *exclusively* based on the logic of demographic distribution of Muslim population[4]. In fact, the performance of the Muslim League in the Muslim majority provinces is a revealing example.

2.9   These internal inconsistencies of Ansari's argument indicate a deeper methodological problem. The Muslim political representation in postcolonial India should not be understood simply by highlighting Muslim political exclusiveness. One needs to take the sociological complexities and political development seriously to understand the totality of this problem. However, at the same time, it does not mean that we can abandon the formal institutional framework. After all, the legal-constitutional setting provides a point of reference to ongoing political debates.

2.10   The radical politics of Muslim Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and Muslim Dalits represent another perspective on political representation of Indian Muslims, which may be called the *social equality thesis*. [5] This perspective questions the dominant Muslim politics of upper caste and upper class Muslim elites. [6] It argues that although the Muslim caste system is qualitatively different from the Hindus, its operation is quite evident in postcolonial India. As a result, all the major Muslim institutions, including the religious seminaries such as the Darlum Ulum Deoband and Nadwa and Muslim pressure groups such the All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat, are mainly governed by the upper caste Muslims. This perspective suggests that the adequate representation of lower caste/Dalit Muslims in legislative bodies and other state institutions will not only strengthen the responsiveness of political institutions but also help in democratising the internal structures of Indian Muslim community.

2.11   Unlike these two positions, there is a third perspective on Muslim representation- the *secular participation thesis*, which tries to link the question of

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4   Francis Robinson shows three interesting propositions: (a) the Muslim political identity was a phenomenon of the Muslim minority provinces (b) Muslim political identity acquired a prominent place in the years 1937-47, which had little to do with the desire of the Muslims of the Muslim majority provinces and (c) In not one of the majority provinces, except Bengal, was there well rooted support for Pakistan (Robinson, 1992, 34). This argument shows that Pakistan or the separatism of that kind was *not* directly linked to demographic profile of Muslims.

5   The term, '*Dalit Muslims*', refers to the lower caste Muslims, who are also called *Arzals*. Although the other expressions such the *Backward Muslims* and *Pasmanda Muslim* are also used interchangeably for these Muslim communities, the term 'Dalit Muslims' is more widespread mainly because it underlines the increasing politicization of these marginalised groups. It is important to note that many middle caste *Ajlaf* Muslim communities, which have already been included in the OBC list, also associate themselves with Dalit Muslims, in order to challenge the *Ashraf* or the upper caste Muslim hegemony. Interestingly, the Sachar Commission has found that there is a slight difference between the socio-economic position of *Asharfs* and the *Ajlafs*. In fact, in many cases the Muslim OBCs are much better than the *Ashraf* Muslims (Prime Minister's High Level Committee on Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community in India, 2006, p.214). However, the difference between the socio-economic position of *Arzals* and other Muslim communities is an important issue, which has not been adequately addressed so far.

6   For example, discussing the relationship between caste and Muslim politics, Irfan Ahmad writes, '…in post-partitioned India, Muslim politics has predominately been reactive. It has raised emotive issues rather than substantive issues. Monopolized by the traditional privileged classes, Muslim leadership has rarely looked beyond the four issues of Urdu, Aligarh Muslim University, Muslim Personal Law and Babri Masjid' (Ahmad, 2003).

political representation of India's Muslims with their active participation in political processes. This thesis argues that India's Muslims have been participating in the mainstream political processes as common Indians. Therefore, Muslims are adequately represented by the secular parties on secular basis. There can be two possible versions of this argument: the orthodox-secular version and the political secular version. The orthodox secular version seems to suggest that the participation of Muslims in the secular political processes will lead to greater secularisation and as a result, the boundaries of religion, caste and community will eventually disappear. However, for the time being, some kind of alternative should be worked out to safeguard the interests of Indian Muslims, who recognize themselves as a religious community.[7]

2.12   The political-secular version of this thesis recognizes the political value of religious-communitarian affiliations in the formation of political identity. In fact, this thesis identifies some specific Muslim issues-including the question of Muslim representation in legislative bodies- which revolve around Muslim identity. Yet it seeks to underline the fact that Muslims as ordinary people also share those issues and concerns, which are common to all poor and marginalized sections of society. Therefore, Muslims like other sections of society participate in larger political processes, including the socio-political movements as common Indians, and at the same time, continue to struggle for the 'identity specific' issues. [8] This thesis advances a complex formulation that Muslims participate in various political processes without giving up their religious/caste/gender identities. This thesis has not been fully articulated so far. However, if we look at the methodology adopted by the Sachar Commission Report, a clear reflection of this argument can easily be identified.[9]

2.13   A close reading of these positions suggests a few interesting yet unexplored areas of research. The legal-constitutional thesis draws our attention to the

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7   Rajeev Bhargava uses the term hyper-substantive secularism for this kind of orthodox secularism. According to him, this kind of secularism excludes religion from politics and seeks to maintain an absolute kind of polity for the realisation of some ultimate ideal. (See Bhargava, 1998). The Orthodox Marxist position also takes this line of argument. For them there are two possibilities: (a) 'in order to ensure cultural security to the different minority groups, secularism, in the true sense of the word should guide the state's policy. There should be a real separation between religion and state i.e. depriving all the religious communities of any support from public funds' (Shakir, 1983, 117). (b) For the poor Muslims as well as the other deprived sections of Indian society, the 'hope lies only in politics, not the politics of an elitist nature; not the politics which serves the aims of establishment; but the politics of emancipation; politics of scrapping the capitalist framework with one capable of serving the interests of the entire society' (Shakir, 119).

8   I borrow the term 'political secular' from Rajeev Bhargava, who uses the term 'political secularism' for underlining the nature of such types of secular engagements.

9   Explaining its methodology, the Sachar Commission Report notes:

'It is useful to distinguish between three types of overlapping issues…faced by the Muslim community in India:

- Issues that are common to all poor people (Muslims are largely poor)
- Issues that are common to all minorities
- Issues that are specific to Muslims.

For example, several concerns relating to employment and education specific to Muslims may fall in the first category. Similarly, some aspects of identity and security may be common across minorities while some others may be specific to Muslims'. (PMHLC, 2006, p.4).

institutional setting and the modes by which Muslim representatives are elected in legislative bodies. The social-equality thesis forces us to look at the complex relation between the configuration of the social group and those who are supposed to represent it. In fact, this thesis raises a very fundamental question about the relationship between the internal power structure of the Muslim community (or communities!) in India and the problem of its underrepresentation. And finally, the secular-participation thesis, particularly its political-secular version, put forward a more complex argument, which makes the question of Muslim representation highly contingent and contextual. Interestingly, these three theses do not look at the Rajya Sabha as a relevant domain for understanding Muslim representation.

3.   Conceptual framework

3.1 In her book, *The Concept of Representation* (1967), Hanna Pitkin argues that there is significant difference between representation and democracy. She notes 'the concept and the practice of representation have had little to do with democracy or liberty. Representation need not mean representative government' (Pitkin, 1967, p.2). Pitkin further makes another crucial, though very obvious, difference. She notes that there is an endless controversy on the proper relationship between representatives and constituents. According to her, a section of political theorists argue that the representatives are free to do whatever they pleases; while others think that the 'representative's duty is to reflect accurately the wishes and opinion of those he represents' (Pitkin, 4). Elaborating her own position on these issues, Pitkin suggests:

> 'What is necessary is to interpret each view by identifying its angle of vision or …by identifying the context for which it is correct and exploring the assumptions and implications imposed by that context. This process discloses the meaning of representation as no single definition can, by making explicit the knowledge we already have about the word is used. And knowing how the word is a vital element in knowing that the thing is' (Pitkin, 11).

3.2   Following Pitkin argument it is possible to examine two central conceptual problems; (a) *Muslim representation as a precondition for the success of Indian democracy; and (b) Efficacy of Muslim political representation.*

3.3   It is often claimed that Muslim political representation is inextricably linked to the success of democracy. Moreover, the conventional assumption -Muslims can/should represent Muslims – is also emphasized to assert the basic 'democratic/human' right of the Muslim community (Ansari, 383). It is understandable that politically identifiable communities, particularly the minorities, might demand a specific set of rights to secure a democratic space in the wider political realm. But, one may also contend, on historical basis, that constitutional democracy is not an essential precondition to make such a claim. The premise that Muslim should represent Muslims could equally be legitimate in an oppressive, undemocratic political system. That is what precisely happened in the first decade of 20th century, when Muslim educated and elite classes formed the Muslim League and demanded separate electorate in legislative assemblies. In fact, such a move was shown as a kind of protective measure to safeguard the interests of Muslim community in a colonial context. Thus, one may argue that the demand for Muslim political representation, particularly in its conventional form, is not *necessarily* related to democratic politics. This leads to another relevant question: how do we understand the nature of Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha, an institution that is not elected directly by the Muslim electorates?

3.4   This brings us to the second conceptual issue: the efficacy of Muslim political representation. The CSDS-Lokiniti's State of Nation Survey (2006), which examines the Muslim political attitudes in India, reveals that poverty and unemployment are identified as the most important Muslim issues by Muslims (69 per cent). Interestingly, these overtly socio-political demands are not addressed to Muslim elites. In fact, the question of Muslim leadership was not at all given any considerable importance. Only four per cent of respondents find that the "lack of the right kind of Muslim leadership" has been a problem for Muslims in this country (See figure, 1, 2 and 3). Can we, therefore, say that Muslims in India do not want to be represented by Muslim political elites?

Figure 1: What are the Muslim Issues? Source: CSDS, SON 2006. (Responses are in %)

What are the Muslim issues?

4
4   10

13

69

- Employment
- Education
- Religious Freedom
- Lack of leadership
- Don't know
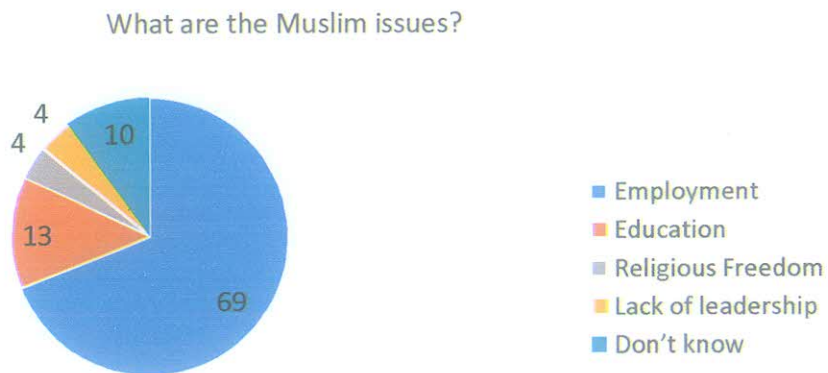
Figure 2: Who is responsible for Muslim situation in India? : Source: CSDS, SON 2006.

Who is responsible?

18%
16%   60%
6%

- Government
- Hindu attitude
- Muslims
- NA

Figure 3: What is the way out? Source: CSDS, SON 2006.

What is the way out?

Affirmative Action (84%) → • Reservation in jobs and educational institutions

Politcal Empowerment (91%) → • Seats for Muslims in Parliament and state assemblies
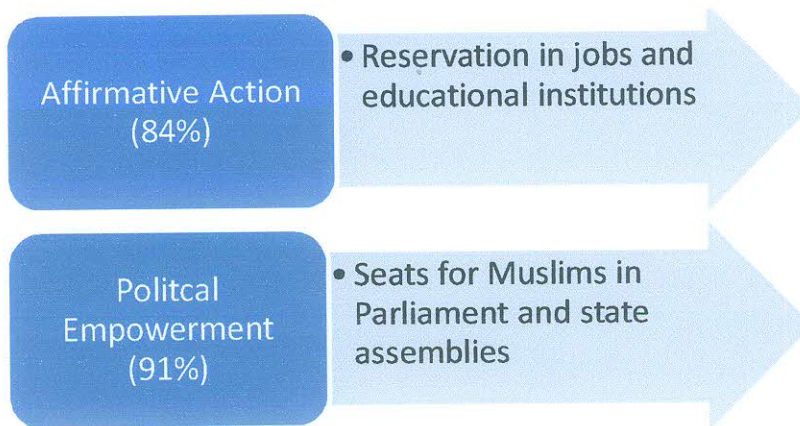
3.5   It would be inappropriate to offer any *politically correct* answer to this complicated question. It requires a systematic exploration of a different kind by which we can make sense of the contextual placing of Muslim elites in the socio-cultural universe of Muslim communities. In other words, there is a need to problematize two abstract formulations: (a) India's Muslims should always be represented only by the Muslims/or by particular Muslim community, and, (b) any discussion on Muslim representation in legislative bodies might encourage separatist tendencies among Muslims. The study of the Muslim members of the Rajya Sabha, in this sense, would be useful to unpack the notion of 'Muslim presence' in the Parliament to point towards a form of representation that is not yet fully conceptualized.[10]

4.   Research Design, Methodology and Research Strategy

4.1   The first phase of research project began in March 2015. Information/data from various secondary sources were collected during this period. This data was compiled and arranged in tabular form for the purpose of analysis. This exercise helped in articulating a few broad observations.

4.2   The first phase of the project finished in August 2015. A paper based on the initial findings was presented before the Search and Advisory Committee (SAC) on 25 August 2015 in Parliament House. The members of the SAC appreciated the design of the research, methodology and the data-based findings. The progress of the project was also praised by the SAC and a few very valuable suggestions were given for the second phase of the research.

4.3   The second phase of the research started in September 2015. This time was utilized to read and synthesize the emerging literature on group representation. I also conducted interviews with identified Muslim members of Parliament (Rajya Sabha). The recoded interviews were transcribed and notes were made for those interactions which were not recorded.

4.4   This study has relied heavily on the official sources such as the Rajya Sabha debates and proceedings (particularly related to Muslim representation) and a few books and documents on Rajya Sabha's constitutional role published by the Rajya Sabha Secretariat. These documents were systematically studied for collecting reliable information.

4.5   The Lokniti-CSDS data was also used as an important source for this study.

4.6   The Term-wise number of seats held by the Muslim members is calculated in order to find out the exact number of Muslim members in the Rajya Sabha.

4.7   This method is used for two reasons. (a) The Rajya Sabha website itself organizes the list of its former members term-wise. It is, therefore, an acceptable official methodology. (b) This method corresponds to the specific composition of the Rajya Sabha. As it is known that one-third members of the House retire every two year; at the same time, there are members who have been elected/nominated to the House for more than one time. The term-wise calculation is useful in arriving at a reliable number as it saves us from double counting. (See Appendix 5 for the initial arrangements made by the Election Commission in 1952 when the Council of States was constituted for the first time. The Council of States was renamed as the *Rajya Sabha* in 1954).

4.8   The same technique is used for preparing list of the nominated members and the state-wise and the party-wise former and sitting Muslim members of the House.

4.9   The Muslim members of the House are identified by names. We have to rely on this method as there is no other possibility to know the religion of any member of the Rajya Sabha.

4.10   The study also relies on *detailed interviews* with a few Muslim members of the Rajya Sabha. These respondents were identified on the basis of party affiliations, term(s) in the House, regional variation, and caste-class background. A semi-structured questionnaire was developed for these interviews. The questionnaire was sent to these MPs in advance. However, only a few members of the House responded positively for the interview.

5.   Findings

5.1   These findings are based on an intensive analysis of the data collected from secondary sources. The information given on the Rajya Sabha website is arranged accordingly and presented in the tabular form in this section and the appendices.

5.2   The 2nd September 2015 is recognized as the benchmark date for this report. This is important as the configuration of the House keeps changing.

5.3   Table 1 and 2 show that the Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha is more than 10 percent.

Table 1: Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha (Term-wise former Muslim members; nominated members included)

Term(s)	Total Members	Muslim Members	%
1	1265	127	10. 03
2	481	57	11. 85
3	127	13	10. 23
4	27	2	7. 40
5	7	1	14. 28
Total	**1907**	**200**	**10. 48**

Source: Numbers are calculated on the basis of the information provided on the Rajya Sabha website. http://rajyasabha. nic. in/ (last accessed on 2 September 2015)

Table 1 (a): Muslim Representation in the Lok Sabha (1952-2014)

No. of Lok Sabha	Year	Total	Muslim MPs	%
I	1952	489	21	4. 29
II	1957	494	24	4. 85
III	1962	494	23	4. 65
IV	1967	520	29	5. 57
V	1971	518	30	5. 79
VI	1977	542	34**	6. 27
VII	1980	529*1	49**	9. 26
VIII	1984	542	46**	8. 48
IX	1989	529*2	33	6. 23
X	1991	534*3	28	5. 24
XI	1996	543	28	5. 15
XII	1998	543	29	5. 34
XIII	1999	543	32	5. 89
XIV	2004	543	36	6. 62
XV	2009	543	30@	5. 52
XVI	2014	543	23@	4. 23

Source: Ansari, 2006. @ Figures included by the author.

*1: Election were not held in Assam (12) and Meghalaya (1)

*2: Elections were not held in Assam (14)

*3: Elections were not held in J&K (6) and countermanded in two seats in Bihar and one in UP.

** Including Muslims elected in bye-elections.

Table 2: Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha (Term-wise Sitting Members. Nominated members included as on 2 September 2015)

Term (s)	Total Members	Muslim Members	%
1	141	16	11. 34
2	62	8	12. 90
3	24	0	0
4	12	2	16. 66
5	3	1	33. 33
6	2	1	50. 00
Total	244	28	11. 47

Source: Numbers are calculated on the basis of the information provided on the Rajya Sabha website. http://rajyasabha. nic. in/ (last accessed on 2 September 2015)

5.4   This is also true about the nominated members. There are 124 nominated members so far out which 17 are Muslims. (Table 3)

5.5   There are three instances when a retired elected Muslim member was nominated to the Rajya Sabha.

5.6   Three Muslim members were nominated for two terms.

Table 3: Nominated Muslim Members of Rajya Sabha

S. No.	Name of the Member	Term
1	Dr. Zakir Husain*	1952-56 and 1956-62
2	Shri. M. Ajmal khan*	1964-66 and 1966-1972 (died on 18 October 1969)
3	Prof. S. Nurul Hasan**#	1968-74
4	Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan*	1970-76 and 1976-1982
5	Shri Habib Tanvir	1972-78
6	Shrimati Fathema Ismali	1978-84
7	Shri Ghulam Rasool Kar**	1984-87
8	Shri Hayatulla Ansari**	1982-88
9	Shri Salim Ali	1985-88
10	Shri M. F. Husain	1986-92
11	Shrimati Syeda Anwara Taimur**	1988-90
12	Shri Mohammad Yunus**	1989-95
13	Maulana Habibur Rahman Nomani	1993-99
14	Shrimati Shabana Azmi	1997-2003
15	Shri Javed Akhtar	2010-2016
16	Shrimati Nargis Dutt	1980-1986 (Died on 03/05/1981)
17	Shri Abu Abraham	1972-1978

* These members were nominated for two terms (Dr. Zakir Husain, Shri M. Ajmal Khan and Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan).

**These nominated members also served the House as elected member [Shri Hayatulla Ansari, Congress, UP, 1966-1972; Prof. S. Nurul Hasan, Congress, UP, 1971-1972; Smt. Syeda Anwara Taimur, Indian National Congress(INC), Assam, 2004-2010].

Prof. S. Nurul Hasan resigned as nominated member on 30. 09. 1971, though his term was supposed to end on 02/04/1974.

5.7   Table 4 indicates that most of the Muslim members of the Rajya Sabha come from the States of UP (37) followed by and Bihar (20) and Jammu and Kashmir (20).

Table 4: Former Muslim Members of Rajya Sabha (State - Wise)

S. No.	Name of State/Union Territory	Total Members
1	Andhra Pradesh	14
2	Assam	4*
3	Bihar	20
4	Delhi	5
5	Gujarat	5
6	Jammu & Kashmir	20
7	Karnataka	7
8	Kerala	10
9	Madhya Pradesh	10
10	Maharashtra	8
11	Odisha	1
12	Puducherry	1
13	Punjab	1
14	Rajasthan	8
15	Tamil Nadu	18
16	Tripura	1
17	Uttar Pradesh	37*
18	West Bengal	14
19	Nominated	16**
	Total	**200**

* Excluding one member who was elected but later became a nominated member.

** Excluding the one nominated sitting Muslim member.

Table 5: Former Members of Rajya Sabha (Party –wise)

S. No.	Name of Party	Total Members
1	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK)	4
2	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	1
3	Communist Party of India (CPI)	6
4	Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI (M)]	6
5	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK)	3
6	Indian National Congress (INC)	106*

7	Jammu & Kashmir National Conference (J&KNC)	8
8	Janata Dal	5
9	Janata Dal (United)	2
10	Janata Party	4
11	Muslim League(ML)	8
12	Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)	1
13	O (Other parties)	9
14	Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD)	2
15	Rashtriya Lok Dal (RLD)	1
16	Samajwadi Party (SP)	6
17	Tamil Maanila Congress [TMC(M)]	1
18	Telugu Desam Party (TDP)	2
19	IND (Independent)	9
20	NOMINATED	16**
	Total	200

Names of parties given on the Rajya website are strictly followed. The members representing two or more parties are counted separately for the sake of clarity.

*Excluding those three nominated members who also represented the party as elected members.

** Excluding the one sitting Muslim member

Table 6: Sitting Muslim Members of Rajya Sabha (Party-wise)

S. No.	Name of Party	Total Members
1	All India Trinamool Congress (AITC)	2
2	Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)	2
3	Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP)	3
4	Indian National Congress (INC)	10
5	Indian Union Muslim League (IUML)	1
6	Janata Dal (United) [JD(U)]	3
7	Nationalist Congress Party (NCP)	1
8	Peoples Democratic Party (PDP)	2
9	Samajwadi Party (SP)	3
10	NOMINATED	1
	Total	**28**

Table 7: Sitting Muslim Members of Rajya Sabha (State-wise)

S. No.	Name of State/ Union territory	Total Members
1	Andhra Pradesh	1
2	Assam	1
3	Bihar	3
4	Chhattisgarh	1
5	Delhi	1
6	Gujarat	1
7	Jammu & Kashmir	3
8	Jharkhand	1
9	Karnataka	1
10	Kerala	1
11	Madhya Pradesh	1
12	Maharashtra	2
13	Manipur	1
14	Rajasthan	1
15	Uttar Pradesh	6
16	West Bengal	2
17	NOMINATED	1
	Total	**28**

5.8 Table 5 shows that there were 106 former Muslim members of the Rajya Sabha who represented Congress. The other political parties are far behind.

5.9 There are 10 sitting Congress Muslim MPs(as on 2 September 2015)

5.10 Dr. Najma A. Heptualla is the only Muslim member of the Rajya Sabha who has completed 5 terms. She was also elected to the House for the 6th term but she resigned on 28 August 2016.

5.11 A sizeable number of Muslim MPs (73) had been given the opportunity to serve the House for more than one term.

5.12 Jan Sangh did not have any Muslim Rajya Sabha member.

5.13 There are 3 Muslim members of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in the Rajya Sabha at present. [11]

5.14 Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha is an important constitutional post. Eleven (11) Members have been elected as Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha since 1952 in 19 slots (five of them were elected twice, while Dr. Najma A. Heptulla was elected for four times). Interestingly, 6 slots have been occupied by Muslims. That makes it more than 31 per cent. It is also to keep in mind that these 6 slots have been held by two individuals (see Appendix 2).

5.15 The Vice-President of India is *ex-offcio*-Chairman of the Rajya Sabha and is therefore an integral part of the House. Appendix 3 shows that the post of the Vice-President is held by Muslim politicians on four occasions (incidentally by three individuals). It is again around 29 percent.

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[11] After the resignation of Dr.Najma A. Heptulla on 28 August 2016, there two sitting Muslim MPs in the House.

6 Conclusion: *Muslim Representation as Muslim Presence*

6.1 As pointed out earlier, the relatively higher Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha in comparison to the Lok Sabha is often seen as a reflection of political manoeuvring. It is claimed that the political parties use the Rajya Sabha to compensate Muslim underrepresentation in the Lok Sabha. Such generalisations are based on a strong assumption that if Muslims are given more opportunities to contest elections in an open competition, the Muslim electorates would vote only for the Muslim candidates. [12] We are told that the apathetic attitude of political parties and the organization of electoral constituencies do not favour Muslims; hence, the number of Muslim MPs in the Lok Sabha is not up to the desired mark. Muslim electoral behaviour, however, does not depend on such sweeping generalizations. In fact, one encounters a complex electoral response of Muslims that is determined by their socio-cultural and spatial locations.

6.2 It is true that on many occasions, political parties offer Rajya Sabha tickets to those candidates who cannot manage to win Lok Sabha elections. Yet, in a much broader sense, the Rajya Sabha emerges out as an elite legislative chamber that accommodates those collective interests which cannot be addressed only through the competitive electoral politics.

6.3 In order to understand the wider significance of Muslim political representation in the Rajya Sabha, let us make a distinction between *Muslim presence* in the Rajya Sabha and *efficacy of this form of Muslim representation*.

6.4 The 'Muslim presence' might refer to the actual number of Muslims in the House. [13] However, to understand the nature and efficacy of this *presence*, we have to analyse it as a specific kind of group representation.

6.5 Anne Philips talks of two kinds of group representation: (a) *Inclusion of a group as a group*—when a social group as an identifiable entity is recognized for the purpose of representation in legislative bodies. She calls it *corporatist representation* in which people serve as representatives of their group and they are expected to speak on and for group issues. (b) *Inclusion of the members of the group*: this form of group representation is based on a premise that if people marked by certain group characteristics are seriously under-represented in politics, they should be included in legislative bodies without giving any set quota-based representation to the concerned group. The presumption, in this case, is that a more equitable distribution of representative positions between different social groups might bring a wider range of perspectives into play (Philips, 1995, Chapter 3).

6.6 The political practice in the Rajya Sabha clearly shows that Muslim representation is not envisaged as 'group representation'. Instead, individuals, *who happen to be Muslims*, are included to deal with the question of religious diversity of the House.

6.7 The *Muslim presence* in the Rajya Sabha, I suggest, has three features: (a) It marks a *symbolic representation* of Muslim as a social category, without evoking the notion of religion-based reservation; (b) it enhances and ensures a *deliberative*

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12 For an elaborated critique of this assumption see, Ahmed, 2015.

13 I evoke Anne Philips's conceptualization of the politics of presence here. Philips argues that an assembly cannot be called representative unless it includes members of minority social groups. According to her, fair representation implies proportionate representation according to characteristics like ethnicity and/or gender. (Phillips, 1995, Chapter 2).

democracy and (c) it helps in *articulating those ideas and claims* that have not yet become full-fledged electoral issues. These three features, in a broader sense, point towards the *efficacy of Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha*. [14]

6.8   *Symbolic Representation*: Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha demonstrates, at least symbolically, the constitutional commitment that is expressed more fully in the Fundamental Rights (especially right to equality). The impressive Muslim presence in the House, we must note, is not an outcome of any quota or reservation. Rather, it is a reflection of an evolved political norm.

6.9   During my discussions with Muslim members of the House, it was found that many Muslim MPs do not want to be identified only as 'Muslims'. They highlight the fact that as political representatives, they are accountable to various stake-holders. It is a valid assertion. One cannot reduce the identity of a political representative merely to his/her religion. Yet, the Muslim identity (or the Muslim name at least!) of the members of the Rajya Sabha plays a very determining role in the symbolic make-up of the House.

6.10   A recent example is very relevant to elaborate this point. The BJP (and its predecessor Jan Sangh) has always taken a critical position on the cultural and religious rights given to religious minorities (including the minority status to Muslims!). However, the party does not deviate from the standard norm: it gives Rajya Sabha berths to its Muslims leaders. Even two Muslim members of the House, Dr. Najma A. Heptulla and Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi, were appointed Ministers for the Minority Affairs after a significant electoral victory in 2014[15]. It may be noted that Shri M. J. Akbar, Member of Rajya Sabha has also been appointed as Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs.

6.11   It has been argued that since the BJP does not recognize Muslims as its core political constituency, it does not have elected Muslim representatives, who could take charge of the institutions like the Ministry of Minority Affairs. This was the reason why the Rajya Sabha was used to bring in Muslim leaders in the Parliament, who eventually were given the ministership. Although there is a merit in this claim as the BJP does not give tickets to Muslims in popular elections (Lok Sabha and State Assemblies), one cannot underestimate the BJP's adherence to the idea of symbolic representation in this case. After the massive victory in 2014, BJP did not close down the Ministry of Minority Affairs. In fact, senior member of the party (as well as the House), Dr. Najma A. Heptulla was given the charge of the Ministry. This example shows that the Rajya Sabha as an indirectly elected body facilitates the political elites to abide by certain norms about the symbolic presence of minority groups in political institutions.

6.12   Rajeev Bhargava's formulation of *political secularism* is very valid here. He suggests that the political secularism does not go for any ultimate ideal. It is, in a sense, a more practical form of secularism that tries to maintain a peaceful ordinary

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14   The 'efficacy of representation' could have two very different meanings: (a) *efficacy* in terms of the social composition of the House-- (how effective Muslim presence has been in the Rajya Sabha) and (b) *efficacy* in relation to the group (how best the interests of Muslims as a social group in the House are presented!). The three features of Muslim presence, I argue, directly respond to the social composition of the House. However, the efficacy of Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha in relation to 'Muslim interest' is a contentious issue (as discussed in the second section) which is outside the scope of this study.

15   Dr. Najma A. Heptulla resigned from the Rajya Sabha on 20 August 2016.

life by carving out separate boundaries for religion and politics. Examining the Indian situation, Bhargava elaborates his conception of political secularism and suggests three versions of it: (a) hyper-substantive secularism that excludes religion from politics and seeks to maintain an absolute kind of polity for the realisation of some ultimate ideal; (b) the ultra-procedural secularism that seeks an unconditional separation of religion and politics but remains suspicious of all kinds of ultimate ideals; and (c) contextual secularism that maintains a principled distance from religion. Bhargava points out that the contextual secularism cannot be rejected on cultural grounds because it devises culturally specific principles for maintaining distance from religion. Bhargava appreciates the Indian secularism for its unique contextual features (Bhargava, 1998).

6.13   The practice of this kind of contextual secularism is very clearly evident in case of the Rajya Sabha. The significant Muslim presence in the House demonstrates the fact that political parties do not ignore the relevance of social inclusiveness. Despite the fact that the Constitution clearly evokes the secular identity of a voter as well as the members of legislative bodies, the contextual secularism allows the political elite to accommodate Muslim members in the Rajya Sabha without deviating from any established constitutional principle.

6.14   *Deliberative democracy*: Deliberative democracy in the conventional sense of the term refers to the mode of deliberation to arrive at a collective decision in a democratic set up. The notion of common good is central to the idea of deliberative democracy. It is argued that deliberative mechanisms can help in producing the collective decisions—a general will of some kind-- that reflects the opinions of various stakeholders.

6.15   Deliberative democracy, nevertheless, is a highly debatable concept. It is evoked for a variety of purposes: as a normative ideal and a precondition for the survival of democratic institutions to a procedural logic to accommodate diverse views and opinions in legislative assemblies.

6.16   I use deliberative democracy in a rather narrower sense: the act of parliamentary deliberations to arrive at mutually acceptable inferences and conclusions.

6.17   Let us elaborate this point. The discussions in Parliament are governed by two kinds of sources. The important terms, which are used to provide a technical meaning to comments made by the members is the first major source. The practice of these terms in the legislative discussions not merely provides a structure to deliberations but also makes the process of decision making efficient and less time consuming, For instance, the Rajya Sabha Secretariat publishes a list of *Important Parliamentary Terms* for elaborating the procedural mechanism of parliamentary discussions (http://rajyasabha. nic. in/rsnew/parliamentary term/important partliament term. pdf, accessed on 3 September 2016). The second source of discussion is the list of words and expressions that are recognized as 'Unparliamentary'. The Parliament publishes a list of such words and expressions from time to time. These unparliamentary expressions work in a different way; they provide effective control over deliberative procedures.

6.18   These two sources of parliamentary deliberations, we must note, are complimented by a variety of political discourses that bring in new terms, concepts and political vocabulary in the legislative discussions. The encounter between political discourses and the technical terminology used in the Parliament produces context-specific meanings of certain political expressions.

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6.19   The manner in which Muslim issues in the Rajya Sabha have been discussed in recent years is an important example that underlines the changing nature of parliamentary deliberations.

6.20   It is important to point out that the Muslim issues used to be considered mainly as identity specific claims (protection of Urdu, Personal Laws and the minority status of the Aligarh Muslim University and Babri Masjid) in the past. However, the Muslim issues are no longer reduced to the assertion of a minority identity. Instead, Muslim issues are seen as an inseparable part of the discourse of social exclusion.

6.21   This discourse aims at conceptualising the issues and concerns of marginalised sections in relation to the power structure of the Indian society. The affirmative action initiatives, which were primarily targeting the SC/ST communities, were reconsidered; and the Muslim backwardness was identified as an appropriate official category, especially after the publication of the Sachar report in 2006. [16]

6.22   The Muslim presence in the Rajya Sabha contributed significantly in shaping the nature of discussions on Muslims. That has been the reason why the social and economic backwardness of Muslim communities has eventually become a policy concern in recent years.

6.23   Syed Azeez Pasha's statement in the Rajya Sabha on 2nd December 2011 is relevant here. Questioning the outcome of the affirmative action policies of the then UPA Government, he said: 'the UPA Government made several promises to address the issues of Muslim backwardness but to our utter dismay, we found that there is nothing in the 12th Plan Approach Paper... Muslims being semi-skilled labourers with semi-urban living profile without any connection with traditional agro-economy, we demanded to design new schemes to cater to the needs of the community and facilitate the process of certification to tap overseas opportunities. The norm of the 'National Skill Development Board' needs to be redrafted to facilitate this. ' (http://rsdebate. nic. in/bitstream/123456789/596484/2/PD_224_ 02122011_p277 _p278_13. pdf#search=Muslim backwardness). This is an interesting formulation. Pasha not merely tries to evoke the marginalization of Muslims as a religious minority but also makes a serious move to conceptualize Muslim backwardness as a form of social exclusion. This shows that the Muslim presence has enhanced the deliberative capacity of the Rajya Sabha.

6.24   *Articulation of political ideas*: The third feature of the Muslim presence in the Rajya Sabha is related to the production of those ideas which have not yet occupied adequate electoral attention. The inclusion of Muslim Dalits in the Scheduled Caste list is a good example.

6.25   It is important to remember that the Constitution (SCs) Order, 1950 says, 'no person who professes a religion different from the Hindu, the Sikh or the Buddhist religion shall be deemed to be a member of a Scheduled Caste' (http://www. minorityaffairs. gov. in/sites/upload files/moma/files/pdfs/volume-1. pdf). According to the original Order passed in 1950, only the Hindu castes groups were eligible for inclusion in the SC list. This Order, however, was amended in 1956 and 1990 respectively for accommodating the Sikh and Buddhist caste groups. The Order, broadly speaking 'communalises' the category of Scheduled Caste. It is based on a

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16 In a recent study, Louise Tillin, Rajeshwari Deshpande and K. K. Kailash try to map out the politics of welfare in contemporary India by looking at welfare policies and affirmative action introduced in the 2000s (Tillin et al, 2016, Chapter 1). I also subscribe to their position.

strong assumption that that the caste-based social inequalities are merely a reflection of a *polluted* form of Hinduism. Therefore, the argument goes, there is a need to eradicate bad 'social practices' through reservation for wider Hindu social reform.

6.26   Muslim members, especially Ali Anwar Ansari and Eijaz Ali, along with other members of the House have been raising this issue for a long time. In fact, *Dalit Muslim* became a legitimate category in post-Sachar period. Eijaz Ali's statement in the House on 2 December 2009 is relevant. He said: 'दलित मुसलमान (अरज़ाल) को अनुसूचित जाति में शामिल करने की मांग गत डेढ़ दशक से की जा रही है। सच्चर कमेटी की रिपोर्ट के अनुसार अरज़ाल मुसलिम जनसंख्या का लगभग 0.8% है। इस समुदाय की शैक्षणिक आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक स्थिति अत्यंत दयनीय है। यद्यपि 1936 से 1950 तक इसाई समुदाय को छोड़ बाकी सभी धर्मों के दलितों को अनुसूचित जाति का दर्जा हासिल था। राष्ट्रपति आदेश 1950 के द्वारा इसे केवल हिन्दू दलितों के लिए सीमित कर दिया गया और मुसलिम सिख तथा बौध धर्म के दलितों को इस दर्जे से वंचित कर दिया गया .दलित मुस्लिम जातियों को अनुसूचित जाति में शामिल करने की सिफारिश सच्चर कमेटी के अतिरिक्त रंगनाथ मिश्र आयोग, राष्ट्रीय अनुसूचित जाति आयोग एवं राष्ट्रीय अल्पसंख्यक आयोग ने भी की है।. . . परन्तु दलित मुस्लिम जातियों को आज तक अनुसूचित जाति में शामिल नहीं किया गया है. महोदय, मेरा सरकार से निवेदन है कि दलित मुसलमान को (अरज़ाल)अनुसूचित जाति में शामिल करने के लिए केंद सरकार प्रेसिडेंशियल आर्डर 1950 में संशोधन करते हुए उसमे हिन्दू, सिख एवं नव बौध के साथ मुसलिम शब्द को भी जोड़े, जिस से केवल 0.8% जनसंख्या वाले इस वर्ग को भी अपना शैक्षणिक आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक स्तर सुधारने का अवसर मिले. . . . ताकि वे भी सम्मान से अपनी ज़िन्दगी गुजार सकें और अन्य धर्मों के दलितों की तरह मुख्य धारा में शामिल होकर राष्ट्र निर्माण में सहयोग दे सकें. [17]

(http://rsdebate. nic. in/bitstream/123456789/285222/1/ID_218_ 02122009_p261 _p263_32. pdf#search=Dalit Muslims)

6.27   The demand to include Dalit Muslims in the SC list seems to offer a creative reinterpretation of the complex relationship between communalism and caste-based reservation. This assertion points toward the fact that caste-based exploitation is not exclusively related to any particular religious group.

6.28   The manner in which the Muslim Dalit issue has occupied an important political space in the Rajya Sabha shows that the inclusive configuration of the House offers opportunity to discuss those issues that have not yet become the main electoral concerns for political parties. [18]

6.29   This example also helps us in unpacking the *Muslim presence* itself. The Dalit Muslim assertion is not entirely about reservation. It, in a broader sense, problematizes the given Muslim homogeneity—the imagination that there is only one

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17 English translation: "Demand to include Dalit Muslims have been raised for last one and half decades. According the Sachar Committee Report, there are 0.8% Dalit Muslims in the country. They are educationally, socially and economically extremely backward. Although Dalits among all religious communities (except Christians) were included in the scheduled caste list from 1936 to 1950, the Presidential Order, 1950 eventually confined the SC status to Hindus. Dalits among Muslims and Buddhists were deprived of this status. Despite the recommendations of the Sachar Committee Report, the Rangnath Misra Commission Report, the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and the National Commission for Minorities, Dalit Muslims have not be included in the SC list so far. Sir, I request the Government to amend the Presidential Order 1950 so as to add word *Muslim* in it along with Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist so that the Arzal Muslims who constitute 0.8% of population improve their social, educational and economic status and participate in the process of nation building".

18 It is worth noting that no political party, including the JD (U), has ever evoked Dalit Muslim issue as a political slogan in electoral campaign.

Muslim community in the country. This Muslim homogeneity is stridently challenged in the House in recent years, especially by a section of Muslim MPs. In this sense, the idea that Muslims constitute a political group that is underrepresented in legislative bodies is offered a nuanced elaboration in Rajya Sabha debates.

6.30   This brings us to the main argument of the study. The systematic exploration of the Muslim representation in the Rajya Sabha underlines the fact that, apart from other considerations, political parties do nominate Muslims candidates for the House to evoke their inclusive character. However, this adherence to inclusiveness depends on number of factors, including the ideological orientation of political parties. This significant *Muslim presence* in the Rajya Sabha plays a crucial role: it strengthens the capacity of the House to offer symbolic representation to social groups; it contributes in making the legislative discussions more deliberative and above all, it helps in producing new political ideas. This form of political representation, I argue, evolves out of the postcolonial Indian political experiences. Therefore, there is a need to pay close attention to our parliamentary practices and political norms to evaluate the larger objective of political inclusion of minority/marginalized social groups. This is what this study recommends.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Term-wise former Muslim Members of Rajya Sabha (One term) [as on 2 September 2015]

S. No.	NAME OF MEMBER	STATE	PARTY	TERM From	TERM To	VACATION DATE/REASON
1	Aas Mohammad, Shri	Bihar	JD	03/04/1994	02/04/2000	Retirement
2	Abdi, Shri Hashim Raja Allahabadi	Uttar Pradesh	CONG(I)	03/04/1982	02/04/1988	Retirement
3	Abdul Khader, Shri M. S.	Tamil Nadu	AIADMK	03/04/1972	02/04/1978	Retirement
4	Abdul Latif, Shri	Tripura	CONG(I)	03/04/1956	02/04/1962	Retirement
5	Abdul Rahim, Shri	Madras	CONG(I)	03/04/1958	02/04/1962	Retirement
6	Abid, Shri Kasim Ali	Andhra Pradesh	CONG	10/04/1972	09/04/1978	Retirement
7	Abraham, Shri P.	Puducherry	INC	07/08/1963	06/08/1969	Retirement
8	Abu Abraham, Shri	Nominated	NOM.	03/04/1972	02/04/1978	Retirement
9	Adeeb, Shri Mohammed	Uttar Pradesh	IND.	26/11/2008	25/11/2014	Retirement
10	Ahmed, Shri Sk. Khabir Uddin	West Bengal	CPI(M)	03/04/2002	02/04/2008	Retirement
11	Aizaz Rasul, Begum	Uttar Pradesh	INC	03/04/1952	02/04/1956	Retirement
12	Akhtar, Shri Kamal	Uttar Pradesh	SP	05/07/2004	04/07/2010	Retirement
13	Ali, Dr. Ejaz	Bihar	JD(U)	20/03/2008	07/07/2010	Retirement
14	Ali, Shri Syed Rahmat	Andhra Pradesh	INC	03/04/1980	02/04/1986	Retirement
15	Amjad Ali, Shri Sardar	West Bengal	INC	03/04/1972	02/04/1978	Retirement
16	Ansari, Shri Abdul Qaiyum	Bihar	INC	03/04/1970	02/04/1976	19/03/1972 Resignation
17	Ansari, Shri Jalaludin	Bihar	CPI	03/04/1994	02/04/2000	Retirement

18	Ansari, Shri Mohammed Amin	Uttar Pradesh	INC	03/04/1988 02/04/1994	14/07/1990 Death
19	Ansaruddin, Ahmed Shri	West Bengal	INC	03/04/1958 02/04/1964	Retirement
20	Antulay, Shri A. R.	Maharashtra	INC	03/04/1976 02/04/1982	03/07/1980 Resignation
21	Anwar, Shri N. M.	Tamil Nadu	INC	03/04/1960 02/04/1966	Retirement
22	Aslam, Chowdhary Mohammad	Jammu & Kashmir	INC	20/06/2006 29/11/2008	Retirement
23	Azmi, Shri Abu Asim	Uttar Pradesh	SP	26/11/2002 25/11/2008	Retirement
24	Azmi, Smt. Shabana	Nominated	NOM.	27/08/1997 26/08/2003	Retirement
25	Dar, Shri Abdul Ghani	Punjab	O	23/11/1962 23/02/1967	23/02/1967 Elected to Lok Sabha
26	Dilip Kumar, Shri Yusuf Sarwar Khan alias	Maharashtra	INC	03/04/2000 02/04/2006	Retirement
27	Dutt, Smt. Nargis	Nominated	NOM.	03/04/1980 02/04/1986	03/05/1981 Death
28	Galib, Shri Shaikh	Andhra Pradesh	INC	03/04/1954 02/04/1960	12/07/1958 Resignation
29	Golandaz, Mohammedhusain Shri	Gujarat	INC	03/04/1976 02/04/1982	Retirement
30	Gulsher, Ahmed Shri	Vindhya Pradesh	INC	03/04/1952 02/04/1956	Retirement
31	Habibullah, Smt. Hamida	Uttar Pradesh	INC	03/04/1976 02/04/1982	Retirement
32	Haji, Shri Korambayil Ahammed	Kerala	ML	03/04/1998 02/04/2004	12/05/2003 Death
33	Hakim Ali, Khawja	Jammu & Kashmir	No information available	22/08/1961 02/04/1962	Retirement
34	Haneef, Shri Mahammed	Odisha	INC	03/04/1966 02/04/1972	06/10/1967 Death

35	Haq, Molana Asrarul	Rajasthan	INC	05/07/1980 04/07/1986	Retirement
36	Hasan, Shri Munavvar	Uttar Pradesh	SP	05/07/1998 04/07/2004	27/01/2004 Resignation
37	Hashim, Shri M. M.	Andhra Pradesh	INC	10/04/1990 09/04/1996	Retirement
38	Husain, Shri Jabir	Bihar	RJD	03/04/2006 02/04/2012	Retirement
39	Husain, Shri M. F.	Nominated	NOM.	12/05/1986 11/05/1992	Retirement
40	Ibrahim, Shri B.	Karnataka	INC	25/03/1980 09/04/1984	Retirement
41	Ibrahim, Shri C. M.	Karnataka	JD	10/04/1996 09/04/2002	Retirement
42	Imam, Shri Jafar	Bihar	INC	03/04/1952 02/04/1956	Retirement
43	Inait Ullah, Khawaja	Bihar	INC	03/04/1952 02/04/1954	Retirement
44	Ismail, Smt. Fathema	Nominated	NOM.	14/04/1978 13/04/1984	Retirement
45	Ismail, K. E.	Kerala	CPI	02/07/2006 01/07/2012	Retirement
46	Ismail Saheb, Shri M. Muhammad	Madras (now Tamil Nadu)	O (ML)	03/04/1952 02/04/1958	Retirement
47	Jinnah, Shri A. A.	Tamil Nadu	DMK	03/04/2008 02/04/2014	Retirement
48	Kabir, Prof. Humayun	West Bengal	INC	03/04/1956 02/04/1962	02/03/1962 Elected to Lok Sabha
49	Kadar, Shri M. A.	Tamil Nadu	DMK	30/06/1998 29/06/2004	Retirement
50	Kar, Shri Ghulam Rasool	Nominated	INC	09/05/1984 28/12/1987	28/12/1987 Disqualification
51	Karimuddin, Kazi Syed	Bombay	INC	03/04/1954 02/04/1958	Retirement
52	Khader, Shri N. Abdul	Tamil Nadu	TMC(M)	10/10/1997 29/06/1998	Retirement
53	Khan, Shri Abdur Rezzak	West Bengal	CPI	03/04/1954 02/04/1960	Retirement
54	Khan, Shri Amir Alam	Uttar Pradesh	SP	13/06/2006 04/07/2010	Retirement

55	Khan, Shri Ghayoor Ali	Uttar Pradesh	O (Lok Dal)	03/04/1976 02/04/1982	08/01/1980 Elected to Lok Sabha
56	Khan, Shri Mohd Masud	Uttar Pradesh	IND.	05/07/1992 04/07/1998	Retirement
57	Khan, Shri Mohd. Azam	Uttar Pradesh	SP	26/11/1996 25/11/2002	09/03/2002 Resignation
58	Khan, Shri S. P. M. Syed	Tamil Nadu	AIADMK	03/04/2002 02/04/2008	Retiremen
59	Khan, Shri Samiulla	Madhya Pradesh	INC	03/04/1952 02/04/1954	Retirement
60	Khan, Smt. Shyam Kumari	Uttar Pradesh	INC	11/12/1963 02/04/1968	Retirement
61	Khan, Smt. Ushi	Rajasthan	INC	03/04/1976 02/04/1982	Retirement
62	Khan (Durru), Shri Aimaduddin Ahmad	Rajasthan	INC	05/07/1998 04/07/2004	18/12/2003 Resignation
63	Khatun, Ms. Sayeeda	Madhya Pradesh	INC	30/06/1986 29/06/1992	Retirement
64	Kidwai, Dr. A. R.	National Capital Territory of Delhi	INC	28/01/2000 27/01/2006	07/07/2004 Resignation
65	Kidwai, Dr. Mohd. Hashim	Uttar Pradesh	INC	03/04/1984 02/04/1990	Retirement
66	Koya, Shri Palat Kunhi	Kerala	INC	03/04/1962 02/04/1968	Retirement
67	Madani, Shri Mahmood A.	Uttar Pradesh	RLD	03/04/2006 02/04/2012	Retirement
68	Malihabadi, Shri Ahmad Saeed	West Bengal	IND.	03/04/2008 02/04/2014	Retirement
69	Malik, Shri Syed Abdul	Assam	INC	03/04/1976 02/04/1982	Retirement
70	Masthan, Dr. D.	Tamil Nadu	Independent	25/07/1995 24/07/2001	Retirement
71	Mir, Shri Gulam Mohammad	Jammu & Kashmir	INC	03/04/1964 02/04/1970	13/03/1967 Resignation
72	Mirza, Shri Dawood Ali	Madras	INC	11/12/1956 02/04/1962	Retirement
73	Mirza Ahmed Ali, Shri	Delhi	IND.	17/09/1958 02/04/1964	Retirement

74	Mohammad Ali, Shri	Madhya Pradesh	INC	03/04/1956 02/04/1962	Retirement
75	Mohammad Roufique, Shri	Assam	IND.	03/04/1952 02/04/1956	Retirement
76	Mohammad Yunus, Shri	Nominated	INC	15/06/1989 14/06/1995	Retirement
77	Mohammed Afzal, alias Meem Afzal Shri	Uttar Pradesh	JD	03/04/1990 02/04/1996	Retirement
78	Moideen, Shri M. J. Jamal	Madras	INC	03/04/1962 02/04/1968	Retirement
79	Moinul, Hassan Shri	West Bengal	CPI(M)	03/04/2006 02/04/2012	Retirement
80	Momin, Shri Gulam Haider Valimohmed	Gujarat	INC	03/04/1964 02/04/1970	Retirement
81	Mondal, Shri Ahmad Hossain	West Bengal	INC	10/07/1975 09/07/1981	Retirement
82	Mubarak Shah, Shri Khawaja	Jammu & Kashmir	J&K NC	11/11/1978 10/11/1984	10/01/1980 Elected to Lok Sabha
83	Nafisul Hasan, Shri	Uttar Pradesh	INC	03/04/1960 02/04/1966	Retirement
84	Nizam-Ud-Din, Shri Syed	Jammu & Kashmir	JAN	16/04/1974 15/04/1980	Retirement
85	Nomani, Maulana Habibur Rahman	Nominated	NOM. (INC)	27/08/1993 26/08/1999	Retirement
86	Pasha, Shri Syed Azeez	Andhra Pradesh	CPI	03/04/2006 02/04/2012	Retirement
87	Qasim, Shri Syyed Mir	Jammu & Kashmir	INC	29/07/1975 10/11/1978	Retirement
88	Quasem, Shri Mostafa Bin	West Bengal	CPI(M)	03/04/1984 02/04/1990	Retirement
89	Qureshi, Shri Abdul Gaiyur	Madhya Pradesh	INC	10/04/1996 09/04/2002	Retirement
90	Qureshi, Shri M. Shafi	Jammu & Kashmir	INC	01/05/1965 30/04/1971	23/01/1967 Elected to Lok Sabha
91	Rahman, Shri Motiur	Bihar	RJD	08/07/2004 07/07/2010	18/12/2007 Death
92	Rahmath Ullah, Shri K. Muhammad	Madras	INC	03/04/1952 02/04/1954	Retirement

93	Rahamathulla, Shri Mohammad	Andhra Pradesh	INC	03/04/1976 02/04/1982	Retirement
94	Rashid, Mirza Abdul	Jammu & Kashmir	J&KNC	29/03/2000 29/11/2002	Retirement
95	Razack, Smt. Noorjehan	Tamil Nadu	AIADMK	25/07/1977 24/07/1983	Retirement
96	Razak, Shri A. Abdul	Travancore Cochin	INC	03/04/1952 02/04/1956	Retirement
97	Refaye, Shri A. K.	Tamil Nadu	ML	03/04/1972 02/04/1978	Retirement
98	Rizvi, Dr. Akhtar Hasan	Uttar Pradesh	IND.	05/07/1998 04/07/2004	Retirement
99	Saifullah, Shri K. M.	Andhra Pradesh	TDP	10/04/1996 09/04/2002	Retirement
100	Sait, Shri Ebrahim Sulaiman	Kerala	ML	03/04/1960 02/04/1966	Retirement
101	Sait, Shri Salay Mohammed	Kerala	IND.	03/04/1964 02/04/1970	Retirement
102	Saleem, Shri Mohammad Yunus	Andhra Pradesh	INC	03/04/1974 02/04/1980	Retirement
103	Salim Ali, Shri	Nominated	NOM.	04/09/1985 26/09/1988	20/06/1987 Death
104	Sanadi, Prof. I. G	Karnataka	INC	10/04/1990 09/04/1996	Retirement
105	Saqhy, Shri T. A. Mohammed	Tamil Nadu	DMK	03/04/1990 02/04/1996	Retirement
106	Sayeed, Shri P. M.	National Capital Territory of Delhi	INC	10/08/2004 18/12/2005	18/12/2005 Death
107	Seyid Muhammad, Dr. V. A.	Kerala	INC	22/04/1973 21/04/1979	21/03/1977 Elected to Lok Sabha
108	Shafi, Shri Mohammad	Jammu & Kashmir	J&KNC	16/02/2009 15/02/2015	12/01/2015 Resignation
109	Shahabuddin, Shri Syed	Bihar	JAN	25/07/1979 09/04/1984	Retirement
110	Shahedullah, Shri Syed	West Bengal	CPI(M)	03/04/1978 02/04/1984	Retirement
111	Shawl, Shri Ghulam Mohi-Ud-Din	Jammu and Kashmir	J&K NC	16/04/1980 15/04/1986	Retirement
112	Sheikh, Shri Abdul Rehman	Uttar Pradesh	O[Lok Dal (C)]	03/04/1978 02/04/1984	Retirement

113	Sheikh, Shri Ghouse Mohiuddin	Andhra Pradesh	INC	10/04/1978 09/04/1984	Retirement
114	Siddiqui, Shri Abdul Samad	Karnataka	JD	03/04/1988 02/04/1994	Retirement
115	Siddiqui, Shri Shahid	Uttar Pradesh	SP	26/11/2002 25/11/2008	Retirement
116	Siddiqui, Shri Shamim Ahmed	National Capital Territory of Delhi	INC	21/11/1983 20/11/1989	Retirement
117	Sobhini, Shri Osman	Hyderabad	INC	03/04/1952 02/04/1954	Retirement
118	Syed Hussain, Shri	Jammu & Kashmir	INC	16/04/1968 15/04/1974	05/03/1974 Resignation
119	Syed Mahmud, Dr.	Bihar	INC	03/04/1962 02/04/1968	Retirement
120	Tanvir, Shri Habib	Nominated	NOM.	03/04/1972 02/04/1978	Retirement
121	Umair, Shah Mohamad	Bihar	INC	03/04/1956 02/04/1962	Retirement
122	Untoo, Shri Ghulam Nabi	Jammu & Kashmir	INC	11/11/1966 10/11/1972	Retirement
123	Valiullah, Shri Raoof	Gujarat	INC	10/04/1984 09/04/1990	Retirement
124	Wajd, Shri Sikander Ali	Maharashtra	INC	03/04/1972 02/04/1978	Retirement
125	Wasim Ahmad, Shri	Uttar Pradesh	IND.	30/11/1996 04/07/1998	Retirement
126	Zakaria, Dr. Rafiq	Maharashtra	INC	03/04/1978 02/04/1984	Retirement
127	Zawar Hussain, Shri	Bihar	INC	20/12/1975 09/04/1978	Retirement

Term wise former Muslim members –Two terms

S. No.	NAME OF MEMBER	STATE	PARTY	TERM		VACATION DATE/REASON
				From	To	
1	Abdul Samad, Shri A. K. A.	Tamil Nadu	ML	3/4/1970	2/4/1976	Retirement
		Tamil Nadu	ML	3/4/1964	2/4/1970	Retirement
2	Abdullah, Dr. Farooq	Jammu & Kashmir	J&KNC	16/02/2009	15/02/2015	16/05/2009 Elected to Lok Sabha
		Jammu & Kashmir	J&KNC	30/11/2002	29/11/2008	Retirement
3	Abrar Ahmed, Dr.	Rajasthan	INC	10/04/2002	9/4/2008	4/5/2004 Death
		Rajasthan	CONG(I)	3/4/1988	2/4/1994	Retirement
4	Ahmad Hussain, Kazi	Bihar	INC	3/4/1958	2/4/1964	29/07/1961 Death
		Bihar	INC	3/4/1952	2/4/1958	Retirement
5	Ahmed, Shri Fakhruddin Ali	Assam	INC	3/4/1966	2/4/1972	25/02/1967 Elected to Lok Sabha
		Assam	INC	3/4/1954	2/4/1960	25/03/1957 Resignation
6	Ajmal Khan, Shri M.	Nominated	NOM.	3/4/1966	2/4/1972	18/10/1969 Death
		Nominated	NOM.	31/03/1964	2/4/1966	Retirement
7	Akhtar Husain, Shri	Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1956	2/4/1962	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1952	2/4/1956	Retirement
8	Ali, Shri Sabir	Bihar	JD(U)	16/12/2011	9/4/2014	Retirement
		Bihar	LJP	10/04/2008	15/11/2011	15/11/2011 Retirement
9	Alvi, Shri Raashid	Andhra Pradesh	INC	3/4/2006	2/4/2012	Retirement
		Andhra Pradesh	INC	22/06/2004	2/4/2006	Retirement
10	Amin, Shri Mohammed	West Bengal	CPI(M)	17/05/2007	18/08/2011	Retirement

			West Bengal	CPI(M)	3/4/1988	2/4/1994	Retirement
11	Ansari, Shri Faridul Haq		Uttar Pradesh	O[Praja Socialist Party (PSP)]	3/4/1964	2/4/1970	4/4/1966 Death
			Uttar Pradesh		3/4/1958	2/4/1964	Retirement
12	Ansari, Shri Hayat Ulla		Nominated	INC	27/09/1982	26/09/1988	Retirement
			Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1966	2/4/1972	Retirement
13	Bakht, Shri Sikander		Madhya Pradesh	BJP	10/04/1996	9/4/2002	Retirement
			Madhya Pradesh	BJP	10/04/1990	9/4/1996	Retirement
14	Basheer, Shri Thalekkunnil		Kerala	INC	22/04/1979	21/04/1985	29/12/1984 Elected to Lok Sabha
			Kerala	INC	20/07/1977	21/04/1979	Retirement
15	Ghufran Azam, Shri		Madhya Pradesh	INC	03/04/1994	02/04/2000	Retirement
			Madhya Pradesh	INC	16/06/1989	2/4/1994	Retirement
16	Hashmi, Shri Shamim		Bihar	INC	25/09/1989	2/4/1994	Retirement
			Bihar	JD	3/4/1988	2/4/1994	28/07/1989 Resignation
17	Hashmi, Shri Syed Ahmad		Uttar Pradesh	O (Janvadi Party)	5/7/1980	4/7/1986	Retirement
			Uttar Pradesh	INC	4/3/1974	4/2/1980	Retirement
18	Ibrahim, Hafiz Mohammad		Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1962	2/4/1968	4/5/1964 Resignation
			Uttar Pradesh	INC	18/08/1958	2/4/1962	Retirement
19	Imam, Smt. Aziza		Bihar	O [Cong(U)]	3/4/1976	2/4/1982	Retirement
			Bihar	INC	20/03/1973	2/4/1976	Retirement
20	Ishaque, Shri Muhammad		West Bengal	INC	3/4/1964	2/4/1970	Retirement
			West Bengal	INC	29/12/1961	2/4/1964	Retirement
21	Jalali, Shri Syed Mohammad		Jammu & Kashmir	J&KNC	3/4/1956	2/4/1962	22/02/1961 Death
			Jammu & Kashmir	J&KNC	3/4/1952	2/4/1956	Retirement
22	Kalaniya, Shri Ibrahim		Gujarat	INC	10/04/1978	9/4/1984	Retirement

		Gujarat	INC	10/04/1972	9/4/1978	Retirement
23	Khan, Shri Ahmad Said	Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1954	2/4/1960	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1952	2/4/1954	Retirement
24	Khan, Shri Barkatullah	Rajasthan	INC	3/4/1954	2/4/1960	21/03/1957 Resignation
		Rajasthan	INC	3/4/1952	2/4/1954	Retirement
25	Khan, Shri F. M.	Karnataka	INC	3/4/1982	2/4/1988	Retirement
		Karnataka	INC	3/4/1976	2/4/1982	Retirement
26	Khan, Shri K. M.	Andhra Pradesh	INC	3/4/2000	2/4/2006	16/10/2003 Death
		Andhra Pradesh	INC	3/4/1994	2/4/2000	Retirement
27	Khan, Shri Khurshed Alam	Uttar Pradesh	INC	5/7/1980	4/7/1986	6/12/1984 Resignation
		National Capital Territory of Delhi	INC	16/04/1974	15/04/1980	Retirement
28	Khan, Shri Maqsood Ali	Karnataka	INC	10/04/1978	9/4/1984	Retirement
		Karnataka	INC	10/04/1972	9/4/1978	Retirement
29	Khan, Shri Pir Mohhmed	Jammu & Kashmir	J&KNC	3/4/1958	2/4/1964	Retirement
		Jammu & Kashmir	J&KNC	3/4/1952	2/4/1958	Retirement
30	Khan, Prof. Rasheeduddin	Nominated	NOM.	3/4/1976	2/4/1982	Retirement
		Nominated	NOM.	3/4/1970	2/4/1976	Retirement
31	Kidwai, Smt. Anis	Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1962	2/4/1968	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1956	2/4/1962	Retirement
32	Kidwai, Begum Saddiqa	Delhi	INC	3/4/1958	2/4/1964	3/6/1958 Death
		Delhi	INC	24/11/1956	2/41958	Retirement
33	Matto, Shri Ghulam Rasool	Jammu & Kashmir	O[NC (National Conference)]	3/4/1988	2/4/1994	Retirement
		Jammu & Kashmir	O	3/4/1982	2/4/1988	Retirement
34	Mazhar, Imam Syed	Bihar	INC	3/4/1956	2/4/1962	Retirement

		Bihar	INC	3/4/1952	2/4/1956	Retirement
35	Mirza Irshadbaig, Shri	Gujarat	INC	10/04/1984	9/4/1990	Retirement
		Gujarat	INC	21/03/1983	9/4/1984	Retirement
36	Mohammad Faruqi, Moulana	Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1954	2/4/1960	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1952	2/4/1954	Retirement
37	Mohideen, Shri S. A. Khwaja	Tamil Nadu	ML	3/4/1974	2/4/1980	Retirement
		Tamil Nadu	ML	3/4/1968	2/4/1974	Retirement
38	Nausher Ali, Syed	West Bengal	CPI	03/04/1962	02/04/1968	Retirement
		West Bengal	INC	03/04/1951	02/04/1968	Retirement
39	Obaidullah Sahib, Shri V. M.	Madras	INC	3/4/1956	2/4/1962	21/02/1958 Death
		Madras	INC	3/4/1952	2/4/1956	Retirement
40	Rafique Alam, Shri	Bihar	INC	3/4/1988	2/4/1994	Retirement
		Bihar	INC	3/4/1982	2/4/1988	Retirement
41	Rahman, Shri Mohd. Khalleelur	Andhra Pradesh	TDP	3/4/1988	2/4/1994	Retirement
		Andhra Pradesh	TDP	05/10/1987	2/4/1988	Retirement
42	Sadiq Ali, Shri	Rajasthan	INC	3/4/1964	2/4/1970	Retirement
		Rajasthan	INC	04/11/1958	2/4/1964	Retirement
43	Salim, Shri Md.	West Bengal	CPI(M)	3/4/1996	2/4/2002	25/05/2001 Resignation
		West Bengal	CPI(M)	3/4/1990	2/4/1996	Retirement
44	Samadani, Shri M. P. Abdussamad	Kerala	ML	2/7/2000	1/7/2006	Retirement
		Kerala	ML	2/7/1994	1/7/2000	Retirement
45	Sayeed, Shri Mufti Mohamad	Uttar Pradesh	JD	5/7/1992	4/7/1998	29/07/1996 Resignation
		Jammu & Kashmir	INC	22/10/1986	21/10/1992	28/07/1989 Disqualification
46	Shariq, Shri Sharief Ud-Din	Jammu & Kashmir	J&KNC	30/11/1996	29/11/2002	26/10/2002 Resignation
		Jammu & Kashmir	J&KNC	2/4/1980	10/11/1984	10/11/1984 Retirement

47	Sultan Maimoona, Smt.	Madhya Pradesh	INC	30/06/1980	29/06/1986	Retirement
		Madhya Pradesh	INC	3/4/1974	2/4/1980	Retirement
48	Syed Ahmad, Shri	Madhya Pradesh	INC	3/4/1968	2/4/1974	Retirement
		Madhya Pradesh	INC	3/4/1962	2/4/1968	Retirement
49	Taimur, Smt. Syeda Anwara	Assam	INC	3/4/2004	2/4/2010	Retirement
		Nominated	CONG(I)	25/11/1988	8/5/1990	Retirement
50	Tajamul Husain, Shri	Bihar	INC	3/4/1956	2/4/1962	Retirement
		Bihar	INC	3/4/1952	2/4/1956	Retirement
51	Tariq, Shri A. M.	Jammu & Kashmir	INC	4/5/1967	15/04/1968	15/04/1968 Retirement
		Jammu & Kashmir	INC	16/04/1962	4/3/1965	4/3/1965 Resignation
52	Tariq Anwar, Shri	Maharashtra	NCP	5/7/2010	4/7/2016	16/05/2014 Elected to Lok Sabha
		Maharashtra	NCP	5/7/2004	4/7/2010	Retirement
53	Tayyebulla, Maulana M.	Assam	INC	3/4/1958	2/4/1964	Retirement
		Assam	INC	3/4/1952	2/4/1958	Retirement
54	Valiulla, Shri Mohmad	Mysore	INC	03/04/1958	02/04/1964	Death on 17/12/1960
		Mysore	INC	03/04/1952	02/04/1958	Retirement
55	Zahidi, Shri Khan Ghufran	Uttar Pradesh	INC	5/7/1998	4/7/2004	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	30/11/1996	4/7/1998	Retirement
56	Zaidi, Col. Bashir Husain	Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1964	2/4/1970	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	11/12/1963	2/4/1964	Retirement
57	Zakir Husain, Dr.	Nominated	NOM.	3/4/1956	2/4/1962	6/7/1957 Resignation
		Nominated	NOM.	3/4/1952	2/4/1956	Retirement

Term wise former Muslim members – Three terms

S. No.	NAME OF MEMBER	STATE	PARTY	TERM		VACATION DATE/REASON
				From	To	
1	Abdul Shakoor, Maulana	Rajasthan	INC	3/4/1962	2/4/1968	Retirement
		Rajasthan	INC	3/4/1956	2/4/1962	Retirement
		Ajmer and Coorg	INC	3/4/1952	2/4/1954	Retirement
2	Arif, Shri Mohammed Usman	Rajasthan	INC	3/4/1982	2/4/1988	31/03/1985 Resignation
		Rajasthan	INC	3/4/1976	2/4/1982	Retirement
		Rajasthan	INC	3/4/1970	2/4/1976	Retirement
3	Azmi, Maulana Obaidullah Khan	Madhya Pradesh	INC	10/04/2002	09/04/2008	Retirement
		Jharkhand	JD	10/4/1996	9/4/2002	Retirement
		Utter pradesh	JD	3/4/1990	2/4/1996	Retirement
4	Baharul Islam, Shri	Assam	INC	15/06/1983	14/06/1989	Retirement
		Assam	INC	03/04/1968	02/04/1974	Retirement
		Assam	INC	03/04/1962	02/04/1968	Retirement
5	Chagla, Shri M. C.	Maharashtra	IND.	3/4/1966	2/4/1972	Retirement
		Maharashtra	INC	2/3/1964	2/4/1966	Retirement
		Maharashtra	INC	3/4/1962	2/4/1968	17/04/1962 Resignation
6	Khan, Shri Akbar Ali	Andhra Pradesh	INC	3/4/1966	2/4/1972	Retirement
		Andhra Pradesh	INC	3/4/1960	2/4/1966	Retirement
		Andhra Pradesh	INC	3/4/1954	2/4/1960	Retirement
7	Madni, Maulana Asad	Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1988	2/4/1994	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	5/7/1980	4/7/1986	Retirement

		Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1968	2/4/1974	Retirement
8	Masood, Shri Rasheed	Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/2012	2/4/2018	19/09/2013 Disqualification
		Uttar Pradesh	SP	5/7/2010	4/7/2016	9/3/2012 Resignation
		Uttar Pradesh	Lok Dal	5/7/1986	4/7/1992	27/11/1989 Elected to Lok Sabha
9	Mohammad, Choudhury A.	Bihar	O[CONG (O)]	3/4/1970	2/4/1976	7/2/1973 Death
		Bihar	INC	3/4/1964	2/4/1970	Retirement
		Bihar	INC	22/09/1961	2/4/1964	Retirement
10	Nurul Hasan, Prof. S.	Uttar Pradesh	INC	3/4/1972	2/4/1978	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	11/11/1971	2/4/1972	Retirement
		Nominated	NOM.	3/4/1968	2/4/1974	30/09/1971 Resignation
11	Razi, Shri Syed Sibtey	Uttar Pradesh	INC	05/07/1992	04/07/1998	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	06/12/1988	04/07/1992	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	05/07/1980	04/07/1986	14/05/1985 Resignation
12	Shervani, Shri Mustafa Rashid	Uttar Pradesh	O (Cong -U)	05/07/1980	04/07/1986	08/04/1981 Death
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	03/04/1966	02/04/1972	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	INC	03/04/1960	02/04/1966	Retirement
13	Soz, Prof. Saif-ud-Din	Jammu & Kashmir	INC	11/02/2009	10/02/2015	Retirement
		Jammu & Kashmir	INC	30/11/2002	29/11/2008	Retirement
		Jammu & Kashmir	J&KNC	26/11/1996	25/11/2002	10/3/1998 Elected to Lok Sabha

Term wise former Muslim members –Four terms

S. No.	NAME OF MEMBER	STATE	PARTY	TERM		VACATION DATE/REASON
				From	To	
1	Abid Ali, Shri	Maharashtra	O[CONG (O)]	3/4/1964	2/4/1970	Retirement
		Maharashtra	INC	3/4/1958	2/4/1964	Retirement
		Bombay	INC	3/4/1954	2/4/1958	Retirement
		Bombay	INC	3/4/1952	2/4/1954	Retirement
2	Ahmad, Dr. Z. A.	Uttar Pradesh	CPI	23/08/1990	2/4/1994	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	CPI	3/4/1972	2/4/1978	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	CPI	3/4/1966	2/4/1972	Retirement
		Uttar Pradesh	CPI	3/4/1958	2/4/1964	Resignation

Term wise former members –five terms

S. No.	NAME OF MEMBER	STATE	PARTY	TERM		VACATION DATE/REASON
1	Koya, Shri B. V. Abdulla	Kerala	ML	03/04/1992	02/04/1998	Retirement
		Kerala	ML	03/04/1986	02/04/1992	Retirement
		Kerala	ML	03/04/1980	02/04/1986	Retirement
		Kerala	ML	03/04/1974	02/04/1980	Retirement
		Kerala	ML	15/04/1967	14/04/1973	Retirement

Term wise sitting Muslim members –One term

S. No.	NAME OF MEMBER	STATE	PARTY	TERM	Reason & Vacation Date
1	Akbar, Shri M. J.	Jharkhand	BJP	03/07/2015 07/07/2016	Resigned on 17/06/2016. Re-elected from Madhya Pradesh on 30/06/2016
2	Akhtar, Shri Javed ⊗	Nominated	NOM.	22/03/2010 21/03/2016	Retirement
3	Ansari, Shri Salim ⊗	Uttar Pradesh	BSP	05/07/2010 04/07/2016	Retirement
4	Ashk Ali Tak, Shri ⊗	Rajasthan	INC	05/07/2010 04/07/2016	Retirement
5	Balyawi, Shri Gulam Rasool ⊗	Bihar	JD(U)	23/06/2014 07/07/2016	Retirement
6	Faruque, Smt. Naznin ⊗	Assam	INC	03/04/2010 02/04/2016	Retirement
7	Fayaz, Mir Mohammad	Jammu & Kashmir	J&K PDP	11/02/2015 10/02/2021	
8	Haque, Shri Md. Nadimul	West Bengal	AITC	03/04/2012 02/04/2018	
9	Hassan, Shri Ahamed	West Bengal	AITC	03/04/2014 02/04/2020	
10	Khan, Shri Javed Ali	Uttar Pradesh	SP	26/11/2014 25/11/2020	
11	Laway, Shri Nazir Ahmed	Jammu & Kashmir	J&K PDP	16/02/2015 15/02/2021	
12	Memon, Shri Majeed	Maharashtra	NCP	03/04/2014 02/04/2020	
13	Perween, Smt. Kahkashan	Bihar	JD(U)	10/04/2014 09/04/2020	
14	Salam, Haji Abdul ⊗⊗	Manipur	INC	10/04/2014 09/04/2020	
15	Saleem, Chaudhary Munvvar	Uttar Pradesh	SP	03/04/2012 02/04/2018	
16	Tazeen Fatma, Dr.	Uttar Pradesh	SP	26/11/2014 25/11/2020	

⊗ Since retired
⊗⊗ Passed away on 28 February 2017

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Term wise sitting Muslim members – Two terms

S. No.	NAME OF MEMBER	STATE	PARTY	TERM		Reason & Vacation Date
1	Abdul, Wahab Shri	Kerala	IUML	22/04/2015	21/04/2021	
		Kerala	ML	03/04/2004	02/04/2010	Retirement
2	Ali, Shri Munquad	Uttar Pradesh	BSP	03/04/2012	02/04/2018	
		Uttar Pradesh	BSP	03/04/2006	02/04/2012	Retirement
3	Ansari, Shri Ali Anwar	Bihar	JD(U)	03/04/2012	02/04/2018	
		Bihar	JD(U)	03/04/2006	02/04/2012	Retirement
4	Dalwai, Shri Husain	Maharashtra	INC	03/04/2014	02/04/2020	
		Maharashtra	INC	26/07/2011	02/04/2014	Retirement
5	Hashmi, Shri Parvez	National Capital Territory of Delhi	INC	28/01/2012	27/01/2018	
		National Capital Territory of Delhi	INC	04/08/2009	27/01/2012	Retirement
6	Khan, Shri Mohd. Ali	Andhra Pradesh	INC	10/04/2014	09/04/2020	
		Andhra Pradesh	INC	10/04/2008	09/04/2014	Retirement
7	Kidwai, Smt. Mohsina Ⓧ	Chhattisgarh	INC	30/06/2010	29/06/2016	
		Chhattisgarh	INC	30/06/2004	29/06/2010	Retirement
8	Naqvi, Shri Mukhtar Abbas	Uttar Pradesh	BJP	05/07/2010	04/07/2016	Resigned on 23/06/2016. Re-elected from Jharkhand on 08/07/2016
		Uttar Pradesh	BJP	26/11/2002	25/11/2008	Retirement

Ⓧ Since retired

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Term wise sitting Muslim members –Four terms

S. No.	NAME OF MEMBER	STATE	PARTY	TERM		Reason & Vacation Date
1	Khan, Shri K. Rahman	Karnataka	INC	03/04/2012	02/04/2018	
		Karnataka	INC	03/04/2006	02/04/2012	Retirement
		Karnataka	INC	03/04/2000	02/04/2006	Retirement
		Karnataka	CONG(I)	03/04/1994	02/04/2000	Retirement
2	Patel, Shri Ahmed	Gujarat	INC	19/08/2011	18/08/2017	
		Gujarat	INC	19/08/2005	18/08/2011	Retirement
		Gujarat	INC	19/08/1999	18/08/2005	Retirement
		Gujarat	CONG(I)	19/08/1993	18/08/1999	Retirement

Term wise sitting Muslim members –Five terms

S. No.	NAME OF MEMBER	STATE	PARTY	TERM		Reason & Vacation Date
1	Azad, Shri Ghulam Nabi	Jammu & Kashmir	INC	16/02/2015	15/02/2021	
		Jammu & Kashmir	INC	11/02/2009	10/02/2015	Retirement
		Jammu & Kashmir	INC	30/11/2002	29/04/2006	29/04/2006 Resignation
		Jammu & Kashmir	CONG(I)	30/11/1996	29/11/2002	Retirement
		Maharashtra	CONG(I)	03/04/1990	02/04/1996	Retirement

Term wise sitting Muslim members –Six terms

S. No.	NAME OF MEMBER	STATE	PARTY	TERM		Reason & Vacation Date
1	Heptulla, Dr. Najma A.	Madhya Pradesh	BJP	03/04/2012	02/04/2018	Resigned on 28/08/2016
		Rajasthan	BJP	05/07/2004	04/07/2010	Retirement
		Maharashtra	INC	05/07/1998	04/07/2004	10/06/2004 Resignation
		Maharashtra	CONG(I)	05/07/1992	04/07/1998	Retirement
		Maharashtra	CONG(I)	05/07/1986	04/07/1992	Retirement
		Maharashtra	CONG(I)	05/07/1980	04/07/1986	Retirement

Appendix 2: List of Muslim Deputy Chairmen of Rajya Sabha

S. No.	Name
1	Dr. Najma A.Heptulla (1985-1986)
2	Dr. Najma A.Heptulla (1988-1992)
3	Dr. Najma A.Heptulla (1992-1998)
4	Dr. Najma A.Heptulla (1998-2004)
5	Shri K. Rahman Khan (2004-2006)
6	Shri K. Rahman Khan (2006-2012)

Total number of Deputy Chairmen = 11 (in total 19 slots)

Muslim representation = 6 slots

Percentage = 31. 57%

Appendix 3 List of Muslim Vice- Presidents of India

S. No.	Name of the Vice Presidents
1	Dr. Zakir Husain (1962-1967)
2	Shri M Hidayatullah (1979-1984)
3	Shri Mohammad Hamid Ansari(2007-2012)
4	Shri Mohammad Hamid Ansari (2012-)

Total number of Vice Presidents = 12 (in total 14 slots)

Muslim Vice Presidents = 4

Percentage = 28. 57%

The Council of States

- The Council of States had, at its inception, a total of 216 members, of whom 12 were nominated by the President and the other 204 were representatives of the States.

- Of the 204 seats allotted to the States, only two have been allotted to groups of States—one to the group formed by Ajmer and Coorg and the other to the second group formed by Manipur and Tripura.

- All the representatives of the States, other than Jammu & Kashmir, Kutch and Tripura, were elected to the Council of States by the elected members of the respective Legislative Assemblies.

- The representatives of Kutch and Tripura, which have no Legislative Assemblies, were elected by electoral colleges specially constituted for the purpose by election on adult franchise.

- 345 candidates filed their nomination papers for election to the Council of States.

- The nomination papers of 6 candidates were rejected at scrutiny and 57 others withdrew from contest, leaving 282 candidates in the field.

- There was no contest in six States or group of States, and 9 members were returned uncontested therefrom, *viz.,* 4 from Saurashtra and one each from Ajmer, Bhopal, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh-Bilaspur and Kutch.

- The Commission held special demonstrations of the system for the benefit of the Returning Officers at New Delhi, Calcutta and Bombay.

- The Council of States is not subject to dissolution, and as nearly as possible one-third of its members retire on the expiration of every two years in accordance with the provisions of article 83 of the Constitution and section 154 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951.

- The term of office of the representatives from the Ajmer-Coorg group and the Tripura-Manipur group is two years. The resulting vacancies have been filled by representatives elected from Coorg and Manipur respectively.

- The terms of office of the members belonging to each all- India Party came to be determined as follows:—

S. No.	Name of the Party	Total number of members with a term of		
		6 years	4 years	2 years
1	Indian National Congress	48	52	46
2	Jan Sangh	. .	. .	1
3	Communist Party of India	4	1	5
4	Krishikar Lok Party	1	1	. .
5	Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party	1	. .	1

6	Socialist Party of India	1	2	4
7	Scheduled Castes Federation	. .	1	1
8	Forward Bloc (Marxist)	. .	1	. .
9	Hindu Mahasabha	. .	. .	1
10	Others	18	14	15

Appendix 5: Questions for interview

1. Muslim community is highly diversified in India. However, the declining number of Muslims in legislative bodies are often evoked to justify marginalization of the entire Muslim community (instead of communities!) in India. How do you look at the question of Muslim heterogeneity in relation to political representation? Do you think that Muslim interests can only be represented by Muslims?

2. The debate on the declining numbers of Muslim MPs is centered on the Lok Sabha, where members are directly elected by the electorates. However, the case of the Rajya Sabha is very different as the members are elected indirectly. Interestingly, the number of Muslim members in the House is impressive. For instance, there were 200 former Muslim members out of total 1906 MPs. This comes more than 10 ten percent (if we count the members with Muslim names term wise and add the nominated members as well). What would be your response to Muslim representation in the Lok Sabha as well as the Rajya Sabha?

3. In your view, how do political parties envisage Muslim representation in the Parliament, particularly in the Rajya Sabha, that is supposed to represent the interests of the States in the federal sense?

4. Do you think that political parties appoint Muslims for the Rajya Sabha simply to draw attention to their inclusive character?

5. Do you think that offering Rajya Sabha berths to Muslims has become an acceptable political *practice* that actually represents a specific form of political representation in the Indian context?

6. What is the role of the nominated members of the House? What is your response to the nomination of Muslim members by various political parties?

Appendix 6: List of Rajya Sabha MPs (Contacted; Interviewed and/or discussed the questionnaire)

1. Shri Shahid Siddiqui
2. Shri Mohammed Afzal *alias* Meem Afzal
3. Shri Ali Anwar Ansari
4. Shri Javed Akhtar (Contacted; questionnaire sent. no response)
5. Smt. Shabana Azmi (Contacted; questionnaire sent. no response)
6. Dr. Najma A. Heptulla (Contacted; questionnaire sent. no response)
7. Shri Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi (Contacted; questionnaire sent. no response)
8. Shri Ahmad Saeed Malihabadi (Contacted; questionnaire sent. no response)

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