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## PROGRESS OF EDUCATION AMONG THE MUSLIMS OF LAKSHADWEEP

L.R.S. LAKSHMI\*

### Abstract

The article focusses on the progress of education among the Muslim community of the Lakshadweep islands, which were once ruled by the Muslim royal family, the Arakkal Ali Rajas of Cannanore (Kannur). The British took over the administration of the islands in the 19th century. The island Muslims were initiated into traditional Koran instruction. From the 1870s, British administrators started opening at least one state school each in a few islands, but there were hardly any students and many a time, the state schools were closed. Efforts were again taken to reopen the state schools and appoint teachers but the attendance remained slim. It was only after we achieved independence from British rule in the 1950s, that some progress was made in the founding of government schools in the islands. The islands such as Agatti, Kavaratti, Kalpeni and Amini had government primary and higher secondary schools. The islands became a Union Territory in 1956 when the Amindivi islands were amalgamated with the Lakshadweep Islands, and in 1981, ninety-four per cent of these Muslims were categorised as Scheduled Tribes. Like the Kerala model, the islanders had achieved full literacy by the 20th century. The islanders, who are Shafi Muslims, have many similarities with the Mappilas of Kerala such as religious beliefs, social customs and language, and have close affinity with the mainland. The schools in the islands follow the Kerala pattern of textbooks and the islanders pursue higher studies in Kerala because of its geographical proximity.

**Keywords:** Lakshadweep, Muslims, education, progress, Kerala

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This article focuses on educational developments among the Muslim community of the Lakshadweep islands. Before we navigate to the core subject, it is important to introduce the reader to the geographical location and the historical background of the region.

Geographically, the Lakshadweep islands are situated about 200 miles west of Kozhikode (also known as Calicut) in Kerala. The group of islands consists of Agatti, Andrott, Kalpeni, Kavaratti and Minicoy. The northern group of the Lakshadweep islands, known as the Amindivi islands, comprised five islands, namely, Amindivi, Chetlat, Kadmat, Kiltan and Bitra, the last being uninhabited till as late as the 1920s.<sup>1</sup> As far as the ancient history of the region is concerned, the stone images of a Buddha head in Andrott belonging to the 8th and 9th centuries provide sufficient evidence of the presence of Buddhism in the islands. However, whether Buddhism travelled from Ceylon or from Kerala to the islands is not clear. According to tradition, the Hindus of Malabar went in search of the last Chera king, Cheruman Perumal, when he left for Mecca in the 9th century, but was shipwrecked on these islands.<sup>2</sup> As these islands were situated on the main Arab trade routes, the islanders seem to have embraced Islam under the influence of an Arab preacher, Ubaidulla (the disciple of the first Khalifa Abu Bakr) from Arabia, around the 13th or 14th century.<sup>3</sup> They adopted Islam under his influence and came to be known as the Mapillas. Similarity between the language and customs of the islands and the mainland show that these islands, except Minicoy, were originally colonised by the Hindus of Malabar.<sup>4</sup>

There was a significant connection between the islands and the arakkal (a family name) Ali Rajas of Kannur, the only Muslim royal family in Malabar. Originally Hindu Nayars, the ancestor of the family was Ariyan Kulangara Nayar, the hereditary minister of the Kolattiri Raja. Ariyan is said to have embraced Islam at the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th century. Ali Musa, fifth in the family line, conquered the Maldives for the Kolattiri king, and in the 16th century, the king granted him the Lakshadweep (corrupted as Laccadives by the British) islands as an estate in return for a payment of 18,000 *panams* (Malayalam [Mal.]: cash).<sup>5</sup> He was also granted Kannur and two small *desams* (Malayalam: sub-division of a revenue division) on the mainland. Thus the possessions of the arakkal family consisted of the territory on the Malabar coast and the Lakshadweep islands. They owned large ships that carried pepper, cardamom, coir and other spices to Surat and to distant Arab lands.<sup>6</sup> Owing to their Nayar descent, the family and its successors followed the

*marumakkathayam* (Malayalam: matrilineal) law of succession. The senior-most member of the family, male or female, succeeded as the royal head of the family. They called themselves the arakkal and their women were addressed as beebis. The royal family maintained cordial relations with the Ottoman empire, and the Khalifa in return acknowledged their traditional custom of matrilineal succession (Kurup, 1975: 94).

According to the provisional agreement of 1796 between the arakkal ruling family and the English East India Company, the family had to bear the administrative responsibility of the islands and carry on its trading monopoly for nearly 60 years for a fixed payment of tribute. But once the tribute fell in arrears, the colonial rulers followed a policy of sequestration. The cession of the islands was officially complete in 1905.

The whole of Minicoy island, which was the largest of the islands, was claimed by the as his own *janmam* (Malayalam: hereditary rights) property. The people of this island were probably of Singhalese origin,<sup>7</sup> and were mostly fishermen and sailors. They spoke a language called Mahl, which was the language of the Maldivian islands attached to the Ceylon government.<sup>8</sup> Minicoy came into the possession of the Ali Raja of Kannur later than the other islands, probably not until the mid-15th century, as a gift from the Sultan of Maldives.<sup>9</sup> The women in Minicoy appeared in public and also took part in public affairs. It is said that they were generally more educated than the ordinary Mappila males of the mainland.<sup>10</sup> The Amindivi islands also formed part of the territory of the ruling family for more than two centuries. During Tipu's conquest of Malabar, these islands were attached to Mysore in 1786. After his defeat at the hands of the British in 1799, South Kanara became British territory and the islands were attached to the district (Bhatt, 1998: 4).

Some authors who have written on Lakshadweep have even endorsed the British rhetoric that the Lakshadweep islanders were unhappy with the administration of the arakkal ruling family and hence the British government had to intervene. That was, however, only an excuse to get control over the islands. Kurup has clearly contended that the interests of the ruling family were suppressed by the imperial policy of expansion and exploitation (1975: 6). I would agree with him because the islands were a major target of British territorial expansion, and the alleged ill-treatment of the islanders by the family was only a lame excuse.

The islands became a Union Territory in 1956 when the Amindivi islands were amalgamated with the Lakshadweep islands, and in 1981, 94 percent of these Muslims were categorised as Scheduled Tribes. I would argue that this is an anomaly because they do not show any characteristics of a tribe and they can in no way be compared to any of the tribal communities in India. Tribes have their own distinctive religious practices such as worship of nature, fire, mountains and so on. The Muslims of Lakshadweep socially resemble the Malabar Mapilla Muslims, who are not classified as Scheduled Tribes. In that case, why the central government categorised them as Scheduled Tribes remains an unanswered question. Is it because they were isolated on an island as a different social group, or are they in any way similar to other tribal communities like the Gonds, the Bhils or the Nagas? Similarly, those Mappilas who were transported from Malabar to the Andaman islands by the British government after the Mappila rebellion of 1921, as a punishment or banishment, have also been categorised as Scheduled Tribes, which is again unjustifiable.

### **I. The Transformation of Education from the Colonial to the Post-Independence Period**

Education in the islands had taken a back seat for many centuries. Traditional mosque schools founded by the arakkal rulers did exist, where boys and girls were taught the Koran; there were mosque schools in Agatti where around 60 boys and girls from higher status families learnt the Koran. It was only in the late 19th century that the British government began to experiment with the idea of opening schools on the islands. In 1878, the then Inspecting Officer, Winterbotham, brought three teachers from Madras and started one school each in Kavaratti, Andrott and Agatti. Thirty Muslim boys were enrolled in the school in Agatti, of which only 11 appeared for the examinations in 1880 (Logan, 1951: cclxxvii). The school at Kavaratti was closed down in 1880 for lack of students and a school was opened in Kalpeni instead (ibid.: cclxxxix). Again, in 1884, the schools in Agatti and Andrott were shut down because of slim attendance.<sup>11</sup> Five years later, in 1889, the schools in Andrott, Kavaratti and Agatti were reopened and trained teachers from the mainland were appointed. In Kavaratti and Kalpeni, the local *gumasthas* (agents of the British administration) took on the role of teachers (ibid.).<sup>12</sup>

The progress in education was very slow in the islands. Out of 10,274 people, only 461 were literate in 1901, and of these, 51 were females.<sup>13</sup> Of the five islands attached to the Malabar district, including Minicoy, only two, namely, Andrott and Kalpeni, maintained a state school each. A school was also opened in Kavaratti in 1904, but in the other two islands, any attempts to start schools were unsuccessful. The schools at Andrott and Kalpeni were each under a trained Muhammadan teacher, and both were inspected and examined for grants. The grants amounted to ₹ 60 in Andrott and ₹ 86 in Kalpeni. The entire cost of education in these islands was met from the island's funds.<sup>14</sup>

The subjects taught in these schools were Malayalam and Arithmetic. However, there were only six students in the Kalpeni school. In Kavaratti, steps were taken to establish a school by appointing the island schoolmaster. The idea behind the appointment was that as his uncle was a *mukri* (Koran instructor) of one of the principal mosques, there was some prospect of getting some students from the mosque schools to join the state school. In Agatti, the new *amin* (judicial administrator) had been directed to persuade Muslim boys to join the state school, while in Andrott, there was a proposal to combine the mosque schools with the secular schools and to pay the schoolmaster a small monthly sum. Efforts were also made to hire a Muslim Malayalam teacher on a salary of ₹ 15 or ₹ 20 rupees.<sup>15</sup> A school was founded in Amini in 1904 and a Muhammadan teacher from Kasaragod was appointed.<sup>16</sup> In Kalpeni, a bright Mappila student named PudiyaIllam Koyakidavu Koya was given a monthly scholarship of ₹5 and sent to study in the Basel German Mission Primary School in Thalasseri in Malabar in 1905.<sup>17</sup> By the 1920s, government schools in the Amindivi islands of Kiltan, Kadmat and Chetlat were also established.

In 1945, Sixth Standard was introduced in the schools of Kalpeni, Andrott and Agatti, but they were all discontinued in 1951 due to lack of funds. A total of 353 students went to school in all these islands in 1951.<sup>18</sup> In 1956, when these islands became a Union Territory, 38 percent of school-going children attended nine primary schools and the teaching staff were untrained.<sup>19</sup> An Assistant Educational Officer was appointed in 1958 at Kavaratti, and by 1961, four primary schools were opened for girls with 1,299 students. The first high school was started in Amini in 1961, and nursery schools were opened in Kavaratti, Kalpeni, Andrott, Agatti, Amini and Minicoy by 1965.<sup>20</sup>

In Agatti, the Thanveerul Islam *madrassa* was the first religious school for the Mappila students which held classes up to the Fifth Standard. On its premises, the Government Junior Basic School (North) was constructed on rent in 1962 for classes up to Eighth Standard. For high school, the students had to sail to Amini island.<sup>21</sup> It was only in 1985/86 that a high school was established in Agatti. It is a mixed school for girls and boys and the medium of instruction is Malayalam.

In Kavaratti, the government school was founded in 1878 and was upgraded to an upper primary school only in 1958.<sup>22</sup> This school later became the Government Senior Basic School with classes up to the Eighth Standard. It is now called the Government Girls High School, the only girls' school in the island. The Government Senior Secondary School was established in 1962 in Kavaratti. Classes are taught from the Eighth to Twelfth Standard, and the medium of instruction is both English and Malayalam.

## II. Towards the 21st Century

There are no private schools in any of the islands. The number of boys and girls enrolled in 2016 in the Government Senior Secondary School, Kavaratti, were 433 and 146, respectively. There are a total of 19 teachers in this school on both permanent and contract basis. The languages taught here are Malayalam, English, Arabic and Hindi.<sup>23</sup> In the same year, about 500 girls were studying in the Government Girls High School in Kavaratti. The schools in the islands, except for the Kendriya Vidyalayas, follow the Kerala pattern of textbooks.<sup>24</sup> All the government schools in the islands are closed on Fridays for the *juma* prayers and are instead open till noon on Sundays. The students are exempt from wearing their regular school uniforms on Sundays.<sup>25</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru College was the first junior college founded in Kavaratti in 1972 which offered pre-degree courses. It also introduced a B.Ed programme for aspiring students and more women candidates enrol for this course. Ten years later, a second junior college, Mahatma Gandhi College, was started in Andrott.<sup>26</sup> There were 5,200 students, 232 teachers and 24 scholarship holders, that is, 11 for medicine, two each for agriculture and engineering, and others for post-matriculate courses (Mukundan, 1979: 163). In 1994, Jawaharlal Nehru College was shifted from Kavaratti to Kadmat. The Eleventh Standard under the Kerala State Board was introduced in both colleges in 2000.<sup>27</sup> The District Institute of Education and

Training (DIET) was established in Kavaratti in 2005, which provides a two-year teachers' training course.

Although the 2011 census shows that nearly 43 percent of the Muslim population in India is illiterate,<sup>28</sup> the situation is quite different in Lakshadweep. The islands have a tradition of a very high literacy rate. According to the 1981 census, it ranked fourth among all the states and Union Territories, and by 1991, it overtook Chandigarh to gain third rank after Kerala and Mizoram. It remained in the same position till 2001. Some of the island representatives claimed that most of the officially declared illiterates were in fact able to read and write Arabic or Mahl.<sup>29</sup> The gross enrolment ratio in schools was among the highest in the country and higher than the All India average. According to the 1991 census, the literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes of Lakshadweep at 80.58 percent stands second after Mizoram.<sup>30</sup> The island Muslims are in a neck-and-neck race with Kerala in literacy (see Table 1). The literacy levels among the islands were the highest in Minicoy and Kavaratti (see Table 2). According to the 2011 census, Kerala is the most literate state at 93.91 per cent, Lakshadweep ranking second at 92.28 per cent, and Mizoram holding third place at 91.58 per cent.<sup>31</sup> It is significant that Lakshadweep has beaten Mizoram this time and taken second position after Kerala in literacy.

**Table 1**  
**Literacy Rates in Lakshadweep and Kerala**

		1981			1991			2001	
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
<b>Lakshadweep</b>	81.24	55.32	68.42	90.18	72.89	81.78	93.15	81.56	87.52
<b>Kerala</b>	87.73	75.65	81.56	93.62	86.13	89.81	94.20	87.86	90.92

Source: *Lakshadweep Development Report, Planning Commission, GOI*. New Delhi: Academia Foundation, 2007. p.77.



**Table 2**  
**Island-wise Literacy Rates, 2001**

<b>Percentage of Literates to Total Population</b>	
<b>Kavaratti</b>	88.6
<b>Agatti</b>	86.8
<b>Andrott</b>	84.3
<b>Kalpeni</b>	84.4
<b>Minicoy</b>	93.0

*Source: Lakshadweep Development Report, Planning Commission, GOI. New Delhi: Academia Foundation, 2007. AnnexureA-22, p.156.*

The outstanding performance in science by the students of the islands has been widely recognised. Five young scientists from the Government Senior Secondary School, Kavaratti, were selected from the Union Territory in the National Children’s Science Congress held at Bengaluru in December 2014.<sup>32</sup> In the following year, National Science Day was celebrated in Kalpeni with the participation of students from all the schools in the island.<sup>33</sup> The overall performance of students is commendable and it is also noteworthy that most schools in the islands can boast of 100 percent results in the Board examinations.<sup>34</sup> In the District Institute of Education and Training in Kavaratti, there were 25 students enrolled for the B.Ed course in 2015 and 31 in 2016. There are more female students than males registered for the course.<sup>35</sup>

As there are no higher educational institutions in the islands, seats in professional colleges in Kerala and other mainland states have been reserved for them—they have reservation in state engineering colleges, regional engineering colleges, medical colleges and other degree colleges. Scholarships, reimbursement of tuition and hostel fees, and return fare once a year are provided to them. Kochi and Calicut, which are the immediate neighbours of the island, are the popular destinations for aspiring students.<sup>36</sup>

Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) conducted an admission camp in 2018 in the B.Ed college and the District Institute of Educational Training in Kavaratti. It offered free degree courses to the students of Lakshadweep which is a remarkable contribution.<sup>37</sup>In the same year, for the first time in the islands, the Department of Education introduced the Science and Mathematics Olympiad for school children in collaboration with the Science Olympiad Foundation (SOF), Haryana.<sup>38</sup> Every year in December, a Teacher Eligibility Test is conducted simultaneously in Kochi and Kavaratti for candidates interested in pursuing a teaching career in schools in Kerala and the islands.<sup>39</sup>

Lakshadweep also has to its credit many well-educated and talented professionals who have earned an excellent reputation in their professions. For example, B. Amanulla was the first District and Sessions Judge of Kavaratti District Court. A matriculate from Government High School, Amini, he is an alumnus of Malabar Christian College, Kozhikode; Victoria College, Palakkad; and Law College, Thiruvananthapuram. He initially practiced as a lawyer in Kerala before moving to Kavaratti.<sup>40</sup> Dr. K.K. Anwar Salih, Chief Medical Officer and Physician of Government Indira Gandhi Hospital, Kavaratti, was the first islander to become Member of the Royal College of Physicians in the United Kingdom. A native of Andrott, he received his MBBS degree from Kottayam Medical College.<sup>41</sup> In 2015, two teachers from Lakshadweep, Dr. M. Mullakoya, Principal, Jawaharlal Nehru Senior Secondary School, Kadmat, and V.Hussain, a primary school teacher in Minicoy, received the meritorious President's Award.<sup>42</sup> Shamina Begum, a native of Kadmat, received her doctorate from Pusa Indian Agricultural Institute, Delhi, in 2016. A graduate from Kasaragod Agricultural College and a postgraduate in agriculture from Thiruvananthapuram, she cleared the Government Agricultural Service Examinations and is currently a scientist in Kasaragod Agricultural Research Institute.<sup>43</sup>

The arakkal royal family also had some talented successors like Yusuf Arakkal, who was a versatile artist, painter and sculptor. His paintings showcased the secular aspects of humanity and he has won many awards. He was awarded the Lorenzo il Magnifico Silver Medal at the Florence International Biennale of Contemporary Art in 2003. He had wanted to exhibit his paintings on the Jesus series some day at the Vatican, but unfortunately his dream remained unfulfilled due to his sudden demise on 4 October 2016 (Doctor, 2016: 20).

Dr. S. Rahmat Beegum is the first woman gynaecologist and represents the first generation of educated people in the islands. That was the time when the *odam* (Malayalam: wooden boat) was the only mode of transport connecting the mainland. Dr. Beegum was the first college-going girl from the islands. She served as Director of the medical department for many years and won the Padma Shri Award for her services to the people of Lakshadweep. In her book, written in Malayalam, she has written about her education and also about the health department which now has a Helicopter Ambulance for patients.<sup>44</sup>

Another feather in the cap is Dr. Shahida K.P., who recently won the Gold Medal from MGR Medical University in Tamil Nadu for scoring the highest marks in Diploma in Otorhinolaryngology (ENT). Originally a native of Agatti, she studied there upto the Tenth Standard and completed her higher secondary at the Al Farook Higher Secondary School, Kozhikode. She pursued her MBBS and house surgency from the Government Medical College, Thrissur, and later did her postgraduation from the Government Medical College, Thanjavur, in Tamil Nadu.<sup>45</sup>

### III. Conclusion

Amartya Sen has argued that Bengali Muslims constitute 27.01 per cent of the population of West Bengal, but are poorer and more deprived in literacy, health, economic conditions and gender (Bagchi and Singh, 2016: 8). So is the case in Telangana: the four-member Enquiry Commission headed by G. Sudhir has argued that 85 per cent of the Muslims in the state are backward and that effective measures should be taken to improve their lives.<sup>46</sup> The panel report on the socio-economic and educational conditions of Muslims has recommended 9 to 12 percent reservation for the community in social and educational sectors. It has recommended the introduction of Urdu as the second official language in the state, filling the posts of Urdu language teachers, start-up funds for small traders among Muslims, scholarships for students, land distribution to landless Muslims in rural areas, new high schools and junior colleges for Muslim girls, and increasing the share of government posts for Muslim women.<sup>47</sup>

The Justice Sachar Committee Report published in 2006 has highlighted the backwardness of the Muslim community in education and livelihoods. The report records that good quality

government schools in Muslim areas are scarce, and that Muslims are poorly represented in government services and other employment avenues.<sup>48</sup>

How education from its humble beginnings in mosque schools to government schools reached its peak in Lakshadweep in the 21st century might not be general knowledge, but for a modern historian it is an important historical event. The islands being fully literate is a major achievement by the islanders in the Indian context. Belonging to a special category of Scheduled Tribes, they have been given full government support in their endeavours in education. The close affinity of the island Muslims with the Kerala Mapillas is reflected in their achievement of high literacy rates in the country. Whether it is correct to compare these island Muslims with the rest of India is a question because they are a particular seafaring community confined to the Lakshadweep islands where the sea is very rough and the weather conditions are unpredictable. Under hard living conditions where travelling to the other islands or to the mainland is conditioned by the rough seas, achieving full literacy is a remarkable historic achievement.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> *Census Report*, 1921. Village Statistics, South Kanara District. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The stone images of the Buddha head are preserved in the Government Golden Jubilee Museum, Agatti, which was established in the year 2000. I personally visited the museum in November 2016.

<sup>3</sup> *Census Report*. 1891. Vol.13.278.

<sup>4</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer*. 1908. Vol.16. 87.

<sup>5</sup> *Census Report*. 1891. Vol.13. 278.

<sup>6</sup> *Records of Fort St. George*. Letters from Tellicherry, 1736–7. Vol.5. Madras: Govt. Press. 1934.

<sup>7</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer*. 1908. Vol.9. 360.

<sup>8</sup> *Census Report*. 1921. 137.

<sup>9</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer*. 1908. Vol.9. 361.

<sup>10</sup> *Census Report*. 1891. Vol.13. 278.

<sup>11</sup> *Lakshadweep Vidyabhyasa Charithram*. 84.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>13</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer*. 1908. Vol.16. 88.

<sup>14</sup> *Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1904–5*. Madras: Govt. Press. 1905. 106.

<sup>15</sup> National Archives of India (NAI)/Foreign dept./Proceedings/Nos.80-83/September 1907. 80.

<sup>16</sup> *Lakshadweep Vidyabhyasam*. 84.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>20</sup> *Lakshadweep Vidyabhyasam*. 84.

<sup>21</sup> Interview with the Principal, Government Junior Basic School (North), Agatti. 12.11.16.

<sup>22</sup> *Lakshadweep Vidyabhyasam*. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Interview with the Principal, Government Senior Secondary School, Kavaratti, 14.11.2016.

- <sup>24</sup> ‘DRG training on revised textbooks of Kerala’, *The Lakshadweep Times*, 11.5.2015.2.
- <sup>25</sup> Information was provided by the teachers about the system when I visited the schools in Agatti on a Sunday.
- <sup>26</sup> *Lakshadweep Vidyabhyasam*.84.
- <sup>27</sup> *Lakshadweep Vidyabhyasam*. 84.
- <sup>28</sup> ‘Muslims least, Jains most literate: Census’, *The Hindu*, 1.9.2016.
- <sup>29</sup> Census,1991:77–78.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*:77.
- <sup>31</sup> ‘International Literacy Day 2016: All you need to know about India’s literacy rate’, *The Indian Express*, 8.9.2016.
- <sup>32</sup> ‘National Children’s Young Scientist of Lakshadweep’, *Lakshadweep Times*, 16.1.2015, 1.
- <sup>33</sup> ‘National Science Day Celebrated’, *Lakshadweep Times*, 17.3.2015.3
- <sup>34</sup> ‘Excellent performances of Kendriya Vidyalayas in Class XII CBSE exams’, *The Lakshadweep Times*, 27.5.2016. 2.
- <sup>35</sup> Interview with Principal, DIET, Ka varatti, 15.11. 2016.
- <sup>36</sup> *Lakshadweep Development Report*. 79.
- <sup>37</sup> ‘Ignou camp in Sangadipichu’, *Lakshadweep Times*, xxxiii, 26.3.2018. 6(Malayalam).
- <sup>38</sup> SOF is an educational organization popularising a academic competition for school children for over two decades.  
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- <sup>45</sup> ‘Dr. S hahida bagged Gold Medal in Otorhinolaryngology (ENT)’, *Lakshadweep Times*, 18.5.2020. 2.
- <sup>46</sup> Sudhir panel for 9–12 p.c. quota for Muslims’, *The Hindu*, 11.12.2016.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>48</sup> See Lakshmi, 2012. In the concluding chapter of this book, the educational levels of Muslim communities in different states have been discussed in length.

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