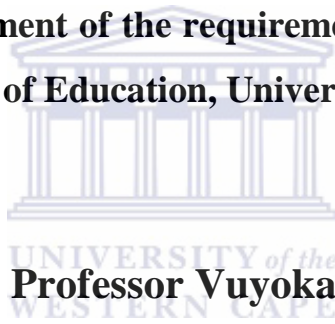**HERITAGE LANGUAGE & IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION:**

A Critical Ethnography of Kreol Morisien as an optional language in primary education within the Republic of Mauritius

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A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Education, University of the Western Cape

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ABSTRACT

In January 2012, the state of Mauritius introduced Kreol Morisien (Mauritian Creole) as an optional subject in primary schools. Kreol Morisien (referred to herein as KM) was offered on a par with other optional languages, officially named 'Asian / Arabic languages' but more commonly referred to in ethno-political discourses as 'ancestral languages'. This was a historical decision and a breakthrough in education. Over the years, official ancestral languages have accrued significance in terms of symbolic value. After independence, they benefited from State support and promotion on the grounds of preservation of cultural values. However, although KM is the main vernacular of the country and is widely used in classroom situations as a support language, it has always been considered with official disdain. The situation began to change in the late 1990s which witnessed the rise of Creole identity movements, culminating in 2010 with strong demands for KM in schools. This was a major issue in the 2010 General elections and the two main political blocs were obliged to include KM as an optional subject in their manifestoes. In a sense, the elected Alliance Parties once in power fulfilled their electoral promise by introducing KM. It is against this backdrop that the research was conducted.

This research is a critical ethnography of KM in primary schools. Its purpose is to explore the link between heritage language and identity construction. My central research question is: how does the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education shape Creole pupils' language identity construction in Mauritius? The research studied the overall impact of KM on two schools which I selected as research sites. Research participants were pupils of Standard I-II-III, head of schools, teachers and parents. I also selected some key informants.The study was placed within the international literature on heritage language and identity construction.

The research is significant in the sense that it was conducted at the initial stages of the introduction of KM in schools. It might be of interest for future studies as its findings would serve to understand the place of KM in schools. At the same time looking at KM as a heritage language set against the 'ancestral languages' has not been done before. It contributes to other ways of looking at 'heritage' in a global world.

I elaborated a conceptual framework based on classical Marxism, post-structural Marxism, French theories and post-colonial studies. I applied critically the theoretical lens in the Critical Theory Tradition which basically challenges the status quo. This study drew implications for language teaching policy and practice and the teaching of KM as a tool for empowerment and human agency. This research indicated the learners' views as to how their exposure to Kreol Morisien in the classroom shapes their ability to construct new, desired identities within local, national or global communities.

The research design was based on a critical ethnographic approach whereby the researcher and the participants find themselves in a reciprocal human experience. Research instruments that were used were ethnographic interviews, class observations, document analysis complemented by the Delphi Method which is a forecast study of future trends.

I got five findings. First, Creole consciousness movement underpinned the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education. Second, parents chose KM on a purely utilitarian basis. Third, the curriculum and syllabus do not reflect and support the Creole identity and culture. Fourth, there was an invisibility and ambiguity about Creole culture in the school textbook. Finally, the pedagogy used to teach KM as an optional language created motivation and self-esteem.

This study which was conducted during the first three years of the introduction of KM in two primary schools indicates that the presence of KM did not however, really enhance the identity of the Creole children as the curriculum, syllabus and textbook did not reflect and support the Creole culture and identity. KM was an additional language subject which certainly seduced by its novelty but it did not bring great changes as were expected. But KM does open avenues for adjustments and initiatives for an alternative programme in KM as heritage language and culture which could be implemented outside school. Such initiative would foster KM in its double identity of being both an ethnic and national language plus its future use as medium of instruction.

KEYWORD /PHRASES

Heritage language

Identity

Ethnicity

Politics of language

Language identity construction

Creole identity movement

Kreol Morisien

Kreol Morisien as an optional language

Primary Creole school children

Critical ethnography

Republic of Mauritius

Declaration

I declare that

Heritage language and Identity construction: A critical ethnography of Kreol Morisien as an optional language in primary education within the Republic of Mauritius

is my own work, that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references, and that this work has not been submitted previously in its entirety, or in any part, at any other higher education institution for degree purposes.

....

JIMMY DESIRE HARMON   NOVEMBER 2014

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to:

My mother Yvette, who instilled in me the sense of justice

My father Claude, who made me grow up in integrity and authenticity

My wife Nathalie, who stood by my side unflinchingly

My eldest son Adrien, who gave me the first sense of fatherhood

My daughter Noëmi, who taught me the strength and fragile nature of life

My youngest son Jeremie, who showered me with innocence, spontaneity and ingeniosity

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADEA: Association for the Development of Education in Africa

APRM: Africa Peer Review Mechanism

BEC: Bureau de l'Education Catholique

C.P.E: Certificate of Primary Education

GP-General Purpose Teacher

HL: Heritage Language

ICJM: Institut Cardinal Jean Margeot

KM: Kreol Morisien

MOEHR: Ministry of Education and Human Resources

NHRC: National Human Rights Commission

OED: Oxford English Dictionary

OLs/ ALs: Oriental Languages / Asian Languages

SJ School: Saint John School

SM School: Saint Mathew School

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER 1

SETTING THE SCENE FOR THE RESEARCH

Heritage Language Identity Construction in the Republic of Mauritius

1.1. INTRODUCTION

In January 2012, the State of Mauritius implemented the historical decision to offer Kreol Morisien (KM) as an optional language subject in all primary schools within the Republic of Mauritius. This study is a critical ethnography into KM located in heritage language studies. Fieldwork on KM as an optional language was conducted from 2010 to 2014. The purpose of this chapter is to set the scene for the research that was conducted on KM as language of identity construction for Creole pupils in primary education within the Republic of Mauritius and more precisely, on mainland Mauritius. The chapter contains three main sections, namely a first section which provides the key features of contemporary Mauritius. This section tries to provide an understanding of the contemporary language identity construction issue in education within the broader socio-historical evolution of the macro-structure and macro politics of Mauritius. The second section gives the main features of the research comprising my main research question, the researched aims and objectives, assumptions and research questions, significance of the study, methodology, scope and limitations and my own position as a researcher in this study. Finally, I give an outline of the eight chapters of this thesis.

1.2. CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND

1.2.1. Geography, History, Political system and Economy

The Republic of Mauritius lies in the southwest of the Indian Ocean. It comprises the main island, Mauritius and its inhabited dependents, namely Rodrigues, Agalega and St Brandon as well as a number of outlaying smaller islands (see Fig.1 below). Mauritius, belongs to a group of islands called the Mascarenes, is of volcanic origin. With a total land area of 2,040(sq meters), the population density of the Republic increased from 578 to 604 persons per (sq m^2) during the

period 2000-2011. This high density brought Mauritius among the 10 most densely populated countries worldwide (Statistics Mauritius, 2011).

Figure 1. Map of Mauritius (www.gov.mu)

Mauritius forms part of the small island developing states which are recognised today as a distinct group of developing countries facing specific social, economic and environmental vulnerabilities (UN-OHRLLS website). In the nineteenth century, the islands became of particular interest to scientists, with the development of natural sciences especially in the field of studies of the evolution of species (Mc Cusker & Soares, 2011). Darwin's visits on Galapagos Islands including Mauritius in 1838 led him to write on the evolution of species (Darwin, 1909). The theory of island biogeography describes islands as unique, isolated and their evolutionary processes work at different rates (Arthur & Wilson, 2001). They are also natural experiments since they have not been protected from damage and extinction through human activities. For scientists, islands are, therefore, natural laboratories, and for social sciences they are usually anthropological sites for research.

The definition of islands as remoteness might not be applicable to Mauritius, even if it was a desert island. This is so because as soon as Mauritius was discovered by the Arabs and Phoenicians and named Cirne Island in the 16th century (Selvon, 2005), it fell prey to the Dutch, French and British colonisers. In the 18th century, Mauritius became the '*Stella clavisque Maris Indici mari*' (Selvon, 2005), meaning the 'Star and Key of the Indian Ocean' because of its geographical position as a stopover for vessels after long months at sea. This means that Mauritius has been a place of intense commercial activity since its discovery and it lured colonizers because access to its trade route via the Cape of Good Hope ensured security and sustainability of commercial activities. The description of the island by Mark Twain as 'Mauritius' was made first and then heaven and heaven was copied after Mauritius during his travel has become legendary.

Mc Cusker and Soares (2011) explain that 'for at least the past thirty years, scholars, creative writers and others have rethought islands with regard to their locations, their characteristics, their inhabitants and their cultures' (p.30). According to them, this is due to two related factors. First, it is the influence of poststructuralism, including the writings of Michel Foucault which brought new perspectives on construction of knowledge in society with the use of the two interrelated concepts of 'genealogy' and 'archeology of knowledge'. Second, it is about conscious efforts to re-assess and reimagine islands in such geographical areas like Mediterranean, Caribbean, Indonesian and Pacific. Thomas More's *Utopia*, William Shakespeare's *Tempest* and John Donne's "Meditation 17" are referred to for the conceptual origins of the characteristics of islands. Thus, Donne's famous quote "No man is an island, entire of itself" but instead "a piece of the continent, a part of the main". McCusker and Soares' (2011) remark that the sea is implicit in Donne's formulation translates the idea of separateness and isolation. Two Mauritian writers namely Robert Edward Hart (1891-1954) and Malcolm de Chazal (1902-1981) developed the myth of the Lemuria[1] to give a prehistoric primordial age to Mauritius. In *Petrusmok* (the title of a book) meaning rock (Petrus), and Moka (*mok*), a mountain range of Mauritius, Chazal (1951)

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[1] Lemuria is the name of a hypothetical 'lost land' located in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Presented as scientific theory in the 19th century, it was later rejected with modern theories of plate tectonics.

states that the mountains have an anthropomorphist meaning as their shapes reveal that they were carved by giants, superhuman beings who were the inhabitants of Petrusmok.

The Petruskmokians were, therefore, idolators as they carved human faces on the mountains and went against the teaching of the Bible. The Lemuria myth can be interpreted as the first foundation myth given to Mauritius by the early intellectuals. A foundation myth purports to describe the origin of some features of the natural world or social world. It explains the creation of the world (cosmogony myth) or existence (ontological myth). For Eliade (1963) myth narrates a sacred story in the holy times of the beginning (*illo tempore*) and it is a true story which reveals the desire of human beings to give meaning to their life.

From my point of view, the Mauritian society is confronted with three foundation myths which I decipher in three narratives. First, the Indian indentured labour narrative which narrates the tribulations of the indentured labour. This narrative has been dominant after independence and especially as from 1983, following the dashed hope of national unity in 1982[2]. Second, the 'Father of the Nation' narrative was epitomized by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, first prime minister at the independence of Mauritius and who is presented in Indo-Mauritian historiography as a freedom fighter (Varma, 2008; Mulloo, 1982) but who is considered by critical historians (Chan Low., 2003) as somebody who had political acumen and was not a threat to British post-independence interests in the region. Third, the maroon narrative which narrates the resistance and resilience of the slave maroons presented them as guerrilla warriors for freedom in the 1990s. KM as founding language of the Mauritian nation came as an embedded narrative in this Kreol (Nagapen, 1999) meta-narrative from 2000 to 2012. In this regard, the term 'archipelago Kreol Republic' was used to refer to Mauritius and its dependencies Rodrigues, Agalega and the

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[2] The General Elections results of 12 June 1982 led to a landslide victory of the socialist MMM-PSM Alliance Party over the Labour Party with a score of 60-0 seats for the National Assembly. The MMM-PSM created a national momentum with its electoral campaign motto 'One People One Nation' (Enn Sel Lepep Enn Sel Nation'). This period is considered as the unique expression of popular mobilization for national unity in the history of contemporary Mauritius. The MMM-PSM government lasted only for nine months after the resignation of its Finance Minister Paul Berenger (leader of the MMM) and a split within the MMM with some Ministers crossing the floor with the other party. A new party (MSM- Mouvement Socialiste Militant) was then created by Sir Anerood Jugnauth, Prime Minister and formed a new cabinet. In 1983 by-elections were held and they were experienced as the worst communalist election since the General Elections of 1967.

Chagos with KM in an intellectual effort to conceptualise the meta-kreol narrative (Harmon, 2008). I consider these three narratives as conflicting foundation myths because they compete for symbolic power relations. McCusker and Soares (2011) consider that the term 'island' is deeply embedded in unequal geopolitical power relations. This observation is applicable to Mauritius but its role in regional politics and its economic positioning in international trade as a gateway to China, India and Africa strengthen its bargaining power coupled with internal political stability.

In terms of the historical settlement, Maurituis has been populated as a result of three major periods of settlement: Dutch settlement (1638-1658; 1664-1710), French Colonisation (1710-1810) and British Colonisation (1810-1968). The country gained independence from the United Kingdom in 1968 and became a Republic in 1992. It is a member of both the Commonwealth and the Francophonee. It has a written constitution which guarantees 'freedom of conscience, expression of assembly and association and freedom to establish schools' (The Constitution, 1968: para.3a). The Westminster system was introduced in July 1957 (Selvon, 2005). The Westminster[3] system is a democratic parliamentary system of government modelled after the politics of the United Kingdom. This system has the following characteristics: a sovereign head of state and or government (Prime Minister) who is the nominal or theoretical holder of executive powers, an executive branch represented by the government cabinet comprising appointed Ministers from the elected party or alliance which has the majority number of seats and an elected legislature with an opposition in a multi-party system. As per the Westminster, general elections are held in Mauritius every five years based on universal suffrage. The Parliament (known as National Assembly) consists of 70 members: 60 elected members, 8 Best Losers (representing the minorities) and 2 elected members for Rodrigues Island. The Prime Minister is head of government who is currently Honourable Dr Navinchandra (also called Navin) Ramgoolam, leader of the Mauritius Labour Party. His party won elections in May 2010 in an alliance with two other parties namely the Parti Mauricien Social Democrate (PMSD) and the Mouvement Socialiste Militant (MSM). The next elections are scheduled for 2015.

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[3] The term comes from the Westminster Palace, the seat of Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Since 1968, it can be said that the political leaders have successfully put Mauritius on track for economic and social progress. Mauritius has a Welfare State system with provision of free health and education services which have ensured the enjoyment of a relatively good standard of living by the population. Unity in diversity is a regular national discourse across political parties. Poverty alleviation policies have also been a constant feature in line with economic development. All these policies create a relatively political climate for economic growth. According to Zafar (2011), in spite of its small economic size, low endowment of natural resources and remoteness from world markets, Mauritius has transformed itself from a poor sugar economy into one of the most successful economies in Africa in recent decades through reliance on trade related development. Traditional engines of growth in Mauritius have been sugar, textiles and tourism. More recently, Mauritius has diversified into financial services and information and computer technologies (ICT). The World Economic Forum's global competitiveness index ranked Mauritius at 45 out of 148 countries in 2013-2014, ahead of all African countries. Mauritius topped the 2012 Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance. It had an estimated GDP of US$11.5 billion in 2012 and is considered to be an upper middle income country with a gross national income (GNI) per capita at US$8,570 (World Bank Report, 2013). The country ranks 65th in the world and second in Africa (after the Seychelles) on the 2005 Human Development Index. The poverty rate is estimated at 8.7% which is low compared to Sub-Saharan Africa.

However, despite its small size, regional variations in poverty exist in Mauritius, with incidence of relative poverty higher in urban areas (Statistics Mauritius, 2011) and the trend towards pauperization of the middle class (MID Working Group Equity, 2011). In 2013, the government has embarked on the development and expansion of maritime resources as a new pillar of the economy known as the 'Ocean Economy'. In fact, Mauritius manages a maritime zone of 2.3 million km2 (Prime Minister's Office, 2013:6). The remarkable performance of the economy is attributed to sound economic governance, accelerated reforms to sustain long-term growth and effective State-business relations. These factors together with timely and targeted responses helped Mauritius to weather the negative effects of the global crisis (World Bank Report, 2013). Despite this general positive outlook, unemployment rate is estimated at 8.7% and about 37% of

the unemployed are aged below 25 years (Statistics Mauritius, 2013). Apart from free health services and other social services which represent the main features of a Welfare State policy established in 1968 after independence, the government invests massively in education to combat poverty. Mauritius is grappling with its fight against poverty (14th Report of the National Economic and Social Council, 2010) which affects mainly people of the Creole ethnic group (UN Committee on Economic and Social Rights Report, 2010). This group which will be central to the object of my study represents the biggest minority group (27% of the total population). But ethnic politics is a major feature of postcolonial Mauritius and it is intermingled with language and identity.

1.2.2. Ethnicity and Languages

The resident population of the Republic of Mauritius enumerated at the 2011 Population Census was 1,233,000 of whom 1,192,300 lived in the island of Mauritius, 40,400 in Rodrigues and 300 in Agalega (Statistics Mauritius, 2011). The First Schedule to the Constitution (1968) establishes a four-fold categorization of the Mauritian population: Hindu, Muslim, Sino-Mauritian, and General Population. Those in this list are classified under the three communities[4]. The General Population is a residual category under which is lumped the Creoles who may be of African origin or mixed blood and the Whites or Franco-Mauritians. From 2006 to 2010, the short-lived Federation des Creoles Mauriciens (FCM) which emerged as a strong Kreol identity movement made a request for change of appellation of the 'General Population' into Creole. This would normally need that the Constitution be amended. The request was received by both the ruling political leaders and the Opposition leaders with sympathy but no genuine step was taken to amend the Constitution. This may be due to the fact that 'Hindu' categorization has also from time to time been contested by the Marathi, Telegu and Tamil speaking groups who want a separate classification to affirm their distinct identity against the Hindi speaking dominant group.

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[4] Paragraph 3 (4) of the First Schedule to the Constitution reads as follows: "For the purposes of this Schedule, the population of Mauritius shall be regarded as including a Hindu community, a Muslim community and Sino-Mauritian community; and every person who does not appear, from his way of life, to belong to one or other of those 3 communities shall be regarded as belonging to the General Population, which shall itself be regarded as a fourth community." (Constitution of the Republic of Mauritius, 1968)

So, entertaining the request of the FCM would imply changing also the Hindu appellation and this could lead then to a weakening of the Hindi speaking group. This local situation of intra and inter group ethnic rivalry is called communalism. The latter term is used especially in India to qualify allegiance to one's ethnic belonging instead of the larger group (Simeon, 2012; Malik, 2003). Communalism usually prevails when people care only for their narrowly concerned interests through the means of their religious faiths, old customs and conservative practices (Kumar, 2012). Just as in India, communalism in the Mauritian context is 'the collective antagonism organized around religious, linguistic and or ethnic identities' (Ludden, 1996: 50). In 1982, following a landslide victory against the Labour Party (which ruled the country after independence from 1968 to 1982), the freshly elected political alliance of the Mouvement Militant Mauricien (MMM) and the Parti Socialist Militant (PSM) parties abolished all references to ethnic belonging in the national census survey exercise in a bid to combat communalism.

Subsequent to a Constitutional amendment in 1982, there is no need now for Mauritians to reveal their ethnic identities for the purpose of population censuses. Since 1972, there is thus no official publication of the ethnic make-up of the population (Sithanen, 2008). In fact, while the abolition of references to ethnic belonging in national census in 1982 is often presented by local politicians as a step forward in terms of national unity, I would tend to disagree with this decision. I think it is a decision which has been taken in a euphoric context of national unity but which proves nowadays to be an unwise decision as it has deprived the country of disaggregated data and more so, when ethnic politics is practised by all political parties and remains prevalent in several spheres, including language policies. For instance, ethnicity is part of the electoral system through the Best Loser System which guarantees the representation of minorities with the allocation of 8 seats on ethnic ground at the National Assembly. In order to get an indication of the number of people per ethnic composition, we can refer to the population figures of 1972 and the data on religious belonging which is collected every ten years in population censuses. Normally religious belonging in Mauritius is equivalent to ethnic belonging. This means that those who declare themselves 'Hindus' in the census are generally people of the Indo-Mauritian community and 'Catholics' are Creoles and Chinese. Consequently, the Republic of Mauritius

comprises 51% of people of Indian origin. The biggest minority is the Creoles (27%), followed by the Muslims (17%), Chinese (3%) and the Whites (2%). The variety of ethnic origins, coupled with the Franco-British historical background gives rise to a complex language situation as shown in Table 1 hereunder.

Languages usually spoken at Home	Both sexes	Male	Female	Total %
Creole	1,069, 874	530, 595	539, 279	86.5%
Bhojpuri	65, 289	29, 959	35, 330	5.3%
French	51, 214	24, 395	26, 819	4.1%
English	5, 573	2,803	2, 270	0.4%
TOTAL	1, 200,640	58.752	603, 698	97%

Table1. Resident Population by language usually spoken at home and sex

(Statistics Mauritius, 2011)

Table 1 gives an estimate of the main home languages in Mauritius. I have added English because of its official status. It is clear that the Kreol language is the dominant home language. The Statistics Mauritius Report (2011) remarks that 'out of every 10 Mauritians, 8 reported that they spoke only "Creole" at home in 2011 as compared to 7 in 2000'. The report also observes that Bhojpuri which was spoken by 12% of the population in 2000 was spoken by only 5% in 2011. Hookomsingh (2012), in his analysis of the census over each decade, shows that Kreol language stood at 52% in 1972, then it slowly increased to 54% in 1983 and kept an accelerating pace of 60% in 1990 until it reached more than 80% in 2011. For Hookoomsingh, who is a linguist, former Vice Chancellor of the University of Mauritius and also the Chairperson of the Akademi KM[5] these figures confirm that Kreol language has indisputably become the 'L1 of the Republic' and concomitantly the mother-tongue or home language of Mauritians (Hookoomsingh, 2012: 12). In the case of English which is the official medium of instruction in education, it is the home language of only 0.4% of speakers. This shows the linguistic divide

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[5] Akademi Kreol Morisien is a High Powered Committee which was set up in 2011 and it worked on the modalities for the introduction of Kreol Morisien as an optional language in primary school.

between school and the home languages which are mainly Kreol (86.5%) and Bhojpuri (5.3%). Given that my study is located in heritage language (HL), it is important to consider data on ancestral languages.

Prior to 1983, Kreol and Bhojpuri were not placed in the category of 'language spoken by forefathers'. But since 1983, the survey questionnaire states 'For census purposes, consider Kreol and Bhojpuri as languages' (Population Census Questionnaire, 2011: 193). This is because these languages have for long been considered as dialects or patois. We can note since then there has been a significant number of people who declare Kreol and Bhojpuri as their ancestral languages. Table 2 shows ancestral languages spoken by forefathers.

Language of forefathers[6]	Both sexes	Male	Female	Total %
Creole	500, 699	247, 563	253, 136	40.5%
Bhojpuri	238, 451	116, 391	122, 060	19.3%
Creole-Bhojpuri	228, 729	112, 901	115, 828	18.5%
Hindi	13, 256	8, 467	4, 789	1.07%
Urdu	7, 253	3, 613	3, 640	0.59%
Tamil	19, 166	9, 269	9, 897	1.55%
Marathi	7, 310	3, 546	3, 764	0.59%
Mandarin	1, 046	344	702	0.08%
Telegu	8, 584	4, 195	4, 389	0.69%
TOTAL	**1, 024, 494**	**506, 289**	**518, 205**	**82.8%**

Table 2. Language of forefathers (Statistics Mauritius, 2011)

For the 2011 census, 40.5 % of the population declared that Kreol is their ancestral language and 19.3% said that it was Bhojpuri. In his analysis of the census 2011, Hookoomsingh (2012) observes that nearly all the traditional ancestral languages (for example, Hindi, Urdu or Tamil)

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[6] The term 'language of forefathers' is used officially in the census record. In the context of my research I use instead 'language of ancestors'.

valued for their symbolic and identity-marker functions are losing ground. He concludes his analysis:

> The transformation of Kreol into Morisien is gradually making this language become the main ancestral language of all Mauritians. And this makes null and void the concept of ancestral language. It is time to start thinking about and draw the necessary conclusions (p.12).[7]

The census figures obviously show that KM is 'the main ancestral language of all Mauritians'. They show also that KM ranks first as both 'home language' and 'language spoken by forefathers'. However, censuses, although generally conducted with a robust methodology, should be taken with a grain of salt. They not only reflect reality but they are also social constructs. Kertzer and Arel (2004) make the following observation about censuses:

> Censuses are, after all, generally viewed as matters of bureaucratic routine, somewhat unpleasant necessities of the modern age, a kind of national accounting. Yet it is our argument that the census does much more than simply reflect social reality; rather, it plays a key role in the construction of that reality. […] collective identities are molded through censuses. (p.2)

In light of the above comment, I am of the opinion that the 2011 census figures for the Republic Mauritius reflect a 'social reality' in the making. They show that Mauritians are gradually identifying themselves with KM by claiming that Kreol is the language of the ancestors. Hookoomsingh (2012) is right to invite us to call into question the established 'concept of ancestral language' which has until now been associated with the restricted term 'Asian/Oriental languages' and connected with India. For Eisenlhor (2004) 'ancestral languages' function as 'emblems of ethno-national group identification' (p.70) and their promotion by a Hindu-dominated State is to maintain 'a pure Hindu identity' (p.80). Based on the census figures, Hookoomsingh (2012) pleads that 'time is to start to think about and draw conclusions'. But I

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[7] Original version: « La mutation du kreol en morisien est en passe de faire de cette langue progressivement la principale langue ancestrale des Mauriciens. Et de rendre caduc et obsolète le concept même de langue ancestrale. Il est temps de commencer à y réfléchir et à en tirer les conclusions qui s'imposent » (Hookoomsingh, 2012, October, 24. *Le mauricien*. p.12).

am not so sure that people in reality recognise KM as both home language and ancestral language although the interpretation of the censuses seemingly reveals this recognition. But, I would not trust blindly these statistics because my observations of people's behaviour and from an insider's view ethnic politics overrules all other considerations in day to day life. Kertzer and Arel (2004) point out the limits of censuses by stating that 'rather than view social links as complex and social groupings situational, the view promoted by the census is one in which populations are divided into neat categories' (p.6). I make a distinction between the time that the census exercise is conducted and the reality of daily life. In the realm of multi-ethnic Mauritius and the reality of 'social groupings' marked by communalism, KM is not the ancestral language of Mauritians because the 'ancestral' terminology is still associated with Asian or Oriental languages in common parlance and ethnic politics discourse. This is what my research work is all about. It looks at KM as a potential heritage language in primary schools, following its introduction as an optional subject at par with other ancestral languages. In fact, a close analysis of the Mauritian education system and the place of languages in primary education reveal another dimension of the complexity which the census makes abstraction of.

1.2.3. The Education System

Mauritius has a 6+5+2 education structure, i.e. six years of compulsory primary schooling from Standard I to Standard VI, leading to the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE). This is followed by five years of secondary education from Form I to Form V, leading to the Cambridge School Certificate and two years, ending with the Higher School Certificate (HSC). Education is free at primary and secondary as well as provision of school textbooks. Since 2005, a free transport system has been introduced by government for students at all levels (primary, secondary and tertiary). Table 3 hereunder provides the latest education statistics (Statistics Mauritius 2013) in the Republic of Mauritius (Mauritius plus Rodrigues and Agalega islands) for the pre-primary, primary and secondary sectors with data related to the number of pupils, schools and the total government expenditure on education.

LEVELS	NUMBER OF PUPILS			SCHOOLS	GOVT. EXPENDITURE
	Boys	Girls	Total		

				(MUR Million)
PRE-PRIMARY	15,902	15, 517	31, 419	978	
PRIMARY	55, 515	53, 137	108, 853	320	13, 583.5
SECONDARY	54, 391	59, 481	113, 872	176	

Table3. Education Statistics 2013 (Statistics Mauritius, 2013)

Pre-primary education is provided by private schools and is fee paying. Government lends support to the sector through grants, soft-loans, teacher training and makes available buildings for the holding of classes. The Gross enrolment ratio (pre-primary enrolment as a percentage of the population aged 4 and 6 years) works out to 98% in 2013 against 101% in 2012 (Statistics Mauritius, 2013).

Primary education was made free and compulsory in 1944 and 1993 respectively. There are 230 primary schools out of which 51 are run by the Roman Catholic Education Authority (RCEA) which is the major educational partner of the government at national level. Gross enrolment ratio (primary enrolment as a percentage of the population aged 6 to 12) works out to 98% against 99% in 2012 (Statistics Mauritius, 2013). This decline at both pre-primary and primary might be explained by a fall in child population while elderly population increases dramatically over the period 2000 to 2010. According to the population census report (2011: 5) the child population under 15 years went down from 25% to 20%. The elderly population aged 60 years and above increased from 9% to 13%.

The main problems in the primary sector are the competitiveness of the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) which is the end of year examination at completion of primary education, the relatively high failure at the CPE examination, inadequate attention to non-examinable subjects leading to a highly academic, rote learning and exam oriented system and abuse of private tuition (Parsuramen, 2001; EHR Strategy Plan, 2008-2020: 37).

Secondary education has been free since 1976 and was made compulsory in 2004. There are 176 schools out which 68 are state administered while the remaining 108 are private aided (funded by government) and non-aided schools which are fully fee paying. Gross enrolment ratio

(secondary enrolment as a percentage of the population aged 12 to 19 years) stands at 71% as in 2012 (Statistics Mauritius, 2013).

Total government expenditure for the year 2013 was estimated at MUR (Mauritian Rupees) 104, 784.6 million out of which MUR 13, 583.5 (13%) has been allocated to education and training. According to Statistics Mauritius (2013), 51% is allocated to secondary education, 27% to primary, 5% to tertiary, 3% to technical and vocational, 2 % to pre-primary and the remaining 12% to other expenses (Statistics Mauritius, 2013.). One recent trend to be noted is the booming sector of tertiary education. In 2010, a Ministry of Tertiary Education, Science, Research and Technology was set up with a view to give new impetus to higher education. It envisions transforming Mauritius into a Regional Centre for Excellence in higher education and creating a knowledge hub in the island. Its main objective is to transform the tertiary gross enrolment rate from 45% as at 2009 to 75 % in 2015 and achieve one graduate per family. It also aims at attracting 100 000 foreign students by the year 2020 (PRB Report, 2013; Jeetah, 2012). In the next section, I turn to an analysis of the ethnic composition of Mauritius and the different languages spoken.

1.2.4. Languages at school

Table 4 shows the different languages and their status in primary education.

LANGUAGES	STATUS			
	SUBJECT	*MEDIUM*	*SUPPORT*	*OPTIONAL*
English	+	+		
French	+		+	
Oriental / Arabic / Bhojpuri				+
Kreol Morisien	+		+	+

Table 4.Languages at school

I limit my analysis to the primary sector as KM is the focus of my study. English is studied as a language subject and is also the official medium of instruction. French is studied as a language

subject while Oriental/Arabic, Bhojpuri and KM are optional languages. Pupils generally study English and French plus one third language together, with Maths, History/Geography and Science. In order to ascertain the sociolinguistic importance of these languages in school, I account for their status at national level. I will give a brief explanation of each language and its relative importance.

No official language is mentioned in the Mauritian constitution while the latter is written in English. In fact, English is used only in official written communication especially in governmental departments. Therefore, English is the de-jure official language and official medium of instruction at all levels (primary, secondary and tertiary). Today the following directive from the Education Ordinance of 1957 still holds true:

> In the lower classes of Government and aided primary schools up to and including Standard III, any one language may be employed as the language of instruction, being a language which in the opinion of the Minister is the most suitable for the public.
>
> In standards IV, V and VI of the Government and aided primary schools the medium of instruction shall be English and conversation between teacher and pupils shall be carried on in English; provided that lessons in any other language taught in the school shall be carried on through the medium of instruction. (Education Ordinance, 1957: section 43).

For the first three years of primary education, there is no clear mandate for the language to be used in the classroom. But all textbooks (except French language) are in English as from Standard (Grade) I. Although from the fourth year onwards, the official medium is English, what really happens in classroom varies widely from school to school (Mahadeo, 2006). Since the post-independence period six reports have signalled the need to review the medium of instruction with some varying degree of emphasis according to their authors (NHRC, 2007; ADEA, 2005; Tirvassen, 2001; Ramdoyal, 1990; Glover, 1978; Richard, 1979; Meade, 1967: 208; Ward, 1941).

In the absence of a pedagogical programme which could account for the life experience and home language of the school children, it can be considered that teachers have to grapple with Creole, French and English in classroom situations (Harmon, 2007). For the ADEA Report (2005), 'a central detrimental aspect of the primary school curriculum is that it is taught in

English which a foreign language for the majority of Mauritians' (p.159, para.156). Until now national policy-makers have been unable to address the medium of instruction issue although it is mentioned in reform plans (White Paper on Education, 1984; Select Commitee on CPE, 1986; Master Plan, 1991; Select Committee on Oriental Languages /CPE, 1993; Action Plan, 1998). This situation has been qualified as the 'laisser-faire linguistic policy' (Chaudenson, 2004) where the State adopts a minimalist policy in terms of linguistic intervention. This is illustrated, for instance, by the following paragraph in the White Paper (1997) which is evasive on the medium of instruction: 'Language policy is a very sensitive and very controversial issue: it arouses considerable passion and emotion. [...] language must always foster unity, not the contrary' (p.29).

For Virahsawmy (1991), because English is considered ethnically neutral, its position is never challenged. Moreover there are many extra-ethnic and extra-sociolinguistic considerations which play in its favour like the costs of change or its increasing international prestige.

French is not compulsory in school but its high prestige and existence in the education system dating as far back as French colonisation in the early 18th century make that all pupils study this language from primary till completion of secondary education. According to Barnwell and Toussaint (1949), there is considerable evidence to suggest that between 1840-1870, the British administration tried to make the inhabitants of Mauritius native speakers of the English. But the decisions to anglicise the colony came a bit too late, since French had already established itself as a strong language with the help of the British colonisers themselves. For Mahadeo (2004), as long as military and political control remained in the hands of the British, they were content to allow French settlers to remain in a dominant and privileged position. Mahadeo (2004) observes that subsequently French continued to dominate the linguistic and economic life of the island. The proof is when Mauritius became a parliamentary republic in 1992 and remained a member of the Commonwealth and the 'Francophonie'. Also, attempts at relegating French to the same status as the optional languages have always met with strong resistance (Tirvassen, 2002).

At national level, French has the status of a semi-official language. It can be used in the National Assembly (Constitution, 1968) together with English which is the official language at the National Assembly. French is also the privileged medium of expression used by the local press, radio and television. Its prestige is very high because of its original association with the Roman Catholic Church, the Franco-Mauritians and the Francophone Creole elite. It has been for a long time considered as the linguistic weapon of the Franco-Mauritian hegemony. The result is that the Indo-Mauritian elite chose English as their language of emancipation and social promotion and their loyalty to it is still very strong. But today there is a reverse situation. Educational progress and social mobility of the Indo-Mauritian community require its members to master French and most of its youth top the list of scholarship winners for French Alliance Francaise examination. In the 1990s, sociolinguistic studies in the Indo-Mauritian community (Baggioni, & De Robillard, 1990) observed that there was an emerging Hindu and Muslim neo-Francophone upper middle class. This means that the presence of French in the education system secures not only the strong defense of the Whites and Euro-Creole Francophone elite, but also the Indo-Mauritian community while its allegiance was traditionally with English rather than with French.

In terms of optional languages, we have two categories namely Asian or Oriental languages Arabic and KM and Bhojpuri which are the two new languages introduced as from 2012. The presence of Asian or Oriental Languages in the education system is closely associated with the political emergence of the Indo-Mauritian community in the 1950s. As a result of the change in the political climate, ancestral languages were introduced in primary schools in 1955, and they were extended officially to secondary level in 1974, although they had already been taught in several places privately (Dinan, 1986). The list of Asian or Oriental languages includes seven languages namely Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Marathi, Telegu, Modern Chinese and Arabic. Hindi has great prestige among the so-called Hindi-speaking Hindus. But it is the mother tongue of a very few speakers. It is used at formal socio-religious functions and is perceived as the cultural parapet against loss of Indianity (Eisenlhor, 2004; Miles, 1999; Eriksen, 1988). However, it is to be noted that the term "Hindi speaking" is in itself a misnomer for Hindi is not in fact the mother

tongue or ancestral language of any substantial number of speakers as most of the Indian immigrants came from Bihar where Bihari and Bhojpuri (a dialect of Bihari) are spoken.

Marathi, Tamil and Telegu could be considered as genuine ancestral languages which are now at a considerable decline in use in spite of the efforts of the government and socio-religious bodies to preserve them. Census (Statistics Mauritius, 2013) shows a marked decrease in the number of speakers for these languages as home languages. Although they are still spoken by mostly elderly people to affirm a certain identity, they are all quickly losing ground as instruments of verbal communication. It is interesting to note that Marathi, Telegu and Tamil are languages but also declared as religious groups by their speakers in the national census unlike in India where they are languages only. For instance, in India, the Tamils have no specific Tamil religion; they are followers of Hinduism. But the Tamils in Mauritius differentiate themselves from those who profess other forms of Hinduism by referring to their religious creed as Saivism (Dinan, 2013).

Similarly, Urdu cannot be considered as a genuine ancestral language of Muslims because the Muslim indentured labourers like the Indians spoke mainly Indian Bhojpuri in the 19th century. It has a low utilisation frequency and is used mostly in formal socio-religious functions. But it is the identity tag to indicate a non-Indian identity and mediates ethno-religious identity. Urdu has a unifying role between the two major groups of the Muslim community namely the Sunnat Jama'at or the Sunni and Tablighi Jama'at whose ancestors were the Muslim Gujrati traders locally known as the (Sunni) Surtees (Owodally, 2011). However, the introduction of Arabic in 1981 as an additional optional language seems to prove that the tension between the Sunnat Jama'at and the Tablighi Jama'at is more pronounced. For Eriksen (1988), this shift from Urdu to Arabic at that time meant the desire of the Muslim community to embrace Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism as the World Islamic League and the State of Libya[8] opened offices in Mauritius. Parents who are affiliated with the *Sunnat Jama'at* are most likely to demand Urdu to be taught as an ancestral language to Muslim students, while those affiliated with the *Tablighi* movement or other Deoband-associated traditions tend to favour the study of Arabic over Urdu. For Eisenlhor (2006) those drawing a positive image of the place of Indo-Pakistan as a site of

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[8] In 1983, the Embassy of Libyan was closed by the State of Mauritius on ground of increased Islamic propaganda activities under the leadership of former Colonel Mohamar Khadafi. The Embassy was reopened in 2011.

Muslim life and Islamic authenticity also argue for the primacy of the study of Urdu for what they regard as the 'Islamic culture' of Mauritians of Indian origin. In contrast, those who are suspicious of the authenticity of South Asian Islamic practice and who view Mauritian Islamic traditions as being in serious need of purification and reform tend to favour the study of Arabic over Urdu.

As regard the Chinese community, if Hakka is its ancestral language, Modern Chinese or Mandarin is preferred as it commands respect and prestige. It is most doubtful if it is used to any important degree even if there is currently a significant presence of Chinese investors and workers in Mauritius. Teaching these seven languages requires the mobilization of a significant number of teachers.

For Sonck (2011), the teaching of Oriental/Arabic languages (OLs/ALs) occupies an exceptional place in primary education. This is illustrated by the number of teachers recruited by the government to teach these seven languages and the number of pupils as well. Table 5 hereunder shows the number of primary school teachers per language across Mauritius.

S/N	LANGUAGES	TOTAL NUMBER TEACHERS
1.	Hindi	515
2.	Urdu	328
3.	Tamil	167
4.	Telegu	80
5.	Marathi	54
6.	Arabic	98
7.	Modern Chinese	31
	TOTAL	1, 273

Table 5. Total Number of primary Oriental / Arabic Teachers (Statistics Mauritius, 2013: 17)

The total number of primary Oriental/Arabic teachers is 1273 as compared to 4, 146 General Purpose (GP) teachers who teach Maths, English, French, Science and History/Geography

(Statistics Mauritius, 2013: 17). A General Purpose (GP) teacher teaches all four subjects as mentioned above whereas a teacher of OLs/ALs teaches the particular subject that s/he has been appointed to teach. These languages are taught five or four days per week.

In January 2004, government took the decision to confer same status to ALs/ OLs as all other examinable subjects for CPE. For Sonck (2011), the inclusion of OLs/ALs in the grading system is prejudicial to Kreol children as they did not have a third language to study which could be examinable as OLs/ALs. In fact, Kreol parents do not chose AL/OL because of the absence of cultural affinities with these languages. Since then, opting for one OL/AL became an advantage as any third language can help a pupil in the final results. With the new grading system, OL/ ALs have, therefore, acquired greater importance and today more pupils are taking them as a third language. Table 6 shows the number of pupils per language for Year 2012. As it appears 68.6 % chose to study OLs/ALs at national level.

S/N	LANGUAGES	TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS (PRIMARY:GRADE I to GRADE VI)	%
1.	Hindi	44, 986	41.3
2.	Urdu	10,626	9.8
3.	Tamil	5, 948	5.5
4.	Telegu	1, 911	1.8
5.	Marathi	1, 413	1.3
6.	Arabic	7, 165	6.6
7.	Modern Chinese	2, 573	2.4
	TOTAL	74, 419	68.6

Table 6. Total number of primary pupils studying Oriental Languages Year 2012

As an ethnic trade off and balance, government introduced Bhojpuri. If KM only was introduced, this would have brought a change in the ethnic power relationship in favour of the Kreols and putting at risk the Hindu symbolic power represented by the ancestral languages. In India, "Bhojpuri" functions as a cover term for a range of non-standardized regional dialects of Bihar and eastern Uttar Pradesh with only a limited literary tradition. From a metropolitan, Delhi-

centered perspective, Bhojpuri has low prestige and is seen as subordinate to Hindi, which is the official language even in the state of Bihar, where most Bhojpuri speakers can be found. In Mauritius, the hierarchical relation between standard Hindi and Bhojpuri exists as well.

For Boodhoo (2007; 1999), over the years the language used by the Indian indentures was a mixture of different types of Bhojpuri which assumed a Mauritian identity. Soon a standard Bhojpuri developed which borrowed from French and English, but largely from Kreol. Bhojpuri became the common lingua franca and was adopted by other linguistic groups from India as the language of interaction and communications (Boodhoo, 2007). Bhojpuri has also contributed immensely to the semantics of Mauritius. Bhojpuri words like *chacha* (father's brother), *didi* (elder sister), *dada* (paternal grandfather), *dadi* (paternal grandmother) and *nani* (maternal grandmother) are commonly used in KM (Boodhoo, 2010). But over the years, there has been a language shift to the Kreol vernacular and the promotion of Hindi by the Indo-Mauritian leaders led to the marginalisation of Bhojpuri. With the introduction of the teaching of oriental languages at school, a further focus was laid on Hindi, Tamil, Telegu, Marathi and Urdu. There has been thus a greater shift to Hindi (Boodhoo, 1999).

Today Bhojpuri is a dying language and attempts are being made to revitalize it through its introduction in school. It is more appropriate to say that Bhojpuri has not been introduced as an optional language but rather as a new component of Hindi (MOEHR, 2008). Accordingly, all Standard[9] I and Standard II pupils who are learning Hindi are also exposed to Bhojpuri. The production of pedagogical materials in Bhojpuri and training of teachers are entrusted to the Mahatma Gandhi Institute (MGI) whose activities are mainly the promotion of Indian/Asian languages, culture and all forms of arts. It is for this reason that the introduction of KM can be considered as unique and an added value to the list of ancestral languages.

1.2.5. Kreol Morisien (KM) as Optional Language

1.2.5.1. Government Programme 2010-2015 and ICJM/BEC Memorandum

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[9] 'Standard' is the equivalent term for 'Grade' in the Mauritian education system. Standard I is the first year of primary education.

Following the General Elections of May 2010, the then President of the Republic, Sir Aneerood Jugnauth made his traditional Special Address on 8th June 2010 at the National Assembly. On this occasion the President usually reads the Government Programme[10]. The introduction of KM was announced as follows:

> In line with internationally accepted best practices, Government will encourage the use of mother tongues to facilitate teaching and learning. Government will work towards the introduction of 'Mauritian Kreol' and 'Bhojpuri' as optional subjects in schools. In this regard, existing research work will be supplemented and consolidated so as to develop an agreed standardised spelling and grammar. Equal consideration will be given to other languages used in Mauritius (Government Programme 2010-2015: 16, para.145).

Following this statement, a series of measures were taken by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources to implement this announcement, especially for KM. Calls for proposals were made to the public for submission of suggestions as regard the modalities that should be adopted to implement KM in schools. The Institut Cardinal Jean Margeot (ICJM), where I was in charge of the KM's project, submitted a joint memorandum with the Bureau de l'Education Catholique (BEC) to the Ministry. ICJM is a post-secondary catholic institute and BEC is the executive office and policy-making of Diocesan catholic primary and secondary schools. Judging from my public advocacy for the period 2004 to 2010, both ICJM and BEC can be considered as key actors in the introduction of KM. In the Preface, the then Director of ICJM wrote:

> The initiative to introduce "Kreol Morisien" and "Bhojpuri" as optional subjects in schools is a laudable one that will assist Mauritian children of our primary schools in becoming more aware of their national identity and "cultural memory". Moreover, in the context of human rights and studying "mother tongues", this development is long overdue. (Rivière, 2010: 4).

With reference to the above quote, it is interesting to note that the introduction of KM and Bhojpuri is placed within the context of 'national unity' and 'cultural memory'. By 'national unity', the author means that introducing both KM and Bhojpuri at the same time was an act of consolidating national unity. KM is considered here for its ethnic dimension because its introduction in primary education came in the wake of identity claims by the Creoles. Adding

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[10] This is the Programme of the newly elected government. It generally gives the philosophy, orientation and announces major projects of the government.

Bhojpuri was a politics of recognition of the ancestral language of the Indo-Mauritian community. And by 'cultural memory', the author means that both languages form part of the national heritage. Thus, when Mauritian children would learn KM or Bhojpuri, this would create awareness for 'national unity' and 'cultural memory'. He also found this policy decision 'long overdue,' implying that it was high time that both languages be introduced. In a similar vein, the Director of BEC referred to the pioneering experience of catholic education in the formal use of KM in the prevocational stream:

> The language barrier tumbled down and students were able to express themselves freely in their mother-tongue; they were able to show that they had thinking and analytical skills and that they could develop their skills and competencies. What a revelation for them to regain their self-respect and self-esteem, after seven years in the primary education system and repeated failures! (Chung Kim Chung, 2010: 5)

The Director of BEC was referring to a project called PrevokBEK introduced in 2004 in catholic secondary schools for pupils who join the prevocational stream after having not been able to complete successfully their end of primary education examination. PrevokBEK is a literacy and numeracy project in KM, alongside a multilingual curriculum. This was the first project at national level using KM as a formal medium of instruction and language subject. The reference to this project was meant to encourage the government to go ahead with the introduction of KM as an optional subject in primary schools as it would benefit pupils. This memorandum (ICJM, 2010) provided a roadmap to the Ministry.

As a leader of the KM Project, I presented the document (Harmon, 2010: 8) and gave an outline of the six sections: the first section described briefly the sociolinguistic situation in Mauritius. Second, a detailed description of the background to the current proposal from a socio-historical perspective is given. This background was essential for policymakers and stakeholders as it captured the profound aspirations (both national and ethnic identity) which motivated claims for the introduction of KM in schools. Third, the proposed rationale, principles and goals of KM in schools were described. Fourth, an outline of the curriculum of KM at both primary and secondary levels was provided. Fifth, the requisites for the implementation of Mauritian Kreol as an optional language in primary schools were presented. Sixth, a time frame for the introduction of KM as from January 2011 was given. In the conclusion, I addressed a special note to the

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Minister of Education & Human Resources, expressing our wish that KM be also considered as medium of instruction. As annexes there were some specimen examination questionnaires of KM as a language subject and bilingual (English-KM) subjects like Maths and Sciences, a list of reference materials and most important of all annexes was a communiqué of the Diocese of Port Louis dated 22 May 2010 which was issued after a meeting between the Bishop of the Catholic Church and the Minister of Education and Human Resources. The communiqué restated the requests that the Bishop made to the Minister, namely the introduction of KM as an optional subject in primary education to respect the linguistic and cultural rights of any child who wants to study KM as it is for other optional languages. This Memorandum shows that issues of language identity and medium of instruction were central to the introduction of KM. It was therefore important to have a wide consultation on how to work out the modalities for KM in school.

1.2.5.2. National Forum and Akademi Kreol Morisien

On 30th August 2010, a National Forum was organized by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources to reflect on these abovementioned issues. Following the outcome of the Forum, the issue that was at stake was about the appellation that should be given to Kreol language in school. There were two schools of thought namely one which considered that the subject should be called 'Morisien' because it is the language that is spoken by all Mauritians, and another one considered that it should be called 'Kreol Morisien'. I defended the latter position by arguing that removing 'Kreol' from 'Morisien' would be tantamount to a cultural dispossession of the Creoles in the long run and a denial of its contribution to the national heritage represented by the language that their slave ancestors forged as a new language of communication for all Mauritians (Harmon, 2010). My position was staunchly attacked as being sectarian (Ahnee, 2010). Some years ago before the National Forum Debate, this issue of appellation was already raised by the artist Arjoon[11] who saw 'morisien' as a surpraconcept diluting the Creole input:

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[11] Jean Jacques Arjoon is a sega singer to whom I refer later in section 1.3. The French Original version of his statement reads as follows : L'admission du *kreol* comme langue codifiée demeure certes un travail de longue

> Acknowledging *Kreol* as a codified language remains certainly a long and arduous work but to dilute it into the supraconcept of *morisyen* is to make us burn the stages. And why all this is evident. First, there is the undeniable fact of 'ethnicity' without which we can't get rid of. Making *Kreol* – as language- a linguistic economics for ideological purposes, academic and prestigious it's a denial of the fact that Kreol has its origin in a community. (Arjoon, 2004: 5)

For Arjoon there is thus an intrinsic link between KM and the Creole community. In fact this is the tension that my research explored when looking at identity construction of the Creole community. Finally, the term 'Kreol Morisien' was adopted by the government.

In September 2010, following a Cabinet decision, a technical Committee officially known as the ''Akademi Kreol Morisien'' (AKM) was set up to:

1) Advise on the standardisation of the language
2) Validate the writing system of the language
3) Provide necessary technical guidelines for the development of curriculum materials and training to teachers and
4) Advise on the promotion and development of the language.

AKM comprised different stakeholders namely representatives of major Kreol identity movements, adult literacy educators, institutions, educational partners and linguists and academics. AKM was chaired by Prof. Vinesh Hookoonsingh, former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mauritius, who is also a researcher in creolistics. I was also a member of AKM and from an insider's view, I participated in or witnessed at times fierce debates which in the very first days led to the resignation of Dev Virahsawmy who is a renowned KM linguist, writer and cultural militant. He expressed his strong divergence about the intention to make AKM become an academy based on the French model of the 'Academie Française'(Virahsawmy, 2010). He was rather in favour of a temporary high powered committee and he considered that an academy

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haleine mais la noyer dans le supraconcept du *morisyen*, nous fait brûler les étapes. Et pourquoi de tout cela est évident. Tout d'abord il ya le fait indéniable de ''l'ethnicité'' auquel nous ne pouvons nous soustraire. Faire du *kreol*-comme langue-une économie linguistique à des fins idéologiques, académiques et prestigieuses, c'est nier qu'i l a pour origine une communauté. (Arjoon, 2004 : 5).

would stifle KM in the long run. He based is views on the fact that there is no academy for English and it is for this reason that it is a global language as it was permeated by other languages giving birth to a variety of English. For him the French conception of language standardization was too rigid. This opposition to a French leaning was the first tension inside AKM. Another tension was about the curriculum and the need to take into account the cultural and identity dimension of Creole pupils. After much discussion and through consensus, AKM managed to fulfil its objectives. Government approved the following documents prepared by the AKM, namely 'Lortograf KM' (which established the orthography rule for KM), 'Gramer KM' (which defined the grammar of KM) and the 'Addendum to the National Curriculum' which defined the objectives, learning outcomes and content of KM. However, I think two important issues, namely the curriculum and the mode of recruitment of KM teachers were a strong bone of contention in the AKM. Finally, solutions were found for each issue which ultimately shaped the actual status of KM in schools.
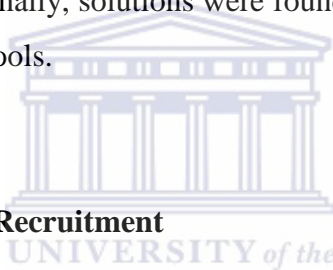
1.2.5.3. Curriculum and Recruitment

The elaboration of the curriculum created a heated debate in AKM. It even drove a wedge between those who viewed the curriculum as a technical matter and those who considered that it was not a 'neutral undertaking' at all (see Letter of Grupman Larkansiel Kreol to the Minister of Education at Appendix 2). On one hand, there were mainly members from the Kreol identity movements like Grupman Larkansiel Kreol and myself. On the other hand, there were representatives of the academic institutions. The bone of contention was about the need to take into consideration and recognise the cultural identity of the Creoles when elaborating the curriculum. A common front of all Creole organisations named Front Kreol Linite Nasional (Front Kreol National Unity) was set up on the curriculum and recruitment of teachers. The Front pointed out that the curriculum should reflect KM both in its ethnic and national dimensions. I intervened in one of the press conferences[12] of this front on the issue of curriculum

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[12] Press conference held on 15th November 2011. Reported in the newspaper *Le mauricien* (2011, November, 11), p.5.

and recruitment. Finally after an enriching debate, the final draft of the curriculum was approved and vote with explicit reference made to the Creole community by stating that the curriculum was underpinned by an 'anthropological and historical perspectives. The curriculum, recognizes the existence of the Creole community within the Nation State of Mauritius and its right to have access to symbolic and cultural capital like the 'ancestral language.'[13] (MIE, 2012: 3, my translation from KM). This was historical in the sense that this curriculum is the unique document in education which makes explicit reference to the Creole community. Other documents exist where reference is made to the other communities of the country, but not to the Creoles. The recruitment of KM teachers was another bone of contention in the AKM.

At first there was a proposal that KM teachers be recruited on a voluntary basis amongst the GP teachers. I firmly opposed this proposal and went in public on private radio stations during the period August-September 2011 requesting that the post of KM teachers be created on par with Oriental/Arabic teachers. Finally, a policy decision was taken that the post of KM be created. However, by the end of year 2011, there was a high risk that KM failed to get into schools in January 2012 because of administrative and legal procedures tied to the creation of the new post of KM teacher.

The Ministry of Education and Human Resources appealed to all General Purpose (GP) teachers to teach KM in the first year of its introduction. The Ministry gave guarantee to the teachers that all their conditions of service would be secured if they accepted to become KM teachers. They had even the right to revert to their former post of GP teachers at any time if they felt in the course of the year that teaching KM would not suit them. This transitory measure[14] was necessary for two reasons. First, the Ministry of Education and Human Resources (MEHR) wanted to honour the commitment of the government to introduce KM in schools as from

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[13] Original version in KM: perspektiv **istorik ek antropolozik**, ki rekonet *lexistans kominote kreol dan Leta-nasion Moris ek so drwa a bann dibien sinbolik ek kiltirel* kouma "langaz ancestral" (MIE, 2012 : 3)

[14] I participated in a press conference with the ring leaders of the Front Kreol Linite Nasional (Kreol Front for National Unity) to oppose this measure. But when guarantee was given that it was only an exceptional measure I accepted the bona fide of the decision (Harmon, 2011).

January 2012. Second, it was imperative that KM classes started with the resumption of studies at the beginning of the year. Heads of schools received a circular letter informing them that:

> [...] the services of Trainees concerned will be enlisted effectively in that it is likely to request them to teach in more than one school in the locality of their posting [...] Kreol language will be taught at the same time allocated for the teaching of Asian Languages / Arabic.(Ministry of Education, ME/Z2/EST/ 14/ 08 (T), 2011, February, 23)

Forty GP teachers working in Government schools and eight in catholic schools volunteered to teach KM in January 2012. They were the pioneers. In spite of unavailability of official figures, I could gather from my research participants that only a few reverted back to their former post of GP teacher. In the catholic sector only one out of the eight reverted to GP at the end of the second year of KM in schools. Two of the eight teachers in catholic education were participants in my research.

The permanent post of Trainee Educator (Primary) (Kreol Morisien) was finally created by the State Law Office and the Public Service Commission (PSC)[15] in the mid of year 2012. Invitation to apply for the post of KM teacher was publicly advertised (see Appendix 1). This was a major event at national level as the advert itself was unprecedented. It meant that the introduction of KM was creating job prospect for the first time job seekers. The fact that the Public Service Commission was recruiting KM teachers was also unimaginable. After the issues of curriculum and recruitment were settled, training and preparation of textbook under the aegis of the MIE (Mauritius Institute of Education) [16] went on smoothly with the direct participation of teacher representatives, curriculum developers and resource persons. The other important feature was the resumption of studies in January 2012.

1.2.5.4. January 2012 Resumption of Studies

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[15] The Public Service Commission (PSC) was established under the PSC Ordinance (N0.23 of 1953). In 1967, the Commission was vested with executive powers. It is mainly responsible for recruitment, appointment and promotions in the civil service.(http://psc.gov.mu)

[16] The MIE was set up in 1973 and is responsible for the national training of pre-primary, primary and secondary school teachers. It is also responsible for developing the curriculum, textbook writing and evaluation. It is a parastatal body falling under the aegis of the Ministry of Education and Human Resource.

The resumption of studies in 2012 was preceded in 2011 by the registration exercise to Standard I for Year 2012. This was the first registration where parents were asked to choose KM as an optional language. While the Ministry of Education informed parents about the existence of KM as a new optional language on the days that the registration exercise was conducted, I took the initiative as head of the Department of Appplied Pedagogy to issue a public communiqué (in bilingual version French-KM) informing parents that they had the choice to make their kids learn KM as from 2012 (see Appendix 4). Some 2800 parents opted for KM (Le mauricien, 2011, May, 19). The highest demand was registered in catholic primary schools with 1294 demands, representing approximately 46% of the total demand at national level. This high demand for KM in catholic schools might be explained by a greater communication exercise conducted by some catholic priests in their parishes. The public communiqué of Department of Applied Pedagogy was read at the Sunday mass. At the resumption of studies, the overall demand for KM increased by 12% (see Table 7 below). The resumption of studies for January 2012 was thus quite special in the sense that KM entered schools for the first time as an optional subject in primary schools with a significant number of pupils opting for this subject. KM was officially launched at Le Morne Government School by the Minister of Education.
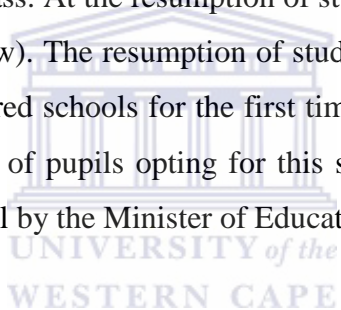
The choice of Le Morne was quite symbolical as it is a small village along the western coast which was inhabited by the slave maroons and is now representative of the Creole community. The village is also famous for its mountain and landscape as it is listed on the UNESCO World Heritage sites since 2008 as a site of universal outstanding value with 'exceptional testimony to maroonage and or resistance to slavery of it being used as fortress for the shelter of escaped slaves [...] represented by the Creole people of Mauritius and their shared memories and oral traditions' (http://www.whc.unesco.org.en/list/1259). We can therefore easily understand this locational choice because the introduction of KM was intensely associated with the Kreol identity movement during the mandate of the Minister and his government. The Minister was reported in the local newspapers as having stated that this was a memorable day in the history of Mauritius after a long struggle (Bunwaree, 2012, January 13).

A total of 3113 pupils opted for the subject within the Republic of Mauritius (mainland Mauritius and Rodrigues). Table 7 shows the number of pupils studying KM and KM teachers for years 2012 and 2013.

YEAR	STUDENTS STANDARD I		TEACHERS
	I	II	93
2012	3113		
2013	3694	3628	

Table 7.Total number KM Pupils & KM Teachers (MOEHR, 2013; Statistics Mauritius, 2013)

In 2012, there were 3113 pupils who opted for KM. In 2013, the number of pupils opting for KM increased by 19% for Grade I. For the cohort 2012, the number of pupils studying KM in Standard II decreased by 2%, meaning that some pupils dropped the subject. It is intended to roll the KM over to other classes annually so that it becomes an examinable subject at CPE like the Oriental/Arabic languages. At the same time KM in school could become a strong identity marker for Creoles just as the Oriental ancestral languages have always been for the Indo-Mauritian community. Having provided the background on the language landscape of Mauritius, and how KM was introduced as one of the languages in schools, I will now define my research aim and the scope of the study.

1.3. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM DEFINED

1.3.1. My Main Research Question

The issue of language identity at school can be best illustrated by the song 'Me Selma' (But Still) by artist singer Zanzak Arjoon (see Appendix 3). In this song, Zanzak states that:

But still what a kind of education is it
Me Selma ki sa kalite ledikasion /
Which makes me look down upon my culture
Pe fer mwa rezet mo kiltir
Makes me ashamed of my mum
Vinn fer mwa hont mo mama

Today when I try to have a deep thought,

Zordi letan mwasize koumans kalkile

thinking of my success,

Mo sikse,

I feel that I'm not at peace with myself

Mo santi mwa divize

Today when I try to have a deep thought

Zordi letan mwasize koumans reflesi lor

on my life

nou lavi

I feel torn apart (Zanzak, 2005)

This song is about somebody who has successfully completed her/his studies. The person feels grateful to her/his mother 'but still' (in KM: *Me Selma*) there is a strong 'torn apart feeling' between her/his success and the turning back to her/his culture so as to succeed. Thus, one wonders how far education has helped in shaping one's identity as it was an alienating education system that made the learner be ashamed of her/his culture and 'mum' (in KM : mama), implying the mother tongue.

This is a situation in which all Mauritian pupils find themselves when being schooled, but the case of Creole community is compounded by some forms of cultural alienation due to the legacy of a French colonial church which values more French culture than the Kreol culture. For instance, weddings are sill celebrated in French by most Catholic priests with some few emerging trends now in KM. At times the wedding ceremony leads to some embarrassing situations where the couple who is not well-versed in French has to learn by heart the oath of faith. During the ceremony we can then hear invitees giggling in the benches. Personally, I consider the introduction of KM, at par with Asian/Oriental languages as having the potential to develop into a national heritage language school programme which, in turn, would shape and enhance, at the same time, the identity construction of Creole pupils in primary education. My aspiration was to research KM as a national heritage language which can help to nurture the identity of Creole pupils. Therefore, my main research question is:

How does the introduction of Kreol Moriesien (KM) as an optional language in primary education shape Creole pupils' language identity construction in Mauritius?

The term 'optional language' has been defined earlier in this chapter when I discussed the place of the different languages within the education system. So, as from 2012, KM became an additional or optional language. My research examined KM on its own and in relation to other optional languages. By 'primary education' I mean the teaching of KM in lower primary grades, that is, Standard I-II-III. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2012), the verb 'to shape' is defined as 'to determine the nature of something or to have a great influence on'. This means that my research investigated how KM as an optional language had an influence on Creole pupils in its early years of introduction. By 'Mauritius', I mean mainland Mauritius within the Republic of Mauritius. The word 'Creole' needs a more detailed explanation.

Who is a Creole pupil? How did I identify the Creole pupil? These are tricky questions which I had to struggle with while progressing in my research work. In defining who the Creoles, are Boswell (2006) developed a taxonomy of the Creole ethnic group which illustrates its diversity in terms of class, phenotypes and common derogatory terms used to classify the different Creole groups. Examples of such terms are '*Creole ti-burzwa*' (Creole of small bourgeoisie), '*Creole milat*' (mulatto Creole), '*Creole madras*' (Tamil Creole), '*Creole sinwa*' (Chinese creole) and the Creole Black-Afro families. I would say that the distinctions made by Boswell (2006) rapidly phased out with the emergence of the Federation des Creoles Mauricien in 2008 (to which I refer in detail in (chapter 2) as a national Creole identity movement transcending the internecine cleavages of the Creole community. It is for this reason I find Bunwaree's (2004) description of the situation of the vast majority of the Creoles more appropriate in the context of my research:

> A lot of what goes under the rubric of 'identity politics' is actually about popular struggles for a more equitable distribution of goods and services for a more just society. The emergence of a Creole consciousness in recent years and their efforts to rekindle links with Africa as their homeland highlights both the awakening and forging of an identity. Many of the deprived and excluded form part of the Creole community wish to see a better distribution of the national cake.

By 'popular struggles', Bunwaree (2004) is referring, amongst others, to claims about KM, access to job in the civil service and the inscription of Le Morne on UNESCO World Heritage list (Carmignani, 2011). The 'links with Africa' can be seen with the claim of some Creole academics to define themselves as 'Afro-mauritians' (Benoit, 1985) or some ring leaders of the Muvman Morisyen Kreol Afriken (MMKA)[17]. The 'awakening and forging of an identity' implies different strategies of self-definition by the Creoles in the light of the definition ascribed to the Creoles by others (Palmyre, 2000). Bunwaree (2004) rightly points out that the Creole identity claims reflect the 'wish of a better distribution of the national cake'. The claim for an official recognition of KM formed part of this struggle to get a share of the 'national cake' of the state sponsored Asian/ oriental ancestral languages which I describe more fully in section 1.2.4.

In my research, the use of 'Creole' is located into what Bunwaree (2004) describes in the above quote as the 'emergence of a Creole consciousness' and it forms part of the 'forging of an identity'. In other words, I use 'Creole pupils' to refer to pupils whose family profile indicate a natural inclination towards KM. My view is that Creole parents who chose KM on the list of optional languages represented this 'emergence of a Creole consciousness' irrespective of the taxonomy of Boswell (2006). It is for this that reason during my fieldwork my focus was on two fronts namely (i) the socio-historical processes leading to the introduction of KM as an optional language and (ii) Creole pupils' language identity construction. I paid particular attention to language practice which in my view, was the best clue to start with when researching the language identity construction of Creole pupils. By language practices, I mean the attitudes, behaviours, and social and mental representations of learners and teachers, as well as the power relations inherent in acts of communication among learners, teachers and other agents of communication (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylsverter, 2003; Pennycook, 2005). I studied these language practices at both their micro and macro levels within the broader socio-political structures. Below I provide the general aim and objectives of this research.

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[17] MMKA was one of the key movements playing a key lobbying role for the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary schools. Its leader Mario Flore (who passed away on 8th December 2010) and other members were usually dressed in African accoutrement. MMKA also published a newspaper (*La Voix Kreol*: The Kreol Voice) which provided a public platform for Creole claims. After the death of Mario Flore, the movement receded.

1.3. 2. General Aim & Specific Objectives

The main aim of this study is to examine the link between heritage language (henceforth HL) and identity construction of primary school pupils with special reference to KM as an optional language in two primary schools.

In order to address my central research question and my general aim, I was guided by the four objectives:

1) to work out a definition of KM as a heritage language (HL) by locating it into research in HL.

2) to examine the different aspects of the introduction of KM as an optional language in terms of its socio-historical processes and modalities of its implementation.

3) to situate and analyse the place of KM in primary school as an additional optional language.

4) to examine whether the introduction of KM had a direct or indirect impact on the language identity of the primary Creole pupils who were in Grades (Standards) I-II-III[18].

1.3.3. Assumption and Research questions

This study was premised on the theoretical assumption that languages not only shape identity but are also 'sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity, or discrimination' (Pavelenko and Blackledge, 2004: 4). Accordingly, this study investigated the research problem with the **three** research questions as sign posts:

(i) What are the socio-historical processes which led to the introduction of KM as an optional language ?

(ii) What are the experiences of the heads of schools and teachers on the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education in Mauritius?

(iii) What changes have been observed as a result of the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education in Mauritius ?

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[18] When I completed my fieldwork at the beginning of Year 2014, I have been able to observe the same pupils for three years meaning they were pupils of Standards Grades) I (Year 2012), II (Year 2013) and III (Year 2014).

1.4. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

There are two major reasons which justify this research. First, this study finds its justification in major concerns for language and education which are expressed in several international conventions (Article 29, International Convention of Children's Rights, 1979). This research project might contribute to current knowledge in Human Rights Based Approach (RBA) to languages and culture for linguistic and biological diversity (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995). The rights-based approach to development is a framework for the process of human development that is normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights. For Stroud (2003), observation of language rights by States *per se* may not be effective, unless the language of the communities is promoted as a resource and language skills are transferable in life. So is the research might increase the knowledge available to academics, strategists and community developers on how a local/ heritage language (KM) can become a tool for empowerment and reparation.

Second, the research project could be of significance to research in reparative justice in the field of education. In 2009, a Truth and Justice Commission (TJC) was set up by an Act of Parliament in the Republic of Mauritius to look into the consequences of slavery and indentured labour from India. There have been several deponents claiming reparation for slave descents through the recognition of KM as the ancestral language of the Creoles. In November 2011, TJC's report was made public and its impact was so profound that it accelerated the process for the implementation of KM. Therefore, this study has also implications for language teaching policy and practice and teaching of KM as tool for empowerment and human agency. Finally, this research might contribute to insights into how the learners' exposure to KM shaped their ability to construct new, desired identities within local, national or global communities.

1.5. THE RESEARCHER'S POSITION

As described earlier, I was part of the socio-historical processes leading to the introduction of KM in schools. My involvement was characterised by public advocacy for KM in schools on linguistic and cultural rights. During the period 2005 to 2012, I wrote position papers and gave several interviews in newspapers and on radio stations (which I will discuss in Chapter 2). I

published a short essay on the theme 'L'espérance Creole' (meaning 'Creole Hope') which is a reflection on the hope of the Creoles for a better future and is a counter – discourse to the Malaise creole (as discussed in Chapter 2). The publication foregrounds the possibility for a better future based on hope in action. In the same publication, I argue that the struggle for recognition of KM is central to the identity of the Creoles. The publication has a video documentary attached to it which was used from 2008 to 2010 for public awareness campaign. In 2013, I also conducted with a colleague a research study on narratives of resilience (Harmon & Desveaux, 2013) of young Creoles whose findings were communicated at the First Kreol Convention in 2013. Therefore, this study is highly contextualised, individual and value-laden.

I cannot claim absolute objectivity in the sense that I am an outside observer of the phenomenon under study as my personal engagement is so interwoven with the intellectual and political aspects of such a research project (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Therefore, my position in this research could be defined as one of an 'engaged scholar' or 'engaged researcher'. Drawing from the literature on research paradigm (Gemignani, 2011; Foss & Moldanaes, 2007; Levin and Ravn, 2007 and, Øyum, 2006), the 'engaged scholar' or 'engaged researcher' is described as one who convinces the research participants that the world is socially constructed and can be changed by themselves. An important contribution of the researcher is 'to make the participants aware of and confident in their role of constructing and reconstructing the world' (Foss and Molanaes, 2007: 26). In 2010, when I enrolled for my doctoral studies my motivation was two fold: to inform public advocacy of KM and to create an awareness about the significance of KM amongst head of schools, teachers and parents of the schools where I conducted my fieldwork. I now come with a brief description of my methodology which is fully discussed in Chapter 5.

1.6. METHODOLOGY

I was fully conscious of the special nature of this research for the reasons explained earlier. This entailed that I set some standards which give a robust framework to my methodology. These standards relate to my choice of epistemological and ontological perspectives, the paradigm together with its underpinned theory in the research. The emergence of my research question itself was influenced by my own philosophical stance and my research strategy, while taking into

account the complexity of the topic and my position. The imperatives of this robustness are to ensure that the research illuminates the phenomenon under investigation which is the fundamental aim of research (Higgs, 2001), and to make a quality contribution to knowledge in the academic field and especially, among the community of engaged researchers with the ultimate aim of bringing positive social transformation. This research was, therefore, couched into critical paradigm formulated by Adorno, Habermas, the Frankfurt school and contemporary theorists (Horkeimer, 2002).

The critical paradigm generally takes a critical outlook at the phenomenon under study where the researcher is part of the problem being studied (Guess, 1981). This led me to identify critical ethnography as the most appropriate methodology to conduct my research. Critical ethnography is in fact a critical paradigm in application (Alvesson et al, 2000) which studies how forms of domination and power are maintained and renewed in society, while at the same time, trying to modify these unequal power relations. Given the 'engaged researcher's position, there is a greater risk of counter-transference in the researcher's rapport with the researched. Counter-transference is a term used in clinical psychology to describe the reaction of the therapist to the patient's as transference. This is very often translated by empathy of the therapist for the patient. Literature in engaged scholarship (Gemignani, 2000) uses the term 'counter-transference' to draw a parallel between how the psychological therapist makes meaning out of his/her 'transfer' of the emotions of his/her patient and the engaged researcher in his /her positions and subjectivity in the field. In this case, research literature considers that reflexivity is important so that the researcher can have a critical distance to the phenomenon under study.

For Etherington (2004) reflexivity can be defined as the capacity of the researcher to acknowledge how his/her own experiences and contexts inform the process and outcomes of inquiry. In this thesis, I made frequent use of 'I' which denoted this reflexivity dimension in my analysis. For the general validity of my research and the trustworthiness of my findings, I adopted several research instruments which are dealt with in detail in Chapter 5.

I conducted class observations in two primary schools and semi-strutured interviews with head of schools, teachers and parents and key informants and document analysis. I used document

analysis to examine the KM curriculum, syllabus and textbook plus debates at the National Assembly on KM recorded in the Hansard. I also studied a report from a psychologist on the drawings of the KM pupils. In line with the critical ethnography, I organised training workshops on KM for Heads of schools. I used the feedback sheets of the Heads of school's as document analysis to get an indication about how my study transformed the participants while I conducted my fieldwork. In addition, I asked the mentor of one the schools which I selected for my fieldwork to give an appraisal report on the impact of fieldwork on the teachers. Further details on research methodology are discussed in Chapter 5.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITS

The scope of this research falls within 'heritage language'(HL) studies. HL can be defined as a language with which individuals have a personal connection (Fishman, 2001). Developing one's HL in addition to another language has a number of sociocultural advantages, as well as personal and societal benefits (Guardado, 2010). My main assumption is based on empirical studies that demonstrate heritage language (HL) development as a key player in identity formation and which can help to retain a strong sense of identity to one's ethnic group (Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997; Feuerverger, 1991; Tse, 1996).

This study limited itself to the study of KM as an optional language, even if KM is the support language at all levels to teach other subjects. Its introduction as a language subject might certainly have an influence on learning processes among learners who take it as an optional subject. The research highlights this aspect but does not look in depth into KM as support language or a possible medium of instruction. Second, the study limited itself to the study of Creole children who attended two specific schools where I conducted my fieldwork. These Creole children do not certainly represent all Creole children but they were selected for reasons which I elaborate on in chapter 5.

1.8 KEY CONCEPTS

In the course of my discussion, I make use of some keywords which I would like to define for an understanding of their meaning. The use of these keywords translates my postcolonial approach

to the language identity construction issue. These words are defined below in order to illustrate how they have been used in this research.

1.8.1 Decolonization

One basic concept in post colonial studies is 'decolonization'. The post colonial issues come from the legacy of colonialism and also the aftermath of independence. A close analysis of this concept is enabling for my discussion on two counts. First, given that I have chosen post colonial studies as a theoretical lens and conceptual framework, it is necessary to understand the implications of decolonization as a meaningful concept for the analysis of my data. Ashcroft et al. (1998) give the gist of decolonisation:

> Decolonization is the process of revealing and dismantling colonialist power in all its forms. This includes dismantling the hidden aspects of those institutional and cultural forces that had maintained the colonialist power and that remain even after political independence is achieved. (Ashcroft et al.,1998: 62)

Indeed, decolonization is a process which touches all forms of vestiges of the colonial past. As a process, it means it is ongoing with periods of revisiting and readjusting. It addresses especially 'institutional and cultural forces'. School is, for example, one of these 'institutional forces' and language and identity encounter these 'cultural forces'. For Wiredu (2000), decolonisation begins by 'conceptual decolonisation'. This means that we have to call into question the way we conceptualise the world as it often happens that this is done through a Western lens. Wiredu (2000) states that in African literature there is a lot of superimposition of Western supposition, where the African thought is conceptualised in categories which do not fit the African philosophy of life. He gives the example of categories of conception such as the division between natural and supernatural which is foreign to the African's life ethos. This can be seen in the field of religion where we encounter antagonisms of world views between Christianity and the African culture. With regard to contemporary African Christianity, Ela (2001) observes that the colonial legacy through school systems have conveyed alienating messages and few young people of today experienced initiation rites and the totality of the African universe is not open to them, so they cannot draw on the knowledge transmitted by the great masters of oral tradition. Closely related to the concept of decolonisation is 'alienation'.

1.8.2 Alienation

Fanon (1967) describes 'alienation' as follows:

> Having witnessed the liquidation of its systems of reference, the collapse of its cultural patterns, the native can only recognize with the occupant that "God is not on his side." The oppressor, through the inclusive and frightening character of his authority, manages to impose on the native new ways of seeing, and in particular a pejorative judgment with respect to his original forms of existing. This event, which is commonly designated as alienation, is naturally very important. It is found in the official texts under the name of assimilation. (Fanon, 1967: 38)

A parallel can be made here with the Mauritian context and with reference to the situation of the Creoles in Mauritius. The history of Christianity in Mauritius is quite different from the African context given that there were no indigenous religions and people at the time of colonisation. Religion came with the coloniser and catholicity when the Catholic church was officially established as the first religion following a Treaty signed between the French East India Company and the Lazarist Congregation in 1721 (Nagapen, 1996.; Mamet, 1974). The Creole population experienced a rapid Christianisation after the abolition of slavery with the presence of the French missionary, Father Laval (Michel, 1976) whose work has been commented on either as a form of cultural alienation (Colson,1980), or for having given priority to much mass conversion to the detriment of education as compared to his contemporary Presbyterian missionary, Reverand Jean Lebrun (Moutou, 1980). But his work is also being positively revisited in the light of the nineteenth century Black Mission of the Holy Ghost Father Congregation in Africa by Creole intellectuals and as a form of historical re-appropriation of an iconic figure for the Creole community (Harmon, 2011).

Returning to Fanon's quote, I would say in the case of the Creole population it has not 'witnessed the liquidation of its systems of reference' as its only reference has been the Catholic religion coming from France. And the image of the 'oppressor, through the inclusive and frightening character of his authority' has been the French cultural hegemony which has pervaded the Catholic Church until the end of the twentieth century which was marked then by the opening of the Synod which ushered the rapid progress of KM in the church as a full-fledged

language and culture (Piat, 2000). However, Catholic Creole children are still taught to recite the 'Act of contrition' in French on the eve of their First Holy Communion.

1.8.3 Essentialism

Barker (2004) defines essentialism as follows:

> The concept of essentialism, along with its partner anti-essentialism, derives its meaning from an understanding of the way language functions in relation to an independent object world (reality). Thus, essentialism assumes that signs have stable meanings that derive from their equally stable referents in the real. In that way, words refer to the essence of an object or category which they are said to reflect. (Barker, 2004: 61)

This statement about 'essentialism' reveals that it is underpinned by the Sausserian principle of language as a sign system with a 'signifier' and as 'signified'. In my research, I do not look at KM as a 'sign system'. I rather see language as a social phenomenon with no fixed interpretation of meaning. Essentialism assumes that a word which we use to qualify something has immutable characteristic. However, in cultural studies and post colonial studies meaning is never fixed. 'Thus, what it means to be a man or a woman, black or white, old or young is an ever-changing construction of language' (Barker 2004:62). We should then understand that the relation between language and identity is not essentialist. It means that it is the context which gives meaning to an appellation. The same appellation may have another meaning in another context. For Ashcroft (1998) essentialism is based on the assumption that 'groups, categories or classes of objects have one or several defining features exclusive to all members of that category' (Ashcroft, 1998:76). In this way, I would argue later in my study that KM does have some essentialist features as it is linked with Creole identity, but at the same time, KM has certain anti-essentialist characteristics as it is a supraethnic language which transcends all ethnic differences as it is spoken by all Mauritians.

1.8.4 Hybridity, Third or Liminal Space

For Crossley (2005) describes hybridity as follows:

> Colonialism brings cultures into contact, however. Dialogues are effected and hybrid cultural forms, identities and experiences begin to emerge. It is these mixed forms that the cultural theorist Homi Bhaba (1994) refers to by the term 'hybridity'. The hybrid is neither one thing nor the other but somewhere in-between. Given the power relation between colonizer and colonized this in-between usually involves the mimicry of the 'master' by the 'slave'. Colonized people absorb the language and culture of their colonizers, combining it with their own and producing their own hybrid forms. (Crossley, 2005: 25)

Hybridity is thus the result of culture contact which creates 'hybrid cultural forms, identities and experiences'. In fact, the world has always been 'hybrid' and more so with the exploration of the world during the colonial era. Crossley (2005) explains that, for Bhabha (1994) hybridity is an 'in-between' situation. Obviously, this situation creates an existential anxiety as Bhabha (1994) explains elsewhere when she gives the example of South Africa where 'this half-way house of racial and cultural origins bridges the 'in-between' diasporic origins of the coloured South African and turns it into the symbol for disjunctive, displaced everyday life of the liberation struggle'. (p.19). The question of hybridity is, therefore, a perpetual negotiation of one's identity which is plural. With hybridity we occupy the 'third or liminal space'. It is a space where we can bring change or change can occur (Ashcroft et al, 1998). One stands on the threshold to enter a new negotiation of one's reality.

Within the concept of hybridity, there is another concept called 'mimicry' used by Bhabha (1994) which when simply put means to imitate or to ape. But mimicry has a double meaning. It is imitation of the colonizer whose end result can be both 'mockery' and 'menace'. For instance, while imitating the powerful colonizer, the colonized could want to behave like the powerful master. It is this 'mimicry' which Bhabha (1994) explains happened with the famous Macaulay Minute on Indian Education (1835) where he envisaged to 'create a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in morals, in opinions, and in intellect' (Whitehead, 2005). The implementation of this minute led to the teaching of English literature to form a British culture Indian. It created a middle class Indians called the 'Babu'[19] , aping the British and becoming the subject of 'mockery'. But at the same time, the 'Babu class' turned to be   a

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[19] The 'Babu' class

'menace' to British interests because they felt that this middle class might nurture ambitions to become like the British master and most dangerously become too much educated.

In his historiography of British Imperial education policy, Whitehead (2005) explains that the British shifted to a vernacular education system to debar the people from English language. The idea was to limit access to secondary education and 'fear of educated but idled unemployed youths' (Whitehead, 2005: 450). This shows that 'mimicry' can create paradoxical situations. One example is that this situation led to the development of vernacular education. A parallel can be made here with the Bantu Education system in apartheid South Africa which developed separate education but, which at the same time, led to the development of African languages and culture. So, just as 'mimicry' colonialism can create paradoxical situations and for Bhabha (1994), hybridity can create a power relation in favour of the post colonial subject where one can play on the liminal or third space' because it challenges the neat distinction between the culture of the master (powerful, dominant) and the culture of the slave (marginalised). In my discussion, I will demonstrate how the introduction of KM symbolises the creation of a third space by the Creole identity movements.

1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE CHAPTERS

This study consists of eight chapters.

Chapter 1 serves as an introduction. It gives the background to the research work with a description of the geography, history, political system and economy of the Republic of Mauritius. It gives the main features of the education system and discusses the role and impact of languages and ethnicity. Finally, it defines the research problem and discusses the central research question and its sub-questions, research aim, objectives and researcher's voice with the underlying epistemology of the study and its scope and limits.

Chapter 2 engages a discussion into the evolution of KM. It examines epistemology, creolisation and ruptures in KM from philosophical, sociological and anthropological perspectives.

Chapter 3 presents a critical literature review with insights into heritage language, language practice and language identity. It first examines the different terminologies used for heritage

language and works out a contextualised definition of KM as heritage language. Second, it discusses the definition of language practice and key related concepts like language ideologies and attitudes. Finally, discussions on language identity are examined in the light of my study.

Chapter 4 presents the theoretical framework of this study. It discusses the concept of theory and examines key theoretical constructs that relate to language and identity from a post-colonial perspective. It attempts critical engagements with post-colonial theories and post-colonial literature which will provide the lens for analysis of the research findings.

Chapter 5 addresses the design and methodology of the research. Placing this qualitative study within the epistemological position of critical paradigm, it discusses the rationale underpinning critical ethnography and mentions the reasons for choosing critical ethnography as research design. Then, it describes the research sites and participants and outlines the data collection strategies. Finally it focuses on how the procedures ensure trustworthiness or triangulation through the adoption of multiple research methods for evaluation and interpretation of data.

Chapter 6 presents the data collected. It describes how data has been collected, gives the demographics and identifies key features and patterns which emerge from the data.

Chapter 7 focuses on data analysis and a discussion of the findings with the theoretical lens developed in the preceding chapter. Analysing the data and discussion of findings are integrated with reference to the research questions raised by the study.

Chapter 8 states the conclusion with reference to the central research question and its sub-questions. It summarises the findings, revisits some of the ideas presented in the literature review and theoretical framework. Finally, it makes some recommendations and lists the implications for future research.

1.10 Summary

CHAPTER TWO

EPISTEMOLOGY, CREOLISATION AND RUPTURES

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In 2009, the Prime Minister confessed his 'lack of knowledge' about KM when he was delivering his speech at the Opening Ceremony of the 2nd Edition of the International Kreol Festival. The audience comprised mainly Kreol leaders and organisations, academics and the public at large. The ceremony was broadcast live on the national television and got wide press coverage. In fact, this statement was made in a context of intensified claim for recognition of KM. Two years later, that is, when KM was introduced as an optional subject in 2012, the 'lack of knowledge' argument came back with the Minister of Tertiary Education, Science, Research and Technology in his Opening address at the 13th International Colloquium of the Comité International des Etudes Créoles. The Minister stated that it was a 'lack of knowledge' or ignorance about KM which could explain why it took so many years for KM to be recognised as a language, and to be introduced as an optional subject in schools in 2012. I consider the 'lack of knowledge' statement by the highest authorities of the country as the greatest form of change that we can account for. As an entry point to this chapter, I identify and discuss changes at macro level in the Mauritian society which paved the way for KM as an optional subject in schools. I provide a philosophical grouding to the discussion.

I have identified three fundamental philosophical issues underlying the 'lack of knowledge' statement which I consider deserves to be explored. First, I will analyse why and how 'a lack of knowledge' in KM might have been the major obstacle to the introduction of KM in schools. This analysis will lead me to locate my discussion into the philosophical and social epistemology of knowledge (Audi, 1999; Goldman, 2011). Second, given that the subject of discussion is about KM, I will examine the concept of creolisation which is central to studies in Creole languages whose aim is to understand the genesis of Creole languages in the world and examine the cultural creativity which this evolutionary process brings with (Baron & Cara, 2011). Finally, I will discuss the major features which have shaped the socio-historical processes leading to the

introduction of KM in schools. I will make a socio-historical review of what I qualify as ruptures from the 18th century to 2010, rather than 'evolution'. My use of 'ruptures' is borrowed from Foucault's (1972) approach and method to historical analysis.

2.2. PHILOSOPHICAL AND SOCIAL EPISTEMOLOGY

Epistemology is one of the four branches (*viz.* epistemology, logic, ethics, metaphysics or ontology) of philosophy. According to the *Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy* (Blackburn, 1996) and the *Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* (Audi, 1999), the word 'epistemology' comes from two Greek words: *episteme* (knowledge) and *logos* (study or explanation). For Auroux and Weil (1991), the discipline of epistemology came in the wake of the scientific progress and breakthroughs in the 19th and 20th centuries. The challenges brought by science showed the failure of various philosophical thoughts to devise a normative rule for science. This situation led to the study of science on its own and it gave birth to different disciplines like the philosophy of sciences, history of sciences, and critical approaches to scientific knowledge. Epistemology is the generic term used to qualify these different disciplines.

The English word 'epistemology' is a translation of the German word '*wissenschaftslehre'* (theory of science). The Continental world (Europe with the exception of Britain and Ireland) uses the generic term 'epistemology' to refer to the different disciplines of study of scientific knowledge mentioned above. However, Anglo-Saxon academia distinguishes epistemology (with the restricted sense of 'study or theory of knowledge') from the 'philosophy of science' which is described as the study of the scientific methods and results. In this chapter, I use epistemology in the Anglo-Saxon sense of the word that is understood as theory or study of knowledge.

For Blackburn (1996), the central questions in epistemology revolved around the origin of knowledge; the place of experience in generating knowledge and place of reason in doing so. They also centre on the relationship between knowledge and certainty and between knowledge and the impossibility of error; and the changing forms of knowledge which arise from new conceptualizations of the world. The classical question in epistemology is: 'how do we know

what we know?' (Blackburn, 1996; Buekens, 1995; Runes, 1942). It is a question which also revolves around the meaning of knowledge and how a person gets to know something. Another epistemological question is on true knowledge. All these questions are relevant to my discussion about the 'lack of knowledge' statement. This statement prompts a philosophical reflection on KM.

Human knowledge can be dated as far back as the work of Plato (427-347) in *Meno* and *Theaeteus* and all his insights as a student of Socrates (469-470 BC). Since then there have always been new schools of thought which give a new or added meaning to knowledge. In his glossary of terms, Thompson (1961) defines knowledge as an 'awareness of truth as truth', that is, truth together with the grounds which warrant the claim of truth. I will now discuss knowledge in KM in the light of three classical themes in philosophy namely, knowledge as 'justified true belief', the source of knowledge and the theories of truth.

2.2.1 Classical themes in Philosophical Epistemology: Justified true belief, source of knowledge and theories of truth

Etymologically, philosophy comes from Greek, and by way of Latin, *philosophia*. It combines two words, namely "love'' and "wisdom". Blackburn (1996) defines philosophy as follows:

> The study of the most general and abstract features of the world and categories with which we think: mind, matter, reason, proof, truth, etc. In philosophy, the concepts with which we approach the world themselves become the topic of enquiry.

Philosophy is thus defined as a critical examination of the grounds for fundamental beliefs and an analysis of the basic concepts employed in the expression of such beliefs. In philosophy, belief is defined as an affirmation of, or conviction into the truth of a proposition, whether the latter may be either true or false (Blackburn, 1996). The first recurrent theme in philosophy is about the nature of knowledge. Knowledge is defined as a 'justified true belief' (Audi, 1999). This suggests, that for something to be considered as knowledge it has to be true. But a person must be able to justify the claim that is being made. If the claim itself must be true and the person must believe in it, the claim must also be based on evidence which is logical and

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reasonable. This leads me then to ask if this means that behind the statement of 'lack of knowledge', there is a 'justified true belief' which pushed Mauritian policymakers and decision takers to introduce KM as an optional subject. From whom did the government get this 'justified belief'? Giving credit to the bona fide of those who made the 'lack of knowledge statement', we can say that it might be true that some key persons succeeded to persuade the Prime Minister of the relevance of KM as he did explain and even disclosed their names in his speeches at several occasions after KM was introduced. In fact, it was a subjugated knowledge which academics and militants had to unpack. For Foucault (1972), subjugated knowledge is defined as:

> a whole set of knowledges that are either hidden behind more dominant knowledges but can be revealed by critique or have been explicitly disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: [In other words, I am referring to] blocks of historical knowledges that were present in the functional and systematic ensembles, but which were masked, and the critique was able to reveal their existence by using, obviously enough, the tools of scholarship. (Foucault, 1972: 26)

Yet it is clear that it was not just a question of knowledge which played in favour of the introduction of KM. Mobilisation at grassroots level, coupled with knowledge propounded by Kreol academics and militants pressurized policy makers to cross the Rubicon by introducing finally KM in schools Although it had indubitably a scientific value, the academic knowledge did not have its legitimacy on its own. Associate Professor Arnaud Carpooran who is the President of the Kreol Speaking Union[20], a state body set up for the promotion of this language, declared in an interview to the newspaper *Le mauricien* that the recognition of KM came in a democratic way where 'the movement came at grassroots level and policy makers had no other choice than to approve' (Carpooran, 2013)[21]. The latter is right in the sense that it was the democratic demand of the people which led policy-makers to come to a 'justified true belief' in

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[20] In 2011, the National Assembly adopted five Speaking Union Bills namely the Arabic –Speaking Union, Bhojpuri-Speaking Union, Chinese- Speaking Union, Creole-Speaking Union and Sanskrit-Speaking Union. These Speaking Unions fall under the aegis of the Ministry of Arts and Culture and are supported financially by the State. Their aim is to promote the respective languages and cultures which they represent (Hansard, Fifth National Assembly, 31 May, 2011).

[21] Original version (French) : « Le mouvement est venu de la base et finalement les décideurs politiques n'ont eu d'autres choix que de l'approuver ». (Le mauricien, 2013, October, 28 : 15).

KM and they realised that it would be nonsensical to continue opposing the introduction of KM in schools. This discussion brings me to our second theme in philosophy, which is the source of knowledge.

Discussions over how do we come to knowledge have always dominated the field of philosophy. Two schools of thought have developed amongst philosophers, namely the rationalists and the empiricists. For Buekens (1996) and Blackburn (1996), continental rationalists (Descartes, Leibniz, and Spinoza) are frequently contrasted with British empiricists (Locke, Berkeley, and Hume) but such oppositions usually over-simplify a more complex picture. Rationalists claim that the source of knowledge is the brain and is solely based on reasoning. Thus the rational and the logical human mind are the sources for new knowledge and not the material world around us. Within a rationalist perspective, research results, for instance, are verified by reasoning.

On the other hand, empiricists claim that true knowledge is primarily founded on input from our senses. In this case, experience and observations are important when claims for justified belief are made. In the case of Mauritian policy makers, although they were not involved in research process as such, yet we can say that their source of knowledge was drawn from the experience they got with the argumentation deployed by Kreol academics and supported by grassroots pressure. This situation led to reasoning and acceptance of KM. This strong experience of the senses could be noted especially in 2010 with a rapid evolution of the political discourse in favour of KM. A review of press cuttings at that time shows that the Ministry of Education and Human Resources was still adamant on its position in January 2010 that KM should not be introduced in schools. Pressurized by the prevailing situation at that time, the Ministry issued a press communiqué which reads as follow:

> A government cannot involve its population in a programme which it is not convinced about its expected outcome. There are many interrogations which still prevail and the answers to our queries have not yet convinced the government. There is still work to be done to introduce Kreol in the school curriculum as from January 2010. (*Le mauricien*, 14th January, 2010, my translation[22]).

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[22] Original version (French) : « Un gouvernement n'a pas le droit d'engager sa population dans un programme sans qu'il soit, lui-même, sur de sa réussite. C'est dans doute un travail très louable. Autant d'interrogations qui

By 'programme', the communiqué was referring to the PrevokBEK programme (as referred to in Chapter 1) as a pilot project by catholic education to introduce KM in some of its schools. In fact, catholic education publicly announced in 2008 that just as there is the PrevokBEK for secondary, it would start a mother-tongue programme for primary schools as from 2010. The reaction of the Ministry followed the publication of two articles on the preceding days. The first article (*Le mauricien*, 2010, January, 11, p.5) appearing as a news item reported that the Ministry was slowing down the pilot programme of catholic schools to introduce KM in its schools. One month later, the Prime Minister announced (on 1st February 2010) that his government would introduce KM in schools. The rapid evolution can be qualified as a long treaded walk on the path of truth. Closely related to knowledge is the philosophical question about how we approach truth. It is interesting to know how policy makers have come to truth. There exist three approaches to truth from a philosophical point of view, namely the correspondence, coherent and pragmatic approaches.

The correspondence approach claims that we can state that something is true when it corresponds to what we can see in reality. Second, the coherent approach states that claims to truth can be made when truth fits in a coherent judgment and third, the American pragmatist's point of view, pioneered by John Dewey (1859-1952), the American philosopher, psychologist and education reformer, considers that truth exists in a situation where in the end it is what works which counts. The concern for truth is central to philosophy. In fact, the argumentation for the introduction of KM has been intersected by the three approaches to truth.

In relation to the above, the use of KM seems to be what matters in teaching and learning processes. Even if the official medium of instruction is English, teachers are bound to make use of the language of the child. In the national census of 2000, 70.1 % of the population declared KM as their home language and if we take the figures of other languages plus KM, it means that

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subsistent et dont les réponses fournies n'ont pas encore convaincu le gouvernement. Il y a encore un travail a faire pour introduire le Kreol au cursus scolaire des janvier 2010 » (*Le mauricien*, 2010, January, 14, p. 5).

KM is spoken at home by more than 80% of the population. As stated in Chapter 1, in 2011, the latest census indicates that more people speak KM at home. Out of every 10 Mauritins, 8 reported that they spoke 'only Kreol' in 2011 as compared to 7 in 2011. 'French Only' stood at 3.6% in 2011 and 'English Only' was less than 1% (Statistics Mauritius 2012). This shows that a majority of pupils coming into schools have KM as their home language and therefore teachers must use KM in class for teaching and learning to take place.

Second, a coherent judgement is found in the assertion that any pedagogy must start from the known to the unknown, hence the need to use the mother tongue of the child to explain abstract concepts, especially in primary education. Third, from a pragmatist's point of view all teachers know that at the end it is what the child understands which counts. So the use of KM has a degree of common sense. The claim for its recognition should be seen as a pragmatic truth. But in the case of Mauritius, the policymakers did not see things in this perspective. They saw first of all the demands for KM as Creole identity groups and their leaders claimed for recognition of their ancestral language.

However, research in social sciences and especially in education is not geared primarily towards the search for truth, but is motivated to find meaning (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2007; Walliman, 2001) and to make sense of the phenomenon being studied. For Bachelard (2002), research in terms of formation of the scientific mind has a social-episteme value, meaning that the concern for knowledge is not so much for truth, but for the value that knowledge brings to society. Knowledge that is imparted generally about the benefit of the use of the mother tongue, for instance, aims at making progress in the country. It has become axiomatic that a child learns best in his/her mother tongue since the 1953 UNESCO Committee statement:

> It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium (UNESCO 1953, p. 11).

For Desai (2012), the case for a mother-tongue education is made on the basis of the benefits which a learner derives when acquiring concepts and skills in his/ her mother tongue. A mother tongue based education policy also impacts positively on a country. In the 'Education For All Monitoring Report', Benson (2005) makes reference to former European colonies like Mozambique, Nigeria and Papua Guinea for having implemented successfully a mother-tongue policy and are reaping subsequently the benefits thereof. For Chumbow (2005), growth in Africa, and especially for those countries which have experienced colonial rule, should not be considered in terms of economic indicators only, but also in terms of the participation of human index, i.e. of the population in the whole process of development and growth. Chumbow (2005) considers that the use of the mother tongue is crucial in this process:

> Thus, education by means of an appropriate *language medium* provides the knowledge, skills and values necessary for humans to become effective, efficient and qualitatively valuable agents of change in the interest of national development (Chumbow, 2005: 160)

Chumbow's statement lays much emphasis on 'values' and 'valuable agents'. In the philosophical sense, value is defined as something which has worth in some respect, either intrinsic or extrinsic. The most general philosophical issue in the study of values (known as axiology) is whether values arise from objective or subjective experiences. Gaston Bachelard (Ruby, 1998) has developed the concept of epistemological values as opposed to the French philosophy of values (Lecourt, 1975) based on ethical, aesthetic and religious values. Bachelard's values are embedded in knowledge. My conception of the embededness of values in knowledge is more in line with Bachelard's concept than with Lecourt. In other words, the search for truth should help to enlighten those who are in darkness. At this point, Plato's allegory of the cave might be enlightening to our discussion.

2.2.2 Plato's Allegory of the Cave and the Kreol shadow illusions

For Plato (Dupré, 2007) knowledge is truth and wisdom. Knowledge is enlightening and cannot be true at one moment, and false at another. His definition of knowledge is best captured in his famous Allegory of the Cave. I reproduce the allegory herein as it will provide the basis for further discussion of knowledge. It reads as follows:

Imagine you have been imprisoned all your life in a dark cave. Your hands and feet are shackled and your head restrained so that you can only look at the wall straight in front of you. Behind you is a blazing fire, and between you and the fire a walkway on which your captors carry statues and all sorts of objects. The shadows cast on the wall by these objects are the only things that you and your fellow prisoners have ever thought and talked about. Now suppose that you are released from your shackles and free to walk around the cave. Dazzled at first by the fire, you will gradually come to see the situation of the cave properly and to understand the origin of the shadows that you previously took to be real. And finally you are allowed out of the cave into sunlit world outside, where you see the fullness of reality illuminated by the brightest object in the skies, the sun. (Plato, Book 7 of *Republic* in Dupré, 2007: 8).

The cave represents the visible world of our experience, where everything is imperfect and constantly changing. The chained captives symbolize ordinary people who live in the world of conjecture and illusion (Dupré, 2007). The world outside the cave represents the intelligible world of truth. The allegory further narrates that the person who has been freed will get back into the cave among the captives but his former fellow slaves will not accept him. Plato made this allegory in the *Republic* to justify that the world should be governed by philosophers, those who have been able to get out of the cave. In the context of this study, this allegory can be paralleled to the long march to the introduction of KM in schools. There has been a long period when the common men and women have been left in the dark. This darkness can be associated with the colonial prejudices and their legacy, the alienation of a post-colonial society and its psychological sequels (Fanon, 1951).

Partisans of KM have been like the freed slave from the cave. They have been exposed to Plato's sunlit of knowledge. But the difference lies here between the slaves who remained in the cave and even refusing to get out of it, and the 'slaves' who were ignorant about KM. Paradoxically, the most vitriolic criticisms against KM came from educated people like policy-makers, academics and the educational establishment. So I would say that opponents of KM had beliefs and general opinion about the nature of KM, but not real knowledge. In fact, the long obstacle to the introduction of KM in schools may have been due to a long period of "shadow illusions" (Dupré, 2007; Ackerman, 1965) as the slaves in Plato's Allegory of the cave. But these illusions could also be shaped by society. This leads me to make a precision about my use of the concept of "epistemology" in the discussion until now which has been located mainly in the current debates in the field of philosophical epistemology. In fact, epistemology has two strands namely,

philosophical and social. My perspective on epistemology with regard to KM integrates both strands. I will now draw insights from social epistemology.

2.2.3. Social Epistemology as Truth

Social epistemology is a normative discipline that addresses philosophical concerns of knowledge using conceptual frameworks from history and social sciences. Whitcomb (2011) gives an overview of Goldman's taxonomy of social epistemology:

> The first category, "individual doxastic agent social epistemology," concerns individual belief-forming agents and how they should respond to social sources of evidence, such as evidence from the testimony of others. The second category, "collective doxastic agent social epistemology," concerns collective belief-forming agents, such as juries and committees, which are themselves constituted by other agents. How should these collective agents go about forming their beliefs? The third category, "systems-oriented social epistemology," concerns entire social systems such as legal adjudication systems and systems of peer review for academic research. Systems-oriented social epistemology evaluates these systems epistemically in terms of how they influence their members' beliefs (Goldman & Whitcomb, 2011: 8).

In the case of KM, I would say that truth has been reached at the point of confluence of the 'individual belief-forming agent', the 'collective doxastic agent' and the social system. It is this intersection that has helped policy-makers to formulate a language policy for KM. I base my argumentation on three reasons. First, the case of the Prime Minister stating on several public occasions (as stated earlier with regard to official speeches he made at two editions of the International Kreol Festival) that he did not understand the whole issue of mother tongue and the importance of KM until other persons who have an expertise in that field explain the whole thing to him. It is this explanation by others which persuaded him to explore the possibility of introducing KM. This knowing of truth through others by the Prime Minister is what Lackey (2011:15) calls 'epistemology of testimony' which refers to justified belief or knowledge acquired merely on the basis of what other people tell us (Lackey, 2011: 15). Their testimony to truth becomes our truth. It is interesting to draw a parallel here with the legitimacy that people gave to the knowledge of academics in KM. Just as the Prime Minister bears testimony of truth to the persons who convinced him about the relevance of KM, people at grassroots level bear testimony to Kreol academics and militants. It is this double testimony of truth which became a

shared epistemology of testimony which might have created an atmosphere conducive to policy makers to introduce KM.

Second, for Goldman (2011), the 'collective doxastic agent' is the capacity of a group to develop a collective epistemology. I would say that a similar situation happened for KM. A collective epistemic entity emerged from the struggle for KM since independence which gave a body of knowledge and expertise in KM. This is not only pure academic knowledge but the creativity of artists, writers and other agents who made the choice to express themselves in KM. With time, the effort of these academics, cultural militants and other agents have helped to develop a counter-discourse in favour of KM. The counter-discourse became a collective epistemology which the anti-KM dominant discourse could not resist with time. As a continuation of this reflection, I will discuss at a later stage the contribution of the Mauritian intellectuals in the process of knowledge development in KM.

A third reason is linked to the notion of social systems (Goldman, 2011). By social systems, Goldman means that the social systems create some parts of the world in which we live and this affects our prospect of having knowledge. In the case of KM, it was a change in the social environment and the role of institutions which accelerated the pace of change. For instance, the widespread use of KM through verbal communications in several institutions which had in the past been forbidden for employees to speak KM on the working sites, have to a great extent, created a new social environment. At the same time, the position of educational institutions like catholic education in favour of KM has helped to inform knowledge. This point will be further developed in section 2.2.4. This has given rise in a sense to a social epistemology in KM. In fact, in its current sense, social epistemology has taken two divergent directions represented by Fuller (1988) and Goldman (2011) respectively.

While Goldman (2011) advocates a social epistemology which is often called "veritistic epistemology" because of its large emphasis on truth, Fuller (1988) is more concerned about the social construction of knowledge. His interest is not in the "problem of knowledge" as classically posed by epistemologists. He describes his concern in the following terms:

"[…] which includes how certain linguistic artifacts ("texts") are certified as knowledge; the possible circulation patterns of these artifacts (especially how they are used to produce other such artifacts, as well as artifacts that have political and other cultural consequences); and the production of certain attitudes on the part of producers about the nature of the entire knowledge enterprise (such as the belief that it "progresses") (Fuller, 1988: ix).

This quote raises three issues for investigation about knowledge: first, how knowledge is produced; second, how knowledge is disseminated and how it acquires authority and legitimacy. Third, it is also about the political and cultural dimension of knowledge. Fuller's concern about the true nature of knowledge can be traced to the work of Gaston Bachelard in the 1930s and Thomas Kuhn and Michel Foucault in the 1960s. These philosophers consider that knowledge is shaped by society and that there is no scientific breakthrough as such which develops in a linear form, but scientific advances are marked by periods of epistemological acts and thresholds (Bachelard, 2002), paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1996), and continuities and discontinuities (Foucault, 1972). For Bachelard (2002), we have to take facts as ideas and place them within a system of thought but not consider ideas as facts. This perspective of knowledge brings me to the discussion of knowledge as a social construct.

2.2.4. Knowledge as Social Construct

A social construct can be defined as a concept or practice that has been elaborated, developed and legitimized by a particular group. In some sense, it expresses how people participate in their own perceived reality. This can be seen, for instance, with the different definitions of the term Creole in different contexts as discussed in the coming section 2.3.1. These different definitions of the term 'creole' are shaped by unique experiences and contexts. The term 'Creole' can be written either as 'creole' which is etymologically close to French or 'Kreol' which is the maximal variant. Linguistic, cultural and ethno identity groups adopted 'Kreol' instead of 'Creole'. In this case, Kreol became a social construct with time as it expressed the distinctness of the Kreol language with regard to 'French Creole' and by the same token the Creole ethnic group asserts its identity.

We can make a parallel here with the use of 'Krio' in Sierra Leone. According to Knörr (2010), the term "Creole" is preferred by those Krio who like to emphasize the colonial context in which their identity emerged and their perceived closeness to European culture. But Krio who understand the local context of their ethno-genesis and the resulting indigenization as crucial, prefer the term "Krio". In the struggle for recognition of KM, claims were made by Kreol groups (TJC Report, 2009) that KM is the ancestral language of the slave descents (meaning the Creoles) and it is also the national language. Here also, the term 'Kreol' was preferred more than 'Creole'. This is another instance of social construct where people give their own definition and practice of the language. It means, therefore, that a concept or practice has no inherent interpretation on its own. It is contingent of our social selves. It is this aspect which distinguishes the social constructivists from the positivists who consider knowledge to be exact truth. Social constructivist and interpretivists consider that the analysis of social phenomena should not necessarily lead us to an absolute truth (Feenberg, 1981).

Basing himself upon the pioneering work of Karl Manheim (1893-1947), one of the founding fathers of classical sociology as well as the sociology of knowledge, Dant (1991) describes knowledge as follows:

> Knowledge is a key feature of societies. It is part of what binds individuals and groups of humans into that larger group which we call society. It is a link between each of us and everyone else who shares our society and its culture. But it is also a key feature of the fragmentation between social groups. Differences in what people share as knowledge, not only in terms of their beliefs but also in terms of that unspoken knowledge hidden within the social practices and customs, mark the differences between social groups; it is a dimension of human life that involves agreement and disagreement, debate and negotiation. And yet we tend to live as if knowledge could be settled, as if there is one true knowledge which we are striving for and which we, each of us, is getting closer to (Dant, 1991: 2).

Dant's (1991) definition shows how knowledge unites people, but at the same time, generates conflicts. Knowledge impacts society and 'marks the differences between social groups'. The definition confirms the raging debate that hit Mauritius during the post-independent period and the 2004-2010 periods, just before the introduction of KM in schools. The debate marked a social fragmentation of the Mauritian society. Those who were against KM were mainly on one side, were those from the upper and lower middle class, and on the other side, the working class and lumpen proletariat were just accepting with consent the hegemony of these two classes. This

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was not just a difference of opinion. It marked the class and ethnic cleavages of a post-colonial society. As we can see, the linguistic debate represented more than a cognitive conflict in pursuance of truth. In fact, the debate on KM generally indicates two social groups: those who are in favour of KM are mainly some Kreol cultural militants and those who are against KM are from the middle class who see KM as a hindrance to the acquisition of English and French which are considered as languages of social mobility. The working class looks upon the middle class as modelling and seems not to have an opinion on the subject. It is this dependency of the working class which represents the majority base of the society that consolidates the ideological hegemony.

According to the Marxist class analysis, the superstructure perpetuates this hegemony as the means of production are controlled by the most privileged in society (Marx and Engels, 1948). But the class fragmentation is far more complex and is not always in a binary situation in the way the Marxist view society. The Marxian view makes a primarily revolutionary class-based critique of capitalism and holds a materialist conception of history, focusing particularly on economic production (Walker & Gray, 2007). In relation to the present study, within the social fragmentation caused by the debates on KM there are class contradictions linked to economic conditions which overlap with ethnicity and religion. These contradictions have particular resonance with the political, cultural and social fabric of the Mauritian society. At the same time, Dant (1991) remarks that it is not so much the content of knowledge which shapes society, but what is left of that knowledge:

> Knowledge is given to the knowing subject through his social group, but what is 'inherited' is not the full content of knowledge or an exhaustion of the possibilities of thought for the individual. It is only the 'style' or 'pattern of thought' that is given. It is clear that 'knowledge' is not a category that is determined by its content or by any specific structure […].The social basis of knowledge lies in the categories of meaning used to think or perceive or understand the world rather than in the full contents of negation (Dant, 1991: p.18).

At the same time, we understand that the 'categories of meaning' act as mental frames for our interpretation and understanding of the world. These 'categories of meaning' are ideologies which in the Marxian perspective, are referred to as 'false consciousness' (Marx and Engels, 1976). By 'false consciousness', Marx and Engels (1976) argue that 'it is not consciousness that determines life, but life that determines consciousness' (Marx and Engels, 1976: 31). This means

that we are producers of our own thinking. 'Categories of meaning' are more important than the contents of knowledge in particular subjects. They can outlive the knowledge that has been produced.

In Mauritius, both the opponents and promoters of KM had their categories of meaning, and ideologies or false consciousness. These categories may persist and they are presented as truth. Lukács (in Feenberg, 1981: 59) used the term 'reification' which refers to 'the way ideology covers up contradictions and how it legitimizes by treating human social relations as things.' Lukács borrows the concept of 'reification' from Marx (1967) who explained how the 'fetishism of commodity', in his seminal work *Das Kapital* (1867) hides and belittles the input of labour and makes the output of labour becomes a 'thing'. In the same way, Lukács means that ideology can lead to a 'thingification' or trivialisation (Harris, 1990) of an issue central to human social relations. In fact, looking back at the evolution of KM, we can say that its absence from schools has been a form of 'reification'. The dominant ideology has made people to believe that KM was a 'thing' that we can dispose of easily or even ignore while it is central to learning. This was a false knowledge on KM.

False knowledge on KM has marginalized the great majority of pupils who have gone through the Mauritian education system. Disadvantaged pupils who could benefit from a mother-tongue based curriculum, alongside multilingual education, have been pushed out of the system because of the language barrier. Paradoxically, while the use of KM has expanded amongst the population over the years (Statistics, 2012), the post-colonial State denied its children the right to its language and culture. Hence this section analysed the statement 'lack of knowledge' through the philosophical and social epistemological lens.

The above discussion shows that there is a deep philosophical reflection about notions of knowledge, truth and how we approach truth. Concerning KM introduction in schools, it was not necessarily a question of knowledge which forced decision makers. In fact, it was both knowledge and the credibility that people at grassroots level gave to this knowledge which changed the minds of decision makers. Lastly, we note that knowledge is a social construct and that it is shaped by the socio-historic conditions of its context. At this point, I would say that

while KM got in schools as an optional language in 2012, there came at the same time the recognition of the cultural dimension of KM in public sphere with the celebration of the International Kreol Festival (IKF) organised by the State each year as from 2006. Since then, each edition of IFK has given rise to debates around that concept of '*Kreolité*' (créolité) or creolisation. It happened that these debates have to a certain extent informed knowledge about KM. Therefore, my discussion on 'lack of knowledge' which led me to epistemology brings me now to the concept of creolisation in the coming section. Unravelling the meaning of creolisation will help me get into the issue of language and identity construction which is central to my research.

2.3. CREOLISATION: LINGUISTIC AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.3.1. The term 'Creole'

Creolisation is derived from the term "creole". As a noun the online *Oxford English Dictionary(OED)* (2012) defines 'creole' as both a language and a group of people. As language, it is referred to as the 'mother tongue formed from the contact of a European language (especially English, French, Spanish, or Portuguese) with local languages (especially African languages spoken by slaves in the West Indies)'. In terms of people, OED refers to three types of people as Creole, namely, as a person of mixed European and black descent, especially in the Caribbean; a descendant of Spanish or other European settlers in the Caribbean or Central or South America; a white descendant of French settlers in Louisiana and other parts of the southern United States of America. With regard to the origin of the word, *OED* states that 'creole' comes from French *créole*, *criole*, from Spanish *criollo*, probably from Portuguese *crioulo* 'black person born in Brazil', from *criar* which means to 'to breed' and from Latin *creare* which means to 'produce or create'. Some 15 million people around the world speak different varieties of Creole languages.

Hancock (1977) identifies 127 pidgins and creoles, grouping them in lexifier-based sets, namely as English, French, Portuguese and Spanish varieties. According to Hancock's classification of Creole varieties (1997), KM is a French based Creole. The meaning of 'Creole' has also been

widened to include languages of similar type, though not related to European languages (Chaudenson, 2001; Todd, 1997). Mbugu or Ma'a from Tanzania, for example, has been classified as a Creole because it is a mixed language of Bantu. However, the classification of some African languages as Creole languages often gives rise to the most heated controversies, because Africanists are divided; many refuse to consider lingua franca varieties of various African languages as pidgins or creoles (Mufwene 1989, 1997a). Some accept only two or three varieties (though not necessarily the same ones) as 'creolized' or 'Creole' (e.g., Pidgin Hausa, Sango, Fanagalo, or Juba Arabic of the Sudan, Lingala, Kikongo- Kituba), whereas others, such as Owens (1998), have extended the category to include all lingua francas possessing certain features typically associated with creolisation. Chaudenson (2001) who has conducted pioneering works in creolistics and especially in varieties of French based Creole, considers that discussions about the Creole etymology exemplify the ideological confrontations that arise in studies of Creole languages and cultures. In fact, these confrontations are compounded by the different meanings which the term Creole carries in different countries when it comes to the usage of Creole and especially the appellation of Creole for the people. It is interesting to note that the French dictionary gives the definition of Creole people as 'a White person born in an ancient European colony' (www.larousse.fr). Chaudenson (2001) is critical of this French lexicographic tradition:

> Constant misunderstandings and infinite polemics have of course arisen out of the use of French dictionaries as the ultimate and definitive references for the meaning of *créole* by individuals who lacked sufficient knowledge of these facts. The evolutions of the meaning of this word are interesting, since they often illustrate for a very sensitive term the influence of social factors on semantics – such cases are very rare in a lexical set. (Chaudenson, 2001: 5).

Chaudenson's criticism is justified in the sense that it has often been used to negate an ethnic Creole identity in Mauritius. Partisans of this French definition also added that Creole is defined as any inhabitant of an island. Therefore, if we go according to this definition, all Mauritians are Creoles and that the Creole ethnic group does not exist. In fact, the word Creole refers to both the language and the Creole ethnic group, which is one of the four ethnic groups of Mauritius namely, the Indo-Mauritians, Muslim and Chinese.

In the Antilles, and Réunion Island which is situated in the Indian Ocean, there is a tendency to often substitute for the word *créole* terms which are derived from names of territories: viz., Martiniquais, Guadeloupéen, Antillais, and Réunionnais. For Chaudenson (2001), 'the use of such terms stems both from claims to specific identities and from a desire for ecumenicity aimed at transcending the social and/or ethnic cleavages that the word *créole* implies everywhere' (p.23). In the Lesser Antilles and French Louisiana the semantics has evolved in the opposite direction. The term Creole is reserved for Whites only, although over the past few years the definition has evolved concurrently with affirmations of Antillais identity. This discussion on semantic of Creole leads me to examine, next, the origin of French based Creole languages through the prism of the different theories into the genesis of KM.

2.3.2. From Pidginization to Creolisation

There exist three main theories which explain generally the origins of the different varieties of French based Creole languages. First, the African substratum explains that it is an undeniable fact that the vocabulary of Creole languages comes from European languages, yet it is the African and Malagasy languages which provide the matrix for grammar and the sentence structure. Second, there is the Romanist or eurocentrist school which tries to explain the origin of Creole languages as per the taxonomy of Indo-European languages or that Creole languages were formed by the bad acquisition of European languages.

Third, the universalist theory which is based upon the universal properties of languages is represented mainly by Noam Chomsky and Derek Bickerton. Basing himself upon the theories of Noam Chomsky, Bickerton developed the language bioprogram hypothesis (2006). According to this hypothesis, the similarity of Creole languages is due to their being formed from a prior pidgin by children who share a universal human innate grammar. Over and above these theoretical explanations of the genesis and nature of Creole languages, discussions about the origin of KM are mainly located into two divergent views, namely, the 'Bourbonnais Theory' and the pidginization explanation. The 'Bourbonnais Theory' is propounded by Robert Chaudenson (1979), a French linguist and pioneering researcher in French based Creolistics. The

pidginization explanation is used as counter-argument by Dev Virahsawmy (1989) who is a pioneering Mauritian Kreol linguist, writer and cultural militant, against Chaudenson's theory. This theoretical divergence between the two linguists has since then shaped the positioning of KM as a language deserving scientific interest and research purpose which I will discuss in the coming paragraphs.

In the 1970s, Robert Chaudenson, conducted his research on Creole vernaculars and published *Les Creoles Francais* (1979) which highlighted the origin, evolution and meaning of the term 'Creole'. This publication also defined key terms like "pidgins", "sabir", "endogeneous" and "exogeneous" Creoles and it also gave the linguistic and sociolinguistics perspective in the study of Creole languages. Since then, Chaudenson is known as the creolist of the "Bourbonnais" theory. 'Bourbonnais' is the name of the inhabitants of the Reunion Island in the days of early French colonization which was called 'Ile Bourbon'. Today the inhabitants are called 'Reunionnais' and Reunion Island is a French Department. Reunion Island is 150 miles away from Mauritius. The "Bourbonnais" theory claims that the Creole language of Reunion existed in essentially its modern form by the time the French colonization of Mauritius (named Ile de France at that time) began. According to Mufwene (2001), Creole societies experienced a shift from a homestead phase (*société d'habitation*, see Chaudenson 1992) to a plantation phase. The homestead phase is considered as the period of early settlement of the colonisers. This was rather a period when the colonisers came for prospection of wood, spices and other products. They looked for plots of land to build houses and farmhouses. Then after having decided to settle permanently, colonisers started to make plans for future development. It was during this period that slaves were massively imported as labour force. French creolists like Mufwene (2001) and Chaudenson (1992) call this period as the plantation phase with its group of labourer to work in the fields and to grow and harvest cash crops for the colonisers. According to Chaudenson (1992) it is at the plantation phase that Creole language developed with the contact of slaves speaking different languages and the colonial masters. Reunion Island knew both the homestead and the plantation phases before Ile de France (French name for Mauritius during French colonisation). Second, for Chaudenson (2010) all the Creole French languages of the Indian Ocean are typologically similar and belong to the same linguistic tradition. Third, speakers of

"Bourbonnais" provided the major input to the formation of Mauritian Creole in the early stages of its development, given that some slaves were brought to Ile de France (Mauritius) from Bourbon Island. The premises upon which Chaudenson builds his theory are highly disputed by Virahsawmy (1989). For the refutation of the Bourbonnais theory, Virahsawmy (1989) refers to the works of researchers in linguistics like John Lyons and Noam Chomsky. With regard to the genesis of KM, he builds principally his argumentation around the concept of pidgin and creolisation.

Todd (1990) defines a pidgin as 'a marginal language which arises to fulfil certain restricted communication needs among people who have no common language' (p.3). Also, for Siegel (2008) when people who speak different languages come into sustained contact, new varieties of language sometimes emerge and these are called 'contact varieties'. According to Thomason (1997), the best-known contact languages are pidgins and creoles with European lexicons, scattered along the major routes that were followed by European powers engaged in trade and colonization, starting in the Age of Exploration. These languages arose as a direct result of contact with Europeans, as reflected in the fact that their vocabularies are drawn primarily from the European languages of visiting traders, colonizers, or resident slavemasters. However, Creoles have traditionally been distinguished from pidgins. For Mufwene (1995), since the 20th century, pidgins have been claimed to differ from Creoles as either or do not function as vernaculars. The syntactic structure of the pidgin is less complex and less flexible than the structures of the languages which were in contact. For example, Hawaiian English pidgin developed out of contact which Asian contract labourers had with Hawaiians and the Americans. For Bickerton (1999), pidgins have no syntax and those which have developed into vernaculars have an expanded structure and a complex grammatical structure which can then qualify them as Creole languages.

For Bickerton (1984), a Creole arises when a pidgin becomes the mother tongue of a speech community. Creole becomes then the new language adopted by the community. Creolisation is thus the process through which a Creole goes through as a pidgin originally to become afterwards the first language of a community. For Baron & Cara (2011), the concept of

creolisation was first formulated through the study of languages in colonial situations—especially in America where people who met speaking mutually unintelligible tongues developed a linguistic medium to communicate among themselves. They restructured the existing languages of the colonizers and colonized, creating new Creole languages with distinctive phonology, morphology, and syntax. For Siegel (2008), most of the forms in the lexicon of the new language come from one of the languages in the contact situation, called the 'lexifier' (or sometimes the 'superstrate'). This is why KM is referred to as a Creole French lexifier or French based Creole. However, the meanings and functions of the lexical forms, as well as the phonology and grammatical rules of the pidgin or creole, are different to those of the lexifier, and may sometimes resemble those of one or more of the other languages in contact, usually referred to in pidgin and Creole studies as the 'substrate languages'.

Correspondingly, Virahsawmy (1984) argues that KM's origin cannot be associated with the Bourbonnais theory because Mauritian Creole has for long moved ahead of the phase of creolisation and it has 'become a full-fledged language which fulfils all the criteria needed for a language to function in the modern world' (Virahsawmy, 1984: 2). He further explains that although most of its lexicons are borrowed from French, it has its own phonology and grammatical rules (Virahsawmy, 2013). For instance, gender in both KM and English are determined by sex: *zom* (man) is masculine; *fam* (woman) is feminine. But gender in French is grammaticalized: *table* (table) is feminine; *tableau* (blackboard) is masculine. Also, generally speaking both English and KM use a similar order of words in a sentence. In English and KM, adjectives have only one form e.g. a beautiful boy/ girl/ country/ book (*enn zoli garson/ tifi/ pei/ liv*). But in English adjectives are prenominal while in KM there are prenominal and postnominal adjectives as below:

<div align="center">

a beautiful girl; an intelligent girl (English)

enn zoli tifi; enn tifi intelizan (KM)

prenominal adjective   post nominal adjective

</div>
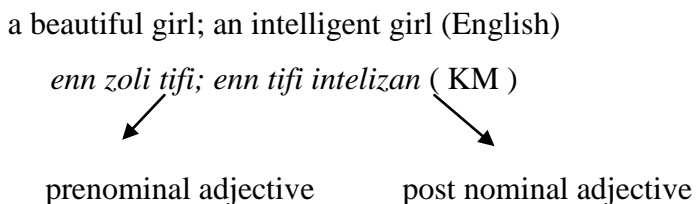
While acknowledging that most of the original vocabulary of KM comes from French, Virahsawmy is of the opinion that KM should be studied on its own. The argumentation of Virahsawmy aims at demonstrating that KM should not be analysed in terms of 'French based Creole' but as a language which went through the process of pidginisation. For Virahsawmy (1989), the 'French based Creole' perspective keeps KM in the French ideological domination.

It is interesting to note that in the 1960s, the University of Edinburgh (from which Virahsawmy graduated) set up a Department of Applied Linguistics which studied Creole languages. By contrast, the University of Aix-en-Provence set up a Department of Francophonie and Etudes Creoles of which Chaudenson was in charge. The contrast in the choice of appellation shows two different perspectives of looking at Creole languages. While Applied Linguistics looks at Creole as any other languages in context, Francophonie and Etudes Creoles maintain the paternalistic French academia towards the language their ancestors gave birth to in ancient colonies.

It can be said that the process of creolisation of a pidgin brings not only a new language, but also new power relations and an aesthetic dimension (Baron & Cara, 2011). The language is no longer restricted to being merely a tool for communication but it expresses the different elements of the new language and the culture it brings with. This explains why creolisation has gained currency as a concept and is used outside linguistics to analyse and describe Creole societies, and by extension the world. I discuss this anthropological dimension of creolisation in the next section.

2.3.3. From Uprooting to Creativity

2.3.3.1. Creolisation

The term "Creolisation," is used by some anthropologists and is taken from linguistics as an analogy (Eriksen, 2007). According to Eriksen (2007), linguistics itself took the term from a particular aspect of colonialism, namely the uprooting and displacement of large numbers of people in colonial plantation economies and its ensuing impact on the pidgin used between the colonizer and the slave. We found earlier that both in the Caribbean basin and in the Indian

Ocean, certain groups who contributed to the economy during slavery are described as creoles (Smith, 2011; Green, 2011; Chaudenson, 2001). The term 'creolisation' has entered anthropology to mean miscegenation which is the sexual union of different races (Ashcroft, et al. 1998: 142-143)), cultural creativity and hybridity or fluidity (Baron & Cara, 2011; Smith 2011; Knörr, 2010) with reference to Creole societies or observation of other cultural processes in non-Creole societies, especially in the context of globalisation.

The term creolisation is received with mixed feelings and is Janus-faced i.e. it is taken at times as either a social stigma or an enriching cultural experience. Creolisation is used to characterize a situation of miscegenation (*metis or mixed origins, especially White and Black*). Prejudice and social problems have conventionally been seen everywhere to accompany miscegenation. Drawing from Smith (2011), we learn that Portuguese imperial authorities in Portugese Indies were ordered not to use *mestiços as* soldiers or sailors because they were too 'soft' or 'effeminate'. To the Dutch, they were known as 'cockroaches' *(kakkerlakken)*, or *liplaps*, and teased for not understanding Dutch culture. For Baron and Cara (2011), the dynamism of Creole communities and 'the impossibility of absolute cultural transparency in favour of fluidity, blurring, and obfuscation' (p.20) makes that they are viewed as 'impure' and manifestations of fragmentation and degeneration.

From a historical perspective, Napoleon reintroduced the colour bar in the French colonies which was abolished during the French Revolution. This was highly prejudicial to the Free Coloured population in Ile de France (the name of Mauritius under French colonization) who also aspired for education. Coloured children were excluded from the *Lycée Colonial* which was reserved for Whites and Europeans only. This situation persisted during British colonisation and it was until 1829, by a Council Order, Governor Colville who made it possible for coloured people to have access to the Royal College. Still it was only in 1832 that Free Coloured students really gained access to that College against the will of White parents (Selvon, 2012).

The Truth and Justice Commission (TJC) set up in 2009 to investigate the consequences of slavery and indentured labour reported that the Mauritian society is deeply marked by anti-Black racism and the Creoles are the most victimised (TJC, 2011). Discrimination is often based on the

colour of the skin and finds its roots in the legacy of slavery. This explains why the Kreol language has been rejected for a long time, given that it is associated in the collective psyche with the language of the slaves.

However, creolists see creolisation as creative disorder, and a poetic chaos, thereby challenging simplistic and static notions of the centre and periphery (Baron and Cara, 2011). Centre and periphery are spatial metaphors and imagery (Abercrombie et al, 2006) which originally come from the dependency theory which focuses on the inequality between rich (center) and poor (periphery) countries. The terms 'Centre' and 'periphery' have been borrowed from the field of economics and development studies by literature to express 'mainstream' (center) and 'outside' (periphery) or anti-conformist attitudes and behaviours like in queer studies (Armbretch, 2006). Periphery is also the common terminology which refers to perspectives from marginal or subaltern groups.

My study in KM can be qualified as a study from the periphery. It looks at KM from the perspective of those who are on the margins and who identify themselves with KM as a symbol of identity affirmation, to bounce back from their situation of marginalisation. But creolists, especially from the Carribeans, consider that creolisation transcends the centre and periphery dichotomy as the very nature of creolisation blurs the frontiers between opposing binaries. In fact, the cultural and critical lens of creolisation, 'allows us to see not simply hybrids of limited fluidity, abstracted from human agency, but new cultures in the making' (Baron and Cara, 2011: 15). Creolisation therefore, is a never ending process where cultural forms are constantly in transition and transformation. But, the scholarly debate over creolisation is itself divisive.

2.3.3.2. Debates on creolisation

In terms of terminology, Knörr (2010) brings a useful distinction between creolisation and its derivatives. She makes three cautionary remarks. First, that creolisation must be distinguished from other forms of mixing and merging by means of specific criteria. Second, creolisation as a process must be distinguished from creoleness as a quality (resulting from creolisation). Third, creolisation as a process must be distinguished from creolisation as a concept the latter serving as a tool to conceptualize and analyze the former. However, not all creolists and scholars of

creolisation agree about whether creolisation should be universalized as a concept as it is deeply evocative and politically resonant of geographical and localized meanings in Creole societies.

Some scholars (Palmié, 2007; Sheller, 2003; Mintz, 1998) consider that the concept of creolisation suits the Creole societies of the Caribbean basin, southwest Indian Ocean region, and much of Latin America and ask whether extending the concept to other parts of the world would not destroy the 'richness, specificity' and authenticity of these societies (Hall, 1997). For her part, although Knörr (2010) acknowledges that there should not be an arbitrary use of the term creolisation, she contests that it has a 'heuristic potential' to describe and analyze contemporary processes of social and cultural interaction. In fact, the creolisation process and the dynamics of creolisation which may have common features across the world reflect that each Creole community or nation is 'shaped and conditioned by different local colonial, and post-colonial histories, demography, geography, politics, economics, religious forces, and other influences' (Eriksen, 2007: 12). This brings me to a discussion of the implications of creolisation for KM from an anthropological perspective.

2.3.3.3 KM as a unifying factor

As a concept, creolisation came in the public sphere in Mauritius for the first time with the organization of the 1st Edition of the International Kreol Festival (IKF) in 2006 under the aegis of the Ministry of Tourism. The Festival has become since then an annual event scheduled for each December and which mobilizes state resources. The International Day of Kreol Language and Culture is normally celebrated on 28th October. The choice of December is to attract tourists during the end of year festivities and also not to compete with the Seychelles Islands which hold its Kreol Festival ever since in October the 1980s.

The Mauritian Festival comprises an international conference which marks the opening ceremony and other cultural activities like poem recitation, culinary art and one All Night Concert with an international star. Apart from its touristic purpose, the benefit of this Festival is that it has raised debates in the press around Creole language, identity and nation building. It is

important to point out that the Komite Diosezin Premie Fevriye (1st February Diocesan Committee) which is a catholic church movement working on Kreol language, identity and empowerment played a key role in convincing members of the government to organize this festival.

I am a member of this Committee and I collaborated unofficially in the conception of the programme with key representatives of the government who are sensitive to the Creole issue. We arrived at the principle of having one theme each year that would be a mobilizing factor for reflection and action. Some themes were, for instance, '*Viv to Kreolite*' (Live up Your Creolity, Edition 2009), '*Kiltir Kreol Nou Fyerte*' (Kreol Culture, Our Pride, Edition 2011) and '*Kreolite Nou Lidantite*' (Creolity, Our Identity, Edition 2012). Here again the choice of 'Kreolity' instead of the French orthography 'Creolité' is an identity construct. 'Kreolity' is a way of asserting the unique contribution of the Kreol people of Mauritius within a Pan-Creolity of the Creole and Cajun people of the South Louisiana (USA), Canada, Caribbean and the Indian Ocean[23]. As an aftermath to the 1st Festival, the Mauritian academic Aaliya Rajah-Carrim, Linguist of the University of Edinburgh wrote the following in a Mauritian daily:

> The Festival International Kreol was a good opportunity to raise awareness about creolisation of culture and language. The debates on linguistic creolisation and the role of Kreol in our society are timely and highly significant. A lot of work remains to be done to convince Mauritians of the linguistic and cultural value of Kreol (Rajah-Carrim, *Le mauricien*, December, 8th, 2006).

Successive themes over the years have been *metisaz* (metissage), *kreolite* (creolity), *Kreol dan lemond* (Creoles in the world). This new configuration of identity debates in public may be a new and unexpected element for anthropologists like Thomas Eriksen who has done fieldwork in

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[23] It is interesting to note that the discussion about the conceptualisation of Kreolity was located in pan-creolity reflections spurred by the demise International Organisation of Creole People (IOCP). The main objectives of IOCP were to promote the Creole culture worldwide, encourage interaction among Creole groups at local and international level and build a pan-Creole movement (htpp://iocp.potomitan.info). In 2006, IOCP organized an international video-conference with the theme: 'Quelle pan-créolite pour l'avenir?' (English: What form of pan-creolity for the future?).

Mauritius. Eriksen (2007) observes that official discourse in Mauritius stands in stark contrast to the notion of creolisation:

> Creolisation is seen as a process whereby new shared cultural forms, and new possibilities for communication, emerge owing to contact. It highlights the open-ended, flexible, and unbounded nature of cultural processes, as opposed to the notion of cultures as bounded, stable systems of communication. In Mauritian public discourse, notions of change, flux, personal choice, and hybridity are routinely contrasted with tradition, stability, commitment to fixed values and purity. (Eriksen, 2007: 154).

Successive events and the evolution of the situation may prove Eriksen's description (2007) not completely true now. While it is true that the general perception is that this Festival is a way for the State to play ethnic politics, it may seem that the 'Kreolity' public discourse through official speeches at each opening ceremony shapes the future of Mauritius and may be participating in a particular form of creolisation in the Mauritian context. At each Festival, the Prime Minister, Honourable Navin Ramgoolam is reported for having made similar statements as below:

> Creolity represents the foundation of our society […]. We often have the tendency to forget who we are. Yet creole is not only the culture, language, cook but also its values. (Ramgoolam, Navin, *Week-End*, 2011, December, 11th, p.14, my translation)[24]

> Creolity represents a big world not tied only with ethnic belonging or race, but encompasses a world view and a way of life. […] This culture which provides the very basis of our society makes our richness. Creole language makes what we have all in common. (Navin Ramgoolam, 2013, December, 1, p.5, my translation).[25]

We can make two observations from these statements. First, the Prime Minister affirms as an undeniable fact that KM is the unifying factor of the country. Second, creolity is the foundation of the Mauritian society and it represents diversity and openness. These above statements stand

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[24] Original French version : « La créolité qui représente la base même de notre société […]. Nous avons souvent tendance à oublier ce que nous sommes. Or le créole, c'est non seulement la culture, la langue, la cuisine, mais aussi ses valeurs » (Navin Ramgoolam, *Week-End*, 2011, December, 11th, p.14)

[25] Original version (French) : « la créolité qui représente un monde vaste pas lié uniquement à l'ethnie ou la race, mais englobe une manière de voir et de vivre. […]Cette culture qui est la base même de notre société fait notre richesse. La langue créole est ce que nous avons tous en commun» (Navin Ramgoolam, *Le mauricien*, 2013, December, 1, p.5)

in sharp contrast to public discourse in the 1990s in Mauritius whereby emphasis was made only on preservation of ancestral cultures and traditions. This is where Eriksen (2007) is partially right when he says that 'In Mauritian public discourse, notions of change, flux, personal choice, and hybridity are routinely contrasted with tradition, stability, commitment to fixed values and purity' (Eriksen, 2007: 154). But since the Kreol Festival and the occupation of the public debates by Kreol identity, things might be changing and there is a move towards creolisation. But this is not to say that the traditionalist and the conservative discourses have ceased. We should also take note that Knörr's (2010)'s analysis of creolity in the Caribbean sense of the word has its limits:

> Mine is not a Caribbeanist perspective. I—like Hannerz (1987), among others—consider creolisation a process not exclusive to any particular region, and it is my aim to explore the social and political meanings of creolisation and creoleness beyond the Caribbean. I focus on postcolonial societies that are ethnically heterogeneous and where ethnic identities are important dimensions of social identities of individuals and groups. It is particularly in such settings that Creole identities and processes relating to them assume important social and political meanings and functions concerning the construction and conceptualization of ethnic as well as transethnic and national identities. This is due to the fact that in the given societies, it is a social and political necessity to acknowledge ethnic identities and cultural specificities inasmuch as there is a demand for identifications across ethnic boundaries and cultural as well as religious differences (Knörr, 2010: 17).

With regard to the above quote, Knörr (2010: 17) observes as a 'social and political necessity' to recognize the ethnic dimension of a specific group in the 'construction and conceptualization of ethnic as well as transethnic and national identities.' For Knörr (2010), even if creolisation implies as a dynamic process 'de-ethnicisation in so far as old boundaries may lose their meaning in a new and local context' (Knörr, 2010: 17), yet she observes that in the process of creolisation itself 'new cultural and identitarian connections are forged and, correspondingly new boundaries are created that suit the new social environment' (Knörr, 2010: 717).

With regard to the choice of the word 'kreolite' in the Mauritian IKF, I expressed some reservations along the same lines as Knörr, (2010: 717). In a reflective paper published in the local press (Harmon, 2011), I explained that Creolity in the Caribbean context is the positioning

of Caribbean intellectuals against French assimilationist policy in the French Departments (commonly referred to as DOM-TOM). It was also a reaction of the generation which came after Aimé Cesaire and Leopold Sédar Senghor, who as writers of negritude propounded a return to Africa. Whereas the Creole Caribbean intellectuals like Patrick Chamoiseau, Edouard Glissant, Jean Barnabe and Derek Walcott rather preferred to define themselves as Creoles, that is neither African nor European, but born out of mixed origins. For Larson (2013) whose research is based mainly on the Malagasy heritage in Mauritius, he argues that creolity has a French bias:

> The problem with most of the writings on creolity is that they do not take enough into account the coexistence and interaction of multiple colonial languages and ways of living, the presence of Malagasy locutors and identities or other African communities, in relation to the Creole French group (Larson, 2013, my translation)[26].

It was for this reason that I argued that creolity in the Mauritian sense should not be taken as synonymous to universalism. It should rather recognize and acknowledge the specificity of the Creoles and the slave descents within the rainbow nation. In fact, creolisation took place in societies in which social inequality and social class correlated with place of origin and race, and as a result, it was a process characterized primarily by the ethnicization of social classes (Knörr 2007). Yet, the creolity discourse may give a new dimension to KM.

The different climate which the Creolity discourse has brought in Mauritius may coincide with another new discourse this time; the discourse on Indianness. The Pravasi Bharatiya Divas (English: Non Indian Resident Day) is celebrated in India on 9th January of each year to mark the contribution of Indian overseas community to the development of India. In 2012, the Pravasi Bharatiya Divas International Conference was held in Mauritius. The theme of the conference was: 'Shared Roots, Common Destiny'. Dr Nandini Bhautoo-Dewnarain, an Indo-Mauritian academic of the University of Mauritius made the following observation in a press interview:

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[26] Original version (French) : « Le problème de la plupart des écrits sur la créolité est qu'ils ne prennent pas assez en compte la *coexistence* et l'*interaction* des multiples langues coloniales et des modes de vies, la présence de locuteurs et d'identités malgaches, ou celle d'autres communautés africaines, en relation avec les groupes créoles français ». (Larson, 2013 : 15)

> What has happened certainly is a transformation in the understanding of Indianness, more in tune with the reality of the digital age you refer to, in the era of fast connectivity and transnational information flow. It is clear that the codes have changed. One can be culturally Indian while not having to refer back exclusively to ancestral codes of mytholodological references and the kind of fixed, fetichised image of diasporic belonging which the early defensive phases of diasporic self-affirmation put in place…" (Bhautoo-Dewnarain, *Mauritius Times*, 2012, December, 26, p.2)

This interview echoes a reshaping of the Indo-Mauritian identity which has been elaborated until now upon a primordial link with India based upon 'ancestral codes of mytholodogical references and the kind of fixed, fetichised image...' as Bhautoo-Dewnarain points out in the above quote. This gives a new outlook on the evolution of identity experienced by the Indo-Mauritian community. Can creolity and 'Indianess in the digital age' meet therefore? This augurs important implications for KM as a unifying factor. Would KM become then the confluence of creolity and Indianess?

However, Virahsawmy (2008) provides a totally different perspective on creolity and KM. He bluntly puts it that Mauritius is neither a 'Sweet France' nor a 'Little India'. He considers that all Mauritians are hyphenated Creoles. That is, he defines himself first as Indo-Kreol and other hyphenated Creoles would be Islamo-Kreol, Sino-Kreol and Afro-Kreol for Muslims, Chinese and Creoles respectively. Just as in the USA, the hyphenated identity (like Latino-American or African –American) means that one has both an ethnic and a transethnic identity. He considers that KM has a potential for nation building and at the same time he finds that KM can give Mauritius the means to position itself as a competitive country on the global market. For this, he recommends that we promote a bilingual (KM-English) universal literacy. The choice of KM is justified on the basis that it is the mother-tongue of the majority of Mauritians. He makes a case for bilingualism with English because English is a global language. A mastery of English will also position Mauritius amongst the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, China, and South Africa) countries as emerging economies. Bilingual universal literacy would also unlock the creative capacity of the people in different fields like literature, drama, music and others.

In summary, this section has defined the concept of creolisation. It has a link with epistemology as creolisation provides a conceptual framework for the semantics of KM. It looked, first, at linguistic aspects which are related to the genesis of Creole languages. We found that the term "Creole" has different meanings, depending on socio-historical conditions of the birth of the language. In this section, I raised the profound divergence between Chaudenson for his theory of Bourbonnais origins about KM and Virahsawmy who rejects totally this theory and explains the origins of KM based on the pidginisation explanation in linguistics. I also examined the concept of creolisation from an anthropological perspective. In this case, creolisation refers to hybridity, cultural diversity and the ongoing process of cultural transformation. I mentioned that scholars do not see eye to eye upon the extension of the concept of creolisation to other cultural situations. In the case of creolisation for Mauritius, I explained that I would rather share the view of Knörr (2010) upon creolisation who takes into account its ethnic dimension in some parts of the world. I argued that Knorr's (2010) definition which does not emasculate the ethnic dimension in creolisation is more relevant to the Mauritian context and helps to enlighten the discussion. Finally, I presented the concept of creolisation from Virahsawmy's (2004) perspective which defines all Mauritians as hyphenated Creoles. Virahsawmy (2004) emphasises the centrality of KM as a tool for bilingual literacy in KM and English. His perspective of creolisation has also an economic dimension as he claims that bilingual KM/ English can position Mauritius on the global market and occupy a strategic position amongst the emergent economic block.

In the following section I look at the socio-historical progress of KM. The socio-historical overview is essential for an understanding of KM in schools. It takes stock of what has brought KM where it is. I will use the *Grafi- Larmoni* (2004) report as a reference document to analyse the socio-historical evolution of KM. In its introduction, the report traces the evolution of the written form of KM since the 19th century to 2004. It gives a historical perspective into KM writing. Whilst the document provides a chronological frame, I will not limit myself to a mere chronological reporting of the major events, but I will engage critically with the major events which signpost the socio-historical progress of KM. My historical analysis will stop at 2010 when the government announced officially that KM would be introduced as an optional

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language. At the same time, I will argue that the socio-historical evolution of KM should rather be viewed as 'ruptures' instead being described as 'evolution'.

The term 'evolution' is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as 'the process by which different kinds of living organism are believed to have developed from earlier forms during the history of the earth.' The term is also historically located within the works of evolutionary theory of Darwin (2009). Its use in ordinary life conveys the idea of gradual evolution over a long period of time owing to the law of nature. Based on the premise of this definition, I would rather replace the term 'socio-historical evolution' by 'rupture'. The Oxford English Dictionary (2012) defines 'rupture' as 'an instance of breaking or bursting suddenly and completely'. Locating myself as a post colonial researcher in post-structural language studies, I would say that 'rupture' would be more appropriate to qualify the progress of KM in school as its historical introduction in 2012 does not follow a Darwinian evolution. But the introduction of KM has been marked by a rethinking of the world provoking human struggle, class conflict and redefinition of power asymmetry. Had it been just the outcome of a natural evolution we would surely have not got statement like 'lack of knowledge' which I have analysed earlier. In this case, I use the term 'rupture' with the meaning which philosophers like Blanchard (2002), Ganguilhem (in Gutting, 2001: 227) and Foucault (1972) give to it. Foucault (1972), for instance, rejects the traditional historian tendency to see history as a succession of linear events. He argues that history is rather composed of 'phenomena of rupture, of discontinuity' (Foucault, 1972: 15). Instead of presenting a monolithic version of the history of an event, we must rather reveal 'several pasts, several forms of connexion, several hierarchies of importance [...] thus historical descriptions are necessarily ordered by the present state of knowledge' (Foucault, 1972: 25). It is for this reason that for my analysis of the 'ruptures' in the history of KM, I deliberately start with the *Grafi-Larmoni Report* (2004) which does not fall strictly speaking in the first chronological order of things. But starting my analysis with the report will help me to unravel the 'several pasts', see 'connexions' and 'hierarchies of importance'.

In doing so, I would like to position myself for the purpose of my analysis in this section of this chapter. I locate myself as an 'intellectual historian'. Intellectual historians embrace an

interdisciplinary identity. Kramer (2004) describes the *real historians* as those who 'want to explain what people actually did in their daily lives, political institutions, wars and social conflicts. But, *intellectual historians* seek to explain how people have interpreted their beliefs, cultures and actions' (p.81). I will now interpret the 'ruptures' of KM which is essential in my research work so that I can embrace the contours of the historical forces that have shaped the introduction of KM in school.

2.4. RUPTURES IN KREOL MORISIEN

2.4.1. The Harmonising Orthography

In March 2004, the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research informed the University of Mauritius that the Government had agreed to "a proposal of the Ministry to entrust to the University of Mauritius and the Mauritius Institute of Education [...] under the responsibility of Prof. Vinesh Y Hookoomsing, Pro Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mauritius, the task of proposing a standardized way of writing Mauritian Kreol "with a view to making use of that language in the education of young Mauritians" (Grafi-Larmoni Report, 2004:1). The government policy was a crucial step on the road to harmonise the written system of KM. At that time even Kreol language had different appellations in writing: *kreol*, *créole*, *morisyin*.

A technical committee was set up comprising five members: the Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Mauritius (Chairperson and signatory of the Report) plus senior academics of the University of Mauritius and the Mauritius Institute of Education respectively. The technical team also consulted key actors who write in Kreol like the literacy organisation Ledikasion Pu Travayer, the Catholic church for its translation project of the New Testament in KM, and individuals like linguists and writers. Halliday (1972) considers standardized orthography as part of language planning and defines it as:

> [...] a process that has something both of the internal and of the external aspects of language planning: internal because it involves selecting among, and sometimes modifying, forms of the language itself, its pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, external, because it involves directing people's language habits, telling them how they should speak or write. (Halliday, 1972: 233)

In line with Halliday's (1970) comment, the technical committee had to select either a phonetic form of writing or an etymological one which would be close to French in script. Right at the start the choice of an orthography which is either close to French or far from it entails an ideological positioning. In fact, for the lay people who are not linguists, the controversy about KM in public still remains about whether it should be close to or far from French. In the process of language planning an arbitrary decision has inevitably to be made.

Within the committee itself, all the members were known publicly as not only technicians or academics but as users of a phonetic type of written Kreol, and those who were consulted as writers of KM in any specific form were mostly on the same side. They were also public figures known for their convictions to work towards a full-fledged Kreol language and not tied to the French-based Creole ideology. The Catholic Church had a mid-way position between the phonetic form and the French etymology. Analysing KM standardisation, Mooneram (2009) makes the following remark in her research work:

> In relation to MC, an orthography based purely on etymological principles is acceptable neither on practical nor on ideological grounds. It would perpetuate the widespread conception of MC as an inferior version of French, thereby reinforcing the diglossic relations and potentially acting as a pedagogical hindrance both to those who are not literate in French and to those learning French. The alternative, a strictly phonetic transcription is however, no more desirable. The aim of phonetics is to make a permanent and unambiguous record of what goes on in our speech, an aim which is distinct from that of a writing system. (Mooneram, 2009: 128).

By 'etymological principles', Mooneram (2009) means a Kreol orthography closer to French would consolidate the perception that Kreol is 'an inferior version of French'. But she is neither in favour of a totally 'phonetic transcription'. In fact, the members of technical committee made the same observation as regard the phonetic system:

> Furthermore, a strictly phonemic orthography, based on a one to one correspondence between the phoneme that is, a sound belonging to the pronunciation system, and the written symbol, does not promote readability. To achieve this, a certain amount of redundancy is necessary. (Grafi-Larmoni, 2004: 31).

Both Mooneram's (2009) research work and the Grafi-Larmoni Report (2004) show that language planning is never merely a technical or an instrumental operation. It is underpinned by an ideological assumption, some practical aspects and the policymakers' intent. In the case of

KM, the assumption behind the choice of phonetic orthography was that KM is a language on its own, with its own syntax and grammatical syntax. It was, therefore, important to distinguish it from French as KM has always been looked down upon as a 'broken French' or a dialect. Also, an autonomous orthography for KM is motivated by a pedagogical reasoning. This means that when school children learn KM, the latter's orthography would easily help learners to distinguish KM from French or English. In terms of policymakers' intent, it was clear for the members of the technical committee that they were set to tasks within the political philosophy of the political alliance in power.

Edwards (2009) observes that although language planning is certainly an exercise requiring linguistic skill, he considers that those who are engaged in it should be better considered as 'the servants of much larger political and social agendas than as independent creators' (p.17).The then Minister of Education, Honourable S. Obeegadoo, for instance, is himself from the MMM (Mouvement Militant Mauricien, which is Movement Militant Mauritian in English) Party which was in power. Virahsawmy was one of the co-founders of MMM. This party has always been favourable to the recognition of KM. The former Minister was also of that generation called 'zanfan Me 1975' (Children of May 1975) and who promoted a phonetic writing system for KM. The month of May 1975 marked the year of students rising which came up with a list of reform proposals amongst which was the "mauritianisation" of the education system. One form of mauritianisation was according to the demands of the students, the recognition and use of KM as a formal medium of instruction. The working team on the standardisation of KM was clearly in favour of a form of writing which would be distinct from French etymology and without French accents. But just to guard itself from any attack for ideological bias, it seems that it took the precaution to justify its choice for a standardized writing system of maximal deviance to French by stating the following:

> The harmonized orthography presented [...] is not a closed system. Based on the standardized writing systems currently in use, it will inevitably go through a period of test and trial. In other words, it too will evolve with time and practice (Grafi-Larmoni, 2004: p.32).

The report (*A harmonized Writing System for Mauritian Creole Language, Grafi-Larmoni*) was released publicly in September 2004. The report gave the first basic established rules for orthography. The language is referred in the document as Mauritian Creole Language (MCL). It is to be noted that different appellations were used before until the term 'Kreol Morisien' became the official appellation as from 2012 with its introduction as an optional subject. The document makes a detailed proposal for a written standardized version of KM.

For its recommendations, the report based itself on four existing forms of writing in KM at that time. The first one was that of Virahsawmy who from 1967 to 1998 came up with an updated version of his different versions over the years which were revisited and restyled as '*grafi aksan sirkonfleks*' (circumflex orthography, 1967-1985), *graphie d'accueil* (welcome orthography, 1988), *graphie consensuelle*, (consensus orthography, 1990s) and finally *grafi legliz* (church orthography, 1990s onward). Second, the *grafi linite* (unity orthography, 1987) by Baker and Hookoomsingh was considered. But apart from the publication of a trilingual dictionary (Kreol-English-French) in 1987 by Baker and Hokoomsingh, their grafi linite was not adopted by Kreol writers and users. Third, the committee also studied the orthography of the adult literacy movement Ledikasion Pu Travayer (1997 to date) called 'n/nn continuity' which was the most widely used because Ledikasion Pu Travayer was also involved in publication. Fourth, the committee examined the *grahie standard pour le Kreol* (Standard Orthography for Kreol) of the Catholic Church, which is consensus orthography of Virahsawmy and the Church, and was taken into consideration. The outcome of the analysis of these four forms of Kreol writing led the committee to adopt an open door policy with their authors so as to reach a harmonised orthography in KM. This policy came to fruition with the elaboration of the '*Grafi Larmoni*' (harmonised orthography). The orthography was reached in consensus and was welcome by all users of written Kreol as a significant progress.

In terms of specific rules, the report made some recommendations for some aspects of the consonants, vowels and semi vowels. For instance, [**x/xs**] where [**x**] has the value of [ks] as in 'taxi'or 'sex', and the value of [gz], as in 'lexame'or 'exose'; [**xs**] is proposed for the sake of readability. Other recommendations pertain to orthographic conventions such as the punctuation

system, hyphen and apostrophe. For instance, as regard the punctuation system, the report states 'the English and French systems have much in common. English punctuation has the advantage of being more widely used as a result of its status as the written official language of administration. It is proposed that MCL punctuation be based on it' (*Grafi Larmoni*, 2004: 35). Finally, the report concludes by stating that 'The standard orthography proposed will evolve with time and usage along with the development of MCL's written norm. It should, therefore, be seen as a dynamic and flexible system' (p.40).

In light of the above, the significance of this report is unprecedented in the socio-historical processes which led to the introduction of KM in primary education. The existence of a standardized orthography came like the opening of a new era and a rupture from the old mindset which considered that KM had no written form. The fact that a maximal deviance to French was adopted for the orthography created a rupture with the French based creole ideology and gave KM its own identity. *Grafi-larmoni* also broke with Chaudenson's theory of Bourbonnais for the origin of KM. In both academic and public spheres, *Grafi-larmoni* became the buzzing term not as a craze effect which is just short-lived but as an unprecedented breakthrough. The standardized orthography put an end to usual criticisms that KM cannot be considered as a language as anybody could write KM in any form. The absence of a standardized orthography was often used as a reproach against KM promoters to demote their work, and at the same time to show that they were not in agreement amongst themselves. *Grafi-larmoni* proved all these criticisms wrong and unfounded and that it was possible for KM writers and intellectuals to overcome their differences and work for the common good. Although the government of the day did not have the occasion to mark this event as a national breakthrough and even used it as a political mileage for the General Elections 2005 which were near, *Grafi-larmoni* became *de jure,* the official orthography for the KM promoters.

The standardized orthography prepared the school community to teach KM given that the official orthography could allow reading and writing, proper spelling and other pedagogical activities in a classroom situation. In fact, the harmonising exercise that was undertaken in 2004 can be connected to the earliest form of interest in KM in the past. The interest in KM was

ambivalent as it created curiosity in relation to French language, and at the same time lack of interest revealed high level of Black prejudice because it was considered as the language of the slave and their descendants. This might be the reason why KM took so many years to get into school as it was not a high status language. It is really ironical that the first interest for KM came from a famous Mauritian author who was himself a descendant of slave masters.

2.4. 2. Exotic Interest and Black Prejudice

The first systematic description of KM was done by the Mauritian author named Charles Baissac (1831-1892). Baissac published two major works namely, *Etudes sur le Patois mauricien* (1880) and *Le folklore de l'Ile Maurice* (1888). The first work (*Etudes sur le Patois mauricien)* is a study of KM and it makes a description of KM's syntax. The second work (*Folkore de l'Ile Maurice*) is a collection of tales and riddles (more commonly known in KM as '*sirandann*'). The publications of Charles Baissac are a foundation in the cultural history of Mauritius in the sense that they represent the first works ever undertaken on Kreol language and culture which date as far back as the 19th century. Baissac's detailed description of the phonology, grammar, syntax and comparative analysis with French is the first local knowledge produced on KM. The Grafi-larmoni Report (2004) qualifies Baissac's description as 'a monumental work' but remarks as well, that "for all his erudition, Baissac had a very poor opinion of Mauritian Creole Language and of its potentialities as a language" (Grafi-larmoni, 2004: 5). The appreciation of Baissac by *Grafi-Larmoni* shows that KM had only an exotic interest for Baissac. In spite of his description of KM, he did not recognise KM as language but as patois (as implied in the title of his publication), and for him KM has limited cognitive capacities if we base ourselves upon what he wrote as shown below:

> [...] Creole is not the language of philosophy: immensity, eternity, immortality, time, space, glory, nobility, etc, etc, so many words that Creole language does not know as well as the ideas they represent. (Baissac, 18: ix: my translation)[27].

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[27] « Le créole n'est pas la langue de la philosophie : immensité, éternité, immortalité, espace, durée, gloire, noblesse, etc, etc., autant de mots que le créole ignore, aussi bien que les idées qu'ils représentent ». (Baissac, 1880 : ix)

However, in my opinion, Baissac's description of the syntax of Mauritian Kreol has helped to combat prejudices and make linguists later study KM in all seriousness (Harmon, 2012). I consider that he was a man in his time who considered popular culture as folk-culture or Mauritian Creole as patois and yet we must acknowledge that he was well ahead of his time. It is for this reason that his publication can be qualified as the earliest form of rupture. We may disagree with his perception, but without him, perhaps an important chunk of our cultural history would have disappeared; we would have not recalled the tales of Mauritius or the *sirandann* (riddles). Worst of all, there would have not been any records on how our language was some hundred years ago. A modern version of Baissac's tales which has been written in bilingual version (Kreol Morisien and English) was published in 2012 (Sauer & Virahsawmy, 2012).

Besides, it is interesting to note that Charles Baissac's publication came forty five years after the abolition of slavery (1835). The interest comes from the fact that Baissac was the first white generation, commonly referred to as Franco-mauritian, who lived in the post-emancipation period. His interest for the language associated with the slaves brought a rupture in the perception that all Franco-mauritians looked down upon KM. Other Franco-mauritians showed interest in the language and even recognised it as their language. Malcom de Chazal, a Franco-mauritian writer and painter of the 20th century wrote:

> the soul of kreol language is the soul of Mauritius. Removing the creole language in Mauritius, it's to amputate our motherland of its soul. Nobody dares to think about it, given that everybody here speaks this language and loves it. Creole language is undeniably the national language (De Chazal, *Le mauricien*, 1961, 29th April, p.5, my translation)[28].

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[28] « L'âme de la langue créole est l'âme de l'ile Maurice. Oter la langue créole a Maurice, c'est amputer notre patrie de son âme. Personne n'y songe, puisque tout le monde chez nous parle cette langue et l'aime. La langue créole est indéniablement notre langue nationale." (De Chazal, *Le mauricien*, 1961, 29 avril, p.5)

The interest of Baissac for KM and the defense of De Chazal for KM confirmed the national dimension of the language. In terms of the former master and ex-slave relationship, KM represents the common legacy of the oppressor and the oppressed. But the interest of Baissac and De Chazal were not the dominant attitude. The prejudice against KM was tenacious in the 19th century.

In 1834, one year before the abolition of slavery, Eugene Bernard, who was a franco-mauritian, wrote an essay with the title '*Essai sur les nouveaux affranchis à l'Ile Maurice*' (1834), which we translate literally as *Essay on the new affranchised in Mauritius*' (1834). In this essay, Bernard (1834 in Romaine and Ng Tat Cheung, 2013) depicted the Black population as '*paresseux*' (lazy), '*ivrogne*' (drunkard) and their language, 'Creole', is referred to as 'patois'. He appealed patronizingly to the British authorities and the Mauritian society at large to prepare the slaves enter the emancipation period as the slaves were not morally fit to make use of their freedom. In fact, the abolition of slavery marked a turning point for the Mauritian society. The population of ex-slaves stood at 56, 699 (Allen, 1999) out of a population of 100,000 inhabitants, almost 50 % of the total population. The affranchised slaves represented a new group with which the former slave masters had to accommodate.

The *Grafi-larmoni* Report also refers to a 17th century author, namely, Bernardin de St Pierre who in his novel, *Voyage à l'Ile de France* (1773), makes reference to the '*mauvais patois*' (rough patois) of one of his native characters. There is also the traveller Freycinet (1827) who visited Mauritius in 1818 and, in his book *Voyage autour du monde* (Freycinet, 1827: 406 in *Grafi Larmoni* Report, 2004: 5) wrote that KM is a '*patois inventé par les noirs*' (a patois invented by the Blacks). Like most colonised countries of that time, anything which could be referred to or associated with the former slave population, including their language, was downgrading (Pearce, 1988; Mwiria, 1991; Thong, 2012). Although, historical evidence as cited by Grafi-larmoni (2004: p.6) indicates that by the early 18th century KM has become the major language of communication between the slave and their masters, social stigma of KM as '*mauvais patois*' (rough patois) persisted. Thus, as observed by the Grafi Larmoni report (2004), the work of Baissac and references to Mauritian Kreol in literary works of the 19th century show an 'exotic interest' for KM. At the same, I would say that the attitudes towards Kreol language

was marked by Black prejudice associated with the slave population and its descendants. It took almost two centuries for a national interest in KM until the dawn of a new intellectual climate when Mauritius was preparing itself for independence.

2.4.3. Kreol Enlightenment

The most radical rupture came with a newspaper article written by a contemporary author, poet and linguist, Dev Virahsawmy, who at that time came back to his country after having graduated in linguistics at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. His dissertation was entitled *Towards a re-evaluation of the Mauritian Creole* which was a description of Mauritian Kreol and the role of this language in nation building and economic development (Virahsawmy, 1967). In 1967, he wrote a first paper on KM which was entitled 'Language Problems in Mauritius' in the newspaper *L'Express* on 12th August, 1967. In his paper, he explained the importance of eradicating illiteracy, the need for language planning and he made a plea for KM as medium of instruction in primary education at the initial stage followed by English as soon as the children have acquired the rudiments of learning.

Virahsawmy's first paper appeared incidentally one week after the General Elections which were held on 7th August 1967. These elections were decisive for the future of Mauritius as they turned out to be a referendum on independence. The results of these elections confirmed a victory of the Independence Party, an alliance led by the Labour Party, which won a total of 43 seats, allowing the Labour leader and incumbent Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam to form a government and prepared the country towards independence on 12th March 1968 (Selvon, 2012). The electoral campaign was divisive and ethnic riots broke out in some regions. Virahsawmy's paper came as a public statement of sensitization over the importance of nation building through KM as a common language and unifying factor of the Mauritian people. Virahsawmy wrote other papers in *L'Express* with the following titles, amongst others: 'Practical and Economic aspects of this new endeavour' (1967, 28th August), 'Has Morisiê no syntax' (1967, 18th September) and 'Pour une langue mauricienne' (For a Mauritian language', my translation, 1967, 28th October). His papers examined different aspects of KM such as grammar and syntax, the role of KM as a factor of economic development and KM as language of national unity. In

the context of the debate of that time, these papers provided substantial argument to counter reactions against KM.

Virahsawmy was also a cultural and political activist of the newly formed leftist movement known as Mouvement Militant Mauricien (MMM) which is today one of the major political parties of the country. Virahsawmy proposed that the term 'Morisiê' be used instead of "Creole" as the latter also refers to the Creole ethnic group. Thus the term 'Morisiê' transcends ethnic barriers and makes the language become a supra-ethnic one. He also proposed a written version of 'Morisiê' which he called later 'Morisyen' as mentioned earlier. According to *Grafi-Larmoni* Report, Dev Virahsawmy set the agenda for the development, recognition and standardization as follows:

1) MCL is the language par excellence of our national unity and identity;

2) MCL is distinctively Mauritian and therefore should be called Morisyen rather than Creole, to avoid the confusion between the language and the ethnic marker;

3) Morisyen is neither a patois nor a broken variety of French. It is a language in its own right with a distinct system of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary;

4) the linguistic structures of Morisyen must be studied and described in view of the standardization of the language; a standard orthography must be devised for Morisyen to be developed as a full-fledged written language;

5) Morisyen should become the vehicle for the production of a new truly Mauritian literature.

(Grafi-Larmoni Report, 2004: 14).

A review of press articles from 1969 to the end of 1970's (*L'Express*, 1969-1975; *Soley Ruz*, 1970-75; *Week-End*, 1973) shows a vitriolic attack of the mainstream intellectuals against Virahsawmy. The heated debate of those days was about the exact nature of KM, raising a question as whether it was a language or a patois and whether it was not more appropriately considered as broken French. Virahsawmy's press rejoinders or reflective papers during that period argued that a scientific discipline called creolistics had long established that Creole is a language on its own, equipped with an oral grammar and syntax. He further argued that the teaching of KM is a lever for achieving literacy and equip the newly independent Mauritius with a literate labour force. I would venture to say that the thrust of Virahsawmy's convictions

brought an age of Kreol Enlightenment. I use the term 'Enlightenment' as it is defined by the *Dictionary of Philosophy* (Runes, 1942):

> A cultural period of fervent efforts of leading personalities to make reason the absolute ruler of human life and to shed the light of knowledge upon the mind and conscience of any individual. Such attempts are not confined to a particular time, or nation as history teaches; but the term is generally applied to the European Enlightenment stretching from the early 17th to the beginning of the 19th century, especially fostered by English, Dutch, French and German philosophers. (Runes, 1942:92).

Foucault (1984 in Rabinow, 1984) makes an interesting analysis of an article written by Immanuel Kant on 'Enlightenment' in the 18th century. Immanuel Kant was responding to a question by the editor of the newspaper *Berlinsche Monatschrift* to his readers. The question was: *Was it aufklärung?* (What is Enlightenment? my translation). I will refer to Foucault's analysis here in order to show how the use of the term 'Kreol Enlightenment' is justified. Foucault states that Kant looks at Enlightenment thus:

> 'as neither a world era to which one belongs, nor an event whose signs are perceived, nor the dawning of an accomplishment […] but as an "exit", "a way out". […]. He is not seeking to understand the present on the basis of a totality or of a future achievement. He is looking for a difference: What difference does today introduce with respect to yesterday? Kant indicates right away that the "way out" that characterizes Enlightenment is a process that releases us from the status of "immaturity." And by "immaturity," he means a certain state of our will that makes us accept someone else's authority to lead us in areas where the use of reason is called for (Foucault, 1984; in Rabinow, 1984: 34).

In the sense of Enlightenment described above, Virahsawmy brought new knowledge and it led to a critical reappraisal of existing ideas and it scrutinized previously accepted doctrines. It was 'an exit' or 'a way out' of an ancient mindset, more precisely of the colonial mental frame. In fact, the 'Kreol Enlightenment' was tantamount to a way out of the French colonial dominant intellectual climate. Great Mauritian writers and poets like Leoville L'Homme (1857-1928), Robert Edward Hart (1891-1954) and Marcel Cabon (1912-1972) to name a few of them, had all been intellectualising in French language and eurocentrist thinking system and values but Virahsawmy brought the unique Kreol dimension. The issue of KM with the advent of independence paved the way for thinking not only on the Mauritian language, but also in one's mother tongue. But the new knowledge was negated by Mauritian intellectuals contemporary to

Virahsawmy. The most expressive and dominant form of this negation came from Camille de Rauville, a Franco-Mauritian author born in 1910. De Rauville published works on the literature of the Indian Ocean and became particularly well known for his publication *Lexique des mauricianismes à éviter: Des barbarismes et des solecisms les plus frequents a l'Ile Maurice* (*Lexicon of Mauritianisms to be avoided: On the Most Frequent Barbarisms and Solecisms in Mauritius*). This publication of De Rauville is about common mistakes in written and spoken French in Mauritius and it gives advice on how to speak and write French correctly.

In reaction to Virahsawmy's position, De Rauville wrote several newspaper articles against KM in 1967 and signed each time as an author of his well-known publication. Like Virahsawmy, he also received front coverage in *L'Express* and at times, polemics of both authors were published side by side. De Rauville also published an interview of Willy Bal, a French linguist, who, by looking at the work of the famous linguist Martinet considered that the trend in the world would condemn Creole languages to a gradual extinction. A second reaction came from the Creole middle class with Jean Georges Prosper, a Creole poet and writer of international repute in Francophone literature. He wrote the lyrics of the national anthem which is in English. Prosper wrote the following vitriolic comment against KM in the *Le mauricien* newspaper:

> As for me, I rebel against this sanctioning of patois. I can only see an attempt at a levelling down. A levelling down towards the vulgar! Since patois have no social usefulness whatsoever […]. Finally, it cannot be denied that patois gives way to crudeness and even to obscenity. [...] It is inconceivable that the students would like to learn French and English while practising a dialect of bad taste and often debased (*Le mauricien*, 27 November, 1967,)[29].

The publication of the reflective article of Jean Georges Prosper had a double meaning. It reflects the French bias of the 'gens de couleur' (coloured people), a term used to qualify the Creole elite of those days (TJC Report, 2009: 474). After the abolition of slavery, the Coloured

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[29] Original version (French): Pour ma part je m'insurge contre cette consécration du patois-créole. Je n'y vois qu'une tentative de nivellement par le bas. Par le vulgaire ! Car les patois ne sont d'aucune utilité sociale. […] Enfin il faut admettre que le patois créole cède le plus volontiers à la grossièreté et même à l'indécence. […] Il est inconcevable que des jeunes veuillent apprendre le français et l'anglais et pratiquant un dialecte de mauvais gout et souvent ordurier.(Prosper, *Le mauricien*, 27 November 1967).

people were divided into two classes, namely, the free inhabitants and the ex-slaves. For Varma (2008), 'the former considered themselves nearer to the Franco-Mauritians in language, customs and life-styles, while the latter lived apart as a segregated class' (p.66). However, Jean Georges Prosper changed his negative stand on KM in the 1990s when he became Chairperson of the Nelson Mandela Centre. In 1996, he edited an anthology of 'Créolie Indian-océaniste' (Creolie[30] Indian-oceanist) writers. In the same publication, he wrote a paper fully in KM with the title *'Creole: Langaz Mama'* (Kreol: Language of Mum) and subtitle *'Langue de revendication et d'identité'* (Language for Claims and Identity) with the following interesting lines:

> As from 1930, Mauritian trade unionists start fighting against colonial and capitalist exploitation, struggling for democracy and power for the people. [...]. Trade unionists and political leaders used Kreol language to emancipate the people. However, English as official language still had the supremacy in administration. Even when the country got its independence, the proof: the national anthem had to be written in English. I had to write its lyrics in English (Prosper, 1996:6, my translation)[31].

A third reaction from the English defenders was represented by Bhinod Bacha, former head of the Civil Service and long time collaborator to the first Prime Minister Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam after independence. The figure of Bacha represents the emerging class of state bourgeoisie mainly composed of Indo-mauritian community. In an article 'The Implications of a future Mauritian language', published on 13 October 1967, Bacha put several points forward to demonstrate that attempts by Virahsawmy to show that a Mauritian language could be built out of KM is an artificial enterprise and has no sense. Bacha argues as follows:

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[30] The term 'créolie' is a concept coined by the Catholic Bishop Aubry of Reunion Island who is also a writer and poet. In 1978 he wrote 'Hymne à la Creolie' (Ode to Creolie) which expresses pride in the local creole culture without being opposed to Francophonie. The concept 'créolie' impacted Francophone writers of Mauritius and Reunion Island in the 1980s and 1990s. But the 'créolie' school of thought is not really in favour of the teaching of creole language in schools but it rather promotes the respect of the creole culture in general. This position should be understood as a reconciliation of Creole and French cultures by the Francophone writers in the context of strong self-determination feelings prevailing in Reunion Island in the 1970s to get independence from France.

[31] Original version : Abé a partir 1930, travaillères morisiens komans fight contre l'exploitation coloniale et capitaliste, komans liter pou la democratie et lé pouvoir di pep. Ban syndicalistes ek leaders politiques servi la langue kréol pou émancipe lépep. […] Néanmoins, l'anglais, lang officiel ti encor domine l'administration. Kan mem pays fine gagne l'indépendance, la preuve : l'hymne national ti bizin soizi ène poem écrit en anglais. Mo ti bizin écri sa poème là en anglais. (Prosper, J.G, 1996 : 61). It is to be noted that Prosper uses here his own orthography prior to Grafi-Larmoni which came in 2004.

An aritifical Mauritian language which will have to be necessarily made on linguistic principles will be necessarily made on linguistic principles will be a surrogate or speech –substitute; it will not be real speech […]. A future artificial Mauritian language constructed by conscious ingenuity will never displace our national speech, the Mauritian Creole. Efforts should rather be made to improve the standard of French, English, Hindi, Urdu, Tamoul and Chinese while our national speech should be left out on its own to prosper as a speech (Bacha, *L'Express*, 13 October, 1967).

In my opinion, the root cause of this opposition to Virahsawmy's argumentation finds itself in the linguistic loyalties (Virahsawmy, 1969) of the different ethnic groups in the country. Franco-Mauritians and the Creole middle class are generally of French loyalty whilst the Indian group is strongly attached to the ancestral languages which are offered in schools and prefer English to French. Virahsawmy's plea for KM led to a strategic alliance of the Franco-Mauritians, the Creole middle class and the Indian new state bourgeoisie. Even if Virahsawmy presented KM as the language which transcends all these ethnolinguistic loyalties, yet the socio-historical composition and ethnic politics made it that official recognition of KM would mean associating oneself with the Creoles of African descents. On the political scene, there was also a strong resistance against KM's official use by post-independent leaders. Virahsawmy, who was a Member of Parliament in 1971, raised several times the relevance of having a mother-tongue policy-in-education (Debates in National Assembly, Hansard, 1971-1976.). But this did not have any impact on the language in education policy until 2012. However, Virahsawmy's efforts were not useless. Cultural militants developed praxis for KM whereby the language became the highest form of art, culture and creative expressions in KM.

2.4.4. Kreol Acrolect

In Mauritius the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s saw a sudden profusion of literary genre, especially poetry and drama, theatre of protest and militant songs known as *sega angaze*. This artistic creativity in KM with especially its militant accent was contextually bound in a period of active militancy. The main opposition party which was the Movement Militant Mauritian (MMM) at that time represented a new generation of left wing militants who wanted to build a new Mauritian nation after independence. From the 1970s to 1980s, the MMM party experienced two major splits. In the 1970s the party experienced a first split with the departure of Dev

Virahsawmy who created a new party called Movement Militant Mauritian Socialist Progressist (MMMSP). The latter argued that its creation was to continue the work that the MMM abandoned that is: to give a type of education to workers which would help them to take their own destiny in hand and become proletarian leaders. KM was the key element in this education for the oppressed (Freire, 1967). The new party was influenced by Mao Tse Tung's theory of three worlds. The Chinese communist leader developed a counter theory to the Western 'Theory of the three worlds'. After the Second World War and in the context of the Cold War in the 1960s, the West conceptualised the world into the First World (USA and its allies), the Second World (Soviet Union and its allies) and the Third World (non-aligned countries like India, Indonesia, Mauritius, etc.) which was neutral. In contrast, Mao (1966) viewed rather the three worlds as the two superpowers namely USA and USSR (First World), the developing countries (Second World) and the Third world countries. Mao promoted an alliance between the developing and third world countries to counteract the two superpowers. Thus, the MMMSP Party brought a new perspective to the debate around the place of newly independent Mauritius in the world. The new party also launched the movement *Soley Ruz* (Red Sun) which was its cultural arm through the publication of a newspaper (title: *Soley Ruz*) totally in KM. *Soley Ruz* provided a space for nationalist reflections and international consciousness. The MMMSP did not last long as a party and Virahsawmy has given since then all of his time to literary creation in KM while still intervening in public life on political, cultural and social issues. But the demise of MMMSP led to the outgrowth of different nationalist cultural groups.

The second split in the MMM came in the early 1980s with the departure of a leftwing tandem inside the party called *Lalit de Klas* (Class Struggle). Members of *Lalit de Klas* created a new party called *Lalit* (Struggle) which is still active. The party *Lalit* launched a Kreol newspaper and other publications in KM. It also had a cultural group known as *Frangurin* (raw sugar cane juice) and Ledikasion Pu Travayer (which I referred to earlier as the KM adult literacy organisation) is a sister organisation of Lalit. The *Grafi-Larmoni Report* (2004) describes the post-independence period as follow:

> ... the first decades of the post-independence period represent indeed MCL's golden era, during which the creative power of a new generation of writers and cultural artists is unleashed in a variety of

media: songs and short stories, poems and plays, pamphlets and manifestos, novels and translations, readers and educational materials. (p. 10)

Although Mauritian literature existed long before the 1970s, a native and KM literature developed during that period. The translation of Shakespeare, Moliere, and other classics in KM by Virahsawmy provided a solid base for the development of KM from oral status to literature. People came to understand that Kreol is a language. In her analysis of the role of translation in the standardisation of KM, Mooneram (2009) observes:

> Virahsawmy's endeavour to create a Mauritian Shakespearean dramatic canon in the local vernacular is thus not only a conscious strategy in building a national literature but also aims to defeat the argument that MC is too poor a language to express abstract ideas or to transcend a local reality. Moreover, Virahsawmy claims that this literary practice is aimed at redefining a diglossic situation into one of colingualism where the use of available cultural resources are maximized rather than excluded and where MC is recognized as a literary language, with a complementary position next to French and English (Mooneram, 2009: 52).

Thus, translation and literary creation in KM moved the language from a basilect to an acrolect. A basilect is a Creole which is significantly different from the standardized Creole. Mufwene (1995) defines a basilect as the evolutionary form of Creole language in its earlier stage from its original lexifier. Basilects are morphosyntactically simpler. For example in the case of KM, a basilect KM can be qualified as a simplified version of French as its lexifier language. In this case KM is not developed and it does not create new words or expressions. Basilect is thus most remote from the prestige language which is an acrolect. An acrolect is a situation where the language has reached an advanced stage in its development. For Crystal (2008), an acrolect refers to a prestige or standard variety (or lect) that tends to command respect because its grammatical structures do not deviate from those of the standard variety and is often used by writers and intellectuals.

Usually it is writers who make a language move from basilect to acrolect. In a similar vein, before the advent of theatre in KM, plays in the prestigious Plaza Theatre or Port Louis Theatre were almost exclusively in French with very few productions in English. In 1981, Virahsawmy's famous play *Li* which was banned in the 1970s won the Drama Inter-African Contest Award for Radio France International in 1981. Similarly, the staging of plays such as *Zeneral Makbef* (a

Kreol adaptation of Shakespeare's Macbeth by Virahsawmy), *Tras* (by Henri Favory) and *Zozef Ek So Palto Larkansiel*   produced by Virahsawmy and Sullivan were to change all this. The latter play had a resounding effect. It is translation of *Joseph and His Amazing Technicolour Dreamcoat* which is a musical with lyrics by Tim Rice and music by Andrew Loyd Weber and is based on the story of Joseph in the Bible. It was translated and co-staged by Virahsawmy and Gerard Sullivan, a catholic priest, in 1983. The quality of the play and the performance of the actors in KM impressed the spectators. The play was acclaimed by local critiques of art and performance. The play marked a rupture with the perception that KM is good only for folk and low performance. People from different walks of life could experience the magic of dramatic works in their own language.

At the same time, the 1970s movement saw the mushrooming of debating clubs in different regions and the rise in political consciousness which led people to take interest into Marxist literature brought in by a new breed of intellectuals from Europe. Frantz Fanon became a dominant figure amongst young progressive intellectuals. Given the proximity also of these intellectuals with the grassroots, knowledge around KM became knowledge shared and co-created with the masses. The composition of militant and nationalist songs in KM by singers from popular background with mixing of African beats, oriental and western musical instruments became the highest form of creativity, national unity and gave a strong push to KM. Trade unions and civil society organisations also used a written form of Kreol. As stated earlier, two newspapers integrally in KM namely *Soley Ruz* and *Lalit de Klas* were published in the 1970s and 1980's respectively.

KM became synonymous to militancy, Marxism and other leftist ideologies because all KM promoters were publicly known for their leftist leanings, promoting class struggle. For Van Djik (1995), ideologies are both cognitive and social. Ideologies 'essentially function as the interface between the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, on the one hand and the societal positions and interests of social groups, on the other hand' (van Djik, 1995: 18). KM became the blending of this 'cognitive and social' in the sense that KM was the language which helped for conceptualising, analysing and arguing. Simultaneously, KM became the language through which people organised themselves and got involved in active citizenship.

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Hence, KM became an acrolect not only through creative writing (which is an essential element) and staging of plays and other forms of art performance but also in the sense that the whole intellectual and grassroots left wing movement transformed KM into a language of sustained conversation and argumentation. KM became the language through which one could conceptualise the world.

But opponents feared that the rapid transition to independence with the use of KM as a national language and its formal use in education could be too hazardous for economic development. It was feared that emphasis on KM would lead to the gradual and if not the radical abandonment of English and French which are the two international languages which are a means of communication in world trade. Thus, economic imperatives became prejudicial to KM and showed the continuity of the colonial legacy as the language policy did not change from the colonial period. But fortunately grassroot organisations looked after the literacy of the common people by devising a full literacy campaign for adults which we will discuss in the next section.

2.4.5. Literacy for Active Citizenship

Adult literacy campaigns in KM started in the mid 1970s by two major actors, namely, Ledikasion Pu Travayer (Education for Workers, referred to herein as LPT). LPT was created in 1976 and adopted a phonetic orthography for KM. *Grafi-larmoni* report (2004) acknowledges that 'the role played by Ledikasion Pu Travayer has been a determining factor' (p.19) in the sense that its widespread literacy campaign in urban and rural areas helped to disseminate a written form of writing in KM. By the end of 1970s onward, the orthography of LPT was widely used by trade unions, Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and writers. LPT also raised public awareness on KM through seminars, workshops, exhibitions and the annual organisation of a KM literary contest and regular publications in KM. In terms of pedagogy, LPT adopted a Freirian perspective in literacy.

The Freirian perspective comes from the Brazilian educator, Paolo Freire, who went beyond the restricted notion of literacy as reading and writing of signs, but more as a tool of empowerment for cultural action by interpreting the world with one's word (i.e. the native language). The work of LPT was a rupture from the dominant view that reading and writing should be done in French,

be it for adult education or for educating children. LPT's position ran counter to the view that was especially expressed by Caritas Mauritius which was founded in 1966. The aim of Caritas Mauritius was mainly to help families suffering from the high unemployment that prevailed after independence (1968). The agency shifted its focus in 1993 towards social pastoral care, inspired by Pope Paul VI's 1967 encyclical that invited organisations of the Catholic Church to work on development as a means of combating poverty. Caritas developed a literacy program based upon the French *alphabetisation fonctionnelle* (functional literacy) model as part of UNESCO Experimental World Literacy Program (EWLP) in the mid-1970s.

Functional literacy focuses on reading, writing, counting and communication skills in daily life. One major criticism which is often levelled at functional literacy is that its 'functionality' makes learners become better workers (EFA Global Monitoring Report 2006: 148; Limage, 1993: 23 in Freebody, 2007:7), but it does not encourage critical thinking and maintains the status quo. Opposing this view is the critical literacy of Paolo Freire which considers the process of reading and writing as essential in raising critical consciousness amongst the oppressed (Freire, 1972). LPT developed an adult pedagogy based on the pedagogy of the oppressed which Freire defines as follows:

> The pedagogy of the oppressed, which is the pedagogy of men engaged in the fight for their own liberation, has its roots here. And those who recognize, or begin to recognize, themselves as oppressed must be among the developers of this pedagogy. No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption (Freire, 1967: 30).

LPT literacy sessions amongst workers and labourers were opportunities to raise social and political issues affecting their lives. The pedagogy of the oppressed develops the technique of 'generator word' where the trainer writes a word on the blackboard and invites the participants to brainstorm the word. This technique encourages participation and freedom of expression instead of a 'banking education' (Freire, 1967) which makes learners accept a passive role. The work of LPT did not have a direct impact on the Mauritian education system but it had a positive impact on those who were out of this system. With time, LPT developed an expertise in KM and

became a reference for practioners, academics and researchers. LPT was the recipient of the UNESCO Literacy Prize in 2004 and the Linguapax Prize in 2013. The international recognition of LTP stimulated an interest in KM and the negative perceptions on KM changed.

Parallel to LPT's adult literacy activities there was the work done by the Federation of Pre-school Playgroups (referred to herein as FPP) which was launched in 1974. This association gave value and esteem to the social customs at the grassroots in neighbourhoods all over Mauritius. And it promoted KM and Bhojpuri, in both oral and written forms, for all kinds of discourse and publication, as mother-tongues and as an integral part of cultural sensitivity. It confronted Government policy on education politically at every level, and even winning a Supreme Court Case against the State in 1997-98. The Government had come up at that time with a draft Curriculum Plan that just sidelined the mother-tongues, pretending they did not even exist. The FPP organisation challenged this, and the State backpedalled. FPP has also constantly opposed what it qualifies as the oppression by "co-opérants" (foreign experts in education) mainly from France (*Lalit de Klas* website). The work of LPT and FPP was systematic, dedicated and focused. Both organisations demonstrated the capacity of grassroot organisations to bring change and social transformation. A major rupture was in the making by the start of the 1990s. This rupture came with the Catholic Church.

2.4.6. Malaise Creole & Afrokreol Quest for Identity

The Second Council of Vatican (also known as Vatican II, 1962-1965) addressed relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the world and brought major reforms in the church. Amongst the most visible changes was the use of the vernacular instead of Latin as official liturgy. Surprisingly, at that specific time, the Catholic Church of Mauritius opted for a French liturgy instead of KM which was the vernacular of the country. Celebrating mass and the whole liturgy in the vernacular was, therefore, an acknowledgement and recognition of the local churches of the newly independent states by Rome.

Bishop Margéot was appointed as the first Mauritian Bishop. In spite of this recognition, the vernacular option was nonetheless discarded by the local Catholic Church. However, Kreol songs made for the first time entry in the Church by the end of the 1960s and beginning of 1970s. This marked a rupture with the Latin celebrations. The fact that songs of worship and praise were made in KM gave a form of legitimacy to the language. It seemed that although Bishop Margéot was in favour of KM, he did not secure the total adherence of the lay Catholics who occupied key positions in church structures for the extensive use of KM in the Church. Greater awareness developed by the early 1990s within the Church for the recognition of the Kreol language and culture. This awareness manifested itself with the outburst of the Malaise Creole.

The *Grafi-larmoni* Report (Hookoomsingh, 2004) completes its overview of the background to the writing system with 'the complex and conflicting language-culture-identity link that was to resurface in the 1990s in the form of the collective "malaise créole' (Hookoomsingh, 2004: p.9). The term 'malaise creole' was first used by Roger Cerveaux, a Creole priest, in a public forum organised in the context of the abolition of slavery in February 1993 and it hit the headline of an important weekly newspaper (Week-End, 2nd February, 1993). By 'malaise creole', Cerveaux was describing the difficulties of the Creoles in the country and that the Church was turning a deaf ear to the cry of its people. For Palmyre (2008), Cerveaux was describing how the Creoles fell victims of slavery, abandoned by their own intelligentsia, alienated culturally by the Catholic Church and selfish politicians. Very soon the 'malaise creole' was used to describe the marginalisation of the Creoles in the Mauritian society at large. The term expresses the invisibility and social exclusion of the Creoles (Chan Low, 2004). The Catholic Bishop Mgr Maurice Piat, who was newly appointed since 1991, wrote his Pastoral Letter on the 'malaise creole'. The Bishop Lent Letter (commonly known as '*Lettre Pastorale*': Pastoral Letter) is an annual feature of the Catholic church of Mauritius whereby the Bishop addresses a special message of a reflective nature on a specific topic to the Catholics and the Mauritians at large. The malaise creole was a turning point inside and outside the Church. It gave birth to a new discourse on KM and the Creoles in the history of Mauritius,

The Bishop Letter came as a recognition and acknowledgement of the specificity of the Creole culture. Given that Bishop Piat is a White franco-mauritian, his Letter was tantamount to historical reparation to the Creoles. It made an enlightening assessment of the situation of the Creoles in the country and within the Church. It confirmed the statement of Cerveaux that the Creoles were the most marginalized group, living a situation of hopelessness and with a bleak future. The Letter most importantly confessed that the Church did not give its full legitimacy to the linguistic and cultural expressions of the Creoles in its celebrations:

> The Creoles feel that the ceremonies of the Church are often copies of the European model and comprise rituals which are not easily understood and do not always correspond to the creole culture. They ask therefore that the Church looks for a new style, more closer to their culture which take into account in particular the following elements: the sense of celebration, joy and rhythm, and the different sensitivities communicated through the Kreol language (Lettre Pastorale, *Le Malaise Creol*e, 1993: para. 2.2.2, my translation)[32].

Several reports and studies (Etude Pluridisciplinaire sur l'exclusion, 1996; ADEA Report, 2005; United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2009; Truth & Justice Commission Report, 2011; AGR II, 2011) confirm the social exclusion of the Creoles. In February 1999, riots broke out when a famous Rastafarian singer named Kaya died in police cell. A judiciary commission on the riots (Matadeen Report, 2000) observed that the riots were outbursts of repressed ill-feelings of the Creoles against their situation of marginalisation. The malaise creole led to the mushrooming of Creole movements which persistently claimed the official recognition of KM as the language of the slave descents by the turn of the 21st century. Amongst the oldest movements is the Organisation Fraternelle of (Brotherhood Organisation) of the Michel Brothers (Sylvio Michel and Elie Michel) who founded this social and later a political movement in the aftermath of the racial riots surrounding the events for the independence of Mauritius in 1968. They were militating for a public holiday for the Abolition of Slavery Day (1st February) which came into effect in 2001. Other movements included the introduction of Television News Bulletin in Kreol

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[32] Original French version : « Les créoles ressentent que les cérémonies de l'Église sont souvent calquées sur le modèle européen et comportent des rites qui ne sont pas bien compris et ne correspondent pas toujours à la culture créole. Ils demandent donc à l'Église de chercher un nouveau style, plus proche de leur culture qui tienne compte en particulier des éléments suivants: le sens de fête, la joie et le rythme, et les différentes sensibilités véhiculées par la langue créole (Lettre Pastorale 'Le Malaise Créole', 1993: para. 2.2.4).

Morisien as from 1995, the setting up of a Truth & Justice Commission in 2009, the introduction of KM in primary schools which happened in 2012. The Michel Brothers are still struggling for compensation to slave descents. While the Organisation Fraternelle was on the political, social and cultural front, the Church made a sudden reorientation of its mission in education.

2.4.7. KM for the Poor

Catholic education has a historical presence which dates back to the 18th century. Both primary and secondary catholic schools are public funded private schools and education is free. In 2001, the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research took a policy decision for all secondary public and public funded private schools to accommodate a prevocational section for students who have failed twice at the end of primary education. A Prevocational Education programme was set up. The programme provided a three year course to the students who would then join technical or vocational centres on completion. Since 1968, several policy decisions were taken to provide various remedial programs for these students. There has been limited success in these programs.

The 2001 policy decision was taken with the aim of making education compulsory till 16 years of age. In fact, the Education Act was amended for this purpose in 2004. The accommodation of prevocational students brought an abrupt change in the set up of secondary schools. Many stakeholders were taken by surprise by this decision and were forced to comply. The success of this policy decision depended a lot on its implementation in catholic schools.

Even though the school population of catholic schools in primary and secondary education represents only 20% and 8% of the total school population at national level respectively, securing the collaboration of catholic education was crucial for the policy makers because it represents a long established institution and major stakeholder in education. Incidentally, at the time the policy decision for prevocational education came, the church just went through a Synod which lasted from 1997 to 2000. A Synod is an assembly of the clergy, the laity and all church organisations which is usually held at a historical turning point. The Mauritian Synod was held in the context of the 150th anniversary of the Catholic Church in Mauritius as a diocese. The Synod was a time to reflect on the past, assess the current situation and look for the way forward.

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2.4.7. KM for the Poor

Catholic education has a historical presence which dates back to the 18th century. Both primary and secondary catholic schools are public funded private schools and education is free. In 2001, the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research took a policy decision for all secondary public and public funded private schools to accommodate a prevocational section for students who have failed twice at the end of primary education. A Prevocational Education programme was set up. The programme provided a three year course to the students who would then join technical or vocational centres on completion. Since 1968, several policy decisions were taken to provide various remedial programs for these students. There has been limited success in these programs.

The 2001 policy decision was taken with the aim of making education compulsory till 16 years of age. In fact, the Education Act was amended for this purpose in 2004. The accommodation of prevocational students brought an abrupt change in the set up of secondary schools. Many stakeholders were taken by surprise by this decision and were forced to comply. The success of this policy decision depended a lot on its implementation in catholic schools.

Even though the school population of catholic schools in primary and secondary education represents only 20% and 8% of the total school population at national level respectively, securing the collaboration of catholic education was crucial for the policy makers because it represents a long established institution and major stakeholder in education. Incidentally, at the time the policy decision for prevocational education came, the church just went through a Synod which lasted from 1997 to 2000. A Synod is an assembly of the clergy, the laity and all church organisations which is usually held at a historical turning point. The Mauritian Synod was held in the context of the 150th anniversary of the Catholic Church in Mauritius as a diocese. The Synod was a time to reflect on the past, assess the current situation and look for the way forward.

Unexpectedly the Kreol issue became central to the Synod. Strong criticisms came from the grassroot that the church did not cater enough for the Creoles who were the most marginalised in society. Within the church itself there were also discriminating practices against the Creoles. Catholic schools were criticised for being too elitist and not open to the *Ti-Kreol,* meaning Creoles who were slaves descents or all those who were poor. The Synod adopted resolutions amongst which were the preferential option for the poor especially in education and the inculturation of its liturgy with a special effort to bring in KM. Finally, catholic education complied with the government decision and opened at least one prevocational section in sixteen of its colleges in 2001 (Ng Tat Cheung, 2010).

At the end of three years, the catholic authorities conducted a stock taking exercise for the first cohort of prevocational students. The findings of this study showed that a significant number of students could still not read, write and count after three years. After a long period of consultations and discernment, the Bishop of the Catholic Church finally took an official decision to request Catholic education authorities to implement a mother-tongue based prevocational program. Virahsawmy was contacted to elaborate the program. The programme was named 'PrevokBEK'. Prevok is the Kreol word for the English abbreviation 'Prevoc' (diminutive of Prevocational) and BEK is the Kreol acronym for BEC (Bureau de l'Education Catholique, French appellation for Bureau of Catholic Education). This decision was a revolution in the Church and catholic education. Catholic educational institutions have a long tradition of promoting French. KM was oppressed and considered as downgrading and as an obstacle to learning and social mobility.

This decision sparked some criticisms which were, however, quickly and easily brushed aside because the decision was taken by the highest hierarchy of Catholic education. At the same time, the Synod debates were still echoing the call for an education for the poor. The preferential option for the poor was one of the basic principles of the Catholic social teaching in the 20th century. In its origins, 'preferential option for the poor' was connected with the theology of liberation movement of the mid-20th century in Latin America. The theology of liberation interprets the teachings of Jesus Christ in relation to liberation from unjust economic, political or

social conditions (Guttierez, 1971). The introduction of KM in Catholic schools was highly symbolical as it positioned the church on the side of the marginalized.

In 2004, only 11 secondary schools embarked on the innovative PrevoKBEK project. Five other schools did not feel ready to do so. Originally, PrevoKBEK started with literacy and numeracy incorporated in the national prevocational program. But then it evolved rapidly into a mother-tongue based curriculum alongside multilingual education. KM was taught as a language subject and used as a medium of instruction for teaching mathematics and sciences. English and French were also taught. In 2005, I got the responsibility to pilot PrevokBEK as Project Manager and Virahsawmy acted as a consultant. Lessons and instructional materials in KM were designed and used in schools for the first time in Mauritius. In a letter dated 15 December 2004[33] to the outgoing Minister of Education, Honourable Steven Obeegadoo, the Bureau of Catholic Education informed the Ministry of its decision to introduce *'Literacy in Mauritian Creole Program'* as from January 2005. In 2005, a new party was in power, namely, the Labour Party, following the December General Elections and Minister Dharam Gokhool was in office. Traditionally, the Labour Party had been against KM.

From 2005 to 2012, PrevokBEK created a schism in education. Policymakers were embarrassed by the situation as catholic education was running a programme in a medium of instruction which was not English. It was an unprecedented situation with KM used as a medium of instruction and language subject without the approval of the Ministry. The government could not stop the initiative but it tried to downplay its importance but several other breakthroughs of PrevokBEK such as the design of bilingual (KM/ English) textbook and a bilingual mode of assessment at the end of three years of prevocational education became untenable pressures. As Project Manager, I regularly informed the media about the progress of the project in terms of mother tongue based education.

Adding further pressure, successive events brought KM in the limelight. The achievements include the offering of a Stand Alone Module in KM for the public in 2008 by the University of

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[33] Archives of Bureau of Catholic Education, Republic of Mauritius

Mauritius, the publication of the first unilingual dictionary in KM entitled *Diksioner Morisien* (Carpooran, 2009), the LPT organised an International Hearing on the suppression of the Mother Tongue chaired by academics of international repute namely, T. Skutnabb-Kangas and R. Phillipson; the selection of PrevokBEK amongst ten finalists which ran for the Commonwealth Good Education Practice Award (CEGPA) 2012. The local press quoted the Commonwealth Partnership 2012-2013 report which reads as follows: 'Prevokbek breaks taboos about the status of Kreol Morisien. Since 2005 it gradually influenced public opinion and informed government policy decision'. KM impacted definitely local politics and became a major political issue on the national agenda.

2.4.8. Heterotopias and Third Space

In this last section on the history of the ruptures of KM, I will use the concept of 'heterotopias' and 'third space' developed by Foucault (1984) and attributed to Bhabba (2009) to interpret the social and political forces which have been decisive in forcing the Mauritius government in 2010 to take a policy decision with regard to KM. Foucault (1984) uses 'heterotopias' as a contrast to 'utopias'. A utopia is an idea or an image that is not real but represents a perfected version of society as it is presented in the book *Utopia* of Thomas More which was published in Latin in 1516. 'Utopia' is a term from Greek expressions (*ou* – not; *eu*-good or well; *topos* – place; *ia* – region). Heterotopias are the real places which exist and are 'a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all other real sites can be found' (Foucault, 1984). For example, a garden is a heterotopia in the sense that it is a microcosm of all the vegetation of the world and enacts its symbolic perfection. In other words, heterotopias are spaces of 'otherness' which are neither here nor there. They are spaces which are simultaneously physical and mental or a parallel space possible.

Foucault uses the metaphor of the "mirror" to explain the relation between utopia and heterotopia. The mirror reflects the space from which I stand and, at the same time, I am not in the mirror. Today, the concept of 'heterotopias' cuts through a host of disciplines and often generates a plethora of interpretations (Johnson, 2012). But its use in post-modernist studies is of particular interest to my discussion. In such studies (Hetherington, 1997; Soja, 1989) the term is

used to gets insights into the contemporary emergence of cultural, political and economic difference and identity as a central issue in larger multicultural cities. The notion of 'space' is also frequently used as pictorial trope in the study of identity politics. A brief study about how KM occupied space from 2005 to 2010 through the lens of heterotopias or a space will help me to demonstrate that the notion of rupture in the discussion is appropriate.

In 2008, Catholic education made a request to the Honourable Minister Dharam Gokhool for a joint collaborative program in KM. Two parliamentary questions were raised by the Opposition MMM Party in the National Assembly in 2007 and 2008 about the position of the present government on the Mauritian Creole project of Catholic schools. The first reply of the Minister was quite categorical in reasserting that English remains the official medium of instruction. In contrast, in his second reply, the Minister showed a sharp evolution in the government's position:

> On 11 June 2008, a Committee chaired by the Permanent Secretary of my Ministry examined the proposed Terms of Reference submitted by BEC. However, in view of the fact that I have received representations of a similar nature regarding Bhojpuri, the Terms of Reference of the Committee would have to be enlarged to include Bhojpuri as well, as both Mauritian Creole and Bhojpuri are heritage languages (Reply to PQ 29 July 2008).

The reply of the Minister that he had received 'representations of a similar nature regarding Bhojpuri' is dubious. The demand of catholic education was of a pedagogical nature, focusing on mother tongue education and it did not refer to KM as an ancestral language. But two references of the Minister to 'include Bhojpuri as well' and to consider 'both Mauritian Creole and Bhojpuri as heritage languages' reveal that the demand for KM by Catholic education is intruding the space of ethnic politics. If the government gives consideration to KM as a medium of instruction, this would change the balance of languages and ethnicity. KM would be then at par with English which is the official medium. At the same time, KM could not be offered as a heritage language as it would also be at par with Hindi. This situation would be then prejudicial to Bhojpuri which is spoken by only 12% of the population (Statistics Mauritius, 2000) as discussed in chapter 1.

Moreover, Bhojpuri gradually emerged as the lingua franca of the people of Indian origin. Over the years many Bhojpuri Hindus disowned Bhojpuri in favour of Hindi (Hookoomsingh, 2007).

The latter is perceived as having both literary and cultural prestige. Using the concept of Foucault, I would say then that KM was the heterotopia which mirrored the situation of the Creoles in terms of the marginalized position that they occupy in the socio-political space. Ryan (1994) observes that 'Mauritius is widely regarded as a model plural society in which power is shared by all ethnic communities except, perhaps, the black Creoles' (*5 Plus* newspaper, 1994). The politicians in power had therefore, to pre-empt any tip of the balance in favour of the Creole community and against the Indo-mauritian community by ricochet. Thus, the best option left was to introduce Mauritian Creole and Bhojpuri as additional optional language subjects on par with existing Asian / Oriental languages and Arabic.

Minister Gokhool did not stand for the General Elections of December 2010. The honourable Dr Bunwaree was appointed Minister of Education. As from that moment, I found myself part of the forces shaping the coming rupture as it was from this period that I got involved actively in public advocacy for KM on the basis of linguistic and cultural rights. I intervened regularly in the local newspapers and on radio on KM. The media became a space for raising the mother-tongue issue and giving support to the Kreol identity movement. My position evolved from a purely pedagogical standpoint to a political positioning with regard to KM. Gradually, my voice added to other Kreol voices in this spectrum of identity claims. In fact, entry in the political space for the Creoles can be paralleled to the comment of Foucault about the closed system at times of heterotopic sites:

> There are others, on the contrary, that seem to be pure and simple openings, but that generally hide curious exclusions. Everyone can enter into the heterotopic sites, but in fact that is only an illusion- we think we enter where we are, by the very fact that we enter, excluded. I am thinking for example, of the famous bedrooms that existed on the great farms of Brazil and elsewhere in South America. The entry door did not lead into the central room where the family lived, and every individual or traveler who came by had the right to open this door, to enter into the bedroom and to sleep there for a night. Now these bedrooms were such that the individual who went into them never had access to the family's quarter the visitor was absolutely the guest in transit, was not really the invited guest (Foucault, 1984, p.26)

Mauritius is a sovereign and democratic state which is signatory of several international conventions linked to human rights. The Public Service Commission (which I referred to in Chapter 1) which is the recruiting body in the civil service has clear criteria requirements for

recruitment for all Mauritians. What appear to be 'pure and simple openings' to all are in fact 'curious exclusions' of the Creoles. The Africa Peer Review Mechanism Report (2010) confirms the situation of exclusions of the Creoles:

> Some ethnic groups are hardly to be seen in the political sphere, except in a restricted capacity, and they are unequally represented at all levels of the civil service. Most importantly, one ethnic group (the Afro-Mauritian Creoles) lags behind all others in terms of human development indicators, which explains this group's enduring sense of grievance as well as its feelings of injustice and exclusion (Africa Peer Review Mechanism, 2013: 32, para.1.109).

This situation led me to reflect on the proposal of the former Minister Gokhool. I reoriented the issue of KM and moved it on the ground of linguistic and cultural rights in the context of the debates in the National Parliament on the Equal Opportunity Bill (Harmon, Open Letter to Prime Minister, 2008)[34]. As from then, I understood that KM had become a political issue for party politics but, at the same time, it raised a fundamental issue in terms of politics of recognition (Taylor, 1993). As an educator, I realized that this cultural dimension was as much important as KM as a medium of instruction to address pupils' low achievements. Henceforth, I subscribed to the view that KM is the ancestral language of the slave descents and the language of all Mauritians. This brought a new discourse and helped to cut off KM with the 'politics of ancestral diasporic cultures' (Eisenhlor, 2007). Oriental / Asian Languages in schools are historically strong ethnic markers and are always associated with a primordial link with Mother India. The way the claim for recognition of KM by the State was made, led to a rupture with the usual political discourse. With regard to the language-in-education politics for ancestral languages, Eisenhlor (2007) observes:

> The crucial point is that [...] the Creoles do not have recognized claims on an ancestral language and ancestral culture. This is because the institutionalized ideology of ancestral languages suggests that for a language and cultural tradition to count as ancestral, it has to be linked to a putative place of origin outside Mauritius. Therefore, in contrast to Indo-Mauritians, Creoles have little access to the state-supported ancestral language apparatus in the educational system. (Eisenhlor, 2007: 17).

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[34] In 2010, I also wrote an Open Letter to Mr Koichiro Matsuura, former Director of UNESCO, when he was invited by the State of Mauritius as Guest of Honour for the March National Day celebrations. The Open Letter requested the support of the former Director of UNESCO for KM which I presented in the Open Letter as the expression of a ' national endeavour in preserving and promoting multilingual environments which show due respect to all expressions of cultural diversity'. (Harmon, 2010, March, 11, *Le mauricien*, p.14)

Clearly, the claim for KM was located in a different perspective as it was not 'linked to any putative place of origin outside Mauritius'. But it was linked to the ancestors of the inhabitants of Mauritius, that is, the slave descents and the different groups which had populated the country and adopted KM as their language. The FCM (Federation des Creoles Mauriciens: Federation of Mauritian Creoles) and Komite Diosezin Premie Fevriye (1st February Diocesan Committee, referred to herein as KDPF) became the appropriate forum for me to militate for KM on the basis of linguistic and cultural rights.

The FCM was founded in 2006 which became a forum for claims of recognition of the Creole identity. Its symbol was a baobab tree which is highly symbolical in terms of cultural reference. It meant the positioning of the Creole community with the African continent. From 2006 this organisation had a big impact on the General Elections of May 2010. Its leader is a charismatic Creole priest of African origin who is a lecturer at the University of Duquesne in the US. He raised issues about the need for the government to amend the Constitution for changing the appellation 'General Population' into 'Creoles', representation of Creoles in post of civil service and the recognition of KM. Having in its midst academics and practitioners working on Creole identity, the KDPF organisation which was mentioned earlier, acted as a think tank for the FCM on the linguistic and cultural dimensions of KM. With regard to the KM issue, FCM and KFPF operated like New Social Movements (often designed by the acronym NSMs).

The *Dictionary of Sociology* (Abercrombie et al., 2006) identifies four features of the new social movements (Abercrombie et, al, 2006). The first feature is that the aims of New Social Movements (NSMs) tend to do with the alteration of social and cultural values, especially those concerning individual autonomy rather than the social transformation of structures as whole. The FCM and KDPF made the claim for the introduction of KM as one of their main aims during the period 2008-2010. Second, in terms of social base, NSMs are based on groupings such as women or ecology in contrast to political parties or movements which are usually based on social class. In the case of the two mentioned organisations, namely the FCM and KDPF, the Creole community and especially the Creole cause (Harmon, 2008; Piat, 2010) became the basis of their grouping.

With regard to the means of action, NSMs do not use the traditional means of influencing the state but rely on mass mobilisation to change values and attitudes like green action of ecological movements. FCM organised rallies to mobilise the Creole community on the Creole issues and I was invited to speak on the relevance of KM as medium of instruction and a symbol of identity construction for Kreol pupils. The decisive mobilisation was a rally on the Mother Tongue Day (21st February) in 2008 at the University of Mauritius. Foreign experts who were present at the time in the context of working sessions on the inscription of Le Morne Mountain as UNESCO World Heritage Site attended the rally. This rally hit the headlines of local media and the presence of the foreign experts was also reported. By the time the May 2010 General Elections were about to take place, KM had led to a rupture in politics and created a third space for the Creoles.

As I said earlier, the notion of third space would also be appropriate when referring to the rupture of KM. The Third Space Theory is a postcolonial sociolinguistic theory of identity and community realized through the language of communication or enunciation. It is generally attributed to Bhabba (2009) and the term is understood as the uniqueness of each person, actor or context as 'hybrid'. By 'hybrid' it can mean the presence of the oppressed and the oppressor confronting the same paradoxical situation. In discourse of dissent, the third space has come to mean a space where the oppressed invents a new space to plot their liberation. With this definition in mind, I argue that KM has been able to enter the heterotopic site of politics and reinvent a third space for the Creoles.

It is within this perspective that we can better understand why KM became an electoral issue in the General Elections of May 2010. The Prime Minister, Honourable N. Ramgoolam, had no other choice but to defuse the tension and announce on 1st February 2010 that his government was going to introduce KM as an optional language for his next term of office if he was elected. Both major political blocs running for these elections, namely the Alliance de L'Avenir (The Alliance of the Future) with the Labour Party as the leading partner and the Movement Militant Mauritian (MMM), the Movement Socialist Militant (MSM) Alliance included KM and Bhojpuri as optional subjects in their manifestoes. The former won and the government

accelerated the process of introducing KM in 2012. At this point, it is important that I explain now how I proceeded with the discussion in this chapter.

Figure 2 shows how I have proceeded with the discussion. This chapter has been structured on a triad of three concepts namely epistemology, creolisation and ruptures as shown below:
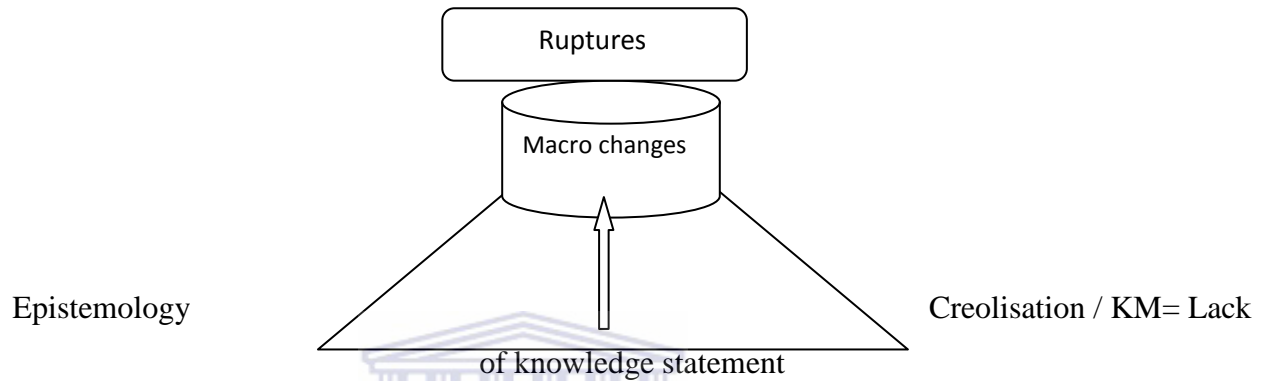
Fig.2 Triad of concepts

There are two observations which I can make at the end of this chapter. First, it has been able to locate my research question. In order to move with my investigation of the changes in language practices after 2012 which are changes at micro level, the outcome of this chapter enables me to state that changes at micro level do not take place in a vacuum or in isolation. Changes at micro level relate with those at macro level. The discussion around epistemology shows that there is an existential question which resides at the heart of this research. This existential question can be elicited by several sub-questions amongst which is: who is the Mauritian? How does s/he relate to KM? What do the attitudes towards KM reveal about the Mauritian identity? This chapter has not provided answers as such, but it has provided a philosophical ground to my research question. In investigating the changes that have been experienced after 2012, I will focus on a school context. The school is a microcosm of society and it is also the place where we confront these existential questions.

Second, the section about ruptures occupied a greater part of this chapter. This is partly due to the fact that it is an overview of the progress of KM from the 19th century to 2010. Still, the overview is not exhaustive and has captured the most identifiable ruptures at this stage of our

knowledge. Yet these ruptures open on identifying what ruptures, if any, have been brought by the introduction of KM in schools. Before I may consider this question, in the next chapter I will now look at the literature in language practice changes located in the field of heritage language studies.

SUMMARY

This chapter has been an entry point to my research work which investigates the changes that have been experienced with the introduction of KM as optional subject in 2012. The purpose was to identify and discuss changes at macro level in the Mauritian society which paved the way for KM in schools. The whole chapter has been essentially a discussion of these changes which have been analyzed through the Foucaldian lens of ruptures.

The basis of my discussion has been about knowledge statement made on KM. The lack of knowledge statement was the starting point of my discussion. The two sides of discussion have been a question of epistemology and creolisation. Then these two concepts enabled me to discuss the ruptures that KM has provoked in a socio-historical perspective. In fact, the discussion started with the philosophical reflection around 'lack of knowledge' to end up with ruptures.

In this chapter, I presented the Grafi-Larmoni report which gave the rules of an official orthography for KM in 2004. I showed that the report brought a rupture with an old mindset which considered that KM could not be considered as a language because it did not have a standardized written orthography. Then, basing my discussion on the chronological frame which the report gave about the evolution of KM, I explained the work of Baissac which was the first systematic description of KM which was published in the 19th century. I argued that Baissac's work broke with the perception that KM was only the language of the slaves and his work proved that KM could be of interest to all Mauritians and even for the former slave masters in the days of Baissac. This led to me to the 20th century and more precisely at the time Mauritius was preparing itself for official access to independence in 1968.

I qualify this period as the Kreol Enlightenment with the debate that Virahsawmy provoked when he made a public plea for KM as national language and medium of instruction through a

series of reflective papers in the press. Virahsawmy brought new knowledge on KM which was rejected and negated by the mainstream Mauritian intellectuals. I considered that the action of Virahsawmy was Enlightenment as it was an exit in a new world with the light of knowledge. Then, I discussed how the work of Kreol writers and artists a Kreol acrolect emerged, destroying the negative stereotype that KM is a language which is meant only for ordinary communication or limited to popular art form and not for a high culture.

Other ruptures identified were the Kreol literacy initiatives of grassroot organizations like Ledikasion Pu Travayer (LPT) or the case brought in the Supreme Court against the State of Mauritius for depriving children's right to a mother-tongue based education. Finally, three last ruptures were discussed namely the malaise creole, the use of KM in catholic schools and the occupation of the political space by KM and Kreol identity which was equivalent to the creation of a third space.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Heritage Language, Language Practices & Language Identity

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a literature review of recurrent themes and issues addressed in heritage language research work. The chapter addresses the varied use of the terminology 'heritage language' and examines the discussion in the literature on two interrelated themes namely language practices and language identity. I think Saunders and Rojon's (2011) definition of what makes 'a literature review' suits appropriately with the reflective exercise which I intend to conduct in this chapter:

> Exploring and evaluating findings from previous research is an essential aspect of all research projects enabling the work to be set in the context of what is known and what is not known. This necessitates a critical review of the literature in which existing research is discussed and evaluated, thereby contextualizing and justifying the project. (Saunders & Rojon, 2011: 156).

Thus, the role of a literature review is to examine previous studies and gives the state of the art on the phenomenon under study, which is KM as heritage language and language identity in the context of my study. This leads me then to precise the purpose of this chapter.

In the light of my research study, the purpose of this chapter is to explore and evaluate 'findings from previous research' in heritage language studies. I have located my research work in KM on two counts. First, KM is offered as an optional subject at par with Oriental /Asian languages which are commonly referred to as ancestral languages. Literature in heritage languages also uses the term 'ancestral language' (Cho, 2000; Corson, 1999; Fishman, 1999) interchangeably with 'heritage language'. In Chapter 2, I did refer to a reply by the then Minister of Education to a

Parliamentary Question when he stated that his ministry had set up a committee to consider representations for introduction of 'both Mauritian Creole and Bhojpuri as heritage languages' (section 2.4.9). Second, a selection of heritage language studies (Fishman, 2000; Cummins, 2001; Valdes, 2005, Van Deusen-Scholl, 1998; Ricento, 1995; Mercurio and Scario, 2005, Lee Sook, and Shin, 2008; Octu, 2010, Wong and Xiao, 2010) that I have conducted indicate that issues of language practices and language identity are central to the research field of heritage language. The discussion again earlier (Chapter 2) has demonstrated that my research has similar concerns as HL studies with regard to language practices and language identity. The choice of heritage language is also linked to the general aim of my research.

The general aim of my research was to explore the link between heritage language and language identity illustrated by KM as a specific case. My central research question investigated the influence of KM on the Creole pupils' language identity construction. I considered that an analysis of heritage language, language practices and language identity were themes which could provide valuable clues to my research. I foreground the significance of these three themes by using the 'metaphor of the tripod camera' as shown in Figure 3.1. The English Oxford Dictionary (2012) defines a metaphor as 'a thing regarded as representative or symbolic of something else'. In my view, heritage language, language practice and language identity can be represented as a tripod camera which is shown in Figure 3.1.
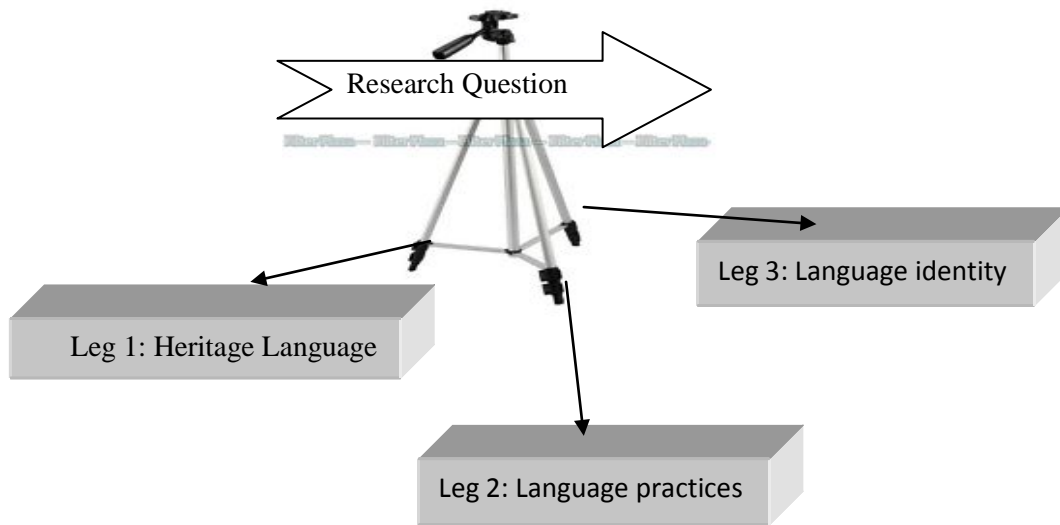
Figure 3. Metaphor of the Tripod camera
(Picture of tripod downloaded at http://www.ebay.com/sch/Tripods-supports)

In the picture, my three key concepts namely heritage language (leg 1), language practices (leg2) and language identity (leg 3) are the three legs of my tripod camera. On top the tripod is placed my research question which is the camera. My research question like a camera used different lenses to zoom the phenomenon I chose to study. A tripod as shown in the picture is normally a support structure which stabilizes a camera. A sturdy tripod is essential for slow shutter speeds and long exposures and for macro photography. A tripod has also the advantage of allowing the photographer to make positional adjustments while remaining focused. These three themes allowed me to look at my research question from three different angles namely from the heritage language terminology, language practices and language identity. In a sense, heritage language, language practices and language identity provided a firm footing to my research question for closed up and macro photography. For Branson (2013: 1), in the jargon of photography, a closed up would be that if I were to shoot a portrait, it would be 'a shot of the person's face in full frame' (p.1). On the other hand, macro photography would be the 'detailing of your person's eye or even the person's iris, enabling you to focus on minute specifics less apparent to the naked eye.' (Branson,

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2013: 1). In fact, my research question as a camera looked at the phenomenon 'in full frame' and it will also focus on 'minute specifics'. The 'full frame' represents the big things which are indexed by the 'small things' in ethnography and when both are seen in their totality, they provide the ethnographer a kaleidoscopic view (Blommaert, 2010).

This literature review in heritage language, language practices and language identity 'synthesizes theoretical perspectives and investigations' (Kucan, 2011: 230). For the literature review I adopted Saunders and Rojon's (2011) four attributes of a critical literature review. These attributes are namely first to identify and include the most relevant and significant research to my topic, second, discuss and evaluate the research studies under review, third, position clearly my study within the wider context and finally, contextualise and justify the aim and objectives of my research. My literature review was conceptualised around these three themes with my research question acting as a compass. From there, I will proceed now by first, examining the different definitions given to heritage language and work out my own definition of heritage language for KM. Second, I will discuss key concepts associated with heritage language such as language practices (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylsverter, 2003; Pennycook, 2005) and language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2010; Edwards, 2009; Kendall, 2000), language shift, language endangerment and language revitalization (O'Rourke, 2011; Mesthrie, 1992; Harlow, 2006). Finally, I will locate my critical review of heritage language and language practices within the debates on language identity (Ferguson, 2013; Octu, 2010; Lee, 2009; Joseph, 2004; Taylor, 1994; Anderson, 199).

3.2. VARIED TERMONOLOGIES FOR 'HERITAGE LANGUAGE'

Research literature in heritage language (Fishman, 2000; Cummins, 2001; Valdes, 2005, Van Deusen-Scholl, 1998; Ricento, 1995; Mercurio and Scario, 2005, Lee Sook, and Shin, 2008; Octu, 2010, Wong and Xiao, 2010) indicates varied terminologies used when referring to heritage language (henceforth referred to as HL), depending on geographical locations, academic paradigms and perspectives. Common appellations for HL are namely *Native languages* in the

USA (Octu, 2010; McCarty, 2008; Peyton et al, 2001; Fishman, 2001), *Aborigenes Languages* in Australia or the generic term Language Other than English used in the field of Second Language Acquisition (Mercurio and Scarino, 2005) and *Alloctonous* or *Indigenous languages* for Maori communities of New Zealand, Inuits in Canada, indigenous communities in Latin America and African anglophone countries (Guardardo, 2010; Wiley, 2001). In Mauritius, HL is a new appellation which has not yet gained currency but was first used as stated earlier in the National Assembly in 2008. The term 'ancestral language' is more used (Bissonauth, 2011; Rajah-Carrim, 2007) than 'heritage language'.

At the level of transnational or international institutions, the term *regional language* which is used for European minority languages amongst member countries of the European Union can be considered as another equivalent of heritage languages. The Council of Europe adopted the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) in 1992 to protect and promote historical and minority languages in Europe for 'the maintenance and development of Europe's cultural wealth and traditions' (conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/148.htm). Examples of regional or minority European languages are Corsican and Breton (France), Catalan (Spain) and Gaelic (Ireland) amongst others. On the African continent, the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) which is an organ of the African Union (AU) mandated to coordinate activities on the promotion and development of African languages, uses the term 'African languages', 'indigenous languages' or 'local languages' interchangeably in international forum. But the Statutes of ACALAN (1995) explains that the term 'African languages' refers only to three specified cases: where the African language is a 'mother-tongue' (art.1. para.c), a 'cross-border language' where there is an African common language to two or more African states (art.1, para. k) or 'vehicular cross border language' meaning a cross-border African language spoken by a significant number of people for whom it is not a mother tongue (art.1 para.o). However, it is quite clear that issues of language –in-education policy related to African languages share similar concerns with HL studies such as the dichotomous relationship between HL or any African language and a foreign or exoglossic language (Chumbow, 2005). The foreign language is usually the dominant language while the HL or the African language is not valued. It is at this level that African languages have some similarities with HL but at the same

time some African languages may find themselves in a dominant position if they have status of national languages and the rest of other languages may then be marginalised. For instance, the South African legal framework (viz. Constitution of 1993, National Education Policy Act, 1996 and the South African Schools Act of 1996) elevates 11 languages (nine major African languages namely Sepedi, Sotho, Tswana, Swati, Venda, Tsonga, Ndebele, Xhosa, Zulu alongside English and Afrikaans) to official status. None of the Khoisan indigenous languages[35] such as Khoekhoegowab; Khwedam; !Xu or N/u are recognized as official languages. The South African constitution makes reference to the Khoisan languages by way of section 6: 'A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must (a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of (i) all official languages; (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages' (South African Constitution, 1996). But there is no teaching of Khosian languages in the South African public school system.

In his study of Chinese heritage language in the US, U-Jung (2006) observes that terms like *ethnic language*, *minority language*, *ancestral language* and *aboriginal language* are used in different parts of the world for HL and that each term "depends on the perspective involved" (U-Jung, 2006: 11). At this point, I will consider the meanings underpinning the different appellations that I have just referred to with a view to reach a working definition of KM as heritage language.

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[35] The authors of the Country Report 2013 of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung state :

In 2005 the UN Special Rapporteur, Rodolfo Stavenhagen recommended in his report on the situation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people "that indigenous communities be recognized in South Africa as such constitutionally and that the legal institutions maintaining the stigma of their classification as "Coloureds" by the apartheid regime be removed."8 As a result, the term could be used interchangeably within the Khoisan context due to this contin-ued historical legacy still continuing in post-apartheid. Official statistics in South Africa still reflect the apartheid typology of race and language and do not reflect the presence of Khoisan people in South Africa9. According to South Africa's 2011 Census, the country's 51 million people are comprised of 79.2% Black Africans; 8.9% Whites; 8.9% Coloureds; 2.5% Indians; and 0.5% Other . (Lefleur and Jansen, 2013).

3.3. A WORKING DEFINTION OF KM AS HERITAGE LANGUAGE

HL has no strait-jacket definition but it has various definitions in research literature depending on the perspective involved. Fishman (2001) states that broadly speaking, the term *heritage language* may refer to any ancestral language such as indigenous, colonial, and immigrant languages. However, from the perspective of language educators in the U.S., *heritage language* usually refers either to an endangered indigenous language or to an immigrant language. Other researchers (Cho, 2010; Wong & Xiao, 2010; Wang & Green, 2001) define heritage language as the language associated with one's cultural background and it may or may not be spoken in the home. The definitions of HL are highly localized and linked to the different geographical appellations that I have given earlier. Thus, it is difficult to align in one go the definition of KM with any of these existing definitions. KM is one type of HLs which needs a specific definition. A working definition of KM will therefore help to locate KM in heritage language studies. In section 3.3.3, I give my working definition.

In order for me to reach a working definition of KM, I elaborated a taxonomy of HL drawn from the different appellations. Taxonomies classify entities according to similarities and differences and construct the ways we organize knowledge and education (Klein, 2005). For Pohs (2013), in traditional taxonomy construction, 'both top-down and bottom-up analysis is required, and knowledge of the content to be classified is key' (Pohs, 2013: 36). In the context of my study, before grouping the different appellations, I first analysed the commonalities and differences between the appellations in terms of the meanings and perspectives which each appellation carries. The elaboration of taxonomy of HL helped me to clarify what makes KM a heritage language and what makes it not as opposed to some appellations. However, I would like to bring a note of caution about the use of taxonomy. As observed by Klein (2005), taxonomies are neither permanent nor complete and their boundaries change. One appellation may overlap with another in terms of meaning and use. Pace (2008: 25), while elaborating the taxonomy of 'transatlantic romanticism(s)' makes the following comment which is applicable to my approach:

> These categories are not discrete or hierarchically ordered, but they all cross-reference each other in a complex web of international intertextuality and interdependency. […] It catalogues and classifies the exciting new areas in which research is being undertaken and represents an urgent call for work on new categories.

Similarly, the taxonomy of HL that I have elaborated 'catalogues and classifies' and reflects major current meanings underpinning the existing appellations. My aim is to justify and add KM as a new category of HL. My process of categorization is also underpinned by the distinction which is made between 'integrative taxonomy' and 'iterative taxonomy'.

Eco-system sciences and specifically biodiversity studies, distinguish 'integrative taxonomy' from 'iterative taxonomy' (Yeates et al., 2011) as two distinct methods. 'Integrative taxonomy' refers to taxonomy that integrates all available data sources to frame and delimit species. The integrative taxonomy is a repeatable and quantitative method to assess data. Conversely, 'iterative taxonomy' treats species boundaries as hypotheses to be tested with new evidence (Yeates et.al, 2011: 210). In the same way, my taxonomy is iterative and not fixed, liable to changes with new evidence. This means that one appellation may have a particular meaning and perspective at particular period of time but it can also evolve. Therefore, I advocate an iterative process which can lead future research in KM to refine and define HL using multiple perspectives. Thus, the exercise that I undertook to elaborate the current taxonomy has helped me to find my way into the different appellations of HL at an early stage and then later, reached a specific definition for KM as heritage language.

I have located the different appellations for HL, including KM into two categories together with their underlying perspectives. I present the taxonomy of HL in Table 8 which I discuss in detail in the coming paragraphs.
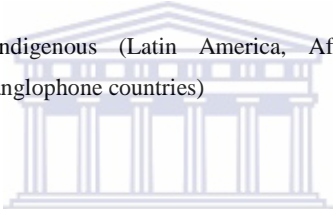
CATEGORIES	GEOGRAPHICAL APPELLATIONS	PERSPECTIVES
CATEGORY A: INDIGENOUS	Native Languages (USA)	*Non majority language* Alatis, 2001; Peyton et al. 2001; Campbell & Christian, 2001 ; Careira & Armengol, 2001
	/AboriginalLanguages (Australia) / Alloctonous (Maori communities of New Zealand, Inuit communities of Canda) /	Guardado, 2010;Mercurio & Scarino, 2005; Patrick, 2003; Harlow, 2006
	Indigenous (Latin America, African anglophone countries)	Lee, 2009; Hill, J.D, and Santos-Granero, 2002; Valdés, 2005; Mc Carty, 2008;
CATGORY B: COMMUNITY	Immigrant / Community Language (UK) / Regional languages (members of Council of Europe)	*Personal, family and collective affiliation* Huaman, 2014; Anya, 2011; Hinton, 2010; Tseng & Fuligni,2000; Fishman, 1999; 2001; 1991; Niño-Murcia,and Rothman, 2008; Mufwene, 1997

Table 8. A taxonomy of Heritage Languages

The first column (from left to right) gives the three categories of HL namely: Indigenous (Category A) and Community (Category B). The second column gives examples of the different appellations which fall under respective categories. Although there is some overlap among these two categories, distinction can be made with respect to their conceptualization of HL and especially the underlying perspectives. In fact, I opted for a categorisation in terms of 'perspective' instead of 'definition' because I find that categorisation in terms of perspective transcends the different localised definitions of HL and it becomes then more appropriate to

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align my definition of KM with the perspectives than with the definition of each researcher. And in the third column I formulate the perspectives for each category with reference to some researchers' work.

3.3.1. Indigenous Language Category and the non majority perspective

In Category A, I have grouped together HL appellations like 'natives', 'aborigenes', 'alloctonous' (autochthonous) and 'indigenous' languages as they share the status of aboriginality. In such cases, the appellations convey the meaning of heritage languages (henceforth, HLs) as being tied to the origins or place of birth. In order to get a better grasp of the meaning of HLs as an indigenous category, I have examined UNESCO documentation and research literature on indigenous people. Debate over a definition of indigenous peoples has often focused on Australian, African and Asian indigenous peoples (UNDRI, 2013; Daes, 2008). In Australia and some parts of Africa, aborigine people are often referred to as 'hunter-gatherers' (Kolig, 1987). In the Asian context, the term "indigenous peoples" is generally understood to refer to distinct cultural groups, such as "Adivasis" in India (Basu, 2012; Padel, 2012;), while some indigenous peoples in the Middle East and Africa are referred to as "tribal peoples", "hill tribes" or "scheduled tribes" and "pastoralists" or "agro-pastoralists' (Sylvain, 2014; Marx, 2009) like the Somalis, Afars and Borana in Ethiopia or the Tuareg in North and West Africa.

For UNDRI Manual (2013), there is no universal and unambiguous definition of the concept of 'indigenous peoples', but there are a number of criteria by which indigenous peoples globally can be identified and from which each group can be characterised. Indigenous peoples have argued against the adoption of a formal definition at the international level, stressing the need for flexibility and for respecting the desire and the right of each indigenous people to define themselves. The most accepted approach is the working definition of Cobo (1986) which was adopted by the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination of Minorities (1986):

> Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples,

in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems. (Cobo, 1986: para.2).

Drawing from Cobo's (1986) working definition, I have been able to identify five features of indigenous people. First, indigenous people 'consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies'. Second, these people have 'a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies'. Third, they 'form at present non-dominant sectors of society. Fourth, they 'develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity'. And the fifth feature is that they possess 'their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems'. These five features imply therefore that indigenous languages are HLs that are directly associated with languages spoken by the indigenous people who represent a section of the wider group of a country's population.

The situation of the indigenous people has been the subject of great concern by the international community until the UN Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2007, 'provides a global framework for effort to advance indigenous people's rights' (UNDRI, 2013: iii). Part III on 'Culture, Religion and Language' and Part IV on 'Education, Media and Employment of the Declaration is of particular interest and relevance to my study. Article 14 of Part III of the UN Declaration with the title 'Language' states that:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to their histories, languages, oral traditions, stories, writings and their own names for people and places. Governments shall ensure that in courts and other proceedings indigenous peoples can understand and be understood through interpreters and other appropriate ways (UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007: art.14).

For UNRI (2013) and Hinton (2010), indigenous peoples' culture is a defining part of their identity. In many cases, the impact of assimilationist policies on indigenous peoples' languages and cultures has been extremely harmful, threatening the continuing cultural existence of indigenous peoples. In the same vein, Article 15 of Part IV lays emphasis on education in the indigenous language as follows:

Indigenous children have the right to the same education as all other children. Indigenous peoples also have the right to their own schools and to provide education in their own languages. Indigenous children who do not live in indigenous communities shall be able to learn their own culture and language (UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, 2007: art.15).

It is interesting to note that the 144 countries, amongst which Mauritius, voted in favour of the Declaration while Australia, New Zealand and United States voted against. The latter four countries are all former British colonies and have large non-indigenous immigrant majorities and small remnant of indigenous population (Wigglesworth & Keegan, 2013). UNRI (2013) observes that language education is absolutely critical to the preservation of indigenous peoples' cultures. It is important that effective measures are taken to preserve indigenous languages and that indigenous children be taught in their own language during the early school years and receive a multicultural education that does not devalue their indigenous cultural identity (UNRI, 2013: 14-15). Similarly, seven years before the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People, the Asmara Declaration of 2000 which is a set of shared principles formed by a pan-African group of writers and scholars, asserts that the use, promotion, and development of research on African languages is essential to decolonizing African minds, and that ushering in an African renaissance depends upon capturing the rich heritage contained in African languages specifically (Iyer & Zare, 2009; Rodrigues, 2009). Indigenous languages are considered as non-majority languages (Guardado, 2010; Lee, 2009; Alatis, 2001), meaning that it is spoken by a minority group or they are languages which are in a domineering position. In fact, the status of the indigenous languages is contingent upon the social and political status of the indigenous people.

Drawing from the definitions of HL and issues addressed by Valdés (2005), Mc Carty (2009) and Lee (2009), I have ascribed the 'non-majority perspective' (Valdés, 2005: 14) to indigenous category of HLs. However, the minority status of a language should not be attributed only on the basis of its number of speakers but rather on the basis of the social positioning of particular social groups within a hierarchical social structure (Patrick, 2001). This means that society is organised around a hierarchical structure in which not all social groups are in the same position. Marginalised groups occupy the lower rung of the social ladder and their language and culture

are also marginalised. This social positioning results from the role played by social categorization in the construction of minority groups. Social categorisation would include imposition of social categories such as race, ethnicity and gender. Race or ethnicity, for instance, become then markers of social categorisation which include or exclude the one who is different or tagged as the 'Other' (Said, 1979). 'Other' is a term that came into currency in anthropology. 'It refers to the fact that encountering another culture and its ways of doing things is often challenging, if not distressing' (Lechte, 2003: 174). Patrick (2001) also observes that the categories themselves may be formed and maintained through language and other markers of social identity that serve as boundaries to define, include and exclude members of particular groups (Barth, 1969 in Patrick, 2005).The formation and maintenance of these categories often go through interactional and social processes, that is, about what goes on among individuals in everyday life. It means how as an individual, I create and sustain what I experience as the reality of a particular situation. At an individual and societal level, speakers of HL may find themselves usually ostracised because of their language and culture.

Researchers (Peyton et al., 2001; Campbell & Christian, 2001; Mercurio & Scarino, 2005; Harlow, 2006; McCarty, 2008) observe that the term HL is often used for languages spoken by groups known as linguistic minorities. Such minorities would include populations who are either indigenous to a particular region of a present-day nation-state (e.g., Aborigines in Australia, speakers of Breton in France, Kurds in Turkey, Iran, and Iraq) or populations that have migrated to areas other than their own regions or nations of origin (e.g., Mexicans in the United States, Turks in Germany, Moroccans in Spain, Pakistanis in England). Minority languages or heritage languages would include indigenous languages that are often endangered and in danger of disappearing (e.g. Scots Gaelic, Maori, Romani) as well as world languages that are commonly spoken in many other regions of the world (Spanish in the United States, Arabic in France). Heritage languages are further defined as languages associated with the ethno-cultural heritage of particular minority populations. The ethno-cultural heritage of these groups of people has been devalued for many historical and political reasons. The concept of language dominance and minorization from Patrick (2001) is enlightening here which is defined as follows:

Language dominance can be best understood in terms of the notion of 'linguistic hierarchy' and of the social, political, and ideological dimensions of attributing power and prestige to particular language varieties and their speakers (Grillo 1989; Gal 1989; Woolard & Schieffelin 1994; Silverstein 1998). Minorization can be understood as a social process occurring within and across nation-states, which constructs minority groups that have less political, economic, and social power than some dominant group. (Patrick, 2001: 1).

Patrick's (2009) definition of 'language dominance' shows that languages possess a 'linguistic hierarchy' and that 'power' and 'prestige' are not inherent to languages but are socially, politically and ideologically determined and ascribed to the languages. In this case some languages or more precisely some 'varieties and their speakers' occupy higher position than others in the 'linguistic hierarchy'. These 'varieties and their speakers' form part of the dominant group. Consequently, those 'varieties and their speakers' who are at the lower position on the 'linguistic hierarchy' entail a process of 'minorization'. Patrick (2001) describes 'minorization' as those groups which 'have less political, economic and social power' than the dominant group. It is interesting to note that Patrick (2001) does not examine language on its own or a mere social phenomena but she looks at language as determined by the status of its speakers. Both the position of the speakers and their languages are socially determined by a social hierarchy. It means that those who have 'less political, economic and social power' are in the minorization group and subsequently their language and culture fall also in this group. In this sense, I would say therefore KM shares similarities with the indigenous category of HLs and especially the 'non-majority' perspective.

At a surface level, KM does not automatically fit in the indigenous category for three major reasons. First, it is not the language of an indigenous population as Mauritius has no indigenous peoples. Second, it is not a language spoken by a small number of speakers as are the cases for most indigenous languages with the exception of some indigenous languages in Africa which have the official status of national languages. KM is the language spoken by more than 80% of the Mauritian population. Third, KM is not in danger of disappearing and there exists no KM heritage educational programme for Mauritian expatriates in other countries until now. But if taken from a 'non-majority perspective', KM falls partly into the indigenous category. At this stage of my discussion, there are two features of HLs as an indigenous category which

immediately strikes me, and retaining my full attention with regard to KM. First, the analysis of this first category of HL has shown that HLs are languages spoken by people who 'form part of the non-dominant sectors' (Cobo, 1986: para, 2) and second, there is a 'linguistic hierarchy' (Patrick, 2001) which creates two groups in society namely the dominant group and the group of 'minorization'.

I consider that KM and indigenous languages do possess one major commonality. The situation of the indigenous people and identity and activism in heritage language education (Leeman et al., 2014; Oriyama, 2010) find similar resonance in the identity ethnic claims for recognition of KM as an optional language in Mauritius. The struggle for KM as an optional language has been based upon linguistic and cultural rights (as discussed in chapter 2) by Creole opinion leaders and movements like actions by indigenous movements around the world for the promotion, preservation and protection of indigenous rights (Ivison et al., 2000). In all such instances, the definition of indigenous peoples by the Working Group of Experts on Indigenous Populations/Communities in Africa (2005) could be applicable to the Kreol ethnic group in Mauritius:

> "Indigenous peoples" has come to have connotations and meanings that are much wider than the question of "who came first". It is today a term and a global movement fighting for rights and justice for those particular groups who have been left on the margins of development and who are perceived negatively by dominating mainstream development paradigms, whose cultures and ways of life are subject to discrimination and contempt and whose very existence is under threat of extinction. (p.87)

This definition demonstrates that we should move away from the early definitions focusing on aboriginality and instead emphasize self-definition as indigenous and distinctly different from other groups within a state. At the same time, the situation of indigenous groups translates an experience of subjugation, marginalization, dispossession, exclusion or discrimination because of their different cultures, ways of life or modes of production than the dominant model (Cobo, 1986). My discussion of the struggle for KM in chapter 2 leads me to locate this struggle into the paradigm of the above definition as KM was claimed for recognition by the Creoles on basis of 'rights and justice'. As described in the preceding chapters, Creoles represent also the group which has been 'left on the margins of development'. The TJC Report (2011) on the

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consequences of slavery and indentured labour highlight that the 'Commission has no doubt that race discrimination against Creoles in particular, is a further reason for Creole people to feel left behind' (p.11, para.7). For the African Working Group, the use of the term 'indigenous' is not to deny all other Africans their legitimate claim to belong to Africa and identify as such. In fact, the term is used because it is a term by which we can very adequately analyse the particularities of sufferings of some social groups and by which these groups can seek protection in international human rights law and moral standards.(African Commission Working Goup, 2005: p.88). The situation of the Kreols is therefore similar to indigenous groups and it is within this perspective that KM can be considered as HL. On this account, I move to the category of community heritage language.

3.3.2. Community Language Category and the personal, family and collective affiliation perspectives.

I have classified appellations like 'immigrant languages' or 'community languages' (often used UK) and regional languages (term used for historical languages of member countries of Council of Europe) in the category of language community. I consider them as also non-dominant languages like the indigenous languages which I discussed earlier but unlike indigenous languages, they have some specific features. Immigrant or community languages are associated with first or second generations (Huaman, 2014; Anya, 2011) of migrants who have settled in developed countries of Europe or USA. According to the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages (1992), 'regional or minority languages' are defined as being languages traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of the state who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population, which are different from the official language(s) of the state, and which are not dialects of the official language(s) or the languages of immigrants. In fact, European regional or minority languages are identified with the oldest native section of the population prior to the establishment of the modern Nation State which opted for a one language, one nation policy (Kroskrity, 2001; Patrick, 2001). The 'community language' becomes then the second category of HL which I have considered in elaborating a working definition for KM as HL. I qualify these languages as 'the community language category'

because an analysis of their underlying perspectives show that there is the sense of a personal and family tie (Tseng & Fuligni, 2014; Fishman, 2001) plus some degree of collective affiliation (Mufwane, 1997; Niño-Murcia,and Rothman, 2008) between these languages and their speakers.

In a study of families (Oh & Fuligni, 2010) from East Asian, Filipino, and Latin American backgrounds, the best parent–adolescent relationships are found among families in which parents and adolescents mutually spoke the HL with each other, as compared with families in which there was a mismatch in languages used or in which parents and adolescents mutually spoke in English. Furthermore, the same study remarks that language itself is a key influence on ethnic identity, especially for language minority individuals The researchers observe that speaking the language of one's heritage culture not only allows individuals to participate in their cultural communities more fully, the HL can also be used (or not used) by the speaker to indicate identification (or lack thereof) with their cultural group (Oh & Fuligni, 2010: 220). For instance, immigrant-background Armenian American children who are able to speak their HL express a stronger identification with their cultural community than their monolingual English-speaking Armenian American peers. It is for this reason the term 'community language' is appropriate when referring to HLs like Spanish, Korean, Turkish and others which are spoken by immigrant communities in Europe or USA.

The term 'community' can be defined as a social aggregate of people sharing some common features (Thorne, 2011). Social science literature (Fairbrother et al., 2013; Mannarini, 2012; Bessant, 2011; Nuitjen, 2003; Amit & Rapport, 2002) demonstrates that "community" is a contested concept involving a range of disciplines including sociology (Weber, 1978; Durkheim, 1933), anthropology (Anderson, 1991; Appadurai, 2004) and politics (Winkle, 1988) and psychology (Mannarini, 2012). Irrespective of the disciplines, three dimensions of community are often brought under scrutiny namely spatiality which is linked to geography, a sense of belonging and social network (Fairbrother, 2013). When referred in terms of locality, community is associated to a particular group of people in spatiality whereas non-locality definitions often focus on sense of belonging, shared understandings and sentiment of attachment (Crowe, 2010). Community can also be understood as a social network which

emphasizes the links and communications between individuals (Anya, 2011). In fact, the concept of community has been challenged in three main ways since the 1980s.

Anderson (1983) redefined community as an "imagined" phenomenon, where the focus is on the sense of "belonging" rather than on more material social interaction. Second, Wegner (1984) stressed the subjective and the supportive network embodied by the notion of community. Third, Cohen (1985; 1982) emphasized the symbolism associated with the idea of community, giving attention to language, symbols, imagery, rituals, and habits. Cohen argues that 'community' involves the members of a group having something in common with each other; and the thing held in common distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other possible groups (Cohen 1985: 12). Community, thus, implies both similarity and difference. In the context of my current discussion, I use the term 'community' as the intersection between the 'imagined communities' of Anderson (1991) and the notion of community as markers of 'similarity and difference' in Cohen (1985). In psychological approach, the psychological sense of community is defined as 'the feeling of being a member of a larger community supported by interpersonal sharing and an emotional connection' (Mannarini, 2012: 953). I therefore understand 'community language' as the language which gives a shared sense of belonging to its speakers and, community becomes then 'an extension of the personal identity' (Fairbrother, 2013: 189).

In certain circumstances, the HL category of 'community language' can also unite people who speak the same languages although they may be geographically apart. This sense of community can be observed with some HL programs in Australia and USA, for example, whose study I think can shed light on the link between language and the sense of belonging.

In the US and Australia, Language Other Than English (LOTE) is used for HL programs and in conjunction with bilingual programs for the teaching of English language. LOTE programs came into existence with the increasing trend of migration of non-English speaking communities in these two aforementioned countries. The United States, Canada, and Australia have become more ethnically, racially, and linguistically diverse within the last 40 years. Although English was the most frequently spoken home language in Australia in 2006 (78.5 percent), for instance,

the 2006 census indicates that more than 400 languages were spoken in homes by first or second generations of migrants including Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese, Italian, Greek, and Arabic (Inglis 2009 in Banks, 2009). In fact, LOTE programs translate a form of respect for the languages and cultures of their speakers in the host countries. In terms of national policies for integration, these programs are historically related to a shift from the assimilationist and liberal ideology to multiculturalism and more specifically to multicultural citizenship education in the Western nations (Hambel, 2005). Drawing from Banks (2009), we find that the assimilationist and liberal ideology that dominated the Western nations envision a nation state in which individuals from diverse groups are able to participate fully. However, the liberal assimilationists believe that for this kind of equitable, modernized society to emerge and flourish, individuals must surrender their ethnic and cultural attachments. The goal was to maintain national identities and at times a uniform identity with the cultural hegemony of the existing dominant groups. But with the rise of ethnic revitalization movements in the 1960s and 1970s coupled with the accelerated flux of migrants in the new millennium, there has been a movement towards a politics of recognition (Taylor, 1994) of these different languages and cultures located into the multicultural perspective of society. Within multiculturalism itself there is now a growing tendency to go towards a critical multicultural citizenship (Milojevic, 2005) in education which recognizes the right and need for students to maintain commitments to their cultural communities, to a transnational community, and to the nation state in which they are legal citizens. It is thus believed that successful integration comes with a better awareness of language difference and identity in multicultural classrooms and in particular to consider the experiences and views of immigrant children (Welply, 2010). It is for this reason that I agree with Mc Carty's description of Native American languages as 'heritage mother tongues'.

McCarty (2008) considers that if most Native American languages are no longer acquired as a first language by children, they are nonetheless languages of identity and heritage. In the conceptualization of Native American languages, and as offered in LOTE programs, as 'Heritage Mother Tongues', Mc Carty (2008) builds her argumentation on UNESCO's definition of mother tongue and extends the definition itself by stating that: "Mother tongue denotes a deep, abiding, even cord-like connection between language and identity. Native American discourses

make frequent reference to these connections between language, community, place, and time" (Mc Carty, 2008: 203). In her definition of mother-tongue, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) establishes four criteria: origin, identification, competence and function. In terms of origin, mother-tongue is the language one learned first, and then there is an internal identification where it is the language one identifies with as native speaker together with an external identification where the language one is identified with as native speaker by others. As far as competence and function criteria are concerned, mother-tongue is the language one knows best and one uses most respectively. However, Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty (2008: 11) observe: "Thus, even if members of an Indigenous speech community do not know (much of) their ancestral language, it is properly considered a mother tongue on the basis of personal identification with it" (p.203). McCarty's linkage of heritage language with mother tongue leads me to make a parallel with KM. The latter shares obviously some similar features with the HL category of community language.

Like community languages, KM is the language which gives a sense of belonging to all Mauritians although ethnic politics may be an obstacle to full identification with the language. The existence of Indian languages in Mauritius reveals a paradoxical situation where KM which is the language of communication of all and can even be considered as the national language judging by its great number of speakers, yet it is limited in its capacity to be the language of communion. In fact, the relation that the Indo-Mauritian community, which is the largest group, has with Oriental languages confirms the 'imagined communities' theory of Anderson (1991). The Indo-Mauritian identifies itself more with Mother India through the Indian ancestral languages than with KM. (Eisenhlor, 2004). With regard to the Indian languages in Mauritius, Eisenhlor (2006) observes:

> The most important among these Indian ancestral languages is Hindi, locally understood as the ancestral language of Hindus of north Indian origin. Despite its restricted use, Hindi is a principal focus of diasporic belonging among Hindu Mauritians. Its practice, especially in religious contexts, is sometimes even understood to be a way of ritual communion with the Indian ancestors who founded the Hindu community of Mauritius. In contrast, the principal vernacular language, French-lexifier Mauritian Creole, which Mauritian Hindus share with almost all other Mauritians, is less relevant for the construction of a diasporic community… (p.98).

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The above quote shows that Hindi is a key element in 'diasporic belonging' of the Indo-Mauritian community which connects it with India and the rest of the world where Indian communities have settled. We note also that Hindi is 'a way of ritual communion with the Indian ancestors'. Cohen (1985: 12) observes that symbols of community like languages are markers of boundaries defining who is 'in communion or in community' and who is not. I would say therefore that for the Indo-Mauritian community speaking Indian ancestral languages becomes a yardstick to know who is communion or not. We can read also in the quote that 'the French-lexifier Mauritian Creole, which Mauritian Hindus share with almost all other Mauritians', does not have similar impact as Hindi. It seems there is tension between the ideologies of ancestral languages for the construction of a diasporic community and the desire for a Mauritian nation. I would argue then that Hindi and other Indian ancestral languages are HLs for a diasporic community while KM represents both an ethnic and national HL for nation building. Therefore, KM cannot be defined in isolation with other HLs in Mauritius. At this stage, I am in a position to propose a working definition for KM.

3.3.3 Naturalized Language as working definition for KM

In the light of the discussion, it could be said that KM is at the intersection of the two HL categories namely the indigenous and community language categories. KM has elements of a non-majority perspective as we saw for the indigenous languages and the sense of belonging for the community languages. I would thus define KM as the naturalized language of the island of Mauritius born out of slavery by embracing afterwards other languages in its evolution to become finally an ethnic and national heritage language. In the following paragraphs, I discuss this working definition by focusing on the key terms 'naturalized language', 'born out of slavery', 'embracing other languages' and 'ethnic and national heritage language'.

I borrow the term 'naturalized' from macroecology and biodiversity research (Richardson, D.M. and Pyšek, 2012) and biogeography studies (Proches et al., 2012). In my view, the concept and definitions of 'naturalization' in natural science might be used as an analogy to explain KM as a

'naturalized language'. At this point, it is interesting to note that Archer (1987) observes that the word 'creole' was used by scientists to name hybrid plants and animals born out of some indigenous and imported species. In their discussion of the terminology of naturalization and invasion of alien plants, Richardson et al. (2000: 97) consider that there are three phases in the naturalization/invasion process namely 'introduction', 'naturalization' and' invasion'. First, 'introduction' means that the plant (or propagule) has been transported by humans across a major geographical barrier. Second, 'naturalization' starts when abiotic and biotic barriers are surmounted and when various barriers to regular reproduction are overcome. Third, 'invasion' further requires that introduced plants produce reproductive offspring in areas distant from sites of introduction. A parallel can be made here with KM which has experienced the same three phases of naturalization.

The 'introduction' phase of KM can be understood in the light of the British historian Vaughan's (2005) analysis of the complex set of interactions of the Creole island of Mauritius. She states that ' by 'creole', I simply mean that the island without natives, has always been the product of multiple influences, multiple sources, which to differing degrees merge, take root and 'naturalize' on this new soil' (p.2). In the same line of thought, I share the view that KM has its origin into a Meditteranean nautical lingua franca (Faine, 1939; Baker & Corne, 1983; Archer, 1987; Richon, 2004; Virahsawmy, 2010) on board of slave ships. The first form of KM originated as a contact luaguage (Thomason, 1997) between the sailors and slaves and then it was introduced on the 'new soil' (Vaughan, 2005: 2) of Mauritius where it developed and matured. The 'naturalization phase' of KM also met with 'abiotic and biotic barriers' in the form of different social prejudices (as discussed in chapter 2) which were finally overcome and made KM find its place as the main vernacular and naturalized language. This definition of KM as a 'naturalized' language' breaks with the usual definition which has been given until now by local (Tirvassen, 2002; Virahsawmy, 2004; Carpooran, 2006) and international scholars to the term 'Creole' and by extension to Creole languages (Abrahams, 2011; Bickerton, 2006; Chaudenson, 2009; 2004). Degraff's definition encapsulates this established definition in the following words:

> my use of the term 'Creole' in the phrase 'first "Creole" speakers' combines some of its
> original ethno-historical senses: I use the word 'Creole', in this particular context, to refer
> to the non-indigenous people of African or European descent that were born and raised in

the colonial New World, in opposition to those that were born and raised in the Old Worlds of Africa and Europe. (DeGraff, 2009: 889).

As can be seen DeGraff (2009) in his definition of 'Creole' makes two distinctions: first, he opposes Creole to the indigenous people referring to Creoles as 'non-indigenous people of African or European descent'. Second, he opposes the Creoles as people born in the 'colonial New World' to those who were born in the 'Old Worlds of Africa and Europe'. My use of 'naturalization' tries to demonstrate that 'naturalization' may not be synonymous to 'indigenisation' but it is another way of looking at how a language like Creole is linked to a 'new soil' just as the indigenous is closely knit with the land. I take the risk to say that naturalization can be considered as another process of indigenization by basing myself on the discussion engaged earlier (section 3.3.1) about the need that we should move away from the early definitions of 'indigenous' which focused on aboriginality and instead emphasize self-definition as indigenous and distinctly different from other groups within a state. I consider now the 'invasion phase' of my analogy.

I identify the 'invasion phase' as the contemporary period which is marked by a rapid progress of KM in 'different areas distant from sites of introduction'. KM is now widely used in different sectors with its different milestones as discussed in chapter 2. I mean that KM has moved from a mere vernacular originally between masters and slaves and after the abolition of slavery for Asian indentured labourers with the population to a national heritage language. This national heritage of KM is deeply rooted in narratives of resilience (Harmon & Desveaux, 2013; Palmyre, Harmon, 2008; TJC, 2009; Police-Michel, 2005). It is for this reason that in my working definition I make explicit reference to KM as 'born out of slavery' which translates somehow the illegal status of the new language following the marriage of different languages in contact. KM is therefore a language of resistance which has been Thus, KM is both an ethnic heritage language and a national heritage language. As an ethnic heritage language, KM is epitomised in contemporary Mauritius by the AfroKreol identity claims for recognition of KM. Its wide use by all Mauritians reminds us that it is a national heritage. For the local scholar Virahsawmy (2010) 'Dutch and French sailors, slaves from Madagascar, East and West Africa, officers of the

French East India Company, French immigrants, indentured labourers from Asia, alien fauna and flora have enhanced the creolity of our country' (p.1).

Hence, this discussion concludes with a working definition of KM as a naturalized language which intersects with categories of indigenous and community languages in research literature. In the next section, I examine language practices as the main focus of my study.

3.4. LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN HERITAGE LANGUAGE

The Oxford English Dictionary (2012) defines 'practice' as 'the customary, habitual, or expected procedure or way of doing of something'. The term has gained currency as a professional jargon and is often used in such expressions like 'best practice' (Goldsmith & Carter, 2010) in professional fields. In this acceptance 'practice' is considered as 'a constellation of value, purpose, sanction, knowledge and method' (Holosko, 2003: 4). But 'practice' is also used as concept in sociology and philosophy to analyse and describe the dynamic process of actions by social agents imposed by moral and social norms in context (Ouafaa, 2004). It is in this latter sense that the term 'language practices' is used to describe acts of communication which mediate different behaviours and attitudes observed as individual and group phenomena. 'Language practices' or '*pratiques langagières*' (in French) was coined in the 1970s by a group of French sociolinguists namely Boutet, Fiala, & Simonin-Grumbach (1976). Canut (2001) observed that these researchers came to use 'language practices' to mark a rupture with the Saussurian and Chomskyan influences on French sociolinguistics. Saussure (1967) looked at language as a homogeneous system and Chomsky as a biogically determined by the human mind and hence genetically transmitted. In fact, Boutet (2010), who was the leading sociolinguist of the team, considers language as a praxis by observing that 'words do not only reflect objects of the world but they have a power to act upon the world; speech acts are social practices which have the power of transformation and action, they are performative' (p.10, my translation)[36]. Thus,

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[36] Original version (French) : 'Les mots ne font pas que représenter des objets du monde, ils ont aussi un pouvoir d'action sur ce monde ; parler constitue une pratique sociale qui a des effets de transformation et d'action, qui est performative' (Boutet, J, 2010. p. 10)

language practices are 'social practices' which are regulated by a reciprocal situation where language practices are shaped by the social context and at the same time the same language practices impact social situations. Language practices are underpinned by the principle of reciprocity of social influences and speech acts (Ouafaa, 2004; Canut, 2001; Forlot, 2008). There is a co-construction of language situations by language practices and social contexts. Castaing-Bautier (1981) argues that language practices should be taken as a 'heuristic tool' (Castaing-Bautier, 1981: 5) because it helps to hypothesize the correlation, co-occurrences and the interaction of linguistic, psychological, cultural and affective factors to explain language contexts. The term 'heuristic' comes from the Greek word 'heuriskein' meaning 'to discover' (Runes, 1942). In the field of philosophy, for instance, Kant uses 'heuristic' to ideas of God, freedom and immortality as being undemonstrable but useful in interpretation of things and events in time and space(Runes, 1942). Thus, 'heuristic' is a procedure for achieving a result but which does not consist simply in applying general rules which are guaranteed to lead to the result in question (Proudfoot & Lacey, 2010).

Similarly, language practice is a heuristic tool which I used in my study to explain the changes that KM has brought in schools. I analysed the linguistic, psychological, cultural and affective impact of KM. In regard to my research question, a critical understanding of language practices was essential to read into the experiences of the heads of school, teachers, pupils and parents. This entailed at the same time that I conducted my analysis at both the micro and macro levels. Drawing specifically from the work of Hornberger & Skilton-Sylsverter (2003) and Pennycook (2005), I posited that language practices are the attitudes, social and mental representations that my study intended to investigate amongst learners, teachers, heads of school and other stakeholders which impact the implementation of KM as an optional language in a school context. At the macro level, my analysis examined power relations inherent in acts of communication (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylsverter (2003). In the coming sections, I analyse two key fundamental dimensions which underpin language practices namely language ideologies and language attitudes which reflect the mental and social representations of language practices. As from the 1990s, new development in language studies, and especially from the North American

linguistic anthropology, has shifted the focus from language attitudes to language ideologies. Language attitudes are viewed as underpinned by language ideologies (Razfar, 2012; Kroskrity, 2010; Kendall, 2000).

3.4.1. Language Ideologies as the underlying practices

For Kroskrity (2010), in contrast to language attitudes, language ideologies are rooted in the social practices of people. Gal (1998) says that ideologies are not only ideas, constructs, notions, or representations but also they are practices through which those notions are enacted. Language practices are therefore influenced by language ideologies. It means how people reflect upon a language and what they have learned formally or informally about that language determine the opinion that they can form. This confirms somehow my earlier discussion about 'nature and nurture' about language attitudes. Attitudes are formed by society and they reflect the mental and social representations of society. Zenker (2014) observes that language ideologies are situated at the intersection of language use and structure and they are not concerned with language alone. Instead, language ideologies are linked to divergent interests of groups and individuals. In fact, these interests are usually multiple and contested, held by actors to varying degrees of awareness, and often made to play a crucial role in the construction of collective identities such as ethnicity or nationality (Rockwell, 2012; Kroskrity, 2010). I would then say that language ideologies manifest themselves through the individual but they are group phenomena. For Kendall (2000), language ideologies tend to refer to a broader system of beliefs and believe that language ideologies demonstrate the importance of the group as opposed to the individual.

Groarty (2010) explains the significance of language ideologies as follow:

> Language ideologies frame and influence most aspects of language use, but their influence is not always directly observable. Often their scope and constraints must be inferred from the nature of individual and group actions, expectations and decisions occurring in pertinent social realms (Lippi-Green, 1997; McGroarty, 2008). (p.110).

In a comprehensive reading of language ideologies, Kroskrity (2010) defines language ideologies as 'beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups,

and nation states' (p.2). Research works of Silverstein (1979) and Woolard & Schieffelin (1994) shed light on the shaping role of language ideologies on language structure. These researchers brought a reversal of scholarly assumptions in the field of anthropology and linguistics. Until then, the scholarly assumption in anthropology and linguistics was dominated by Franz Boas (1858-1942) who focused on analysis and description of languages as categorization systems. In the field of linguistics, Chomkys' transformation-generative replaced Bloom's structuralism taxonomy. The preoccupation of both anthropology and linguistics was more with linguistics structure as the locus of the native mind instead of examining what the native had to bring as notions on languages. In this sense, the insights of Silverstein (1979) and Woolard & Schieffelin (1994) broke away from the structuralist perspective and demonstrated that language attitudes are indexical of language ideologies. Kroskrity (2010) explains that language ideologies are a cluster concept with four overlapping layers.

The first layer is that language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group. This means that appreciation of a language is grounded in social experiences and is tied to political and economic interests. In line with the socio-economic interests argument, Kroskrity (2010) refers to Milroy and Milroy (1999) who argue that the standard language ideology which is imposed on the wider majority as normative very often comes from the upper middle class. This is a pertinent remark which I will consider when analyzing at a later stage the whole standardization process of KM and its impact on curriculum development and elaboration of school textbooks. Second, language ideologies are conceived as multiple because of the plurality of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on) within sociocultural groups. Social experiences are not uniform, even if they are from the same social group. For instance, I have tried to be attentive to the unique experiences of the participants in my research work even if my focus is mainly on the Creole ethnic group. Third, members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies. In this regard, Kroskrity (2010) refers to the notions of 'ideological sites' as developed by Silverstein (1998), 'multisitedness' by Philipps (2000). These sites are places of social practice where language and ideologies are mediated through communications. These sites may be secular, religious or institutionalized like schools. Languages become then sites of

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resistance and contestation linked to relations of power and political arrangements in communities and societies (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004). It is within this perspective that we can note three research trends in language ideologies.

The first trend is about the 'historiography of language ideologies' (Blommaert, 1999 in Kroskrity, 2010). This type of research is a diachronic study of the evolution of language studies. Frequent questions in this field are about the origins of language ideologies, the historical production and reproduction of language ideologies and how one language ideology becomes dominant and another one less successful. In fact, I looked at the evolution of language ideologies underpinning KM in the previous chapter. In the light of the findings of my research, I will discuss at a later stage if the introduction of KM in school signifies there has been a change in language ideology especially if it is KM which has now become the dominant ideology.

The second research trend is the exploration of the role of language ideologies in the production of social identities of various kinds, including ethnic, gender, indigenous, and national identities. In chapter 2, I have already discussed some aspects of KM as agent of identity construction and I will go in further details into these aspects in my chapters of theoretical framework (Chapter 4) and of data analysis (Chapter 7).

The third trend is the analysis of dynamic situations involving cultural contacts, economic change and the hegemonic influence of states on cultural minorities. My research analyses the place of the Kreol minority group within globalisation. In this instance, I verify the hypothesis of Virahsawmy (2012; 2013) that development of a KM-English bilingualism is a key to socio-economic and cultural development of the Kreols and Mauritians at large because this bilingualism would be beneficial economically in the context of Global English and positioning Mauritius amongst the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) countries. My research work is therefore fully located into these three trends. It examines the role of language ideologies in the construction of Creole identity encompassing specifically ethnic and national identities. I would add a fourth trend to research in language ideologies. It is about the growing

interest about language practice in classroom situations or school context (Zenker, 2014: Rafzar, 2012; Rockwell, 2012; O'Rourke, 2011 to name a few).

Drawing from Rafzar (2012) and Kroskrity (2010), we can observe that language practices also index ideologies of learning (including language learning) and student identity in the context of instruction. For instance, a language ideologies (LI) perspective assumes an inextricable link between local language use and broader historical and institutional practices, values, and interests (Rafzar, 2012). In a study about how written French is acquired as literacy practice in a Parisian elementary school amongst French children of the second generation of immigrants, Rockwell (2012) remarks in his findings that:

> French-language ideology, while historically variable, indexes much more than belonging to a nation. In everyday life, inclusion requires mastery of written French, not just oral competence. Mastery of written French signals full socialization into French culture and society for all children, not only those who are the offspring of the latest waves of immigration. Written French has long been held to be the key that allows access to civilization, to the "republic of letters" (Ostler, 2005, p. 417). Thus, the ideological overtones of commentaries on students' classwork rewarded mastery of a written code that was assumed to be quite distinct from the way French is normally spoken.

From Rockwell's (2012) remark we can observe that there is a clear distinction between oral and written French. Simple activities like 'students' classwork' are underpinned by ideologies. In the above study, the 'written code' sanctions the French ideology of 'civilization'. Rockwell (2012) further observed in the same study that language ideologies are 'present both in scholarly perspectives on language instruction and as theories embedded in the very practices displayed in ongoing classroom discourse.' (p.383). It was therefore interesting for me to pay close attention to 'classroom discourse' and classroom practices to uncover language ideologies around KM and other languages in use. As well, post colonial studies and linguistics have attracted interest into a field which has been called colonial linguistics (Woolard and Schieffelin (1994). Colonial linguistics looks at the ideology underpinning language policies in the colonial period as well as the language ideology which has shaped European missionization and colonization including the ideology which has influenced the structural unit of languages through dictionaries. In addition, the development of Critical Discourse Analysis (based on the work of Norman Fairclough, RuthWodak, Teun van Djik) has provided a framework to analyse power and social inequality

enacted in discourse. It may be said as well that the concept of language ideologies has helped to better understand language attitudes.

3.4.2. Language attitudes as Social psychological Insights

Language attitudes have become the foci of HL studies because the success of revitalisation programmes (to which I come in details in section 3.4.2.2.) depends critically on the language attitudes of the target group. The nagging question is that why in spite of efforts to revitalize an endangered language, its speakers neglect its use. This is what research tries to inquire and answer by examining the attitudes of the HL speakers (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994; Kendall, 2000; Kroskrity, 2010; Groarty, 2010). Crystal (2008) defines language attitudes as follows:

> A term used in sociolinguistics for the feelings people have about their own language or the language(s) of others. These may be positive or negative: someone may particularly value a foreign language (e.g.because of its literary history) or think that a language is especially difficult to learn (e.g. because the script is off-putting). Rural accents generally receive a positive evaluation, whereas urban accents do not. Knowing about attitudes is an important aspect of evaluating the likely success of a language teaching programme or a piece of language planning. (p.324)

This definition refers to the 'feelings of people about their own language or the language of others'. This means that language practices reflect people's emotions and idiosyncrasies which may be linked to their own personality and could be shaped by their own upbringing during childhood and adolescence in the process of socialization. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975:6 in O'Rourke, 2011) describe language attitudes 'as a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to a given object' (p.25). The 'given object' means language. The term 'learned predisposition' demonstrates language attitudes are not to be taken at the level of human instinct but they are socially nurtured leading to 'positive' or 'negative' feelings. Crystal (2008) illustrates the antagonistic feelings by giving the example of rural versus urban accents where the latter are more valued. This shows that 'feelings' are in fact influenced by social factors. We can assume that 'urban accents' receive positive feelings because urbanization is associated generally with development and progress and social mobility (Appadurai, 2001) which often lead to rural depopulation and migration to urban areas. The social factor definitely impacts the personal feelings of the individuals towards

their own languages or others. Crystal (2008) also observes that 'knowing attitudes' is an interesting way of 'evaluating the likely success of a language teaching programme'. So, examining language attitudes would help me to evaluate the implementation of KM in schools. Ouafaa (2004), whose research works deals with language attitudes amongst young Moroccans of Montreal (Canada) and Bruxelles (Belgium), identified three approaches to studies in attitudes namely the mentalist, behaviourist and socio-psychological. I briefly describe each approach in turn.

According to Ouafaa (2004), the mentalist approach to attitudes is epitomized by the classical definition of Allport (1954: 13) which is often quoted:

> An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it's related. (Alport, 1954:13 in Ouafaa, 2004: 35)

In this definition, attitude is acquired through experience and it shapes behaviour towards 'all objects and situations in which it's related'. In his critical review of Allport's social psychology, Parkonvick (2000) states that Floyd Allport, founder of social psychology with his publication *Social Psychology* (1924), set out to establish a scientific social psychology that would include survey research on students' attitudes and J-curve research outside the laboratory as well as research in the laboratory. Allport argued that we should rid ourselves of the category of instincts. He rejected the theory of instincts developed by William James (1890 in Cravens, 1978) which held that there are "pure and unmodified instincts" (Cravens, 1980: 306). Rather he advocated the importance of the environment while holding to a view of human behavior as the product of an interaction between nature and nurture. For him, that inborn reflexes are modified through learning. Allport's program for social psychology entailed a methodological individualism (Parkonvick, 2000) whereby social phenomena are to be explained solely in terms of facts about individuals. In fact, for Allport, a group is not real or tangible as it is the 'sum of action of each of its members taken separately' (Allport, 1924: 6). This observation of Allport (1924) leads me to put a note of caution with regard to KM. It triggers questions like how far should I distinguish individual from group language attitudes? In my analysis, I will examine how far a particular attitude is the result of 'nature and nurture' at an individual level at one hand

and if the social dimension does not have any influence at all on the individual on the other hand. Contesting the methodological individualism of Allport, Graummann (1986: 26) criticized Allport for seeing the individual as a *desocialized individual* just it is something fictitious and untenable to look at society as *deindividualized society*. In fact, Allport's view (1924) is the mentalist point of view.

The mentalist point of view considers that attitudes have a multidimensional structure comprising the cognitive, affective and conation dimensions. Huitt & Cain (2005:1) give the following definitions for each dimension:

> Cognition refers to the process of coming to know and understand; of encoding, perceiving, storing, processing, and retrieving information. It is generally associated with the question of "what" (e.g., what happened, what is going on now, what is the meaning of that information.)

> Affect refers to the emotional interpretation of perceptions, information, or knowledge. It is generally associated with one's attachment (positive or negative) to people, objects, ideas, etc. and is associated with the question "How do I feel about this knowledge or information?"

> Conation refers to the connection of knowledge and affect to behavior and is associated with the issue of "why." It is the personal, intentional, planful, deliberate, goal-oriented, or striving component of motivation, the proactive (as opposed to reactive or habitual) aspect of behavior.

In the context of my research, I paid particular attention to the place of KM in the cognitive, affective and conation dimensions of the language attitudes of the different stakeholders. I investigated, for example, if teachers, pupils, parents and other stakeholders considered KM had the capacity to develop thinking and reasoning (cognitive level), how we feel (affective/ emotional level) and our intentionality (conative level). However, the mentalist approach considers that each component of the multidimensional structure of attitudes cannot be examined on its own but should be inferred through observations.

In opposition to the multidimensional structure of attitudes by the mentalist approach, the behaviourist approach proposes a unidimensional structure which makes a clear distinction between attitude (which is evaluative) and belief (cognitive and conation). This distinction is

made by Ajzen & Fisbein (1980: 2000) and Ajzen (2001) in their theory of reasoned action. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975, 1980) developed a model for the prediction of behavioural intention. This theory posits that the intention to act is an indicator of behaviour which is more important than attitudes. It means that if a person intends to do a behaviour, it is likely that person will do it. Subjective norms and beliefs are key determinants of attitudes and they are variables which are subject to contexts.

However, Fasold (1999) remarks that language attitudes have to be distinguished from other attitudes by the fact that they are precisely about languages. For my study, I used the three approaches to analyse language attitudes of learners and teachers of KM as HL but I found that each approach had to be studied as an entity on its own while noting also contradictions amongst the three approaches (Edwards, 2009; Edwards, 1994 in O'Rourke, 2000). For instance, at the level of cognitive, someone may believe that it is good to learn English for its economic opportunity but at the emotional level, may not like English at all. Thus, in my research when I looked at the experiences of change in language practices experienced by the different agents, I took into account the social psychological dimensions of KM.

Much of the research work in language attitudes are traditionally located in social psychology of language (e.g Gardner, 1985; Gardner and Lambert, 1972 cited in Kendall, 2000; Baker, 1992; Giles *et al.*, 1987 cited in O'Rourke, 2011). Social psychology explains that earliest agents of attitude are parents, later followed by peers, and the media. In fact, attitudes are not merely individualistic, they are in fact shaped by societal conditions. Language is a key theme in social psychology. For Semin & Fieldler (1992), social psychology is often defined as the analysis and explanation of social behaviour. According to both researchers, the prominent focus in social psychology has, however, for a long time been on the analysis and explanation of intra-psychological processes (cognitive and affective processes) rather on social behaviour (inter-psychological processes) or the interface between the two. The two researchers consider that the interest of social psychology for language is that language marks both the features of social interaction and the properties of an individual.

Attitudinal research (O'Rourke, 2011) considers that there is a multidimensional nature in language attitudes. The researcher gives three dimensions which are relevant to my research work. First, positive attitudes are considered to be crucial in the success of language planning and the future of a language. At the same time, there should be also positive attitudes for use of the language in different domains. This means that KM's future depends not only on its introduction as an optional language in schools but on its widespread use in other areas than school. Second, there is an 'integrative or solidarity dimension [...] which binds people into a community of shared understandings and hence identity' (O'Rourke, 2011: 19). This dimension echoes the discussed I made earlier about the role of KM as both an ethnic and national language. Third, language attitudes can generate 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1993) and 'symbolic border guards' (Barth, 1969). The 'imagined communities' and 'symbolic border guards' indicate the group solidarity and the marking function of identity delimiting those who are members and non-members of the group who can share this identity. The concept of 'speech community' (Rampton, 1998; Hymes, 1972) refers to the everyday use of language in a social setting and language is studied not as a linguistic entity but is the object of description as an integral social unit. The coming section examines the concept of language shift.

3.4.2.1. Language shift
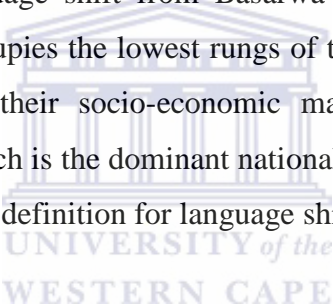
Language shift can be broadly defined as a shift from one language to another. Crystal (2008) gives a well-encompassed definition of language shift which this concept entails:

> A term used in sociolinguistics to refer to the gradual or sudden move from the use of one language to another, either by an individual or by a group. It is particularly found among second- and third-generation immigrants, who often lose their attachment to their ancestral language, faced with the pressure to communicate in the language of the host country. Language shift may also be actively encouraged by the government policy of the host country.

From this definition, we identify three features. First, we note that language shift can be either 'gradual' or 'sudden'. It means that language shift can be a long term process when it takes place gradually or it can be abrupt. Second, it is presented as either 'an individual' or 'a group' phenomena. I think we can reasonably assume also that there is an influence of both the individual upon the group and vice-versa. The third feature is about the cause of language shift and in what situation does it happen. We learn that language shift 'is particularly found among

second-and third-generation immigrants'. This shift happens because of loss of attachment to the ancestral language resulting from 'pressure to communicate in the language of the host country' or it can be from government policy of the host country. This is a situation which is characteristic of language practices where one language is considered more prestigious than another. In this case, speakers adopt the prestigious language and neglect theirs. Language shift should be distinguished from language change. The latter is a term used in historical linguistics which refers to change within a language over a period of time, seen as a universal and unstoppable process (Crystal, 2008: 20). Drawing from international literature, I give here three country cases of language shift and then discuss these three cases in the light of the situation in Mauritius.

First, in a study of language shift from Basarwa to Sestwana in Botswana, Mafela (2009) explains that Basarwa occupies the lowest rungs of the social ladder in this African country and as a means to mediate their socio-economic marginalisation, the Basarwas have had to appropriate Setswana, which is the dominant national language for survival. In her study, Malefa (2009) gives the following definition for language shift and its consequences:

> Language shift is defined as a process that involves giving up part of one's identity, where language forms an integral part of that identity. In this process, one's ethnicity is exchanged for another (Herbert, 2002, p. 321). Language shift usually occurs as a result of factors which are both external and internal to the speech community. These include the group's identity, its relationship with other groups, the degree of political autonomy of the group and its access to avenues of material prosperity (Grenoble & Whaley, 1998, p. 22). Language shift mirrors the socio-historical discourse between the hegemonic language groups and the minority language speakers (Malefa, 2006: 239)

Just as I observed that the term 'gradual' used by Crystal's (2008) denotes a process, Malefa (2006) also defines language shift as 'a process'. But in this second definition, the element of 'identity' is raised. Language shift implies 'giving up part of one's identity' especially where 'language forms an integral part of that identity'. As a consequence, 'one's ethnicity is exchanged for another'. In fact, we may argue that language is not the sole marker of identity but researchers agree that language is central to identity and especially for those who are in a minority position (Edwards, 2009; Joseph, 2004). For Malefa, language shift can be caused by

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both 'internal and external factors'. Three factors are mentioned. The first factors is the 'group's identity', Malefa meaning probably by this the way the group defines itself and 'its relationship with other groups'. The second factor is about the 'political autonomy' of the group. This means how far the group or an individual is free to position itself and act independently of external circumstances (Bealey, 1999: 22). Malefa' (2006) also adds the economic dimension by observing that amongst the external factors is also 'access to material prosperity'. This question of access to resources by a group is essential as as it measures the relative capability of group for social mobility and freedom (Nussbaum, 2011). Finally, Malefa observes that language shift 'mirrors socio-historical discourse between the hegemonic groups and the language speakers'. Language shift is therefore marked by asymmetric power relations. Language shift may occur because of a hegemonic 'socio-historical discourse'. Language shift resulting from an asymmetry of relationship between the hegemonic language groups and the minority language speakers is further illustrated in the two other country cases that I present below.

In our second case, Mesthrie (1992) examines the rise of South Indian English spoken by about three quarters of a million of people, chiefly in the province of Natal. In his study, he analyses the causes of language shift from Indian ancestral languages to English in South Africa. In comparison to English, he considers that Indian languages lack economic and integrative values given that none of the five major Indian languages (Gurajti, Marathi, Urdu, Tamil and Telegu) were intelligible within the Indian community and none could serve as a neutral lingua franca. Thus English was preferred to the Indian languages for 'dual purpose of vertical communication with employers and horizontal communication with others of Indian ancestry' (Mesthrie: 30). The prestige of English (except Gujrati as it was the language of the merchant class) and further competition of Afrikaans and its imposition as a second compulsory language in the 1960s 'pushed Indian languages further from the consciousness of children' (Mesthrie, 2005: 33).

Third, Harlow (2006) examines the case of language shift from Māori to English in New Zealand, where 160,000 people out of a population of 4 milllion, speak Māori. He considers that one important factor, in addition to the familiar ones in comparable cases, of this language shift has been the urbanization of the Māori population since the time of the Second World War.

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Before this time, the population Māori was essentially rural, living in small tightly knit communities and spoke Māori. However, primarily for economic reasons, large numbers of Māori moved to the urban centres and opted then for English which was the dominant language in work environments. As well, many Māori came from different tribal areas with language varieties and as such English became the preferred language for ordinary conversation because of fear of ridicule over dialect differences (Harlow, 2006). The outcome of this language shift, if left uncontrolled, in these three country cases may lead to language loss or what is also called language endangerment (Fishman, 1999; Skutnabb-kangas, 1999).

The web edition of ethnologue (Paul, Simons and Fening, 2013) provides an interesting reading into language endangerment. On the measurement scale of language endangerment, at one end of the scale there are languages which are vibrant but nevertheless thrive 'under the shadow of a more dominant language' (Paul, Simons and Fening, 2013: 2). At the other end, there are languages which run the risk of extinction because of fewer speakers who identify with these languages. In fact, there are two dimensions to the characterization of endangerment: first, it is the number of users of the language concerned and second, the functions or domains of use of the language. Languages which are used for fewer and fewer domains of life can lead to 'a downward spiral […] complete loss of language'. Referring to other studies, Malefa (2006) argues that loss of language can occur in the following cases: where the speech community does not pass the language to the younger generation; the role of schools in ignoring the promotion of the language amongst younger generations (Brenzinger et al., 1991, p. 33) and official policy decisions which favour one language at the expense of another (Laitin, 1992, p. 9). These three cases of language shift and endangerment bring us now to examine the case of Bhopuri in Mauritius.

In Mauritius, Bhojpuri, which has been a major rural vernacular in the past, is now an endangered language. As stated in chapter 1, over the years the number of speakers of Bhojpuri as home language has considerably decreased from 12% in 2000 to 5% percent in 2011 (Mauritius Statistics, 2011). Bhojpuri originated with the Indian immigrants who came from the easternmost part of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar (Dukhira, 2009) to work as indentured labourers

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after the abolition of slavery (as discussed in chapter 2). The rapid development of KM as a national vernacular by the turn of the 19th century made that Indian and also Chinese immigrants shifted gradually to Kreol language. The factors leading to this shift are to some extent similar to those we have seen in the three country cases, that is, economic reasons, lack of prestige, urbanization, and language policies. For instance, with time urbanization and industrialization have further marginalized the use of Bhojpuri. When people moved to work in town they adopted KM as the latter was predominantly used on work sites in urban regions. In the collective imagination and common parlance of the elder generations, people used to refer mockingly to somebody who speaks Bhojpuri as someone who speaks '*langaz*' (language) or '*langaz bitasion*' (village language). By '*langaz*' or '*langaz bitasion*', people meant the most remote and backward language and culture. But there are two fundamental differences in the case of Bhojpuri as compared to Basarwa (Botswana), Indian ancestral languages (South Africa) and Māori (New Zealand). First, we witness a shift which is characterized by a shift from a less prestigious language (Bhojpuri) to a language (KM) which is itself in low diglossia to two dominant languages (English and French). This creates a paradoxical situation where KM which is in diglossia to English and French becomes a dominant language when compared to Bhojpuri. Second, the number of speakers of Bhojpuri has decreased because the Indo-mauritian leaders before and more so after independence have promoted deliberately Hindi at the expense of Bhojpuri. Drawing from Sooriah (1977 in Hookoomsingh, 2007), Hookoomsingh explains the decline of Bhojpuri as follow:

> At one point, Bhojpuri was the dominant single language throughout the island in opposition to Creole. But then the tragedy of Bhojpuri is that it was made an orphan by its own living parents. The decline of Bhojpuri as a rival to Creole began early in the 20th century with the arrival on the scene of the Arya Samaj. Firstly, they advocated the use of Khari Boli Hindi as the prestigious language as opposed to the Motiya Bhojpuri that led many Bhojpuri Hindus to disown Bhojpuri in favour of Hindi.(Hookoomsingh, 2007: lexpress.mu)

At the beginning of the 20th century, in the wake of the visit of Gandhi (1901) and Manilall Doctor (1907), Indo-mauritian identity movement gained momentum and Hindi became a political construct for mobilization towards political emancipation. Hindi and other Asian languages were presented as the ancestral languages of the people of Indian origin whilst in reality it is Bhojpuri which is the ancestral language. In fact, this was how the Indo-mauritian

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community developed and affirmed its identity through what anthropologist Benedict Anderson (1983) called the 'imagined communities' with a primordial link with Mother India. At the same time Hindi, being one of the major official languages in India, it was a tactful geopolitical strategy to promote Hindi and the shift to KM was another positioning at national level. With the language shift in Bhojpuri and its replacement by KM, should the term 'killer language' (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006) be then applied to KM?

In 2011, Rada Tirvassen, who is a Mauritian linguist and Senior Lecturer at the Mauritius Institute of Education, was reported in the daily newspaper *Le mauricien* (10 May 2011) to have stated in a public conference that if we have to put things right in their historical perspective, KM should not be considered as the language of the slave but as a killer language of the slaves' languages. This statement was not well received by the promoters of KM and obviously from the Kreol identity movement whose claim is that KM is the ancestral language of slave descents. Tirvassen is known for having contributed a lot of research in KM and favourable to this language. At the time he made this statement, this created confusion, frustration and annoyance as the Akademi Kreol Morisien (AKM) had just been set up and was working on the modalities of KM's introduction in schools. I would say that even if Bhojpuri is now in a situation of language loss and endangerment, yet its speakers are compensated by the symbolic value that they have transferred to Hindi and other Asian languages of the Hindi-speaking group. These languages have benefitted from ethnic state patronage (Eisenlhor, 2006) as compared to KM. I would say that it is only recently that the situation is slightly evolving in favour of KM as regard state support since its introduction as an optional subject. Still, the State of Mauritius took the decision in 2010 to introduce Bhojpuri at the same time as KM in a bid to revitalise Bhojpuri. Indeed, actions can be taken to reverse the language shift. It is within this perspective that various revitalization programmes are elaborated and implemented in some countries to come to the rescue of the endangered languages. In the coming sections, I will end this section on language practices with a discussion on two recurring terms or concepts closely linked to language practices in HL namely language reversal or language revitalization

3.4.2.2. **Language Reversal and Language Revitalization**

Fishman (1991) has labelled efforts and actions at curbing language shift and language endangerment as the 'Reversing Language shift' (RLS). The whole process of reversing language shift aims at revitalizing a language which is on the verge of extinction. For Wright (1996) revitalization 'concerns a situation where people start again to use a language as the language of the home and in particular to speak it to newborn children after a period where these uses were extinct' (p.125). This situation modifies the sociogeographic distribution and the functional allocation of language (Ferguson, 1983 in Wright, 1996). In terms of terminology Grenoble and Whaley (2006) makes a distinction between language revitalization and language maintenance:

> Whereas the goal of revitalization is to increase the relative number of speakers of a language and extend the domains where it is employed, maintenance serves to protect current levels and domains of use. Revitalization almost always requires changing community attitudes about a language, while maintenance seeks to protect against the imposition of outside attitudes. (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006: 13)

Two examples of some of these programmes are first, the "Tell it in Zapotec" which is a language education programme toward Spanish youth community on both sides of the US-Mexico border (Falconi, 2013) and second, the Irish revitalisation programme. The programme goals are to foster cultural self-esteem and balanced bilingualism (Spanish-Zapotec) and compile a corpus of local myths and oral stories and write them into Zapotec scripts. Zapotec forms part of the group Meso-American group languages which developed through millennia of interaction between the peoples of Meso-America. Zapotec faces marginalisation with the increased use of Spanish and English. Educational programmes and radio stations are actions taken by language activists to revitalise Zapotec. A second example is the Irish revival language movement in Northern Island which started in the 1970s to counteract the expansion of English with the learning of Irish in informal evening classes which proliferated in social clubs, pub, parish hall and private houses. This Irish revitalisation movement gained momentum during the 'Troubles' period which is the ethno-nationalist conflict that began in the 1960s and ended with the Belfast

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Good Friday Agreement in 1998. Howard (2010) observed that intensive Irish language activities flourished due to a pronounced ethnicisation of everyday life in Northern Island. Since then, and especially as from the 1990s, there has been an explosion of Irish-medium schools. I have chosen the Zapotec and Irish revitalization programmes to show how language revitalization is underpinned by a reaction to not only language shift but by the desire to preserve one's cultural identity.

Two other examples of successful language revitalization in the heritage language literature are Hebrew and Maori. The foundation of the modern Israel state after World War II was underpinned by a strong Hebrew revivalist movement which led to the revival of old Hebrew which was until then limited to Hebrew liturgy. In a similar way, New Zealand witnessed the Māori renaissance (tangata whenua) in the 1970s which led to the formation of several actions to revitalize the endangered language (Harlow, 2006) and to take pride in Māori identity and culture . Amongst these actions were awareness campaigns about the history from a disadvantaged group perspective and the dissemination of the result of the Benton survey which signalled the danger of language death for the Maori language. These actions to the formation of Ng⁻a Tamatoa (the 'young warriors') group which sought redress on a number of fronts, including language. As can be observed again, the basis of all revitalization movements is the cultural and identity dimension. This demonstrates that language is a central marker of culture and identity.

Whaley (2006) considers that the expanding number of revitalization programs throughout the world is due to increased awareness and recognition of cultural and minority rights. Linguistic and cultural rights are enshrined in several international treaties like UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001) which states that 'All persons have therefore the right to express themselves and to create and disseminate their work in the language of their choice, and particularly in their mother tongue' (Article 5). Similar statements can be found in transnational organizations like the Council of Europe, African Union and Organisation of American States. Grenoble and Whaley (2006) further argue that globalization has a counter-effect which while assimilating culture also develops forces for recognition of cultural specificities:

globalizing forces have triggered reacting forces as some people seek to assert, or better to reassert, their unique cultural identity. […]A great many language revitalization programs have emerged as a consequence of these dynamics. Since language is a visible and powerful indicator of group identity, it has accurately been recognized as an important way to maintain links with one's cultural past and to protect one's cultural uniqueness in the present.

So, revitalization is not just a reaction to language loss or endangerment but it forms part of a world ethos for preservation of cultural diversity and reclamation of a world heritage. In fact, revitalization is more a concept than just an appellation for language programs.

Sarivaara, Uusiautti, and Määttä (2013) make an enlightening discussion around the concept of language revitalization in their study of the adult's experiences in the revitalization of the Sámi language. These researchers consider that, in other words, language revitalization supports language vitality by increasing the number of speakers and extending the domains of using the language. They make a distinction between voluntary language replacement by a target language in the case of immigrants who are motivated to do so for livelihood and positioning and language shift amongst indigenous peoples. The researchers observe that 'In indigenous contexts, language shift is far from voluntary, but merely a consequence of the unequal treatment of minority and majority languages. Inequality may be due to the direct or indirect assimilation policy…' (Sarivaara, Uusiautti, and Määttä , 2013: 14). The indigenous context clearly shows that it is one marked by greater inequality than in the case of the immigrant. While the immigrant makes deliberate choice for language shift and is compensated by economic returns in the host country, the indigenous group has to bear the brunt of language loss and cultural dereliction. It is for this reason that heritage language activism is more pronounced amongst indigenous communities like the Indian natives of the USA, Canada and some parts of Africa (Debenport, 2011; Webster, 2010; Anaya, 2000). This leads then the researchers to say that 'language revitalization is a complex and multidimensional process that requires both societal and individual action' (Sarivaara, Uusiautti, and Määttä, 2013: 14). Individual action can be an effort to use personally the endangered language and societal action can be through collective actions. Actions of revitalization generally focus on the factors which sustain language vitality as spelt out by UNESCO. UNESCO's Adhoc Group on Endangered Languages created a document

entitled Language Vitality and Language Endangerment (UNESCO, 2003). The Working Group lists nine factors in conjunction for language vitality. These factors are as follow:

Factor 1: Intergenerational language transmission
Factor 2: Absolute number of speakers
Factor 3: Proportion of speakers within the total population
Factor 4: Trends in existing language domains
Factor 5: Response to new domains and media
Factor 6: Materials for language education and literacy
Factor 7: Governmental and institutional language policies, including official status and use
Factor 8: Community members' attitudes toward their own language
Factor 9: Amount and quality of documentation

(UNESCO, 2003 in Grenoble and Whaley, 2006:3)

UNESCO's factors for language vitality are a good measuring rod for KM because the latter relates to the requirements of these nine factors with however some varying degree of applicability in the case of government language policy (Factor 7) and the community's attitudes (Factor 8). For Grenoble and Whaley (2003), the first three factors have to do with the numbers of speakers of a language, as well as their distribution across generations and throughout the population. With regard to the Factors 1-3, KM is spoken by more than 90 percent of the Mauritian population (Statistics Mauritius, 2012) irrespective of age and ethnic group. Factors 4–7 identify how and where the language is used. In fact, KM is used in different domains. Its use, for instance, in the media has progressed. It is to be noted as well the development of music and entertainment has led to more creativity and cultural production in KM. Factor 8 addresses perceptions about the value of a language by its speakers. In the case of KM perceptions vary depending on situations and the speakers. Factor 9 identifies the material that has been produced about a language. By the time KM was introduced as an optional language in 2012, a significant corpus in KM was already available. These factors show that demographics and generational dimension (Factors 1-3), domains of language (Factors 4-7), value attribution to the language (Factor 8) and creative production (Factor 9) are critical elements in language vitality. It is the combination of these factors which give a language its vitality. With regard to the amount and quality of documentation (Factor 9),

Grenoble and Whaley (2006) point out the 'more extensive documentation the easier revitalization (even reclamation) will be in the future should a community desire it' (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006: 4). These two researchers observe that dictionaries, descriptive grammars and recorded speech in some cases are essential for revitalization while underlining that these documentations may not necessarily precede revitalization. This observation is interesting for our research in KM. Prior to the official introduction of KM as an optional subject, the work that was done in terms of grammar description, dictionary and production literacy and numeracy textbooks, for instance, have been key factors persuading and pressurizing policy makers to introduce KM in schools.

For Mafela (2009), language revitalization requires 'proactive engagement of the members of a speech community' (p.239) to lobby and carry out activities. Although the introduction of KM is not properly a revitalisation programme, yet it requires 'proactive engagement' of the school community and promoters of KM to sustain its presence in schools. Given it is an optional language, parents may lose interest in the subject and decide not to opt for it. It is for this reason that I think much should be done within and outside school to promote KM. Lee Sook, J., Barbara, S and Shin Sarah, J. (2008) state that there is much debate over what characteristics constitutes a heritage language learner (Wiley & Valdés, 2000). In addition, heritage language students are referred to as 'native speakers,' 'quasi-native speakers,' 'residual speakers,' 'bilingual speakers,' and 'home-background speakers' (Valdés, 1997). The range of terms reflects the diversity in proficiency and linguistic status among heritage language speakers. It is not clear "whether it is the affiliation with an ethnolinguistic group or the proficiency in the language that is more salient in determining who a heritage language learner is" (Wiley 2001, 30).

For Valdés (2001, p. 38), a heritage language speaker is "someone who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken and who speaks or at least understands the language and is to some degree bilingual in the home language and in English." The majority of Korean learners in the U.S. fit this definition. (pp.1-2). In fact, Valdés (2001) provides the following three main criteria for identifying heritage language students: first, heritage learners are raised in homes where a non-English language is spoken; second, speak or merely understand the HL; and

third, are to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language. (p. 38). There is another group of HL speakers which language professionals describe as 'heritage language seekers'. The latter are those learners who strongly identify with a particular ethnic group and choose to learn the language to strengthen that connection. It is for this category of heritage language learners that Van Deusen-Scholl (1998) brings a distinction between *heritage learners* and *learners with a heritage motivation*.

Van Deusen-Scholl (2003, 221) characterizes all heritage language learners as "a heterogeneous group ranging from fluent native speakers to non-speakers who may be generations removed, but who may feel culturally connected to a language". Then, she distinguishes *heritage learners* from *learners with a heritage motivation*. The former are those who have achieved some degree of proficiency in the home language and/or have been raised with strong cultural connections, while the latter are "those that seek to reconnect with their family's heritage through language, even though the linguistic evidence of that connection may have been lost for generations" (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003, p. 222). Van Deusen-Scholl considers that although this distinction may help clarify our understanding of what it means to be a heritage language learner, yet she remarks that the relationship of ethnolinguistic affiliation and prior linguistic proficiency on students' instructional needs and their acquisition is a question that seems to await research. *Learners with a heritage motivation*—sometimes labeled pejoratively as *heritage seekers*—may perceive a cultural connection that is more distant than that of, for example, first- or second-generation immigrants. She observes, for instance, that in university-level foreign language classes, many students seek to reconnect with their family's heritage through language, even though the linguistic evidence of that connection may have been lost for generations. This distinction between heritage learners and heritage seekers is quite relevant to my research work. It enables me to examine the motivation of the parents for the choice of KM for their children. In the Mauritian case, we are referring here more to the motivations of parents as the learners themselves are not adults. My ethnographic fieldwork has looked closely at the motivations of parents who have chosen either Asian / Arabic languages or KM for their children. I will come later in detail with the findings but already I can say the main motivation is mainly to keep the

language alive and the element of identity preservation is heavily predominant in the choice of these languages.

3.5. LANGUAGE IDENTITY

3.5.1. Three Perspectives into Identity

Omonyi & White (2005) notes that post-structural linguistics evidenced in contemporary studies such as Rampton (1995), Butler (1997) and Pennycook (2003) focuses on language and identity. For Joseph (2004), language and identity are inseparable. Barker (2004) defines identity as pertaining to 'cultural descriptions of persons with whom we emotionally identify and which concern sameness and difference, the personal and the social' (p.93). Although Barker's (2004) definition stems from cultural studies, yet it does encompass the main issues which identity raise. Identity has thus an emotional dimension and it has a dual dimensions with 'sameness and difference' and 'the personal and the social'. In order to understand the different dimensions of language identity, I take first a broader view of identity by drawing from three perspectives namely anthropology, structuralism, sociolinguistics and ethnography. I make a historical review of these perspectives to demonstrate the evolution in thinking about identity.

The anthropological perspective comes from anthropologist and psychologist Erikson who was the first in the 1950s to conduct a systematic thinking in social science about personal and collective identity. He coined the term 'identity crisis' to describe the fate which European soldiers found themselves on their return home after the Second World War. According to Erikson an identity crisis is a time of intensive analysis and different ways of looking at oneself. Schwartz (2001) observes that Erikson was careful enough to distinguish identity from 'self', which is loosely defined as that part of the person that knows and experiences reality and 'self-concept' which can be characterized as one's awareness of 'the internal organization of external roles of conduct" (Hormuth, 1990, p. 2 in Schwartz, 2001 : 8). At the same time, Erikson opposed individual to collective identity. In the early 1970s, Henri Tajfel (1919–82), a social psychologist, developed Social Identity Theory. Social Identity Theory generally identifies two processes in the social identity formation of an individual. First, there is the self which is

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reflexive in that it can take itself as an object and can categorize, classify or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications. This first process is called self-categorisation. This means that an individual has agency and we can define ourselves without relying on others. The second process is where a person has knowledge that that he or she belongs to social category or group.

For Tajfel (1978 in Joseph, 2004) social identity is defined as 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (p.125). For Joseph (2004), within this simple definition are embedded at least five positions which in the days of Tajfel time were quite revolutionary : (i) social identity pertains to *an individual* rather than to a social group; (iii) it is a matter of *self-concept*, rather than of social categories into which one simply falls; (iv) that the fact of *membership* is the essential thing, rather than anything having to do with the nature of the group itself; (iv) an individual's own knowledge of the membership, and the particular value they attach to it – completely 'subjective' factors –are what count; (v) emotional significance is not some trivial side effect of identity belonging but an integral part of it. This definition of 'self' triggers questions like: How does the Kreol define himself /herself? What about his / her membership in the group?

The case of the Creoles is quite unique in the sense that the Constitution recognises officially the three other ethnic groups as Hindu community, Sino-mauritian and Muslim but the Creole group is named 'General Population' and not Creole. It is described as 'every person who does not appear, from his way of life, as belonging to one or other of these 3 communities' (Constitution, 1965: para, 4). From the Social Identity Theory perspectives, individuals are born in an already structured society. This means that people derive their identity or sense of self largely from the categories to which they belong. With regard to the assigned category 'General Population', how do the Creoles develop their sense of self? With regard to the ethno-symbolic nature of languages in schools, all the optional languages are associated to a particular ethnic group. But KM which has been recently introduced and is the only optional language subject taught by both Kreol and non Kreol teachers, the question is about the category in which the Creole child finds

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himself/ herself. According to the Social Identity Theory, however, each person (over the course of his/ her personal history) is a member of a unique combination of social categories. Therefore the set of social identities making up that person's self-concept is unique. This means that one's identity depends on one's membership to a group. In opposition to the anthropological perspective there is the structuralist point of view on identity.

The structural perspective came from the anthropologist Lévi-Strauss who considered identity as fixed and coherent. He elaborated categories of identity which would be indicators of features of all human beings. In the 1960s, there has was a movement away from structuralism's notions of identity as 'static' or 'essential'. Variationists such as Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1974) used 'identity' with reference, for instance, to the distribution of individuals and groups into social classes. After the death of Tajfel, the Social Identity Theory came to be the single most influential model for analysing linguistic identity (Turner and Giles 1981; Hogg and Abrams 1988; Abrams and Hogg, 1990; Turner 1991; Breakwell, 1992; and Robinson, 1996 in Edwards, 2009). Attempts at integrating the socially constructed self in sociolinguistics in the 1980s were made with the work of John Gumperz (1922-2013) who was an American linguist and a specialist of Northern Indian languages. This led to an ethnographic perspective in identity.

The ethnography perspective lays emphasis on the linguistic diversity of a speech community. Hymes (1974; 1991) and Gumperz (1989) developed the 'ethnography of communication' when looking at variation in discourse within a particular speech community taking into consideration the language and culture of the milieu and differential power between speech communities. The work of Gumperz and Hyme led to further research and, a new coined approach called 'the communities of practice' which emphasize the differences in practice (Rampton, 1998). In 1985, Le Page and Tabouret- Keller published their seminal volume (*Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Identity*) which triggered the wave of sociolinguistic research that began to view identity as produced within social action rather than as pre-existing categories to which people and things are assigned (Omonyi & White, 2006). Another landmark was made in 1985 with *Language, Society and Identity* by the Canadian social psychologist, John Edwards, who made the first general synthesis of approaches to language and identity.

Edwards (1985) devoted considerable attention to the attempt to revive Irish Gaelic by making it a required school subject in the Republic of Ireland. Placing his studies within both linguistics and social psychology, he examined issues of language conflict and language shift across the globe. Edwards's (1985) work was very different from that of Gumperz and Le Page. He looked for evidence of language-identity link into conversations or other texts as these two researchers did but he was rather considering broader social and policy issues and their implications for the populations who speak minority languages as well as their educational implications (Edwards, 1985). These studies provide empirical evidence to the social constructed nature of the self and language and identity. The socially constructed nature of self explains how we construct and display our self by making use of social identity markers like language and religion.

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) described three types of identities namely imposed, assumed and negotiable. Imposed identities are those which are not negotiable in particular times and places. Assumed identities are those which are accepted and not negotiated; they are identities that individuals are comfortable with and are not interested in contesting. Negotiable identities are those which are contested by groups and individuals.

According to Blackledge (2006), identity options are challenged and contested by the most marginalized segments of the population, which in multilingual societies often consist of linguistic minorities. The research explored by Pavlenko and Blackledge focused mainly on minority groups within liberal, democratic, and multilingual societies in big cities and countries. In his study of language loss in Guatemala, Hawkins (2005) says that there is a link between ethnicity and language which he qualifies in terms of 'cultural strength and language strength' (p.54). He defines 'cultural strength as willingness to identify oneself as a member of a group' (p.55). This perspective of language and identity as 'negotiable' and 'cultural strength' resonate with my research work. It is a perspective which raises the link between ethnicity and identity. The introduction of KM is the sign of a negotiated identity by the marginalized ethnic Kreol group. The negotiation of the Kreol ethnic identity has been mediated through KM as discussed earlier (chapter 2). This shows the close link between language, ethnicity and identity. The latter

are the three dimensions of language identity. I will now discuss the link between ethnicity, identity and language.

3.5.2. Ethnicity, Identity and Language

Barker (2004) defines ethnicity as follows:

> A term that suggests cultural boundary formation between groups of people who have been discursively constructed as sharing values, norms, practices, symbols and artefacts and are seen as such by themselves and others. […] The formation of 'ethnic groups' relies on shared cultural signifiers that have developed under specific historical, social and political contexts and which encourage a sense of belonging based, at least in part, on a common mythological ancestry. […]The significance of the concept of ethnicity lies in its acknowledgment of the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity. (p.63)

This definition of ethnicity gives me five insights into ethnicity. First, ethnicity is a 'cultural boundary formation between groups of people'. The boundary is 'cultural' and is not racial. It is therefore the shared 'values, norms, practices, symbols and artefacts' of the group and recognised by others. 'Cultural boundary' is therefore the first feature of ethnic identity. Second, Barker (2004) seems to say that any shared dimension of the 'cultural signifiers' of the group has 'developed under specific historical, social and political contexts'. While the definition of ethnicity may have a universal meaning, each case of ethnicity is unique and depends on contextual factors. Fourth, ethnic groups have a 'common mythological ancestry'. The latter is relevant to the Mauritian context. The awakening of a Kreol consciousness and was based on a 'common mythological ancestry' based on a narrative of resilience by the slave maroons (as discussed in chapter 2). This led to the Kreols to self-identification as Kreol and belonging to the ethnic Kreol group. Finally, this definition of ethnicity highlights how the concept of ethnicity brings out the key role of 'history, language, and culture' in the making of the ethnic group. In fact, the struggle for KM was marked by a context of revisiting the history of the Kreols (Romaine, 2008; 2007), valuing of the language (Harmon, 2010) and the Kreol culture (Palmyre, 2007; Zanzak, 2008). But it is interesting to note that ethnicity itself is complex and varied. Mihyon's (2010) study of Korean language and ethnicity in the United States sheds light on the complex link between language and ethnicity by highlighting how different views of ethnicity

are interrelated with language learning experiences and ethnic identities. Mihyon (2010) states that there are two views on identity namely the primordialist and the instrumentalist.

The primordialist view assumes that ethnicity is taken as given and is based on an essentialism in which ethnic groups come to be described in terms of fundamental and immutable characteristics, for example as via a particular language . In this view, an ethnic group is impervious to context, time and historical processes of change. This means that the identity of a member of an ethnic group is also primordialist and is not subject to fluidity and change while we know an individual's identity evolves. It is for this reason that we might consider the primordialist view on identity as essentialist. Essentialism is defined as 'arguments that reduce the complexity of social phenomena to a single dimension or an essence' (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 2006: 135). In my study, for instance, equating KM with the Kreol ethnic group only or vice-versa is a primordialist view and it should be tempered with caution. It would mean that I ignore and negate the relationship that other ethnic groups have with KM. Opposing the primordialist view is the instrumentalist view.

The instrumentalist view argues that economic rationality influences language choices of individuals, especially when they realize the benefit of shifting to a dominant language. In this case, language use is only a surface feature of ethnic identity, so that "there is no need to worry about preserving ethnic identity, so long as the only change being made is in what language we use" (Eastman, 1984, p. 275). The primordialist view considers that language is detached from identity and views "ethnicity as transitional" (Fishman, 1982). This perspective validates language shift from minority languages to majority languages because of the high instrumental value of the majority languages and the limited instrumentality of the minority languages. Mihyon (2010) levels criticisms at the primordialist/ instrumentalist dichotomous views of ethnicity by saying that these views are theoretically unsound, with limited capacity to explain the complexity of human experiences. As alternative to the primordialist / instrumentalist views, Mihyon (2010) proposes a continuum of ethnicity. This continuum seeks to capture the dynamic nature of ethnicity by allowing individuals to 'draw on both primordialist and instrumentalist views and dialectically combining the two' (Mihyon, 2010: 44). The continuum of ethnicity

conceptualizes then members of an ethnic group not simply as 'inheritors of fixed ethnicities but as actors who are engaged in a continual process of making, remaking and negotiating their ethnicities' (Mihyon, 2010: 50).

Close to this idea of continuum of ethnicity is the concept of 'hierarchy of identity' (Omonyi & White, 2006) which construes identity as comprising different aspects (e.g nationality, ethnicity, religion, language, etc) that an individual chooses and ranks in order of importance depending upon socio-situational factors. In their investigation of identity among inhabitants of Idiroko/Igolo and Woodlands/Johor Bahru borderland communities between Nigeria and Benin (1991) and Singapore and Malaysia (1996) respectively, Omonyi & White (2006) found that among the Yoruba and Malay who straddle these international boundaries, participants in interactions constantly hierarchized nationality, ethnicity and other identities depending on their assessment of the context and the goals they sought to achieve. This hierarchisation of identity makes that ethnicity is not always fixed. For Fishman (1982), ethnicity is 'separate and shareable' (p.200). According to this stance, 'more than one ethnic group can share the same language while continuing to maintain their own distinct ethnic identity' (Mihyon, 2010: 53). This observation is relevant for KM as it is the language spoken by different ethnic groups who enrich the language with their different flavour while preserving their ethnic identity. This discussion leads me to examine language and identity at the level of identity politics.

3.5.3. From Assimilation to Pluralism

Herder (1744-1803), German philosopher, dominated early linguistics and anthropology. In his 1769 essay, *On The Origin of Language*, Herder asserted that polities are unified by a common shared culture and language. For him, it is language which makes *volk* (nationality) and his idea is the first conceptualization of European nationalism. In reaction to this concept, Ernest Renan (1823-1892), a French writer and linguist, produced a new concept of nationalism. In a famous delivery 'What is a nation?' ('*Quest-ce qu'une nation*?') in 1882, he defines a nation as a shared soul (*âme*) and this soul comprises a heritage of memories, plus a will to continue validating that

heritage of memories (Whitehead, 2002)[37]. These two definitions translate the German and French diametrical conception of what makes a nation. However, I would say that Herder's conception based on language and culture will be as influential as that of Renan in the European understanding of nation-building through 'one country, one culture and one language' (Glanz, 2013). Herder and Renan provided the base for the foundation of nation states in Europe. However this 'one language one nation ideology' has been constantly been under attack in Europe because it led to the elimination of other languages. At the same time the imposition of one language is at the root of some antagonisms and the seeds of partition in former Eastern Europe following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the decline of communism.

In the wake of European nationalism, language and culture will be a similar key feature of nationalism outside Europe in the Post-World War II period and the decolonization decades in Africa and Asia. For instance, Mandarin, originally a Beijing dialect (known as *guanhua*), was used as the administrative language by imperial officials. Its propagation at the expense of other minority languages and regional dialects became firmly established at the turn of the twentieth century with the rise of Chinese nationalism that saw linguistic unification as progress (DeFrancis, 1984, pp. 225 & 227 in Wong Ka and Yang Xiao (2010). The same trend could be seen whereby language became a central element in nation building in the Middle East, Asia and Africa. For example, the adoption of a Roman alphabet by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881-1938) in Turkey, the establishment of Hindi in India as official language, the pan Arab nationalism based on Arabic and symbolized by Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein (1918-1970) and from Tanzania with the promotion of Kiswahili (Malekele, 2010) during the socialist decade (1970-1980) as the core of African socialism (*Ujama*). In this form of nationalism, language acts as a vector of assimilation aiming at national identity.

The notion that nations are really language groups and that nationalism is a linguistic movement is therefore primarily a Western idea (Schimd, 2001). According to Gellner (1983), European

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[37] Whitehead (2002) thinks that Renan's conception of a nation has provided the basis for the Wilsonian principles behind the redrawing of the world map by the European nations led by President Woodrow Wilson at Versailles in 1919.

nationalism resulted from rapid industrialization and urbanization. In the case of Africa or Asia, although the term nationalism was used, the process was different as nationalism in this context was linked to resistance to colonization and the struggle for independence. For instance , analyzing the 'Arab Spring events' from a historical perspective, Zubaida (2013) observes that Arab nationalism has in fact been Islamic and not nationalist in the European sense of the word. This means that language, religion and culture have been dominant in non European nationalism.

In the struggle for independence, Mauritian nationalism, for instance, was largely underpinned by the Arya Samaj movement at grassroot level in rural areas (Ramsurrun, 2001). Arya Samaj is a Hindu reform movement founded by Swami Dayananda in 1875 in India. This movement promotes religious, cultural, social and political emancipation. It lays emphasis on the reading and study of the scripture namely the Vedas (religious emancipation), abolition of the caste system and education (social emancipation) and politics (political emancipation). In 1910, Mauritian Arya Samaj movement started propagating the use of Standard Hindi as a sign of identity affirmation (Government Hindi Teachers Union newspaper *Akrosh*, 2010; Ramyead, 1985). Eisenhlor (2008) brackets this period of Mauritian nationalism as 'Hindu nationalism and ancestral languages', linked to Mother India as a model. This rapid incursion indicates a shift from a cultural assimilation approach to cultural pluralism where language has become central in terms of identity globally.

Cultural assimilation is an ideology that favours the assimilation of minority languages by a majority dominant language. For Chumbow (2013), 'it is a process with the end-point being (within the context of a hidden or open agenda) the loss or death of the minority languages and cultures' (p.38). On the contrary, cultural pluralism seeks to maintain and develop each linguistic and cultural heritage (Chumbow, 2013). Cultural pluralism has led international institutions like UNESCO to go for a United Declarations of the Rights of Persons belonging to Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (1992) and similarly, the African Union adopted a *Language Plan of Action for Africa* (2006) which promotes the use of African / indigenous languages in education. Following our earlier discussion, it is interesting to remember that the argument for KM in schools can be traced from the nationalist arguments of the 1960s and

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1970s, to claims of linguistic and cultural diversity in the post 1999, February riots and the rise of Kreol identity affirmation movement. The tendency is to view identity in essentialist terms and see it as fixed before birth and into the future beyond the individual by a connection to a heritage and some form of home land whereas identity is fluid and is often negotiated by the individual. Referring to multilingual contexts, which is the dominant feature of all societies today, Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) state:

> The one-to-one correlation between language and identity, is criticized for its monolingual and mono cultural bias, which conceives of individuals as members of homogeneous, uniform, and bounded ethnolinguistic communities and obscures hybrid identities and complex linguistic repertoires of bi and multilinguals living in a contemporary global world. (Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004:3).

This statement reinforces my earlier discussion about primordialist and instrumentalist views on ethnicity and the continuum of ethnicity (Mihyon, 2010) and hierarchy of identity (Omonyi & White, 2006). Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004) states that the 'one-to-one correlation between language and identity' may prevent us from realising identities can be hybrid and linguistic repertoires are complex. Language situations in schools can be good observation fields for negotiation of identity in multilingual contexts. I will now examine language and identity in school contexts.

3.5.4. School and Politics of Recognition

Schooling can be defined as the process through which one undertakes education in a formal set up. For Merry (2007), education and schooling have much in common but of course they are not synonymous. Education also takes place outside schools like extracurricular activities or family life. Still, most education also requires some form of schooling. Within the critical pedagogy paradigm, schooling is the reinforcement of the institutional status quo (Giroux, 2013). Merry (2007) considers therefore that schooling entails educative purposes as well as explicit and hidden cultural values and attitudes that may support or be at odds with those of the broader society.

My research work addresses the issue of language and identity construction through schooling and more particularly at primary level, with pupils aged 5-8 years old. Language is central in schooling as it impacts on the cognitive, emotional, affective and behavioural attitudes of the learner. However, governments throughout the world grapple with language-in-education policies. In 1953, UNESCO asserted that there are net advantages with the adoption of mother-tongue as medium of instruction. Ferguson (2013) refers to empirical evidence from Nigeria (Fafunwa et al. 1989), Mozambique (Benson, 2000), Botswana (Prophet and Dow, 1994) and Zambia (Williams, 1996; Tambulukani and Bus, 2011)   which indicate conclusive results that pupils do better when the 'language of instruction is a familiar language' (Ferguson, 2013: 17). The case of KM is different as it has been introduced as an optional language subject but the need for a mother-tongue based curriculum is still felt as we have seen English is the official medium of instruction which remains a linguistic barrier for a majority of pupils in primary education (ADEA Report, 2005). On the African continent, there is now a push towards investing in African languages, promoting a mother tongue based and multicultural education (MT-MLE) in Africa (Glanz, 2013). MT-MLE is the use of more than two languages for literacy and instruction (Chumbow, 2013) and the rationale of MT-MLE is underpinned by linguistic and cultural pluralism. In the same vein, the Youth Forum of the 2012 ADEA Triennial consultation process requests that 'African culture, history and languages be placed at the heart of the development of education and training...so that skills are acquired in connection with our specific heritage' (Ndoye & Walter, 2012: 12). This recommendation implicitly recognises the role of schooling in identity formation.

In his essay *The Politics of Recognition,* Taylor (1994) explains how people's recognition is central to the formation of our identity:

> Our identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by misrecognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves. (1994, 25).

This statement clearly demonstrates that politics of recognition can help to combat negative images and low self-esteem. For Jenlink andTownes (2009), how we are seen or recognized by others becomes, negatively or positively, a part of our identity. This form of recognition, or misrecognition, is a form of societal mirroring, which school sends to the child. School plays a key role in the construction of the identity of the child. In its role as an agent of socialisation, school therefore helps the child to integrate society. School has an impact on the individual self. Any negative image that school can project on the language and culture of the child has an influence on the child's development. This research, for instance, aimed at uncovering how the KM curriculum acknowledged the identity of the child. It also sought to know if teaching practices led to recognition or misrecognition. How far, for instance, was KM taken or perceived as a recognition of the child identity? Or did the teachers, heads of school and parents perceive KM as a form of recognition or was it for them just an additional optional language subject? Charles Bingham (2001) presents the question: "What role might recognition play in education?" (p. 3). Bingham argues that examining recognition (the social mirroring) is necessary to understanding how students, teachers, parents, other cultural workers and vested individuals negotiate the structures of schooling (Jenlink and Townes, 2009). For Jenlink and Townes (2009), schools of recognition are those school which:

> [...] understand the politics of diversity and work to affirm the identity of each individual while simultaneously working to ensure that identification with cultural groups is a choice on the part of the individual and a positive force in developing social identities. (p.21)

My research looked at the diversity of the Mauritian schools and how it affirmed the identity of each pupil through the different languages that were taught. I was also interested how pupils, teachers and parents identified themselves with the different languages. Besides, my research was conducted in two catholic schools. For instance, I would like to examine how the catholicity of the schools recognized Kreol identity and helped the Creole children acquire 'a positive force in developing social identities'.

With regard to theological concerns, McLaughlin, O'Keefe, J., O'Keeffe, B. (1996) identify three concerns of Catholicism in the world: (i) commitment to people's 'personhood', to who

they become and their ethic of life (an *ontological* concern); (ii) commitment to 'basic justice' (a *sociological* concern); and (iii) 'catholicity' (a *universal* concern). Earlier (chapter 2), I discussed the contribution of catholic education in accelerating the socio-historical processes for introducing KM in schools in the light of these three concerns. Were the catholic stakeholders, in fact, aware consciously or unconsciously about these ontological, sociological and universal concerns of Catholicism? The Vatican document 'Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millenium' (1997) explains the role of catholic education in regard to the education that is imparted to the learner:

> The Catholic school sets out to be a school for the human person and of human persons. [...]This awareness expresses the centrality of the human person in the educational project of the Catholic school, strengthens its educational endeavour and renders it fit to form strong personalities. [para.9]

This statement defines the main purpose of school which is 'to be a school for the human person and of the human person'. The 'centrality of the human person' clearly demonstrates also the centrality of any child's language and culture in school. My research work will also look into the views of catholic education on why and how language and identity are central to the formation of 'strong personalities'.

McLaughlin, O'Keefe, J., O'Keeffe, B. (1996) observes that etymologically, 'catholic' has its roots in *kata holou*, meaning 'embracing the whole', or better still 'including everything and everyone'. These researchers suggest that the best synonym for 'catholic' is 'inclusive' rather than the often used 'universal'. The latter can mean one aspect dominating everything else and excluding or destroying all that is 'other'. They argue that both Nazism and Communism had ambitions of universality, but in a dominating way. In the Mauritian context, the universal meaning of Catholicism is often cited as dominant opinion to disapprove the claims of the Creoles in the Church meaning that the Church is not Creole but universal. But 'Catholic', on the other hand, means to include and welcome all, to embrace diverse 'others', in a participative and bonded community (McLaughlin, O'Keefe, J., O'Keeffe, B. (1996). This concept of universality therefore recognises the particularity and specificity of cultures. So, my discussion will be on how far catholic schools are inclusive and how do they see KM as a means of acknowledging the

Creole identity amongst other identities. Even if the Creole identity is recognized, we still have to find out how this identity is placed in relations to other ethnic identities. Is the relation with others asymmetrical or is it dominated by other identities?

Hence, this discussion on language identity has especially shown that identity is not fixed and we can assume that although language is a strong marker of identity, it cannot be automatically be taken as the sole indicator of a person's or a nation's identity. Other factors than language can impact on language and consequently shape identity at an individual or collective level. In this research, language identity is analysed in the educational set up which is also liable to external factors other than a school context. Related to HL studies, language identity reinforces the cultural dimension of revitalisation programmes. The language identity dimension also shows that HL is connected with other societal issues such as language and nation building, language and culture or the place of minority groups.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate my central research question in the light of current research. This study seeks to identify, understand and discuss changes experienced in language practices after the introduction of KM as an

optional subject in primary schools. For this I selected relevant literature in heritage language (HL) by conducting a four phase discussion. Figure 4 below recapitulates the literature review.

Figure 4. The Thinking Process
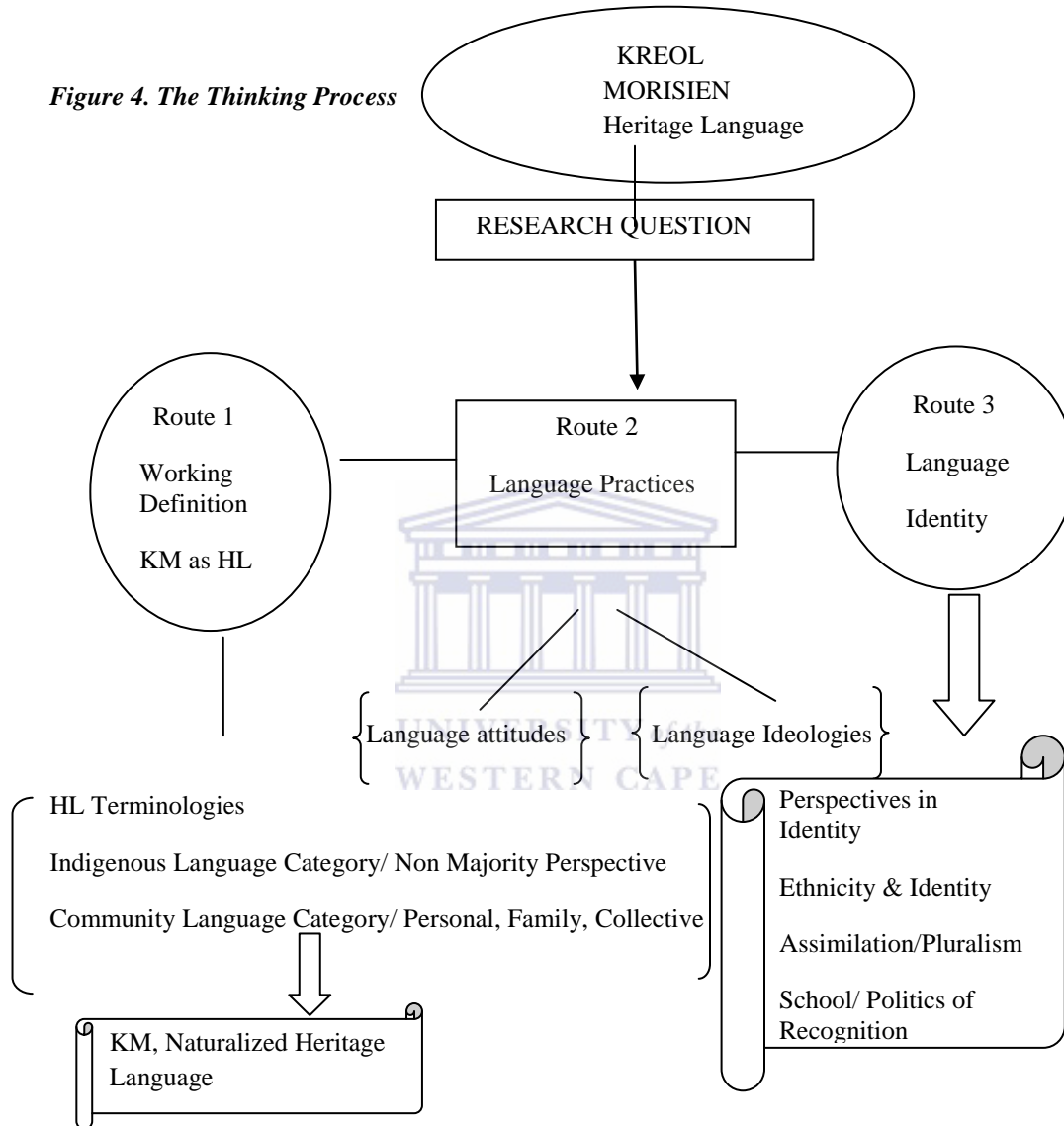
The upper circle at the apex of Figure 4 shows Kreol Morisien (KM) as my research topic located in heritage language studies. The rectangle indicates my central research question which has been informed by the literature review. In fact, my literature review has gone through a critical thinking process. Cotrell (2005) defines critical thinking as 'reflecting on issues in a structured way, bringing logic and insight to bear' (p.2). My literature review has been structured around the working definition of KM as HL, language practices and language identity. In this

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chapter, the common thread is language practices. For Moon (2008), critical thinking is 'It is to develop your own argument, deconstructing ideas or synthesizing a range of ideas associated with complex ideas. There may be different routes to the same conclusion or different conclusions to the same issues'. (p.21). Similarly, this literature review has deconstructed notions of indigenous, ethnicity and identity. In terms of 'conclusions', I have ended with new issues through three routes.

Figure 4 shows that I have gone through three routes (Route 1 to Route 3) to analyse KM as HL and more specifically language practices. My first route was to go through the different terminologies used for HL in different parts of the world. This was a preliminary exercise before I worked out a definition of KM as HL. I also elaborated a taxonomy of HLs. I classified the different HL terminologies into two categories namely indigenous languages and community languages. I observed that indigenous languages are underpinned by a non majority paradigm, meaning that they occupy a non dominant position in the hierarchy of languages and social status. As for the community languages, I explained that they are underscored by personal, family and collective affiliations. In the light of these two categories, I worked out a definition of KM as HL in its proper term. For this I used the analogy of 'naturalization' from natural sciences which led me to define KM as a naturalized HL. The second route was to discuss the concept of language practices and references were made to some HL studies. This is the central route as it is a key concept in my research question. I also examined language attitudes and language ideologies as two adjuncts of language practices. My final route led me to analyse the concept of identity by looking at three perspectives (i.e. anthropological, structural and sociolinguistic or post-structuralist) in identity, reflecting upon the link between ethnicity and identity and then the place of identity in a school context.

Going through these three routes has enabled me to end up with two achievements. Picture 3.3 flag these two achievements as represented by the two horizontal scrolls at the bottom on the right and left hand sides of the picture. First, I have been able to work out a definition for KM as HL. This is an important stage in my research as I could not go further without primarily defining KM as a HL. It is based upon this definition that I can reasonably justify the location of

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my research in HL studies. Second, the discussion in KM, language practices and language identity has led me to four central issues in HL studies namely (i) the different perspectives in identity (ii) the link between ethnicity and identity (iii) language politics in terms of assimilation or pluralism and (iv)school and politics of recognition through identity. These four issues are recurrent themes and reflections in post-colonial research.

Hence, this literature review leads me now to build my theoretical framework upon post-colonial language studies and post-colonial literature to which I turn in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL & CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Classical Marxism, Structural Marxism and Post Colonial / Subaltern Studies Lenses

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The two preceding chapters have set the background to my research topic. They tried to answer the question: what underpins the policy decision to introduce KM as an optional subject? I moved from a philosophical interpretation of the socio-historical dynamics of KM in Chapter 2,

to the literature review on heritage language with the expressed aim of highlighting a working definition of KM as a heritage language. The purpose of this chapter is to elaborate on theoretical and conceptual framework for the issues that I have addressed in the previous chapters.

4.1.1. Defining 'Theory'

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2012), the origin of 'theory' can be traced from a Greek word, from Greek *theōria* meaning 'contemplation', 'speculation' from *theōros* 'spectator'. For Kavanagh (1989) theory derives more precisely from Greek *theōrin* (to see, behold). Persons bearing the title *theoros* in Ancient Greek collectively constituted a *theoria* who were then officially appointed for the function of beholding and attesting the occurrence of an event. From the Greek etymology, theory is a body of thought whose function is to examine a phenomenon and explain it. The common meaning of theory is that it is a supposition or a system of ideas intended to explain something, especially one based on general principles independent of the thing to be explained. For Littlejohn and Foss (2005):

> A theory is like a map of a city on which you can view the streets, housing developments, shopping centers, picnic grounds, and rivers because there is a key that helps you interpret what you see. Similarly, theories function as guidebooks that help us understand, explain, interpret, judge, and act into, in this case, the communication happening around us (p.16).

This definition indicates that 'theories function as guidebooks' and help us to 'understand, explain, interpret, judge and act'.

In this definition there is a 'subject-object schism' (Wood, 1997) whereby there is the primacy of the object (the theory) over the subject (the one who is using the theory). Communication scholars (Wood, 1997; Agassi, 1975; Habermas, 1972) give two categories of 'theory' namely, a puzzle-solving and a puzzle-making one. The puzzle-solving category of theories promotes the view of the object of study as exterior to the theorist. In this case, the theory is raised as a universal principle which is applicable irrespective of contextual differences. For Lakatos and Musgrave (1968) and Lakatos (1978), the theory as a universal principle 'legitmises a scientific

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community in becoming the owners and protectors of the body of knowledge' (p.17). The theorists become then the only ones who can decide which problems have solutions and which are unsolvable. In this case, theory as puzzle-solving consolidates 'the status quo and disavows opposition, not allowing cross-disciplinary dialogues (Woolgar, 1988: 46). The other sense of theory is puzzle-maker. In this sense, there is no separation between object and subject. The theorist is a theory-maker just as a puzzle-maker.

Gandy observes that theory is a political act as it is strategic, purposeful and tactical (p.383). In the same way, Wood (1997) defines theories as 'human constructions that are neither objective descriptions of realities nor necessarily true but that represent points of view' (p.383). Theory is then interpretive and is an inquiry. Within such a perspective one theory can be multifaceted and multivocal as per respective contexts in which it is being applied. The theory can then be adopted and adapted. In fact, my theoretical framework is located in the scholarly tradition of critical theory which comes from the Marxist school of thought but which by tradition takes a critical outlook at Marxist and neo Marxist theories or other related theories. I use four theoretical lenses namely, Classical Marxism, Structural Marxism and Post-colonial studies / subaltern studies for my theoretical framework. These theories are contradictory to each other. For example, classical and structural Marxism have fundamental differences in approaches to societal issues as compared to the post-colonial and subaltern theories. The latter consider that the former look at society from a euro-centrist angle and argue that post-colonial societies have been constructed differently and the issues with which they are confronted should be addressed by inventing new conceptual frames.

4.1.2. Functionalist versus Discipline Notion of Framework

Ennis (1999:1) defines a theoretical framework as follows:

> The theoretical framework is a structure that identifies and describes the major elements, variables, or constructs that organize your scholarship. It is used to hypothesize, understand, or give meaning to the relationships among the elements that influence, affect, or predict the events or outcomes you specify.

The above definition presents a theoretical framework as a 'structure'. The Oxford English Dictionary (2012) defines a framework first as 'an essential supporting structure of a building, vehicle or object'. Second, the dictionary defines framework in its figurative sense as 'a basic structure underlying a system, concept or text'. So, both definitions refer to framework as a 'structure'. Thus, this chapter is a structure upon which I base my discussion of the phenomenon under study to inform my reflective practice. According to Ennis (1999), the task of a theoretical framework is to identify and describe 'major elements, variables or constructs' to support a thesis. The theoretical framework is not just a juxtaposition of theories but it is a construction of a set of theories. In fact, I will identify, describe and engage critically with key concepts and theoretical models which relate to my research topic. At this point, it is interesting to note some researchers make a distinction between theoretical and conceptual framework although the term is often used interchangeably.

For Dyer et al., (2003), 'theoretical' and 'conceptual' are two terms that are often erroneously interchanged. For Camp (2001), a theoretical framework provides explanations about a phenomenon whereas a conceptual framework is a structure of what has been learned from the theories to best explain the natural progression of a phenomenon (Sinclair, 2007). Leshem and Trafford (2007) reject the distinction between 'theoretical' and 'conceptual' as they consider that the distinction is underpinned by a functionalist view, meaning that research should not be looked at as mechanistic, but as a process. Both researchers prefer a discipline based perspective. May (1993:20) views research in a similar manner thus:

> The idea of theory, or the ability to interpret and understand the findings of research within a conceptual framework which makes 'sense' of the data, is the mark of a discipline whose aim is the systematic study of particular phenomena.

In line with the above, May (1993) considers that theory (conceptualization) is integral to research. This brings me to a discussion about the definition of 'theory' (section 4.1.3) itself which is essential to clarify my standpoint.

In this chapter, I do not make a distinct presentation of 'theoretical' and 'conceptual' framework. For me the both should be taken as integrated because we need theories to conceptualise and theories have no meaning if left on their own. I therefore rather draw upon different theories related to my research topic and engage discussion thereafter to conceptualise my reflective practice.

4.1.3. The Scholarly Tradition of Critical Theory

'Critical Theory' is associated with the Frankfurt School which is an informal term used to designate thinkers affiliated with the German Institute for Social Research or influenced by them (Horkheimer, 2002). In 1923, the Institute was founded in Frankfurt, Germany, by the Ministry of Education. It was established as the first Marxist-oriented research institute, through the efforts of Felix J.Weil, an activist and supporter of radical causes. During the Nazi period, members of the Frankfurt School went to exile in the US and Europe. They returned to Germany in 1950. One striking feature of the Frankfurt School is its interdisciplinary study with its focus on ethics, political philosophy, social sciences, and psychoanalysis. It has two generations of interdisciplinary thinkers. The first generation is represented by the German philosopher and sociologist, Horkheimer (1895-1973) and German sociologist, philosopher and musicologist, Theodor Adorno (1903-1969). The second one comprises German-American sociologist and philosopher, Herbert Marcuse (1898-1978), psychologist Erich Fromm (1900-1980) and contemporary Jurgen Habermas (Aronowitz, 2002).

The first director was Kurt Gerlach who died shortly and he was replaced by Carl Grünberg. Under the latter's directorship, the Institute was firmly rooted in an orthodox version of Marxism. In 1933, Max Horkheimer (1885-1973) was appointed as the new director and developed a theory which in his own words 'moved beyond Marxism' (Horkeimer, 2002), that is, beyond 'orthodox or classical marxism'. In *Traditional and Critical Theory*, published in 1968, Horkheimer (2002) outlines the critical theory and its aim through a critique of traditional theory. For Horkeimer, traditional theory leads to a form of alienation as the scientist's work is a separate activity, a 'division of labour' alongside other activities. The scientist regards social

reality 'as extrinsic to him' (p.209). In such a case, theory or knowledge is disconnected from life and is an abstract activity and, therefore:

> ... the real social function of science is not made manifest; it speaks not of what theory means in human life, but only of what it means in the isolated sphere in which for historical reasons it comes into existence.

By contrast, the critical researcher is motivated to 'transcend the tension and abolish the opposition between the individual's purposefulness, spontaneity and rationality and those work-process relationships on which society is built' (p.209). While traditional theory is "disinterested science", (p.209) critical theory is conversely "interested science" (p.209). By 'disinterested science' is meant science where the scientist or researcher examines a particular phenomenon with distance and without supposed interest in the subject matter. On the contrary, 'interested science' is used especially for social science. where social scientists take position on societal issues. In fact, critical theory 'never aims simply at an increase of knowledge as such' (p.246), but its goal is 'man's emancipation from slavery' (p.246). Horkheimer (2002) describes society as deeply entrenched in asymmetrical power relations and domination:

> The existence of society has either been founded directly on oppression or been the blind outcome of conflicting forces, but in any event not the result of conscious spontaneity on the part of free individuals. (p.200)

It is interesting to note that Horkheimer does not posit that the "conflicting forces" stem from the difference in the position and mode of life of classes into which each society is divided according to the Marxist concept of class struggle. In the same way, while Horkheimer observes in the essay that the situation of the proletariat exposes the inequality of the capitalist society, however, he precludes the proletariat and the Party's claims to truth. In this sense, for Always (1995), critical theory should be understood as a school of thought which has independence of thought and it both emerged and responded to Marxism. In fact, critical theory posits that it is critical thinking which is essential for emancipation, not class struggle, as expounded by orthodox Marxists.

In the Preface to *Selected Essays,* Horkeimer (2002, [1968]) gives a note of caution as regard the application of critical theory:

Men of good will want to draw conclusions for political action from the critical theory. Yet there is no fixed method for doing this; the only universal prescription is that one must have insight into one's own responsibility. Thoughtless and dogmatic application of the critical theory to practice in changed historical circumstances can only accelerate the very process which the theory aimed at denouncing. All those seriously involved in the critical theory, including Adorno, who developed it with me, are in agreement on this point (p.v).

This is a clear statement that critical theory should not be taken in the form of a political manifesto for revolution. Horkheimer warns against ''thoughtless and dogmatic application'' and to be mindful of "changed historical circumstances". While the goal of critical theory is to work for emancipation and he agrees that theory must be informed by and relate to practice, Horkheimer, however, stresses in the *Traditional and Critical Theory* of the need for a distance between theory and practice. He is in favour of a 'dynamic unity' between the oppressed and the theorists which should be healthily marked by tension and distance. Thus, for the theory to be critical, the critical researcher must also remain at a distance from those to whom this theoretical work is being carried out.

While in a Marxist emancipatory vision, theory targets agents and actions, however, with Horkheimer's formulation, theory is oriented to the aim of radical change and not to agents and actions (Always, 1995). This allows the critical researcher to continue the theoretical reflection with practical intent 'while at the same time realizing that one's 'own thinking is a part and not something self-sufficient and separable from the struggle' (p.215). In a certain way, critical theory intersects with post-modernism which developed in the last half of the 20th century after the introduction of the critical theory as a reaction to the rationality of the modern thought. Like critical theory, post-modernism believes that knowledge is socially constructed and is situated in a particular context (Kigore, 2001: 54). Postmodernists reject the view that there is a 'grand narrative' or 'metanarrative' (Lyotard, 1979) with theories which present how the world works and how humanity can achieve salvation. In a post-modern world view, people no longer place their faith in these big and all embracing theories and the self is considered as 'multiple, ever changing and fragmented' (Merriam & Cafarella, 1999). Post-modernists also celebrate difference and diversity (Tennant, 1996).

Given my personal involvement in the language issue in Mauritius and the tension which this study represents, as a researcher working in education and being also advocate of KM, I have located my theoretical and conceptual framework into the scholarly traditions of critical theory. This location also arises because I position myself as a critical ethnographer to which I refer in chapter 5. I believe that the choice of a theoretical and conceptual framework has an ontological bearing, meaning that it is a choice linked to our world view and personal ethos as researchers, towards the larger community. For example, Svnicki (2010) states that 'conceptual frameworks influence how we interpret events' and she gives the example of the Copernican and Galileo in the field of astronomy. She explains that the theoretical and conceptual framework used by Copernican caused astronomers to explain celestial phenomena in very complex ways. Everyone made observations about the universe according to the agreed model, but then Galileo used a simpler model to explain the same observations about the universe. The new heliocentric model was finally adopted by astronomers as it made things more straightforward.

I consider that the critical theory tradition allows me to question the choice of my own theoretical lens because the critical tradition has its origins in non-atheist Marxism. It gave birth to other schools of thought. Therefore, I find Marxism and its offshoots as an effective conceptual tool for me to understand and interpret the phenomenon I am researching. In fact, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) observe that an emerging approach to educational research is the paradigm of critical educational research. They note that the paradigm of critical educational research is heavily influenced by the early work of Harbermas and , to a lesser extent by his predecessors, most notably Adorno, Marcuse, Horkheimer and Fromm. They observe that with critical educational research, the expressed intention is political with the emancipation of individuals in an egalitarian society.

Drawing mainly from the work of Habermas (1972), critical research in education looks at social construction of knowledge and interests and is concerned with praxis, i.e. action that is informed by reflection for emancipation. However, some strong criticisms are usually levelled at critical theory such as whether a person can become emancipated just by critical thinking or ideology critique. Also, critical theory is criticized as having a political agenda and cannot be properly

considered as research (Roderick, 1986). In my opinion, for its own defense, critical theory can base itself on arguments in favour of non mainstream research such as those put forward by radical research. Explaining the difference between 'normal research' and 'radical research', Schostak & Schostak (2008) refers to 'radical research' as:

> […] a radical openness to difference while seeking to build communities of support for difference. To maintain such an approach means that there is a sense in which radical research is 'post-disciplinary' in that it refuses to be reduced to the confines of particular disciplines and refuses to keep the boundaries of disciplines intact in their combination as multidisciplinary or integrated approaches to a given study of the social world. Rather it seeks a more encompassing approach, a kind of critical philosophical refocusing of research and action on the political, the cultural and the social without splitting them into separate disciplines: economy, sociology, psychology . . . and so on (Schostak & Schostak, 2008:8).

In line with the above statement, I place my critical study in the perspective of 'a radical openness to difference'. This difference can mean welcoming difference in terms of perspectives or world view about the research topic. Like radical research,; it is research which is 'post-disciplinary' or 'multidisciplinary' as I draw insights from political science, sociology of education, applied linguistics and psychoanalysis. In fact, I adopt an 'encompassing approach' to come to grips with the issue being investigated. With regard to KM as heritage language studies and as an optional language in the Mauritian education system, I look at the 'political, the cultural and the social without splitting them into separate disciplines...' Finally, the above statement shows that critical theory and radical research make a difference to 'normal research' as they uncover truths, bring new perspective and outlook when looking at a problem.

Critical theory is not a map which the theorist or practitioner uses. It is not a prescribed recipe for solving problems. Theory in critical theory should not be taken in its usual sense but it has to be understood in the same perspective as scholars in critique of communication who struggle against the dominant, analytic and scientific definition of the word "theory". Similarly, the history of critical theory as a school of thought has been the contestation of universal theories for application in all contexts. It has been promoting a critical outlook on theories but with a strong bias for the oppressed. It is for this reason that I have chosen the word 'lens' instead of the usual term 'theories' in theoretical and conceptual frameworks generally for analysing a research topic.

I use 'theory' in the sense of discipline or as discussed above, with the expression of 'scholarly tradition'. Therefore my lens is located in a tradition which is the critical theory. Critical theory is then my big 'T' but is, at the same time. a dynamic 'T' as I refer to it as a 'scholarly tradition'. The Oxford English Dictionary (2012) defines a lens as 'a piece of glass or any transparent material with curved sides for concentrating or dispersing light rays, used singly (as a magnifying glass) or with other lenses (as in a telescope)'. In my case, I will use separate lenses in the scholarly tradition of critical theorists to construct my theoretical and conceptual framework. In the coming section, I discuss my first theoretical lens which is classical Marxism.

4.2. Classical Marxist Lens: Economic Determinism

Classical Marxism as developed by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Frederick Engels (1820-1895) can be summed up by four central tenets namely, the labour theory of value, dialectic materialism, class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat (Blackwell, 1999; Runes, 1942; Lenin, 1918; Marx, 1948). Basing themselves upon the early writings of Marx and Engels, classical Marxists consider that it is the economic base which primarily determines the superstructure (Barker, 2004). In the Preface to the Manifesto of Communist Party (1888), Engels wrote about the fundamental of Marxism:

> The Manifesto being our *joint* (Engels' emphasis) publication, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. This proposition is: That in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up and from which *alone* (my emphasis) can be explained, the *political and intellectual history of that epoch* (my emphasis... (p. 6)

While Marx and Engels used the 'prevailing mode of economic production and exchange' to analyse the evolution of European societies from feudalism to capitalism, I would use Marx and Engels' lens to analyse the evolution of the organization of labour in the history of Mauritius and its impact on KM in terms of language and identity formation.

In chapter 2, I discussed the evolution of knowledge into KM and I demonstrated how the class organisation of society impacts on social construction of knowledge (section 2.2.4). I also argued

that despite the development of KM as the main vernacular in both rural and urban regions by the end of the 18th century, anti-Black racism hampered the recognition of KM as a national language because KM was associated with the former slaves (section 2.4.2). As regard the post-independent period and the 2004-2010 periods, just before the introduction of KM in schools, I observed that the debate marked a social fragmentation overlapping with ethnicity and class. In fact, an analysis of the 'prevailing mode of economic production and exchange' can help us to go deeper into these class and ethnic cleavages and how the mode of economic production shaped the 'social organisation' of the Mauritian society. To that end, I propose an exploration in the history of the economy of Mauritius where I see four historical evolutions: slave labour (17th to mid 19th century), indentured labour (1835 to 1910), industrial labour (post-independence period to 1993) and post-industrial labour (post 1995 to date).

The economy grew, from the beginning, as part of the overall colonial Empire, the centre of which was Europe. The foundation of the economy was based on slave labour for the sugar cash crop industry. The sugar industry is a good illustration of the class making and social stratification of the Mauritian society as it was the first place for the mode of production. Census of slave population (Truth and Justice Commission, 2011; Allen, 1999; Toussaint) shows that slaves were imported from Madagascar (45%), Mozambique (40%), India (13%) and West Africa (2%). A close analysis of the economic and social life organisation of the sugar industry in the 18th century shows that the organisation of labour was made on the basis of this diversity of the slave population with a deliberate policy to sow the seed of division and control over labour whereby African slaves were assigned to fieldwork and Indian slaves to domestic tasks. With time, this differentiated labour organisation created a hierarchy in social life and relations. Indian slaves achieved a status that few African slaves could, even though they remained slaves. For instance, the masters preferred Indian slave women (De L'Estrac, 2004) and extramarital relations gave birth to the first community of coloured (Creole) population.

A century later, slavery was abolished (1835) so that the mode of production shifted to a paid labour force with the recruitment of indentured labour from India. The sugar industry expanded but kept the same labour and social life organisation, but with the Indians replacing the African slaves in the field as the former African slaves had left the sugar estates or had been forced to

leave to be replaced by cheap Indian labour (Teelock, 2014; Chan Low, 2004.). The Creoles (slave descendants and those of mixed origins) who continued to work on the sugar estates became artisans and manual workers (especially those of African origins), while those of mixed origins occupied middle line jobs. The Whites or a few rich Indian and coloured families were the sugar state owners. The language of communication in the field amongst the Indian labourers was mainly Bhojpuri and it shifted gradually over the centuries to KM with the influence of the Creole manual workers and administrative staff who spoke mainly KM and French respectively.

We might assume that the choice of KM was made for the sake of convenience as KM was the language already used before the arrival of the Indians. But one observation that I would make with regard to KM is that in the social hierarchy of the sugar industry based on the ethnic distribution of the labour force, the Creole (manual workers and administrative staff) could be aristocratic workers. Although they were manual workers or even administrative staff and not belonging to the class of sugar state owners, they had a higher status as compared to those who worked in the sugar cane field.

I borrow the term 'aristocratic workers' from the 'theory of labour aristocracy'[38] within European Marxist academia which is generally used to explain working class reformism and conservatism by some segments of workers in industrialized countries. Benefiting from super-profits extracted from impoverished workers of the South, workers in the North develop a form of opportunism which make them become privileged workers and class collaborationists and therefore 'labour aristocrats' (Strauss, 2014; Post, 2006). In the context of my analysis, Creole

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[38] Frederick Engels first introduced the notion of the "labour aristocracy" in a number of letters to Marx stretching from the late 1850s through the late 1880s. Engels was grappling with the growing conservatism of the organized sectors of the British working class. Post (2006) explains that Engels argued that those British workers who had been able to establish unions and secure stable employment - skilled workers in the iron, steel and machine making industries and most workers in the cotton textile mills - constituted a privileged and "bourgeoisified" layer of the working class, a "labor aristocracy." The idea of "labour aristocracy" was theorized later by Lenin in his analysis of imperialism as a form of monopolistic capitalism with imperialist investments in colonial world / Global South whereby a privileged layer of workers share in monopoly super-profits (Lenin, 1916). But many revolutionaries who claim Lenin as influence reject this theory (Strauss, 2014). Similarly, Post (2010) argues that relatively well-paid workers have and continue to play a leading role in radical and revolutionary working class struggles and organizations.

manual workers and the Creole middle class in the sugar industry did not benefit from 'super-profits' but by occupying the higher rung of the social ladder they became class collaborationists with the Francophone sugar oligarchy. They developed a preference for French at the expense of KM. My analysis of the historical evolution of the mode of production that I have presented brings me back to the linguistic loyalties which I discussed in chapter 2. I therefore argue that the economic mode of production has influenced, on one hand, the linguistic loyalties of Franco-Mauritians and the Creole middle class with a bias for French and against KM and Indian languages. On the other hand, as a counter reaction, the Indian group adopted KM for a utilitarian purpose, identified with Indian ancestral languages for identity affirmation and chose English for social mobility as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.4.3. But at the same time, KM has found its way in schools in 2012 partly because of a new 'prevailing economic mode of production'.

As from 1995, Mauritius entered a post-industrial era which requires a skilled and literate labour force. A large body of research points overwhelmingly to the importance of human capital in economic development. The pioneering work by Schultz (1960) and Becker (1962) who coined the term human capital recognized that knowledge and skills were similar to physical capital and that education was a type of investment. Arguments for the introduction of KM were, in fact, also based on an economic rationale for the improvement of education outcome. The system is elitist, with among the highest disparities according to socioeconomic status in standardized reading and mathematics test scores in the Southern and Eastern Consortium for Monitoring of Quality Education (SACMEQ) I1 sample of 14 countries in Southern and Eastern Africa (World Bank, 2009). The SACMEQ III report (Sauba & Lutchmia, 2012) mentions the alarming rate of young children leaving school barely literate and numerate. However, looking at the introduction of KM from solely an economic determinism perspective is quite limited. I find it relevant here to draw upon structural Marxism and especially from some concepts developed by the French Marxist philosopher, Louis Althusser. In the spirit of the intellectual tradition of critical theory, I consider that the phenomenon that I studied must not limit itself to classical Marxism only. For a better understanding of KM., structural Marxism can help to go do deeper into an analysis of KM within the Mauritian society. In fact, the structural Marxist perspective goes beyond the

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economic determinism analysis and looks at society as a structure. I chose the structural Marxist perspective to understand the structure of Mauritian society.

4.3. Structural Marxism Lens

4.3.1. Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses and Overdetermination

Structural Marxism was theorised by neo-Marxists in the 20th century who extended Marxism. The Italian Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937), Greek-French Poulantzas (1936-1979) and French Louis Althusser (1918-1990) are major thinkers from this school of thought. Althusser's (1972) writings were first a reaction to the humanist and existentialist interpretation of Marxism in France, represented especially by French philosopher Jean Paul Sartre (1905-1980). As a result, Althusser (1972) pleaded for a scientific Marxism and favoured a structuralist approach (Lamola, 2013; Turchetto, 2009; Benton, 1984). The most important contribution of Althusser was that Marxism provided him with an analytical lens on society as a 'social whole' which is distinct from the Hegelian 'totality'.

The German philosopher Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) argued that the physical and spiritual world are not separate entities but are rather inextricably intertwined with each other. Therefore, the material world or universe manifests *Geist* or Reason or Spirit. For Hegel, we can understand the world only as a whole. This is what Althusser calls the 'Hegelian totality'. But for Marx, the world is materialist and not a mental phenomenon, and he gave an explication of society for what has come to be known as the infrastructure or superstructure model of society and a dialectical (materialist) model of history which Althusser calls the 'social whole'. It is within this perspective that Althusser considers that the economic mode of production and exchange cannot be used in isolation to explain all aspects of society as classical Marxism does. Thus, structural Marxism goes beyond classical Marxism. Althusser rejects the economic determinist view of society which is attributed to Marx and Engels by orthodox Marxism. For him Marx, on the contrary, saw the structure of society as being constituted by two levels or instances articulated by an 'infrastructure' (or economic base) and a 'superstructure' which itself contains two levels namely, the politico-legal (the State and law) and ideology (the different

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ideologies, religious, ethical, legal, or political). Althusser (1972) uses a spatial metaphor which he calls '*topique*' (spatial topography) to say that society is like an 'edifice' (building) containing a base (infrastructure) on which the 'two floors' of the superstructure' are erected (p.28). I represent this 'edifice' in Figure 4 by adapting its meaning to the context of my research work.
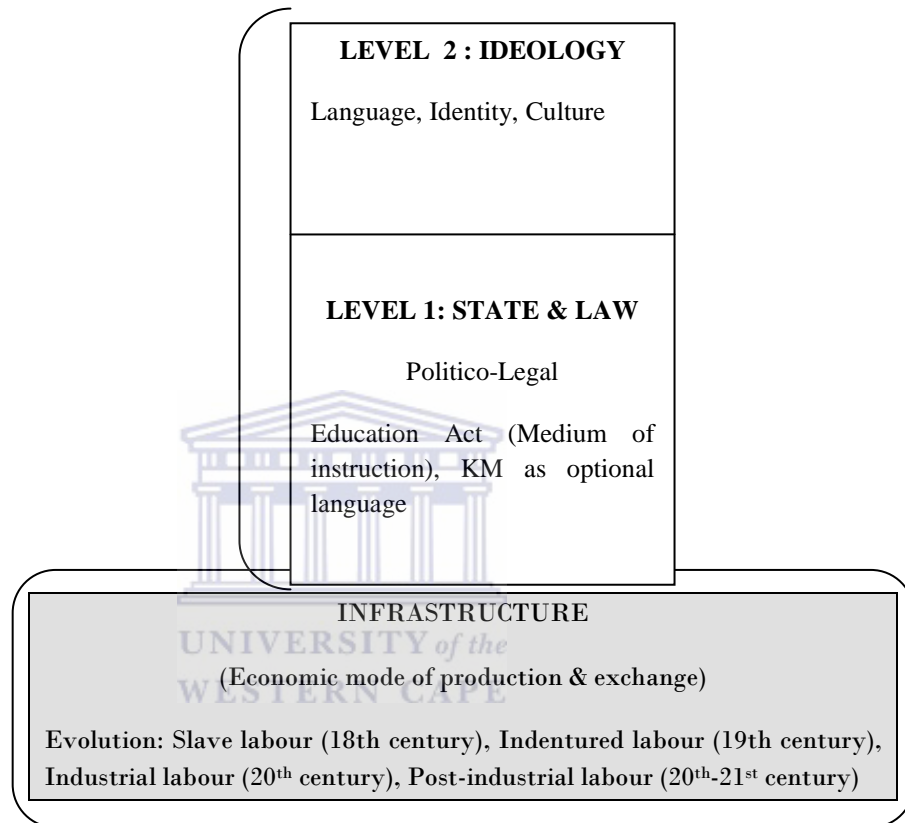
Figure 4.

The figure shows the societal edifice with its economic foundation as 'infrastructure' which refers to the evolution of the 'economic mode of production and exchange' in the case of Mauritius. Upon the edifice, we have the 'two floors' showing Level 1 as the State and Law, representing the politico-legal dimension. I would include here the Education Act, for example, which stipulates that English is the official medium of instruction and the policy decision of the government to offer KM as an optional subject since 2012.

At Level 2, we have the prevailing ideology about language and identity. Althusser explains that the upper floors cannot stay in the air without resting precisely on their base, showing the importance of the 'infrastructure'. But he observes, at the same time, that the 'superstructure' is

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as essential as the base as it consolidates the 'infrastructure'. However, from a structuralist point of view, determination by the economic base is in the last instance. The superstructure has a relative autonomy. While acknowledging the significance of the economic base, he argues that every social formation must reproduce the conditions of its production which is determined   by the superstructure to a certain extent. In otherwords, it is ideology which reproduces, maintains and perpetuates the infrastructure.

I deliberately put 'Ideology' at the apex of the edifice in Figure 4.because ideology is central to the critique of Althusser. In Chapter 3, I demonstrated how the body of literature in heritage language shows that language ideologies shape language practices. French-language ideology, while historically variable, indexes much more than belonging to a nation. In everyday life, inclusion requires mastery of written French, not just oral competence. Mastery of written French signals full socialization into French culture and society for all children. For instance, I referred to a study (Rockwell, 2012) in French literacy conducted amongst immigrants in France. Similarly, Chapter 2 demonstrated that even scientific explanation related to epistemology, ontology of KM and creolisation is deeply entrenched in ideologies. I now turn to the thesis developed by Althusser about how ideology is enacted in society.

Althusser defines ideology as 'a system of representations endowed with a historical existence and role within a given society. It is distinguished from science in that the practico-social function is more important than the theoretical function (Althusser 1969, 231). In other words, ideology is determined by the individual's conditions of existence and political goals. As such, ideology is incompatible with the kind of scientific investigation that Althusser associates with Marxism. Althusser coined the term 'Ideological State Apparatus' (ISA) which is to be distinguished from the 'Repressive State Apparatus' (RSA) which contains the government, the administration, police, army, prisons and other apparatuses which function by violence or may take non-physical force but act as constraint and control. Conversely, ISA comprises the family, the education system, the church and the media amongst others. Althusser (1969: 231) notes that while there is RSA, there is a 'plurality of Ideological State Apparatuses' (p.231). He remarks that the basic difference between the two is that RSA functions by violence (physical and non physical, easily identifiable) but ISAs function by ideology. Each ISA is the realization of an

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ideology. In fact, ISA is the strongest in terms of mental control and constraint and goes unnoticed. For Abercrombie *et al* (2006), ISAs refer to one of the means by which the domination of the capitalist class is secured (Abercrombie et al. 2006). I will now discuss the State as RSA and the church and media as ISAs in the context of my research because they were institutions which played a key role for the introduction of KM. A full discussion on school as ISA is presented in Chapter 7).

In Chapter 3, I referred to the dichotomy of assimilation and pluralism in language and identity policies. I gave the examples of European nationalism inspired by the description of a nation by Herder (Edwards, 2009) as a common shared language and culture. I made references to Chinese nationalism with its linguistic unification around Modern Chinese or Mandarin; the adoption of a Roman alphabet for written orthography by Kamal Atartuk in the 1930s and the promotion of Kiswahili during the socialist decade (1970-1980) in Tanzania underpinned, by African socialism. All these referred cases show the role of the State as RSA in implementing and enforcing national language policies. In fact, within the Marxist school of thought, we have two interpretations of the nature and role of the state formulated as the instrumentalist and the structuralist models. Ralph Mlliband (1924-1994), a Belgian British born sociologist, is the most popular Marxist theorist who developed the instrumentalist model about the theory of the state as follows:

> In the Marxist scheme, the 'ruling class' of capitalist society which owns and controls the means of production and which is able, by virtue of economic power thus conferred upon it, to use the state as its instrument for domination of society. (Milliband, 1969: 23)

Therefore, the State represents a form of class power, an instrument of the dominant class of the society and is assumed not to operate in the interests of the whole society. Unlike the instrumentalist theory, the structuralist theory argues that the character of the State is not determined by who controls the State, but by the constraints of the societal structure which ultimately furthers the interests of the ruling class. For Althusser (1972), the State serves long

and short term interests which will not call to question the status quo but will negotiate these constraints.

I see the policy decision to introduce KM in school in the light of the structuralist perspective of the character of the State. This policy decision was the negotiation of circumstantial constraints which forced the political parties to finally put KM on the electoral manifesto for the General Elections of May 2010 as discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.4. The fact that KM has been introduced as an optional subject and not as a medium of instruction does not affect, in the long run, the interests of the dominant class. The medium of instruction still remains English and this situation will continue to marginalise the majority of pupils in terms of knowledge acquisition, academic performance and holistic development. I now turn to the application of the ISA lens to my research context.

Althusser (1969) considers that the ISA may reflect inner contradictions and conflict:

> [...] the Ideological State Apparatuses may be not only the *stake*, but also the *site* of class struggle, and often of bitter forms of class struggle. The class (or class alliance) in power cannot lay down the law in the ISAs as easily as it can in the (repressive) State apparatus, not only because the former ruling classes are able to retain strong positions there for a long time, but also because the resistance of the exploited classes is able to find means and occasions to express itself there, either by the utilization of their contradictions, or by conquering combat positions in them in struggle. (p.235)

The above remark about ISAs being the 'site of struggle, and often of bitter forms of class struggle' is applicable to the struggle for introducing KM in school as discussed in Chapter 2. At the same time, this struggle illustrates the 'resistance of the exploited classes'. But an interesting observation that can be made is that the church and the media in Mauritius who fit the definition of Althusser as ISAs have in fact been two major apparatuses upon which the 'exploited masses' could rely to exert pressure on the government (RSA) to introduce KM in schools. In sections 2.4.7 and 2.4.8 I discussed the decisive role of the Church in the socio-historical processes which paved the way for KM in schools. But this position of the church has also been explained by the fact that there has been the emergence of a Creole intelligentsia and a Creole clergy which notwithstanding has also a class dimension. The White and middle class Creole

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bourgeoisie have been gradually superseded by a critical mass of Creoles originating from the working class and who have known social mobility through education. This shows that the ISA may generate its own contradictions. The same observation can be made with regard to the media as ISA.

The debate about KM started in the press in 1967 with the paper published by Virahsawmy as discussed in Chapter 2) in the morning daily *L'Express*. This paper, as stated earlier, was a progressive party in favour of independence. But during the period 2004 to 2012 which I would qualify as the 'Kreol years ', *L'Express* did not have an outright position about KM although it did give some coverage to issues related to KM. However, *Le mauricien*, which is still the only afternoon daily, was against independence in the 1960s, took surprisingly an unequivocal position towards KM by giving systematic coverage to KM issues and it provided a forum for divergent views on KM in its readers' corner (known as *Forum*). The newspaper editorial team also adopted Grafi-Larmoni orthography as a policy for all Kreol excerpts in its reporting as from 2006 (two years after the release of the publication of the Grafi-Larmoni report). Politicians used to call these two independent mainstream newspapers as the 'eurocreole' press because both are controlled by the Creole bourgeoisie and the term 'eurocreole' is often used as a derogatory term by Hindu politicians when they are at the helm of the government or being the members of the majority party as a reaction to criticisms of these two press titles.

One explanation which might explain the timid attitude of *L'Express* towards the language issue for the 'Kreol years' is the composition of its shareholders which come from the sugar plantocracy and the Hindu bourgeoisie. Another reason that could explain the absence of a more definite position of this newspaper towards KM might be that its editorial policy has often expressed some reserves with regard to the Kreol identity affirmation movement (Meetarbhan, 2013; Bhujun, 2012; Esoof, 2006). Besides, a new morning daily called *Le Defi* which has now the biggest readership was also highly supportive of KM. This newspaper belongs to the Defi Media Group which is now the biggest media group owning four newspaper titles, one radio and a web TV. The Defi Media Group is a non-Eurocreole media group and as a newcomer it has dislodged *L'Express* and *Le mauricien*. Two private owned radio stations namely Radio 1 and

Radio Plus owned by L'Express Group and Defi Group respectively also aired different interventions on KM and were favourable to KM. So, contrary to Althusser's conception of the church and the media as ISAs which maintain the status quo we find here that both the church and the media have been positive ISAs and key agents of change.

For Barker (2004) ISA is:

> [...] our entry in the symbolic order and thus our constitution as subjects, is the work of ideology which he (Althusser, *my precision*) hails, or 'interpellates' concrete individuals as concrete subjects. According to Althusser, ideology exists in an apparatus and its associated practices. (p.96)

The reflection on the role of ideology ushers my research topic into the 'symbolic order'. At this point, a short detour to analyse this term might bring additional light to my work. The 'symbolic order' is a term which has gained currency after the French psychoanalyst and psychiatrist Jacques Lacan (1901-1981) has developed the notions of 'Symbolic Order', the 'Imaginary Order' and the 'Real' in his attempt to understand his patients not through their human body, but also their condition in general. This led him then to reread Freud and shifted his focus from a search for 'real truth' to notions of a multilayered idea of truth which manifests itself through language. He built his theory on the works of de Saussure, Jakobson, Hegel, Heidegger and especially Lévi-Strauss. Lacan like Lévi-Strauss held that the social world is constructed through rules which regulate various forms of personal relations and communication. The basic form of this interaction and exchange is verbal communication (language).

Lacan posits that human beings are products of their language and they exchange objects for words, thus eliminating objects and allowing communications. He calls this process the 'symbolic order' or the 'Big Other' where language appeals to the other and allows mutual accord of meaning (Žižek, 1991). Everything which goes beyond language is of the 'real order'. The 'Imaginary order' is the field of images and imagination and deception. Therefore the 'symbolic order' or the 'Big Other' is universal as it is outside the person. The 'symbolic' is made possible because of our acceptance of the rules of communication or what Lacan calls the 'Name-of-the Father' (desire) aligned to the Oedipus Complex. Ideology then is of the symbolic order. It is for this reason that Althusser rejects the view that Marxism is a political ideology

(Althusser, 1972: 40) because for him Marxism is a scientific conceptual tool and praxis to identify the hidden dimension of ideologies and the ISAs.

At this point, I wish to remind that I brought in my discussion the reflection upon infrastructure versus superstructure, ideology, RSA and ISA to demonstrate that the economic mode of production, although it is an important dimension which I have acknowledged, cannot be the only factor which has determined the course of action for KM. In the same line of thought, I would finally make use of two other concepts from Althusser namely 'contradiction and overdetermination' on one hand and 'conjuncture.'

Althusser takes the concept of 'overdetermination' from Freud's work on *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1999) in which 'overdetermined' is meant to refer to the infinite number of psychic influences that cause – from childhood to present – a resulting dream image. For Althusser (1972) overdetermination is brought about conjuncture which Abercrombie et al. (2004) define as 'the actual balance of unevenly developed social and political forces in a society at a particular moment' (p.79). Althusser (1972) states that 'it simply means that we cannot understand any social phenomena, let alone a very complex one such as a revolution, as occurring due to a single or simple cause; instead, such phenomena are brought about by multiple causes that occur at once' (1969: 25). Thus, antagonistic contradictions in and of themselves cannot produce on their own a revolutionary dialectic. What is necessary then, says Althusser, is an accumulation of 'circumstances' and 'currents' that create an accumulation of contradictions which sufficiently fuse into a 'ruptural unity' (1969: 100). In other words, revolutionary change does not occur through simple contradiction but rather, through multiple contradictions that come together or coalesce at a particular point in time which, in turn, provides the force necessary for any real change. The formation of a unity based on a multiplicity of contradictions is what Althusser refers to as an 'overdetermined' contradiction. This theory of 'overdetermination' of 'contradictions' by conjuncture echoes my discussion about the unity of contradictions by Mao in Chapter 2. The theory confirms different factors which I identified and discussed as catalyzing elements in the introduction of KM.

Subsequently, I would say that the change in the language policy came as a result of 'contradition and overdetermination'.

In line with the structural Marxist lens, in the coming section I discuss the relevance of Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony to understand my research problem. Cultural hegemony is a key conceptual tool in critical theory (Crossley, 2005). I use it here as a further discussion to structural Marxism in the sense that as I stated earlier in my discussion, ideology forms part of the superstructure which impacts society. What is interesting with the concept of Gramsci is that it unveils how ideology works. 'Hegemony' has replaced the concept of ideology used by classical Marxism and it has gained currency in post-colonial studies (Boothman, 2008: Koelble & Lipuma, 2008; Thompson, 1990; Hall, 1986; Bhabha, 1986), but I have located it into structuralist Marxism lens because it aligns with Althusser's ISAs.Hegemony, in fact, gives us insights into the structure of society because it is closely related to language, culture and power relations.

4.3.2. Gramsci's Cultural Hegemony

The concept of cultural hegemony is attributed to Gramsci (1891-1937) who was an Italian communist thinker, activist and political leader. He spent eleven years in Italian prison during the reign of the Italian fascist leader Mussoloni. During his imprisonment, he completed 32 notebooks containing almost 3,000 pages (Riley, 2011; Ives, 2004; Forgacs, 2000) which were smuggled from his prison and published in Italian after the First World War. It was not until the 1970s that Gramsci's notes were translated in English and published. My original source comes from *Selections from the Notebooks* of Antonio Gramsci edited by Hoare and Smith (1971) and other refereed works. Gramsci gave a new interpretation to Marxism in the context of the new conditions of an advanced form of capitalism and the Russian Revolution of October 1917. In the coming paragraph, I examine the etymology of the word 'hegemony'.

Ives (2004) explains that the term 'hegemony' has a long history before Gramsci. Derived from '*hegemon*, literally meaning leader, and its Greek root, ηγεμον΄ια, hegemony traditionally

signifies some combination of authority, leadership and domination' (Ives, 2004: 25). In ancient Greece, it was usually distinguished from domination precisely in that the *hegemon* had only limited control or influence and the subject retained much autonomy. Thus, in the fifth century BC, Athens had hegemony over the other city-states in central Greece. The other city-states were autonomous but followed the military, political and cultural leadership of Athens. Ives (2004) observes that *Hegemon* describes the leader of an alliance rather than the capital city of a state or the ruling country of an empire. The notion of hegemony included an aspect of military supremacy as well as cultural superiority and leadership. But it is essential to note that the source of hegemony was not the direct threat of overt coercion. People accepted willingly the hegemony, giving their consent. 'Coercion' and 'consent' are two central concepts within the theory of hegemony to which I will discuss in-depth later.

 Brown (2014) observes that, historically, the term "hegemony'' had been generally used in socialist circles since the early 20th century. Its use was to describe a leadership position within a particular political sphere (i.e. as hegemonic). Lenin made use of the term *gegemoniya* (the Russian equivalent of hegemony, often translated as ``vanguard''), and he argued that the Bolsheviks needed to come to occupy a *hegemonic* position within the struggle against the tsarist regime. This implied the alliance of the urban working class with the peasantry, drawing out the connections between all forms of ``political oppression and autocratic arbitrariness'' (Lenin, 1963, pp. 86-87).

For Clark (1977), Gramsci had been in Russia from 1922-23 while these debates were raging and it was after this time that hegemony began to take a central role in his writings. In *The Prison Notebooks* Gramsci, refers to hegemony to describe activities of both currently dominant groups as well as the progressive forces. In his 'Notes on the Italian History', 'hegemony' refers to the language issue which dominated Italy after the legacy of a unified Northern and Southern Italy[39]. Massimo d'Azeglio, Prime Minister of the unified Italy from 1849 to 1852 has gone

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[39] Gramsci was born in a little town of the island of Sardinia (North of Italy) in 1891. It was in Sardinia where the first movement to unite Northern and Southern Italy started culminating to the unification (1848 to 1871) known as the *Risorgimento* (meaning resurrection). A standardized Italian was taught at school to give the people a similar cultural outlook and loyalty.

down in history for his famous saying: "Italy is a fact. Now we need to make Italians". Language and schooling were central elements to make Italians. The Italian linguist Mateo Bartoli, contemporary and friend of Gramsci, intervening in the debate around the adoption of standardized Italian instead of the Tuscan or Florence dialect, used the contemporary linguistic concepts *fascino* (fascination or attraction), *prestigio* (prestige) and *egemonia* (hegemony) for the standardized Italian. For Ives (2004), 'Gramsci's initial significant exposure to the concept of hegemony was in the field of linguistics, where it was used to describe how a given population would adopt a particular linguistic form, parts of a language or an entire language from another group of people' (p.52). In his Notebook, Gramsci makes the following observation:

> If it is true that every language contains the elements of conception of the world and of a culture, it could also be true that from anyone's language one can assess the greater or lesser complexity of his conception of the world. Someone who only speaks dialect, or understands the standard language incompletely, necessarily has an intuition of the world which is more or less limited and provincial, which is fossilised and anachronistic in relation to the major currents of thought which dominate world history.[…]. A great culture can be translated into the language of another great culture, that is to say a great national language with historic richness and complexity, and it can translate any other great culture and can be a world-wide means of expression. But a dialect cannot do this. (Note III, Gramsci, 1971: 325).

Gramsci's note above brings out two important viewpoints. First, it shows that he is in favour of a standardized Italian language. Second, his position is underpinned by a different outlook on language as compared to the Neogrammarians, represented by the leading figure of Saussure who defined language as a sign system to be distinguished from individual speech (*parole*). For Gramsci such a definition of language is too narrow[40] and he understands language as intricately connected to how we think and make sense about the world. In the above extract, Gramsci writes that 'language contains the elements of conception of the world and of a culture' and that 'anyone's language can assess the greater or lesser complexity of his conception of the world'. In relation to KM which is the central focus of this study, Gramsci's note portrays language as the

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[40] Gramsci refers to the contemporary linguists Mateo Bartoli (1873-1946) and Graziadio Ascoli (1829-1907) who considered that the history of any language is the history of its contact, interaction, conflict and mixing with other languages (Ives, 2004). Ascoli, for instance, developed the theory of language substratum which explains the development and formation of languages as a result of interference of languages previously spoken by a population.

expression of the profound sense of purpose and meaning of an individual. Thus, at a macro level, language is central to politics and hegemony.

In a sense, Gramsci's interest in language contradicts orthodox Marxism and even Althusser's structural Marxism to the extent that his perspective is not materialist but idealist and humanist. By this I mean Gramsci does not base himself on a class analysis where the means of production are determinant factors. Hegemony is the natural inclination of human beings to exert control and constraint upon others. Thus, hegemony can also exist in a classless society. In the same line of thought, while the traditional Marxist theory of power is based on ideology and the ruling class, Gramsci tries to understand the subtle, but pervasive forms of ideological control which perpetuate a system or structure. For Burke (1999; 2005), by hegemony, Gramsci meant the 'the permeation *throughout* society of an entire system of values, attitudes, beliefs and morality that has the effect of supporting the status quo in power relations' (p.1). In my view, the domination of colonial languages like English, French and Portugese in former colonies and failed attempts to go for a mother tongue policy were due to the persistent cultural hegemony and influence of these former colonial powers. Similarly, language ideologies which shape language practices in the case of heritage languages (cf. Chapter 3) are underpinned by the dominant cultural hegemony. This seems to explain why successful attempts at language reversal and language revitalization (section 3.4.2, a, b) to curb language shifts towards the dominant language are timid. So, hegemony is not physical coercion, but is related to cultural prestige as well as economic, political, social, and at times, even military power (Boothman, 2008). But, the interest is to know how hegemony works as a mechanism for silencing and making people believe that their situation needs no change.

Gramsci (1971) gives two reasons to explain how hegemony gets consent and achieves legitimacy, namely, by direct domination through the State and by 'spontaneous consent' which he describes as:

> The "spontaneous" consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is "historically" caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production. (Gramsci, p.12).

Thus, this 'spontaneous consent' is due to 'prestige' of the dominant group acquired in society and consolidated during its socio-historical evolution. In my research context, the 'dominant fundamental group' represents those who hold to the former colonial language policy. This group is dominant because of 'its position and function in the world production' as stated in the above quote.. This brings me back to the class analysis I made earlier with the classical Marxist lens about the economic base of production and exchange where I demonstrated how it has shaped language, identity and power relations. Similarly, when I stated that in spite of the emergence of a Kreol acrolect in the 1970s, government did not adopt a mother-tongue policy because it was feared that a radical abandonment of English and French, for instance, might hamper economic progress as both are international languages in world trade as discussed in Chapter 2, subsection 2.4.4.. In fact, the 'spontaneous consent' derived from the historical 'prestige' of the dominant group is reinforced by intellectuals.

According to Simms (2003), Gramsci considers that intellectuals sustain the dominant order by creating and popularizing a worldview that convinces the oppressed that their subordination is appropriate, inevitable and just. In this manner, the masses are socialized to believe that their political situation cannot be altered and should not be opposed. For Gramsci (1971), the school, for instance, forms part of the 'repressive and negative function […], turning necessity and coercion into freedom' (Gramsci, 1971: 258). But, the ruling class intellectuals primarily produce hegemonic ideas which persuade the masses to accept the existing political order (Simms, 2003). Gramsci (1971: 3-14) distinguishes between two types of intellectuals: traditional and organic. On one hand, 'traditional intellectuals' are those who create and popularize their hegemony through the State, church and school system. Examples of traditional intellectuals are priests, teachers, artists, politicians or journalists. On the other hand, 'organic intellectuals' develop from subordinated classes or 'subaltern' (Gramsci, 1971: 53) and create counter-hegemonic activity. However, it is important to note that for Gramsci (1971) every person is basically 'an intellectual […] a philosopher […] participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it…' (p.9). But he considers that not every person has an

intellectual role in society. Therefore, the organic intellectual has to nurture agency for the subordinated classes:

> The mode of being of the new intellectual can no longer consist in eloquence, which is an exterior and momentary mover of feelings and passions, but in active participation in practical life, as constructor, organiser, "permanent persuader" and not just a simple orator (but superior at the same time to the abstract mathematical spirit); from technique-as-work one proceeds to technique-as-science and to the humanistic conception of history, without which one remains "specialised" and does not become "directive". (Gramsci, 1971: 10).

According to Gramsci, the intellectual should be an engaged academic. Gramsci (1971: 10) further explains that for a subaltern group to acquire position in society, its intellectual leaders have a key role to play. The ruptures in KM (Chapter 2, section 2.4) illustrate the key role of a collective class of organic intellectuals who promoted KM. The discourse around KM became a counter-cultural hegemony to the discourse held by the traditional intellectuals represented by the Francophone Mauritian intellectuals of the 1970s. However, reactions from 'traditional intellectuals' reached their paroxysm during the period 2008-2013.

A rapid overview of anti-KM articles for the period 2008-2010 by academics in local newspapers either as interviews or position papers are self-revealing or very telling. Mahadeo (2010) considers the push for KM as a medium of instruction in public schools as 'a hidden agenda to push parents towards French speaking school in the private sector' (*Mauritius Times*, 2010, February, 12-18). Kumar (2010) criticized the lack of empirical evidence of KM promoters to justify their claim for KM in schools (*Mauritius Times*, 2010, January, 22-28). More interestingly, Balgobin (2010) asked in an interview whether the 'Kreol intellectual lobby represented all the Creoles', meaning that all the Creole intellectuals who were struggling had no legitimacy to speak on behalf of the Creole community (*Le Defi Plus Samedi*, February, 20-26, 2010). Chicoree (2011) views the Kreol 'patois' issue at school as 'posture and imposture' (*Mauritius Times*, 2011, May, 27 to 7 June, p.1). Mahdoob (2011), signing a paper in his capacity as an academic from the University of Sydney states the positions people take on these issues are often shaped by their experiences and interests and not necessarily based on expert understanding of linguistics' (*L'Express Weekly*, 2011, June, 10, p.5). Hence, these snapshots of

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newspaper articles by local academics show how the 'ruling class of intellectuals' consolidates the status quo through a scientific rhetoric to render a supposed normalcy and intuitive origin to the hegemonic ideas against KM.

In the light of the above, Gramsci (1971) explains that it is the role of organic intellectuals to create a counter-hegemonic vision and stage a universal revolution through cultural subversion, as opposed to violence. The organic intellectuals have to win the traditional intellectuals and enlist the masses:

> the intellectuals of the historically (and concretely) progressive class, in the given conditions, exercise such a power of attraction that, in the last analysis, they end up by subjugating the intellectuals of the other social groups; they thereby create a system of solidarity between all the intellectuals, with bonds of a psychological nature (vanity, etc.) and often of a caste character (technico juridical, corporate, etc.). This phenomenon manifests itself "spontaneously" in the historical periods in which the given social group is really progressive -i.e. really causes the whole society to move forward, not merely satisfying its own existential requirements, but continuously augmenting its cadres for the conquest of ever new spheres of economic and productive activity. (Gramsci, 1971: 60-61)

The above quote theorises and strengthens my second chapter on epistemology, creolisation and ruptures (Chapter 2) as it explains the impact of the changes experienced with the introduction of KM. The organic intellectuals promoting KM ended up 'subjugating' the traditional intellectuals and have been decisive as we have observed that after 2012 when KM was introduced as an optional subject, all the dissenting voices against KM were suddenly muted. Institutions which were seen as anti-KM through the public positioning of their academics are now working on KM. In fact, the KM organic intellectuals and the traditional intellectuals who were against KM together represent the 'historical bloc' (Gramsci, 1972) in a gramscian sociology of Marxism. By 'historical bloc', Gramsci (1972) means that it is the role of the organic (progressive) intellectuals to help the conservative intellectuals by persuading arguments and actions that there is need for a new world order. The alliance of the organic intellectuals and the conservatives represent then this historical bloc.

Gramsci developed the notion of the 'historical bloc' to explain that base and superstructure have a dialectical or reflexive relationship. In other words, 'structures and superstructures form an

"historical bloc". That is to say the complex, contradictory and discordant ensemble of the superstructures is the reflection of the ensemble of the social relations of production (Gramsci, 1971: 336). In fact, I am trying to link the traditional intellectuals with the economic base of Mauritius as I have explained earlier that the economic base is shaped by a divisive mode of production based on ethnicity and colonial legacy of the prestige culture of French and English, and the organic intellectuals with the superstructure which is independent to a certain extent to the base in a Gramscian perspective. In order for the organic intellectuals to make progress, Gramsci proposes that 'a war of position' be made, instead of 'a war of manoeuvre'. I think the introduction of KM has been in fact a 'war of position' led by the organic intellectuals by which Gramsci means an intellectual positioning, instead of the use of violence. This shows the relative autonomy of culture or the superstructure from the base. One relatively autonomous cultural area that had a particular resonance for Gramsci was the question of nation, which had become central to various political and aesthetic movements in his lifetime. At this point, I would like to bring in two reflections made by Gramsci about nation-building for Italy which I think would be enlightening to my study for the Mauritian context.

In the formation and development of the modern state of Italy, Gramsci (1971) states that political leadership is central and he explains how this could be achieved:

> A social group dominates antagonistic groups, which it tends to "liquidate", or to subjugate perhaps even by armed force; it leads kindred and allied groups. A social group can, and indeed must, already exercise "leadership" before winning governmental power (this indeed is one of the principal conditions for the winning of such power) ; it subsequently becomes dominant when it exercises power, but even if it holds it firmly in its grasp, it must continue to "lead" as well (Gramsci, 1971: 57).

In the light of the above quote, Gramsci (1971) considers that to 'continue to "lead" as well', the State must cater for the subjugated group. His chapter on the subaltern groups in his Prison Notebook to which I refer in my discussion of post-colonialism, is an attempt to explain and overcome the exclusions that are carried out in the name of nationhood. Gramsci argues that no nation-building project will be successful if it does not integrate all the popular classes and groups into an active conception of their identity as people in place. For Ives (2004), Gramsci, therefore, acknowledges difference as an active component of the national-popular, and resists an idea of ethnic purity. In this sense, he made a plea for the development of a refined popular

culture. This shows again the centrality of culture in the Gramscian thought. He noted that Italy had not developed any of the genres of popular literature such as the romance, the thriller, science-fiction or children's literature. Although these genres were widely read in Italy, they tended to be translations from French or English. From the Middle Ages, a prestigious form of literary Italian developed, exemplified by Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1306–21). This was, however, a culture of the elite, not of the people. He argues that other European countries developed a more truly 'national-popular' literature and he referred to Shakespeare as an example of national popular cultural production, as did Tolstoy and Dostoevsky. As discussed in the earlier chapter, the introduction of KM is also underpinned by a discourse of language, identity, nation-building and progress.

Summary

I have used two lenses namely Classical Marxism and Structural Marxism. Both are contradictory to a certain extent but I justify their use on basis of the intellectual critical tradition whereby this school thought favours a critical approach to society. It allows the use of contradictory theories to come to grips with a phenomena. But classical Marxism and structural Marxism are not totally opposite views as they both belong to the Marxist school of thought. With classical Marxism, I discussed how for classical Marxists, basing themselves on the early writings of Marx and Engels, consider that the 'mode of production and exchange' is a pre-determinism of the type of society. I studied organization of labour in the sugar industry which is the oldest economic activity as an illustration of economic determinism or the Marxian term infrastructure. I found that the divisive nature of language and identity in the Mauritian context finds its root in the socio-historical evolution of the organisation of labour. Linguistic loyalties come from this divisive history of the local capitalist system. Then, I used the structuralist Marxism lens which goes beyond the 'economic determinism' of classical Marxism which it considers as restrictive in terms of analysis. I discussed two major concepts of structuralist Marxism, namely the Ideological State Apparatuses and the concept of cultural hegemony from Gramsci.

State Ideological Apparatuses (ISAs) comprise the Repressive State Apparatus (RSA) and the Ideological State Apparatus. About the nature of the State, for Althusser, it is not a question of a ruling class who controls the State for its own profit, but how the constraints of the societal structure force the State to negotiate with the new situation and how the State manages to overcome the constraints and further the interests of the ruling class. This led me to examine the role of the State behind the policy decision to introduce KM as an optional subject. I found that the policy decision was, in fact, the result of some circumstantial constraints which forced the government to go in this direction. The major constraints were the General Elections in 2010, with the pressure of the Kreol identity movement to recognise KM and have it as optional subject. Then, I examined the role of the church and the media which, according to Althusser's construct of ISAs are both symbolic apparatuses which preserve the status quo. But I demonstrated how both church and media in the Mauritian context lent support to KM. I also showed how these apparatuses can become 'site of struggle'.

I showed the rise of a Kreol intelligentsia and how the presence of a new Creole clergy pushed the Church apparatus towards to take the progressive path. Similarly, I showed the contradictions of the Mauritian media with its class and ethnic composition and affiliation. I underlined also its contradictions. The element of contradictions led me to bring in my discussion two Althusserian concepts, namely over-determination and conjuncture. These are two elements, according to Althusser, shape the evolution of society and bring change. Althusser used these concepts to make his point that only change at the level of infrastructure cannot bring change but contradictions, overdetermination of some factors and the conjuncture (circumstance) are factors which create conducive atmosphere for change as it was the case for KM. Afterwards, I examined the concept of hegemony.

According to Gramsci, hegemony which can be defined broadly as a form of domination cannot exist without 'coercion' and 'consent'. Gramsci went beyond the Marxist concept of ideology. He showed that hegemony is a subtle and pervasive form of control which perpetuates a system. This can be values, attitudes, beliefs and morality which maintain the status quo. At the same time, it is the prestige of a dominant group which creates a situation of hegemony. I identified

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here the prestige of the colonial languages as roadblocks to KM and a mother –tongue in education policy in post-colonial countries. It is at this stage that I also discussed the role of intellectuals in bringing change. Gramsci distinguished between the 'traditional' and the 'organic intellectuals'. The latter are agents of social transformation. I discussed the relevance of the Gramscian distinction with regard to the Mauritian intellectuals. I gave examples of the established Mauritian academia (ruling class intellectual) who took position against KM in the media under the veneer of scientific rheteoric. Conversely organic intellectuals who promoted KM played a counter-hegemonic role and I used the Gramscian metaphor of 'war of position' to qualify the intellectual positioning of these organic intellectuals.

I will now turn to post-colonial studies which I consider can help me theorise my research problem from another perspective, but which complement the classical Marxist and structuralist Marxist lens.

4.4. Postcolonial Studies and Subaltern studies as Lens
4.4.1. Post-coloniality

I have chosen the postcolonial lens because Mauritius is a post-colonial state, and language and identity issues are central to postcolonial and subaltern studies. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2012), the preposition 'post' in English means 'after' or 'subsequent to'. Postcolonial studies can, therefore, be described as a discipline in social sciences which investigate research and take position on contemporary issues faced by countries which were former colonies. As a key concept, Ashcroft et al. (1998) explain that 'post-colonialism (or often postcolonialism) deals with the effects of colonization on cultures and societies' (p.185) and states that the term 'post-colonial state' was originally used by historians after the Second World War to refer to former colonies during the independence period. The authors observe that from the late 1970s the term was used by literary critics 'to discuss the various cultural effects of colonization' (Ashcroft et.al, 1998: 185). The term was especially used in New English Literatures (NEL) as from the late 1960s to refer to the Anglophone literature of Asia, Africa, the Carribean, Oceania and Canada. NEL was the name given to 'Commonwealth Literature' and it

evolved in the mid-1970s into 'post-colonial literature' with a focus on 'the relationship of semi-peripheral and peripheral countries –in the parlance of Immanuel Wallenstein and others, to the politico-economic centers' (Riemenschneider, 1987: 425). At present, 'post-colonial/ postcolonial' is used to signify 'the political, linguistic and cultural experiences of societies that were former European colonies (Ashcroft et al., 1998: 185).

Barker (2004) refers to the word 'postcolonial theory' in his *Dictionary of Cultural Studies* as 'a critical theory that explores the condition of postcoloniality, that is, colonial relations and their aftermath […] within cultural studies which is commonly taken to include the colonial discourse itself' (p.148). Thus, I would qualify postcolonial studies as a critical theory of postcoloniality. This means that they are studies which have a critical outlook on established theories.

Barker (2004) observes that postcolonial studies alludes to both before and after European colonization and, as a theory, it explores 'postcolonial discourses and their subject positions in relation to the themes of race, nation, subjectivity, power, subalterns, hybridity and creolization' (p.148). I will discuss these themes at a later stage. In fact, it can be said that postcolonial studies have developed into a disciplinary field which suggests resistance to the 'colonial' and its continued legacy in discourses. At the same time, the 'post' implies a new world in the making. Subaltern studies fall under the umbrella of postcolonial studies and provide the methodological template for the approach to the question of popular consciousness in postcolonial studies (Gopal, 2004; Coromil, 2004). Therefore, I intend to use the postcolonial and subaltern lenses to understand how current discourses around language and identity are shaped by the legacy of the "colonialism". I will refer to major theorists in postcolonial and subaltern studies like the Palestinian American literary theorist and public intellectual, Edward Said (1935-2003), who is considered as the one who pioneered the development of postcolonial studies, contemporary theorists, Homi Bhabha, Gaytri Spivak and Partha Chatterjee. Referring to the works of the latter theorists, Lazarus (2004) observes that post structuralism has been a major influential school of thought in the development of postcolonial studies.

Before I go into detail about the main features of postcolonial studies, I will first discuss the influence of the founders of mid-twentieth post structuralism upon postcolonial studies, referred to as the 'French theorists'. I will discuss key concepts developed, particularly by two of them, namely French philosophers, Michel Foucault (1926-1984) and sociologist and anthropologist, Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002). Then after a discussion on subaltern studies, I will examine some post colonial literary works where issues of language, identity and nation building are present.

4.4.2. Post-structuralism as Foundation

Post structuralism is a reaction against structuralism in France. It emerged as a school of thought in the wake of the Algerian struggle against colonialism and the students revolts of 1968 (Lazarus, 2004). In fact, structuralism was a literary movement primarily concerned with understanding how language works. Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) was the primary theorist who framed the ideas of structuralism by developing the idea that language is a sign system composed of arbitrary units that were void of concept or meaning until they acquire meaning through interrelationship, and held by cultural convention (Barker, 2004; Newton, 1998). In the 1960s, structuralism shaped the world view of different disciplines. For instance, drawing upon the structural theory of language as a universal law, classical Marxists and structuralist Marxists considered that the truth of human existence could be understood by an analysis of economic structures (Althusser, 2001), while psychoanalysts attempted to describe the structure of the psyche in terms of an unconscious being living in us. (Deleuze, 2002).

In the field of language studies, the mid-twentieth century marked the turn to a 'social view' of language (Kress, 2001), represented by a poststructuralist perspective which criticizes structural linguistics for failing to explore the concept of social class and that language should rather be considered as 'a locus of political struggle' (Pennycook, 1994: 25). Pennycook feels the most fruitful way to consider language as a locus of a political struggle and envisions culture as an "active process by which people make meaning of their lives" (p. 61). Linked to language, cultural politics is a "struggle over different meanings" (p. 66). In fact, the description I gave about the socio-historical processes leading to KM in school can be qualified as a 'struggle over different meanings'. It was a struggle for the Creole quest for a cultural identity linked to Kreol

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language. Pennycook (1994) also disputes the Marxist tendency to view culture as "a superstructural phenomenon determined by the socioeconomic 'realities'" (p. 63) as well as the positivist view of culture as the action of nation-states within a high/low diametric field. But basically the main contribution of post-structuralism is that it deconstructs the very notion of the stable structures of language. At this point, I will discuss four concepts namely discursive formation, power, archeology of knowledge and genealogy which come from the French philosopher.

4.4.3. Discourse, Power, Archaeology of Knowledge and Genealogy

The Oxford English Dictionary (2012) defines discourse as written or spoken communication or debate. As an academic terminology, it is generally used to designate the forms of representation, codes, conventions and habits of language that produce meaning which are culturally and historically located. Foucault's early writings (*The Order of Discourse*, 1971; *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 1972) brought a new dimension to the meaning of discourse. Foucault (1972) uses more specifically the term 'discursive formations' and 'discursive practice' when he analyses the ways in which institutions and academic disciplines establish orders of truth or 'the regime of truth' (Foucault, 1972: 35). Ashcroft et al. (1998) is worth quoting here for their summary of 'discourse':

> For Foucault, a discourse is a strongly bounded area of social knowledge, a system of statements within which the world can be known. The key feature of this is that the world is not simply 'there' to be talked about, rather, it is through discourse itself that the world is brought into being. It is also in such a discourse that speakers and hearers, writers and readers come to an understanding about themselves, their relationship to each other and their place in the world …. (Ascroft et al., 1995: 71)

I will take this quote to discuss the meaning of discourse. Discourse is 'a strongly bounded area of social knowledge'. Discourse is therefore a mediator of knowledge and it is 'social', shaped by society and 'bounded' meaning it has its parameters beyond which if we go cannot then be considered as knowledge. This aspect of knowledge as social construction was discussed in Chapter 2. Discourse is also a set of 'statements' which collectively function as a 'system' that gives a particular interpretation of the world. An analysis of discourse helps us understand how

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particular set of statements brings the world into being. For instance, I have demonstrated earlier that the discourse on language and identity with reference to KM conveys a particular world view. And as such it is through discourse that we (speakers and hearers, writers and readers) understand ourselves, our relationship with others and our place in the world.

Said (1978) in *Orientalism*, which is a foundational text for the academic field post-colonial studies, expresses his indebtedness to Foucault when he explains that to understand how the Western portray the Orient he set out examining 'not only scholarly works, but also works of literature, political tracts, journalistic texts, travel books, religious and philological studies' (p.23) to understand the processes by which the 'Orient' was and continues to be constructed in European thinking (Ashcroft et al., 1998; Ashcroft et., al, 1995; Barker, 2004). Discourse analysis becomes then central to post colonial studies as it is the study of discourse others define us, In this regard, Frantz Fanon can be considered as a post colonial theorist, *avant la lettre* with his publication *Black Skin, White Mask* (1952) which was the first book to investigate the psychology of colonialism by examining how the colonized internalize the coloniser's discourse (Sardar, 2008). In fact, the interest of 'discourse' is that it embodies a power relation. This means that there exists a dominant discourse and power can be countered by a counter-discourse. This is what happened when the Kreol identity movement started to develop a counter-discourse around KM to persuade the society at large that it is a language, not a patois, and that policy makers have to redress an injustice by depriving Mauritian children and especially Creole children, of their right to learn and study their language at school. At the heart of discourse lies power. Foucault (1972) has a different perspective on power as compared to the classical and structural Marxists and he seems not to foreground the Gramscian concept of hegemony which I have discussed earlier.

Foucault (1982) posits that power cannot be exercised outside a form of interdependent relationship. He even gives the example of the slave and the master as not a relation of power, but of domination. Although forms of power can lead to domination, yet power is not intrinsically domination, and is thus positive for Foucault (1982) which he defines as follows:

The exercise of power is not simply a relationship between partners, individual or collective; it is a way in which certain actions modify others. Power exists only when it is put into action, even if, of course, it is integrated into a disparate field of possibilities brought to bear upon permanent structures. This also means that power is not a function of consent. […] It is a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. A set of actions upon other actions (p.789)

The Foucaltian perspective about power acknowledges the agency of the individual as it is an 'acting subject' and 'being capable of action'. This idea of power as 'a set of actions upon other actions' can be further illustrated by Foucault's use of Bentham's Panopticon[41] as a metaphor to explain the invisibility and unverifiable nature of power. Figure.5.shows the watch guard as a form of social control on knowledge, discourse and school. Inside the cells is KM. The term Panopticon has gained currency with *Discipline and Punish: Birth of the Prison* (Foucault, 1975), as a metaphor to explain the functioning of disciplinary power in Western society. For instance, Gallagher (2010) uses the Panopticon as a lens to analyse discipline and surveillance in schools.

Kreol Morisien

Social control (Discourse, Knowledge, Institutions)
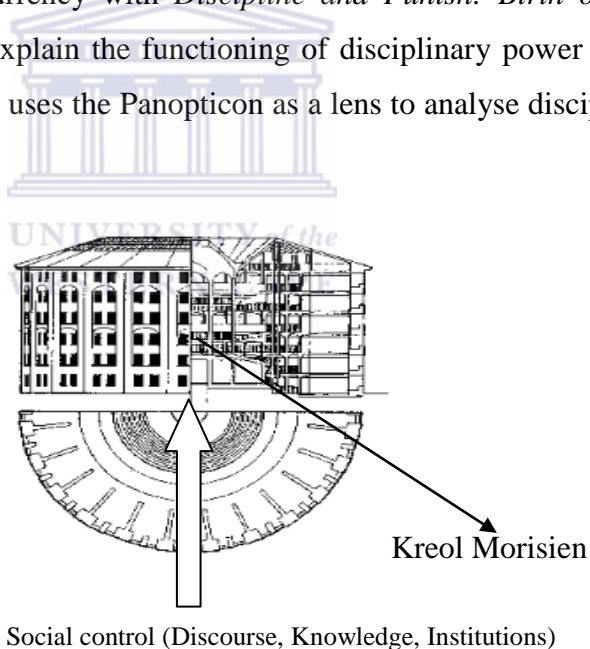
Figure5. Bentham's Panopticon Model adapted from Bentham's letters (1995)

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[41] The Panopticon was proposed as a model prison by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), a Utilitarian philosopher and theorist of British legal reform. The Panopticon ("all-seeing") functioned as a round-the-clock surveillance machine. The prison is a ring of cells encircling a watch-tower, from within which a single supervisor is able to see inside each cell. The inmates in the cells would begin to behave as though they were being watched all of the time, ultimately removing the need for any kind of external supervising presence whatsoever. The watch-tower becomes then the deterrent and inmates internalized this outside gaze even if it is absent. (See Figure 5)

The above figure shows the Panopticon model and I have adapted it to illustrate how social control was exercised and is still being exercised upon KM. Social control is exercised by the State dominant discourse, knowledge constructed and institutions. I would say that people internalised the negative discourse against KM which was maintained through social control which I have represented here as the State, school, knowledge and institutions. The Panopticon model has some similarities with the concept of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) in terms of the conceptualisation of power in society which I discussed earlier. To stay with the metaphor of the Panopticon model, I would say that when the 'prisoners' in the cells acquired critical consciousness (Freire, 1967) and understood that watch-tower guard was no longer there, they were ready to challenge the rules and reverse the order.

In the same line of thought, Foucault (1975) refers to the ' *micro-physique du pouvoir*' ('micro physics of power') where he does not examine power as only at the level of State politics or big enterprise and media, but as 'power relations' at the level of individuals, institutions or small groups. These micro-powers are, for instance, visible through the elaboration of rules in a prison, the management of a hospital, or the social control which is exerted on sexual behaviours. Foucault (1976) thinks that deciphering micro-powers help to bring in the open air reflections on macro-powers and not the reverse. While my analysis of the Gramscian concept of cultural hegemony earlier showed the Creole identity movement as counter-cultural hegemony, I would say now that it was also a form of micro-power which has been exerted as a reverse social control to counter the prevailing cultural hegemony. There was a reverse situation where it was the micro-powers which shaped gradually the macro-powers in the process of introducing KM. The Creole movement presented itself explicitly as a *dynameis*, a Greek term that means "powers" but I would use the translation "acts of power" which I take from Horsely (2011: 3). In other words, the State and the established social and cultural order were no longer at the helms of social control. This social control was in fact a control over knowledge and I would like to bring here the concept of 'subjugated knowledge' which might rightly describe how the 'micro-powers' unearth knowledge buried under dominant discourse. Foucault (1972) defines 'subjugated knowledges' as follows:

> By subjugated knowledges, I mean […] I am referring to the historical contents that have been buried and disguised in a functionalist coherence or formal systemitisation. […] which criticism- which obviously draws upon scholarship –has been able to reveal. (p. 130)

Subjugated knowledge conveys the idea of repression and domination. It is true knowledge which has been concealed and repressed. In the light of the discussion in Chapter 2, I would say that KM has been a subjugated knowledge. Foucault (1972) considers then that the work of the scholar is to conduct an 'archaeology of knowledge'. Just as archaeologist looks for, collects and examine the minute details in relation to the whole excavation site to make sense of what sh(e) is researching, the archaeology of knowledge is a methodological approach to understand the past and make sense of the present. It consists of exploring the 'specific and determinate historical conditions that form the grounds on which discourses are created and regulated to define a specific field of knowledge (Barker, 2004:7). The aim of conducting an archeological work around knowledge is to understand how this knowledge has been formed, and who or what created and regulated that knowledge.

Foucault (1972) uses 'genealogy of knowledge' as a pairing concept in 'archaeology and genealogy of knowledge'. By 'genealogy' we examine the evolution of the concept which has experienced various continuities and discontinuities. I used the archaeology and genealogy of knowledge as a methodical tool in Chapter 2, not just to look at social construction of knowledge of KM and its socio-historical evolution, but to examine how social control was exercised upon knowledge, and ultimately to ground my study in a philosophical basis. This brings me then to my third post structuralist theorist, namely Bourdieu. I will discuss two key of Bourdieu's concepts, namely cultural capital, habitus and symbolic violence which are used as analytical lenses in postcolonial studies.

4.4.4.. Cultural capital and Habitus

Bourdieu took the concept of capital which is originally applied to the study of economics and theorized that other kinds of capital are also distributed unevenly among individuals in society or social space (Bourdieu 1989:14 and 2013). These kinds of capital are social and cultural capital.

Social capital is the social connections an individual utilizes when needed. Cultural capital can be defined as the cultural assets of an individual or a group acquired mainly through education. Barker (2004) gives an elaborated definition upon which I will base myself to further my discussion:

> […] cultural capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange that includes the accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status. For example, education and/or the ability to talk knowledgeably about high culture has traditionally been a form of cultural capital associated with the middle classes. Cultural capital is distinguished from economic capital (wealth) and social capital (whom you know). Here distinctions of cultural taste are understood to be classifications based on lines of power rather than being founded on either universal aesthetic criteria or individual choice. Thus taste differentiation is never simply about differences that are of equal standing but rather entails claims to authority and authenticity. (Barker, 2004: 37)

Cultural capital is located 'within a system of exchange'. Bourdieu (1984) uses the term 'field' or 'market' and I would extend the metaphor by saying that cultural capital is an asset which is brokered on the stock exchange of social relations. It is the 'accumulated cultural knowledge' which comes from education, family set up and social environment. It is a form of social prestige, conferring 'power and status' to those who possess it. Associated with are 'distinctions of cultural taste', which according to Bourdieu (1984), are not based on 'universal aesthetic criteria or individual choice' but should be rather understood as forms of power. So, somebody 'within a system of exchange', only those who have 'accumulated cultural knowledge' can claim to have a high or refined cultural taste. We can therefore imagine that for the disenfranchised, they are socially disadavantaged, as compared to the ones who have cultural capital. Their social capital would be also low, with poor ability to use their connections.

In the context of this study, the notion of cultural capital highlights the marginalized position of the Creole children in society. It is not that the Creole community does not possess culture but its culture and language are not listed on the social 'stock exchange'. Only 'knowledge' recognized and legitimized by the established culture would be considered as an 'accumulated knowledge', together with English and French as 'cultural capital'. For post colonial studies, it entails to reveal the power relations embedded in cultural capital. Therefore, there is a class dimension and class antagonism which comes into play with culture.

Interconnected with the different kinds of capital and particularly, cultural capital, is the concept of habitus (Bourdieu, 1980). Drawing on Bourdieu (1980) and comments of Crossley (2005), I would define habitus as a natural and modifiable disposition which one acquires, develops and reproduces, linked to one's upbringing within a particular milieu. But to get a better grasp of the meaning of habitus I have referred to the original version of *Le sens pratique* (Bourdieu, 1980)/ In the definition of *The theory of practice* (Bourdieu, 1980) by Bourdieu, I have identified five key terms or expressions which I take from his own words namely, (i) associated conditionings ('*conditionnements associés*), (ii) durable and transposable system dispositions (*des systèmes de dispositions durables et transposables*), (iii) predisposed structured structures (*structures structurées predisposés*), (iv) generating and organising principles of practices and representations (*principes générateurs et organisateurs de pratiques et de représentations*), and (v) in total (controlled) liberty (*en toute liberté (contrôlée)*). I discuss them in turn in the following paragraphs.

First, 'associated conditionings' ('*conditionnements associés*) refer to a number of factors which condition circumstances in one's life and which are associated with one's class that produces 'habitus'. Examining the concept of 'habitus' from a social behaviour angle, Lizardo (2004) observes that 'habitus' is the product of the environmental conditions that a person encounters in her/ his ontogenetic development. The person learns and gets accustomed to the 'rules of game' (Bourdieu, 1989) in different social fields. This implies that 'habitus' exists for all human beings irrespective of social classes, but in the Bourdieurean sense it carries a socially loaded meaning that is the 'associated conditionings' of a bourgeois class creates, and ultimately the conditions for a high level habitus 'within the exchange of social relations' as I have indicated earlier.

Second, Crossley (2005) observes that Bourdieu was not the first to use the term 'habitus'. He refers to a German sociologist, Max Weber (1864-1920), a French sociologist, Marcel Mauss (1872-1950) and a French philosopher of phenomenology, Maurice Merleau-Monty (1908-1961) who used this term in the sense of 'acquired disposition or habit' as it means in the Latin etymology. The word 'habitus' itself is a translation of the Greek concept 'hexis' which means

disposition, which is central to Aristotle's discussion of ethics in moral psychology. The habitus /disposition has, therefore, a moral undertone which is linked to the societal demand for self-control. It means that inherent qualities of mind and character are shaped by society's expectations and especially from one's milieu. It is in this sense that Bourdieu speaks of disposition as 'systems' which are 'durable' and 'transposable' (*des systèmes de dispositions durables et transposables*), operating in 'predisposed structured structures' (*structures structurées predisposés*). This implies that people of the same milieu have the same dispositions.

Fourth, habitus is a set of practices which are schemas guiding our practices and the way we represent the world. It generates and it organizes these practices.   Hence Bourdieu refers to the principles of generating and organising practices and representations' (*principes générateurs et organisateurs de pratiques et de représentations*).

Fifth, the element of '(controlled) liberty' has been the subject of debate in the field of sociology (Crossley, 2005: Lizardo, 2004) in terms of whether habitus is collectivist or individualist. The debate alludes to the degree of agency of the individual. But for Bourdieu (1980) habitus is a liberty on parole in a certain way as it has the capacity to produce […] ideas, perceptions, expressions, and actions by the conditions which are historically and socially located. Thus he perceives habitus as 'in total (controlled) liberty' (*en toute liberté (contrôlée)*).

With regard to my research, the concept of habitus is central to my understanding of the teaching of KM at school in terms of character formation in society. The school is one of the places where habitus is shaped. The curriculum, textbook and the teacher-pupil interactions are areas which condition the habitus of the child. In Chapter 7, I will discuss the type of habitus which KM creates amongst Creole children. This habitus will also be examined in the light of the dominant habitus. It is important to find out if it is a habitus which values the culture and identity of the child. Otherwise, the school can be a place of symbolic violence whose impact Bourdieu & Waquant (1972) assess as follows:

Symbolic instruments are not simply instruments of knowledge, they are also instruments of domination (ideologies in Marx's lexicon and theodicies in Weber's). As operators of cognitive integration they promote, by their very logic the social integration of an arbitrary order: " The conservation of the social

order is decisively reinforced by…the orchestration of categories of perception of the social world which, being adjusted to the divisions of the established order (and, therefore to the interests of those who dominate it) and common to all minds structured in accordance with these structures, impose themselves with all appearances of objective necessity" (Bourdieu, 1984a; 471, translation modified; see also 1971b in Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992).

In light of the above quote, it can be said that school is a symbolic instrument and an operator of cognitive integration. As an agent of socialization (Freire, 1967; Illich, 1971; McLaughlin, 1996), school works for 'social integration of an arbitrary order'. As such, it is an instrument of domination. My research work investigates how the 'categories of perception' are organized in school and how they relate with the 'established order'. This means that in spite of the introduction of KM in school, it suffices not to have the language recognized, but to find out if the school is not imposing 'divisions of the established order (and, therefore interests of those who dominate it) […] with appearance of objective necessity'.

Examining the plea for an extended use of indigenous languages, Stroud (2003) observes that the rationale is 'to provide a gateway to other economic, cultural, social resources, control over linguistic resources is indirectly also control over economic, social advancement in general' (p.15). In this study, the aim is to explore whether the Mauritian school could be a 'gateway' through KM for pupils to have access to economic, cultural and social resources. Stroud (2003) lays emphasis on the fact that the best 'gateway' is through the indigenous language and not a foreign language. He applies here the concept of 'legitimate language' to local languages (Bourdieu 1977). Legitimate language is defined by Bourdieu (1977) as the language which is uttered by a legitimate speaker. Stroud (2003) states that education has the capacity to construct a 'legitimate discourse' around indigenous languages in three ways: first, there is the 'authenticity' of indigenous languages. This means that only these languages can really express the cultural roots of the people and articulate individual and social identities of their speakers. Second, it is a question of 'ownership' where learners feel that they are inheritors of a language which has been passed down to them through several generations. This 'ownership' should also be shared by the community where parents participate and support the indigenous language programme. Third, it is the 'relevance' of the language as it is used in everyday lives of the learner and its use in education bridges the gap between school and home.

This study seeks to understand the extent to which the teaching of KM is built around a 'legitimate discourse' and whether it is being applied in the school context. However, Bourdieu & Waquant (1992) are of the view that 'if we grant that symbolic systems are social products that contribute to making the world, that they do not simply mirror social relations but help constitute them, then, one can within limits transform the world by transforming its representations (Bourdieu, 1980g, 1981a in Bourdieu & Waquant, 1992: 32). Indeed, I think a critical ethnographer is in a position to work on the transformation of these 'representations' by developing critical praxis. It is for this reason that I also locate my research into subaltern studies (see coming section). I consider the subaltern studies allow me to examine the whole issue of KM not as detached researcher but where I am fully involved in the socio-historical processes which led to the introduction of KM as an optional subject.

4.4.5. The Small Voice of History

The Subaltern Studies group was formed in 1979-80 under the tutelage of Ranajit Guha, who is a historian of South Asia, at the University of Sussex in England. The group started as a revisionist historiography of peasant movements in colonial India. It revisited the role of peasants' movements in the struggle for the independence of India and gave voice to those who are invisible in the established historiography. Guha (1981) considers that the history of India is dominated by narratives of colonial elitism (meaning British writers) and bourgeois-elitist nationalism (Indian historians). He is of the view that both 'share the prejudice that the making of the Indian nation and the development of the consciousness—nationalism—which informed this process were exclusively or predominantly elite achievements' (Guha: 37). It is within this perspective that "History from below" School was initiated by the British historian, Christopher Hill (1912-2003), the British writer, socialist and peace campaigner, Edward Palmer Thomson (1924-1993), Eric Hobsbawn (1917-2012) who was British historian of the rise of capitalism, socialism and nationalism, and British historian George Rude (1910-1993) who was a specialist of the French Revolution.

'History from below' is a term first coined by E.P Thomson in an essay published in *Times Literary Supplement* (1966). At first it was mainly the history of the making of the English

working class (Thomson, 1968) but it gradually became a term used as methodological approach in historical narrative in postcolonial studies to narrate history from the point of view of the common people and not from the elite's. It is the 'small voice of history' (Guha, 1999) or the 'historyless, the anonymous people, who in their collective acts, their work, daily lives and fellowship have forged our society through the centuries' (Bhatacharya, 1983).

This alternative approach to history resonates with the intellectual work done by the Kreol identity affirmation movement which I identified as one element of rupture in KM in Chapter 2. In fact, this movement developed a Kreol narrative of 'History from below' which I would identify in publications on the rewriting of the history of the Creole community (Romaine, 2007l 2006; Harmon, 2008) or through songs by artists like Zanzak Arjoon with his song 'Morn'iman Rezistans'[42] (2005) and the Cassiya Group with their famous title song 'Le Morne'[43]. This 'History from below' narrative developed into a counter-discourse against the colonial historiography of the abolition of slavery. While official speeches and dominant discourse have narrated the history of the AfroKreol group in the light of the Abolition of slavery Act granted by the British Governor William Nicolay on 1st February 1835, the Kreol narrative presented the history of the Creole community at large as a history of resilience represented, first, by the maroon ancestors which are the iconic heroes of the community and second, the contribution of the Creoles in the socio-economic development of contemporary Mauritius as a main constituent of the working class group. I think there are two central elements in the 'subaltern history' of the Creoles in contemporary Mauritius.

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[42] In 2005, Jean Jacques Arjoon (Zanzak, his artist's name) produced a sega song album called 'Metis Maron' (Metiszo Maroon). One of his songs, 'Morn'iman Rezistans' is a narrative of resistance of the maroon slaves. With the mountain's name 'Morne', he creates a pun which carries the meaning Morne (Morn') monument (*moniman* in Kreol) of resistance.

[43] Founded in 1988, the Cassiya Group is one of the most popular sega music groups. In the mid-1990s they became most popular with their hit song 'Le Morne' whose lyrics were written by the poet and novelist Sedley Assonne.

The first element is represented by the struggle for the inscription of Le Morne Natural Landscape[44] as UNESCO World Heritage Site by Kreol organizations and the second one is the struggle for the introduction of KM in school. In her research work on the Kreol struggle for Le Morne, Carmignani (2011) examines the relationship between identity claims around notion of memory and heritage in the history of maroon slavery and the fragmented and ethnicised cultural policy in Mauritius. She observes that the struggle of the Kreol organizations for the protection and official recognition of Le Morne should be located into a wider history of struggle for the legitimacy and political visibility of the Creole population, considered as the biggest minority of the island, but also the most discriminated'[45] (Carmignani, 2011: 6, *my translation*). The second element of the 'subaltern history' is the struggle for the introduction of KM to which I think Carmignani's (2011) observation would also be applicable. Therefore, using the subaltern lens is relevant to my research work and I also justify its use on the basis of the meaning ascribed to 'subaltern' by the subaltern theorists.

The Subaltern Studies group drew its theoretical apparatuses mainly by reworking the concept of 'subaltern' used by Gramsci (1971). In the context of Southern Italy which was marked by a vibrant peasantry active in rebellions, Gramsci criticized the notion of the incapability of the peasantry to revolt, expressed in the Marxist epithet 'sack of potatoes' promoted by the European Marxist orthodox theory. For Chatterjee (2012) Gramsci suggested that the subaltern consciousness of the peasantry, immersed in traditional religion and popular culture, should be nurtured by organic intellectuals to unleash the revolutionary potential in them. Before I come to how the subaltern theorists deploy the concept of 'subaltern' in their conceptualization of

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[44] In 2008, Le Morne Natural Landscape was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. 'Le Morne Cultural Landscape, a rugged mountain that juts into the Indian Ocean in the southwest of Mauritius was used as a shelter by runaway slaves, maroons, through the 18th and early years of the 19th centuries. Protected by the mountain's isolated, wooded and almost inaccessible cliffs, the escaped slaves formed small settlements in the caves and on the summit of Le Morne'(http://www. whc.unesco.org/enlist/ 1259).

[45] Original version in French : 'La lutte des organisations créoles pour la protection et la reconnaissance officielle du Morne s'inscrit dans une histoire plus large de lutte pour la légitimité et la visibilité politique de la population créole, considérée comme étant la plus grande minorité de l'île, mais aussi la plus discriminée'. (Carmignani, 2011 : 6)

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postcolonial issues, I would like to examine the four characteristics of the subaltern group as described by Gramsci in his *Prison Notebooks*.

First, Gramsci (1971) refers to the 'subaltern group as 'classes which are not unified and cannot unite until they are able to become a "State'' (p.52), i.e. becoming the hegemonic and ruling class. Gramsci (1971) states that their 'history is intertwined with the civil society and thereby with the history of states and groups of states.' Second, taking the example of the Risogimento in Italy, he states that the subaltern class can make use of 'innovatory forces', moving from subaltern to hegemonic status and that it is important to examine how they 'acquired autonomy vis-à-vis the enemy they had to defeat' and the 'support from groups which actively or passively assisted them' (p.53). Third, the history of the subaltern groups is 'necessarily fragmented and episodic' (p.54). Finally, 'in reality when they appear triumphant, the subaltern groups are merely anxious to defend themselves' (p.55).

These four characteristics of the subaltern group mirror the situation of the Creole community. First, like the Gramscian subaltern classes, Creoles are not ruling classes of the State and they are a heterogeneous group[46] . Second, the introduction of KM in school has been a struggle spearheaded by the Kreol identity movement and 'innovatory forces' have been used which I described as the Creole lobbying for the General Elections of May 2010 (cf. Chaper 2). Third, Creoles represent a heterogeneous group with a high level of miscegenation (mixed racial groups) and their history is 'fragmented and episodic'. But the Creole narrative around Le Morne Natural landscape and the discourse of resilience of the community (Harmon &

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[46] cf. Boswell's (2006) description of Creoles of Mauritius and class differentiation among the 'Black Creoles' in chapter 1. I also brought in my discussion in chapter 2 the use of the term 'AfroKreols' by the linguist and cultural militant Virahsawmy. The latter justifies this designation to distinguish those who are in favour of KM and consider it as a language of emancipation for the Creoles as distinct from the EuroCreoles who are in favour of French. Another disputed term is 'slave descents' used especially by Les Verts Fraternels, the organization which militated for the setting up of the Truth and Justice Commission (2009). The term 'slave descents' has been recently contested by Filip Fanchette (a Creole catholic priest), the Chairperson of the Nelson Mandela Centre for African and Creole Culture. In a reflective paper published in the catholic weekly (*La Vie Catholique*) , he argued that it is disempowering to refer to the Creoles as slave descents as slavery has been a status imposed by the slave masters. (Fanchette, 2014, September, 5-11) He wrote that we should rather refer to the Creoles as people of African and Malagasy descents whose ancestors were victims of slavery.

Desveaux, 2013) plus KM as the language which the maroons bequeathed to all Mauritians could be interpreted as attempts at reconstructing the 'fragmented and episodic history' of the Creoles. Finally, the inscription of Le Morne on the World Heritage List and the introduction of KM as an optional language which should be looked at as a victory of the Kreol struggle might not be so 'triumphant' or be regarded as a Pyrrhic victory for the Creoles. This is because at the end of the day more non Creole teachers than Creoles have been recruited and the curriculum and syllabus fall under the responsibility of the Mauritius Institute of Education, which like all public institutions have very few Creoles working there (APRM Report, 2013).

Both Le Morne and KM seem to have been symbols taken over by the government and dispossessing the Creoles of their symbol of resistance. Having said that, it is interesting to note that the Gramscian term 'subaltern group' is appropriate for the subaltern theorists because it describes well the situation of 'these small voices which are drowned in the noise of statist commands'. But subaltern theorists posit the concrete postcolonial context against the Western normative theory (Chatterjee, 2007) meaning that claims that we usually make with key established concepts are unwarranted for the post colonial societies as they are eurocentrist theories. I will discuss three concepts namely hegemony, civil society and citizenship which are contested by subaltern theorists. Paradoxically, I use the concept of hegemony (discussed earlier) in my theoretical framework but within the subaltern theories this concept is contested. How do I reconcile therefore this contradiction? How can I construct my theoretical framework with theories which are contested by other theories within the same framework? Within the same theoretical framework I use concepts which contested by I which are useful to my research context but which are at the same time deconstructed by subaltern theorists. This is justifiable because as I said right at the beginning my theoretical framework is set within the intellectual tradition of critical theory. In fact, Ty (2007) has elaborated a typology of critical theories where he classifies the theories into North Critical Theories and South Critical Theories. The researcher categorises classical Marxism and structural Marxism into North Critical Theories and the subaltern studies fall under South Critical Theories. In the coming section, I discuss how subaltern studies de-unversalize the Northern theories

4.4.6. De-universalizing theories

4.4.6.1. Hegemony

In his provocative title *Gramsci is Dead*, Day (2005) considers that we should move away from
the 'exclusive focus on hegemonic change via the state form' (p.176) to bring positive change in
society, but we should imagine and implement 'modes of social organization which rely upon an
amoral, post modern ethics of shared commitment based upon affinity' (p.176). So, when I use
the concept of hegemony as a lens to interpret my findings, I have taken into account the
particular context and experience of Mauritius and looked at the language issue from an
'affinity' angle, instead of 'hegemonic power'. Similarly, subaltern theorists call into question
two other notions of from the North namely, civil society and citizenship into which are casted
issues of language and identity construction. The major illustration of this critical outlook on
Western normative theory comes from Ranajit Guha (1998). He disagrees with the conception of
'hegemony' as developed by Gramsci because he considers that it best describes the transformed
historical circumstances of late capitalist modernity in Europe. Guha (1998) argues that Western
bourgeoisie, particularly in England and France through the revolutions of 17th and 18th centuries
respectively, mobilized the proletariat and peasantry in order to successfully challenge the power
of the feudal aristocracy. But in the case of India, the post-colonial bourgeoisie attained
dominance without hegemony insofar as the nationalist elites represented by the Congress Party
were unable to constitute a shared national identity and culture. Thus, Guha's (1998) aim is to
suggest that there may be an interplay of 'the universal and the contingent' (p.65), there are also
limitations of universalizing the Western experience to the rest of the world in general, and in
India, in particular. It is for this reason that he uses the term 'spurious hegemony' (Guha, 1998:
72) and remarks that 'colonialism is itself the failure of its universalizing project' (Guha, 1998:
63). Even if I demonstrated earlier that the classical Marxist lens and the structuralist lens with
the Gramscian concept of hegemony are applicable to the Mauritian context, I tend to agree with
the subaltern theorists to say that the 'general configuration of power' (Guha, 1998: 20) is
different in a post-colonial state. For Ashcrot et al. (1998) the question of class in colonial
societies is further complicated by cultural particularities. In fact, the class analysis makes

abstraction of the fact that class composition overlaps with ethnicity in post-colonial state. People may not always act upon class solidarity.

In the case of KM , for instance, we observe that there is no class solidarity between the Creole and the Hindu working class or peasantry in favour of KM or Bhojpuri. This is because the sense of ethnic belonging is stronger than class solidarity.

4.4.6.2. Civil society

The term 'civil society' is widely used today and I take the definition of the World Bank as a point of departure to discuss the subaltern's view point:

> The term civil society refers to the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) therefore refer to a wide of array of organizations: community groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations. (http://worldbank.org)

Based upon the above definition, I would say that even if there is no consensus in social sciences as to the theoretical and empirical separation of political, economic and social relation (Abercrombie et al., 2006), it is generally understood that 'civil society' comprises all those actors 'that have a presence in public life' and who can express 'the interest and values of their members or others', based on a certain set of considerations such as ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations which guide our action. Koelbe and Lipuma (2008) calls for 'a more nuanced understanding and use of the term 'civil society' in postcolonial spaces because the term presupposes a division between the private and public realms' (p.25).

For Chatterjee (1997), 'civil society' is a conceptual infrastructure of Western normative theory and is identified as a domain for the expansion and realization of rights and freedom. It is especially seen as a domain wherein the distribution, exercise and control of power are democratically contested (Nonan-Ferrell 2004). Sarkar (2012), using the post-colonial theory to analyse democracy in India, for instance, states that with these two domains taken together, civil society is an integral part of democracy and a placeholder of institutions. In this way, we would

not say that the introduction of KM has been the end result of a profound expression of the civil society in the sense that 'civil society' is understood in the Western normative theory. But it has been the aspiration of subaltern group for recognition which was competing for symbolic power. Chatterjee (1998) claims that civil society presupposes the existence of a 'citizen'. In the coming section, I discuss third eurocentrist concept which is contested by subaltern theories.

4.4.6.3. Citizenship

This presupposition is based on the assumption of 'erasure of difference in favour of formal equality and freedom' (p.25). Therefore, the concept of civil society persuades us to view the citizen as severed of all primordial ties which, according to Chatterjee (2004), is a product of Western humanism and secularism. Citizens are thus rendered homogeneous before the state, and as such as a nation. According to Kymlicka (2007) 'older models of assimilationist and homogenizing nation- states are increasingly being contested, and often displaced, by newer 'multicultural' models of the state and of citizenship' (p.3). He also explains how Western theorists have operated with an idealized model of politics and citizenship:

> Yet most Western political theorists have operated with an idealized model of the polis in which fellow citizens share a common descent, language, and culture. Even when the theorists themselves lived in a polyglot empires that governed numerous ethnic and linguistic groups, they have written as if the culturally homogeneous city-states of Ancient Greece provided the essential or standard model of a political community. (p.2)

I would tend to say that this 'idealized model of the polis' is the cognitive schema that we have all internalized through a Eurocentrist education of democracy. Here, Chatterjee (2004) argues that only a handful of the 'elites' in post-colonial countries can meet such a criterion of citizenship. These elites are a product of modernity (Chatterjee, 1994) that has been inherited from colonialism and can simply afford to ignore or avoid their primordial identities. Hence, the scope of the concept of civil society is restrictive. Historically, this conceptualization of the civil society as a uniform model comes from the Enlightenment theorists such as the Marquis de Condorcet who believed in a universal language and ethnocultural identities which would

gradually lose their political importance, replaced by a more cosmopolitan identity (Kymlicka, 2001).

This normative theoretical position is thus problematic because the concept of 'community', which provides meaning to most of the people in postcolonial countries, is suppressed and relegated to the pre-modern historical time (Chatterjee 1993, 1998, 2004). I highlighted the importance of community belonging with its adverse effect of ethnic politics and communalism in Mauritius in Chapter 1). This situation often gives rise to debates on the need to refer to all Mauritians as 'citizens' and not by their 'ethnic' or 'community' belonging by opinion leaders or activists driven by the 'citizen' ideology. In the same instance, the blurred line between politics and religion is often criticized, especially with regard to the regular practice of politicians attending religious activities where they make official addresses.

In Mauritius, a debate on secularism came twice in the National Assembly following a motion of Honourable Ms N. Deerpalsing, Member of Parliament of the majority side to 'amend the constitution to insert the word "secular" where appropriate so that the secular nature of the Republic of Mauritius be acknowledged' (Parliamentary Question, B/348, 2012, June, 26, see excerpts of Debates at Appendix 10.). The motion came again in 2013 and Honourable Mr S. Obeegadoo, Member of Parliament of the Opposition, made a counter proposal that the government introduces a 'legislation to prohibit political personalities making public speeches at religious functions and ceremonies' (Hansard, Fifth National Assembly, June 2013, June 18, see excerpts of debates at Appendix 11). The debate showed diverse opinions not only between the majority and the opposition, but within each side there was no consensus. As a result, the motion was not put to vote but it led to an interesting debate for discourse analysis with the subaltern lens. However, this debate does not fall under the purview of my research. So, when I look at KM as a language of ethnic and national identities, the concept of citizenship in terms of the Western normative theory crops up. It is at this level that the tension exists between KM claimed by the Creoles 'community' as the language of ancestral value and the 'citizen' discourse which can only see KM as the language of all citizens but not both.

Just as with the secular debate in the National Assembly, we can understand then that the legitimacy of the claim for official recognition of KM from a citizenship world view and as a dominant discourse can only be based on the recognition of the claimers as 'citizens', and not as 'community members'. This might explain the embarrassment that the government felt when it had to manage its public discourse after the introduction of KM as an optional language. While it was a claim pushed mainly by the Creole identity movement which finally forced the government to take this policy decision, at the same time, in terms of day to day politics the government could not openly refer to KM through their claimers because it is politically more correct to present KM as a citizenship issue rather than a community issue. But for Chatterjee (2004), the term 'political society' is more appropriate for postcolonial societies, instead of 'civil society'. He considers that countries like India are marked by marginalization and have a history of ethnic groups with experiences of strenuous relations so that people do not relate with the State as citizens, but as members of different communities or as subjects to 'governmentality'. Public life is, therefore, dominated by a 'politics of the governed' which means 'a constant negotiation of social arrangements between political society and the state; a project of popular democracy through everyday life struggles' (Chatterjee, 2004: 50). Similarly, referring to Timor-Leste as a case study of multi-ethnic states, Kingsbury (2012) observes:

> Postcolonial states in particular tend to exhibit vertical or regionally based group tendencies when they are constructed from multiple preexisting ethnicities (as the overwhelming majority have been). That is, ethnic groups that existed prior to the colonial interlude […] often found themselves joined in colonial entities that transformed, in the postcolonial era, as multiethnic states (Kingsbury, 2012: 15).

Mauritius can be characterised as a 'multi-ethnic state' and ethnic relations between its members have historically shaped their existence and evolution. So, a citizenship policy which brackets ethnicity or community might not make sense in the long run for the country. However, for Sarkar (2012), by foregrounding communal being (and identity), Chatterjee (2004) differentiates 'community' from civil society in an ontological way, that is, a way of life based on a shared kinship rather than a contractual and formal associational life in civil society. But for Kymlicka (1995), minority rights cannot be subsumed into human rights and he talks of 'polyethnic rights' which are 'group specific measures intended to help ethnic groups and ethnic minorities express

their cultural particularity and pride without it hampering their success in the economic and political institutions of their dominant society' (p.18). Therefore, the claim of the Creoles to KM could be regarded a 'polyethnic right'. But it must be reckoned that at the level of policymakers this becomes complex at the level of political governance because as a postcolonial democracy, we are still locked into the nationhood definition which is another Western normative theory.

According to Keating (2004), there is no universal model for nationhood as 'nation is a sociological concept based upon a community which while constructed, represents a reality based on social institutions and practice' (p.25). This means that the concept of nation has to be revisited and contextualized. For Anderson (1991), language is a key mediator of nationhood as it is the medium through which people communicate and perceive themselves as having a common interest or identity. But postcolonial studies show that the conceptualization of nation with one language no longer holds water as we enter a world of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000) which is characterized more and more by 'mobility', 'inconstancy', 'fluidity' and 'liquidity'. The post colonial literature provides a rich corpus to verify these above concepts. Writers often come to grips with the different issues which scholars encapsulate in concepts. In the coming section I examine how post colonial literature addresses issues of language and identity construction and nation building.

4.4.7. Post colonial Literature and Language Identity Construction

For Bhabha (1994) 'the study of literature might be the study of the way in which cultures recognize themselves through their projections of 'otherness''. (p.17). Drawing upon the Adorno's aesthetic theory (Adorno, 1997), the intellectual tradition of critical theory posits that art positions itself within the context society and it thus has a social function.

Chakrabarty (2007) states that the Western concepts and normative theories should be 'provincialized' (Chakrabarty, 2007). By provincializing, he means that it is obvious that we cannot dispense ourselves of all the Western heritage because there are some elements which are universal and have been major contributions into the advancement of the world. Nonetheless the Eurocentric model should not be taken as applicable to all contexts as it has its limits. It is only

an awareness of this tension between the post colonial and the West that can really help to engage full decolonisation. Language is one of the spheres where decolonisation can lead to decolonisation of the mind. It requires that recognition and legitimacy are granted to one's mother tongue.

The contemporary Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o who has stopped writing in English declares in a written Statement which is placed before the introduction to his book, *Decolonising the Mind*:

> In 1977, I published 'Petals of Blood' and said farewell to English language as a vehicle of my writing of plays, novels and short stories. All my subsequent writings have been written directly in Gikuyu language. 'Decolonising the Mind' is my farewell to English as a vehicle for any of my writings/ from now on, it is Gikuyu and Kiswahili all the way. […] The call for the rediscovery and the resumption of our language is a call for a regenerative reconnection with […] the real language of humankind. (wa Thiong'o, 1981: xiii).

The author considers that language is a 'vehicle' and for him after having used English for a certain period as the carrier of his writings, the time had come for him to use his own languages namely, Gikuyu and Kishwahili. The shift to the African languages comes is a 'call regenerative reconnection with [...] the real language of humankind'. This statement demonstrates how his mother tongue leads him to new life, implying that his use of English might have been a colonial damage.

Assessing the psychological harm caused by colonialism, Fanon (1967) writes that colonialism has led to a 'mummification of individual thinking' (p.25). In fact, for Wa Thiong'o (1981) this reconnection to his language leads him to 'the real language of human kind' that is the language in which one expresses one's inner thought and feelings. This echoes the Bourdieurean concept of 'legitimate language' which I have just discussed in the previous section. Wa Thiong'o (1981) further observes that there is a link between language and culture, language and personal identity:

> Language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature; the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world. How people perceive themselves affects how they look at their culture, at their politics and at the –social production of wealth, at their entire.

relationship to nature and to other beings. Language is thus inseparable from ourselves as a community of human beings with a specific form and character, a specific history, a specific relationship to the world. (Wa Thiong'o, 1981: xiv)

This reflection enlightens the struggle to introduce KM in school. Identification with KM is the deep expression of the Kreol culture. It also means that language is a core element of one's identity as an individual as it represents one's uniqueness as a human being in terms of one's character, personal history and the way we relate to the world. For wa Thiong'o (1981), 'the capacity to speak, language as organized sounds to express meaning, is universal to all humans, yet it does not express itself in its universality but in its particularity as specific languages spoken by different peoples' (p.135). But unlike Ngũgĩ, few post colonial writers have an unambiguous position on the native languages. In fact, there are contradictory positions towards the local language since the early writers or contemporary ones use English.

Fanon (1967) whose first chapter of *Black Skin White Masks* starts with 'The Negro and Language' might be mistakenly taken as a position in favour of mother-tongue. In fact, Fanon (1967) just states that 'to speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization' (p.8), but he does not make a plea for the native language. For Dacy (1984) this position of Fanon can be understood in the sense that for him language is power and in the context of the complex psychological construction of the post colonial, the language of the colonizer should be used as a strategic weapon for 'a man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language. What we are getting to is that the mastery of language affords remarkable power' (Fanon, 1967: 8). This means that we have to account for the strength of the colonial language and the best strategy has been for post colonial writers and the National Liberation Movements in Africa in the wake of independence to keep English, French and Portugese because, as I discussed earlier, they are languages which give their speakers 'remarkable power' if they are well mastered. We can see the same situation depicted by the contemporary Malagasy author, Ravaloson (2010) in his novel *Geotropiques*.

The main character is a novelist but a *sans – papier* (clandestine) who has left his country by travelling on a refugee boat to settle in French Reunion island for a better life states:

> At times I say, I am a writer without official language like we are without papers. This does not stop me neither to live nor to work […]. I write in a language in which my mum did not speak to me, but one in which I have learned to read. (Ravaloson, 2010: 29, my translation)[47]

We can see here the presence of language as a central issue for the writer which looks like an existential issue. The question of in which medium should the author write forms part of the identity dimension. The fact that the writer has to write in the language of the past colonizer shows the difficulty of the post colonial writer to discard that part of the colonial past and the need to cope with the reality (Memmi, 1967). In the same way, we saw in chapter 3 the need for revitalization programmes for indigenous languages to preserve and promote biocultural diversity on one hand, and on the other hand, we observe the linguistic imperialism of English (Mesthrie, 1992; Philipson, 1991;Pennycook, 1994; 1995) which creates potential for agency and is beneficial and neutral (Fernández, 2005). As an international language, Fernández, (2005) observes that English is 'detached from any cultural norm, and its learners do not need to learn native speakers' languages (p.90). South Africa, for example, is an interesting case study for the debate around English.

Devi et al. (2011) examines the case of post-apartheid South Africa where they observe that the growing emphasis on English has triggered an intense debate regarding language. The debate pertains both to the preference for English as the lingua franca in South Africa and to its development as a leading language in South African literature. Parallel to the growing primacy of English, festivals of Afrikaans culture are becoming increasingly popular. The same holds true for the indigenous languages, which are actually profiting from the official 11 Language policy. The researchers observe that multi-language yearbooks such as *Timbila* or *Botsotso*, which, though appealing to a limited circle of readers, enjoy nationwide prestige. These

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[47] Original version (French) : *Parfois je dis, je suis écrivain sans langue officielle comme on est sans papier.* Ça n'empêche ni de vivre ni de travailler […]. J'écris dans une langue qui n'est pas celle avec laquelle me parlait me parlait ma mère, mais dans celle que j'ai apprise en lisant. (Ravaloson, 2010 : 29)

anthologies always include literary works in several indigenous languages. The same trend can be seen in Mauritius, although on a limited scale with bilingual English-KM (Virahsawmy, 2012; Playgrup, 2012) publications. Devi et al. (2011) posit 'a creative dialogue with global realities which appears to offer more potential for future development and evolution' (p.25).

The choice of parents for KM is not necessarily an essentialist choice where we might assume that all parents have chosen KM because they are Creoles, or they consider that KM is linked to their identity. The concept of essentialism helps me to take a distance with the close link that the Kreol affirmation identity movement established between KM and Creole identity. The choice of parents may be motivated by other factors which I will discuss later. This relationship between language and identity is not straightforward or evident and same for all individuals. I would like illustrate this point by referring to Aimé Césaire (1913-2008), founder of the negritude movement, but who has never been a promoter of the Martiniquan Creole. He is rather known for his defense of the use of French, in spite of his progressive position against the 'so-called European civilisation' in his publication *Discourse on Colonialism* (1972: 31). In an interview which he gave, he explained his position for French as follows:

> I have always wanted to *inflect* French. […] my effort to inflect French, to transform it in order to express, let us say, 'this me, this me-negro, this me-creole, this me martinican, this me-antillais". (Césaire, 1978: 15)

This statement of Césaire that French helped him to be 'me-negro, me-creole, me-martinican, mi-antillais' seems to suggest that the link between language and identity should not be seen in essentialist terms. This anti-essentialist outlook on language and identity is portrayed in Mauritian literature, for instance, through the novel *Namasté* written by a Creole writer Marcel Cabon (1912-1972) of Malagasy origin in 1965. Cabon was a writer, chief editor of the demise newspaper, *Advance,* which championed the cause of independence in those days. His novel is the story of Ram who is a newcomer in a remote village situated on the outskirt of the city town of Port Louis. His presence and actions stimulated curiosity and gradually transformed the life of the people by encouraging them to build a baitka (village hall) for meetings and conducting classes in Hindi and Scripture for the village children. *Namasté* was published two years before

independence. Mauritius was ethnically divided between the majority community (Hindus) who voted massively for independence and the minorities (Creole, Muslims and Chinese) who seemingly voted against independence. The title of the novel *Namasté* is a Hindi word, meaning 'good morning' and it symbolized the salutation of a Creole to the Hindu community in the context of ethnic division which led ultimately to ethnic riots in 1967-68. The novel written in French contains various expressions in KM and Bhojpuri.

Cabon is an example of anti-essentialism. In his analysis of 21st century Mauritian literature, Ravi (2009 in Ravi, 2013) observes that there is no 'single grand narrative of cultural mixing' but 'a plurality of narratives relating linguistic attachments, cultural affiliations and national loyalties' (p.24). He gives the examples of *Les Jours Kaya* (2000) by Carl de Souza who uses the political turmoil caused by the 1999 riots following the death of the Rasta singer in jail to interrogate Indo-Mauritian and Creole relations. Of particular interest is *Made in Mauritius* by Amal Seetohul (2012) where the narrative gives voice to a Sino-Mauritian character who grew up in a container on the Champ de Mars, the place where the first independence ceremony was held in 1968. Post colonial studies consider that identities are anti-essentialist but this position gets in conflict with indigeneous studies which I consider is worth mentioning here.

For Devy et al. (2010), the first tension is between postcolonial theory and indigeneity arises from the term postcolonial itself. The term 'post' means that there was a 'past' which existed and this 'past' has been restructured after colonialism. It is therefore highly problematic to refer to indigenous peoples in settler states as "postcolonial" as 'ignores and erases their presence and their colonized condition within the discourse' (Devy et al., 2010). Similarly Devy et al. (2010) observe that 'to proclaim that modernity began with slavery, rather than with the genocide and colonization of indigenous peoples in the America that preceded it, erases indigenous presence' (p.28).

This raises an interesting question with regard to my location of KM into heritage language studies as discussed in Chapter 3 and the use of the post colonial lens. I would say that we must not fall in the trap of 'totalitarian theories' as Foucault (1980) put it when he referred to the

grand narratives in the wake of the European Enlightenment. Post colonial studies do accommodate contradictions given that post colonial countries have experienced different forms of colonialism, and the post-independence period is not the same for all. Post colonial studies acknowledge, for instance, that indigenous communities having an essentialised notion of identity because of their specific situation (Ashcroft, 1998; Bhabha, 1994; Barker, 2004). In the Mauritian context it was necessary for the Creole identity movement to develop an essentialist perspective on KM and identity because of the historical marginalisation of this community. Essentialist identity creates then bonding and self-assertiveness. But this strategic essentialism might need to be reconsidered after KM has been introduced in school. It is not only Creole children who study KM although there is evidently a strong ethnic motivation for choosing KM as it is offered at par with other ethnic languages. Post colonial literature has coined the concept of hybridity which I presented in chapter 1.

Hybridity or the in-between can be seen in the classical novel *The River Between* (Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, 1965). Carry (1996: 90) comments that the hero Waiyaki in the novel is impressed by the Christian leader Joshua although they are staunch opponents. In fact, he has also been at the Christian school of Siriana. His years at Siriana have exposed him to a strong Christian influence, which he seems to have absorbed. This appears later as a source of inner conflict when he becomes the leader of the tribe and member of the Kiama, yet he acknowledges the intrinsic value of the Christian message. Whatever Joshua's failings as a man and a father, he admires him for his tenacity and loyalty to his beliefs. Even if he finds Joshua dogmatic and uncompromising, he envies him. In the sense that he is often confused by the barrage of and he has a great deal of difficulty figuring out where his loyalties lie. Another example comes from the Black Atlantic writer, Caryl Phillips for his autoethnographic essays. Yelin (2012) finds the essays to reveal 'plural selves'. In his essays, Phillips lays 'emphasis on his heterogeneous lineages into which he signals his rejection of categories of belonging – race and nationality most prominent among them, and his resistance to confinement in straitjackets identity (Yelin, 2012: 60). Yelin (2012) is of the view that Phillips constructs an ethnography that takes as a point of departure on the interrogation of identity in general.

The hybridity concept is close to the idea of creolisation (which I discussed in chapter 2) or entanglement (Nutall, 2008) by Caribbean writers like Patrick Chamoiseau, Raphael Confiant, Edouard Glissant and Derek Walcott where racial or ethnic markers are not immutable in space and time. Carribean writers also use the concept of 'rhizome identity' which is the metaphor from botany 'for a root system that spreads across the ground (as in bamboo) rather than downwards, and grows from several points rather than a single tap root' (Ashcroft, 1998: 207).

Summary

In this section, I have introduced my third theoretical lens that underpins my study, namely post-colonialism and subaltern studies. As a preliminary discussion, I defined post-colonialism as a critical theory of post coloniality. It is critical analysis of post colonial societies including both the colonial past, the aftermath and the current situation. I then moved to the three concepts of Foucault.

Discourse is defined as discursive formations which are socially shaped and bounded. I observed that the Kreol identity movement became a dominant discourse and had to develop a counter-discourse which reveals that power is central to discourse. I then brought in the Foucaldian concept of power and micro-powers. His concept demarcates himself from both classical Marxism and structural Marxisms as he does not look at power at the macro-level only. Foucault views power as a set of actions upon actions and it exists only in power relations. Micro-powers are forms of power that are exercised at micro-level and not by the State. In relation to this study, I observed that the Kreol identity movement was a form of micro-power which influenced the macro-power of the State. I discussed the two concepts of Bourdieu namely, cultural capital and habitus.

The concept of habitus is central to my understanding of the teaching of KM at school in terms of character formation in society. The curriculum, textbook and the teacher-pupil interactions are areas which condition the habitus of the child. In my findings I discuss the type of habitus which KM creates amongst Creole children. This habitus is also examined in the light of the dominant habitus. The final section dealt with subaltern studies and post colonial literature as a portrayal of language identity construction issues in society.

I demonstrated how subaltern studies call to question the categories of meaning we use to interpret the world as Eurocentrist normative theories about the world and which according to the subaltern theorists are not applicable to the post colonial societies. In fact, I said that the subaltern studies de-universalise these theories, meaning that they cannot be taken as universal truths or explanation. Some of these normative theories which are contested are Gramscian concept of cultural hegemony, the notion of civil society versus political society and citizen versus community. Gramscian hegemony is contested because the history of the bourgeoisie in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries cannot be paralleled with the situation of the post-colonial bourgeoisie, so we cannot say there was hegemony of a ruling economic class. At the same time, elements of ethnicity overlap with class. I gave the example of Bhojpuri and KM which should have been supported by both Creoles and Hindus but ethnic divisiveness make that these two languages do not win a class dimension support. Subaltern theorists also prefer that subaltern groups work for 'affinity' in society than to scramble for hegemony. The concept of civil society is contested because it leads us to view the citizen as severed of all primordial ties; a product of Western humanism and secularism. Citizens are thus rendered homogeneous before the state and as such as a nation just as with Western humanism and secularism.

The purpose of this chapter was to present a theoretical and conceptual framework. Below I make a recapitulation (Figure 6) of the whole chapter on my theoretical and conceptual framework.

Critical Intellectual Tradition

Theory

as

Puzzle maker versus

Problem solving

Classical Marxism

(Marx & Engels)

Mode of production

Structural Marxism

(Althusser, Gramsci)

Ideological State Apparatuses

Cultural Hegemony

Post colonial / Subaltern lenses

Bourdieu, Foucault, Bhabba, Chatterjee, Kymlicka

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Post colonial literature
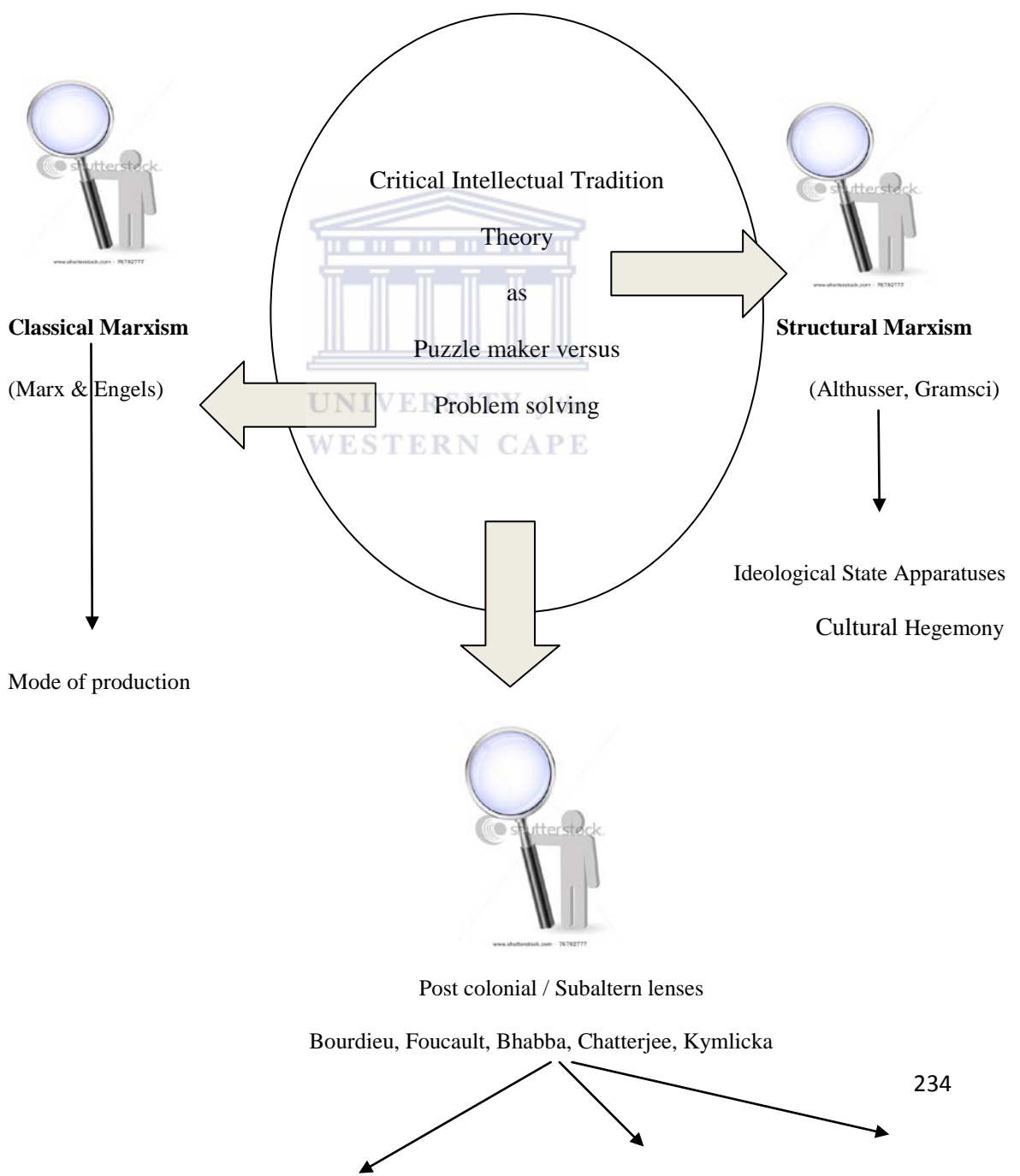
              Post structuralism   French Theories

                        Figure 6. The theoretical / conceptual framework

Figure 6 shows the three lenses that I have used namely classical Marxism, structural Marxism and post colonial / subaltern theories. The upper circle shows that the intellectual tradition of critical thinking has pervaded the construction of the framework. The theoretical framework tries to address the main research question by providing three lenses to examine the findings which I give in chapter 6.

CONCLUSION

This theoretical and conceptual framework defines my identity as a researcher. It speaks to me as a post colonial researcher who is studying language and identity construction. I think this definition of the person of the researcher is essential for two reasons. First, this is a critical ethnography which by its very essence implies the active involvement of the researcher as co-researcher with the participants with the aim to act upon the phenomenon under study. Defining myself as a post colonial researcher gives me a time and space location. I am studying a phenomenon which has a link with the colonial past, aftermath of independence and contemporary period. For this I used contradictory schools of thought which each lens represented to each other. For example, Foucault is not a Marxist and neither the post colonial theorists. But I think this shows the complexity of human issues cannot be approached from one and uniform angle. At the same time it is the concepts which are being used, drawn from different theorists. But there is a common thread with the three lenses in the sense they are theories which can be located within critical theories. This framework leads to find an appropriate methodology which I will present in my next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Methodology is defined as 'a model which entails theoretical principles as well as a framework that provides guidelines about how research is done in the context of a particular paradigm' (Saratankos, 1998: 6). The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodology adopted to research the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education within the Republic of Mauritius. My study focuses primarily upon changes in language practices which have been experienced by learners, teachers, parents and heads of school with the introduction of KM since 2012. The study is located in heritage language and identity construction. While numerous studies in this field have been conducted on changes in language practices under the umbrella term of 'language shift' (Guardaldo, 2010; Oriyama, 2010; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003: Wong and Yang Xiao, 2010), there remain significant questions around politics of recognition (Taylor, 1994), linguistic citizenship (Stroud & Heugh, 2003) and negotiated identities of the individual as opposed to an essentialist view of identity and language (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). This study analyses these issues in the Mauritian context.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the central question of my research is formulated as : what changes in language practices have been experienced with the introduction of KM? My aim is to research the 'changes' that KM brings in with its introduction as an optional language. Linked to the central question, three research questions have been identified to provide the scaffolding for the investigation and the cornerstone for data analysis (Bernard, 2000; Walcott, 1994) as described in the first chapter of this thesis. Are these changes significant? Are they of any relevance to the

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research participants? By 'language practices'(Hornberger & Skilton-Sylsverter, 2003; Pennycook, 2005) I mean the attitudes, behaviours, and social and mental representations of learners and teachers, as well as the power relations inherent in acts of communication among learners, teachers and other agents of communication. Do these changes impact on the Kreol ethnic and national identity? These language practices will be studied at both their micro and macro levels within broader socio-political structures.

This study adopts a qualitative approach and for Merriam (1998), 'questions about process (*why or how something happens*) commonly guide qualitative research, as do questions of understanding (*what happened, what does it mean for those involved)*' (p.7). While quantitative approach involves a large sample of participants, and often addresses the "what" question , the qualitative approach, in contrast, is 'a situated activity that locates the observer in the world and consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.3). As a result, I found it most appropriate to couch this research within the epistemological and ontological framework of critical ethnography. While traditional ethnography observes, describes and interprets behaviour in a cultural setting, critical ethnography positions the researcher as an engaged researcher in the field together with the researched as co-researchers working for social transformation (Giampapa and Lamoureux, 2011; Jordan, Steven et al. 1995). With regard to the methodology that I have been using to conduct my research, I consider that it is important right at the outset to clarify my position as researcher in this study.

5.2. RESEARCH PARADIGM

5.2.1. Critical Paradigm

Etymologically, paradigm comes from Latin (*paradigma*) which is the Greek noun denoting a model (Proudfoot & Lacey, 2010; Runes, 1942). Until the late 1950's, the terms was still used to refer to the world of ideas and models on which the Greek philosopher, Plato 'patterned the things of the phenomenonal world' (Runes, 1942: 230). Then, paradigm evolved into another meaning with the American physicist, historian and philosopher of science, Thomas Khun (1922-1996), with his publication, the *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). Proudfoot &

Lacey (2010) remarks that Khun introduced 'paradigm' in a technical sense in philosophy of science which means 'basically a way of looking at things, a shared assumption which governs the outlook of an epoch and its approach to scientific problems; or an accepted theory, e.g. Ptolemaic or Copernican astronomy' (p.289). For Walliman (2001), Khun 'distinguished between two characteristics of normal science: the generally accepted body of knowledge and the belief in methodology, which he collectively called a paradigm'.

Today, the accepted meaning for 'paradigm' and its use in research is closer to that of Khun, taken as 'a philosophical stance lying behind a methodology' (Crotty, 1998, p.68). Paradigm is, therefore, a basic set of beliefs that guide action (Guba, 1990) and can also be taken as a school of thought, a common set of philosophies and a framework shared by a group of researchers. Current literature in research categorises research paradigms into positivism, interpretivism, critical and postmodernism (Cohen et al., 2007; De Vaus, 2001; Walliman, 2001; Simpson, 1992). In any research, it is essential that there is congruency between the adopted research paradigm and the research question as this provides a logical basis to the researcher with regard to the way s/he structures the research design, the collection of data and analysis of data.

My study is underpinned by the critical paradigm and it investigates the research problem from this philosophical outlook. I chose the critical paradigm because it coheres with my personal philosophical stance and my location as an engaged researcher which has been described earlier, and the essence of which is a critical outlook on society and its impact on individuals. My research question looks at the changes that have been experienced by key actors at an individual level in a school community but my analysis is conducted in the light of the macro changes that took place before and after 2012. I also chose research instruments like semi structured interviews, for instance, during which I invited participants to engage in critical debates with me as discussed later in this chapter. In fact, research paradigms contain different ontological (world view) and epistemological (derivation of knowledge) perspectives on knowledge.

5.2.2. Ontological and Epistemological Perspectives

Critical paradigm in research is drawn from critical theory as first defined by Max Horkheimer (1895-1973) of the Frankfurt School, in his essay, *Traditional and Critical Theory* (1937). Ontology deals with what is reality, what is the nature of the world and it is an inquiry into all aspects of being (Letche, 2008). Epistemology deals with how what exists may be known (as discussed in chapter 2) and its central issues are the nature and derivation of knowledge, the scope of knowledge and the reliability of claims to knowledge (Flew, 1984, p.109). For Higgs and Titchen (1995; 2001) researchers need to understand the assumptions about existence underlying any theory or system of ideas on which they rely to research and interpret the world. The ontological perspective of the critical paradigm is a focus on the social world and for the critical theorist Habermas (1972), the basic assumption in critical paradigm is that people are socially located and therefore, knowledge is always influenced by social interests. In terms of knowledge, the realist (critical theorist or researcher) is concerned with social structures, and how macro and micro political, historical and socio-economic factors influence our lives and how we understand our lives (Armstrong et.al, 2001). It is within this specific epistemological perspective that I undertake the search for knowledge into my research question. The study of KM is looked at as part of the social structures and it examines how the macro and micro aspects of the Mauritian society influence the changes that have been experienced by different actors.

The critical paradigm sees the material world not as an objective and neutral reality to be measured, assessed and then reported as facts. It considers that the world is dominated by structured contradictions, unequal power relations and exploitation which are hidden by ideology. The study of ideology is central in critical paradigm as it is assumed that it shapes behaviour and creates 'false consciousness' amongst individuals. 'False consciousness' is a term coined by Marx and Engels (1846) which means that things are often taken for granted and at their face value for true but in fact we are not really conscious or falsely conscious about the hidden meaning or situation. The hidden meaning which underpins the situation is ideology. For Goodman (1998), false consciousness suggests 'that actors in a given social context have been so completely socialized by dominant, ruling-class ideology that they, unlike emancipatory researchers, are unable to recognize their own oppression, let alone the oppression of others'.
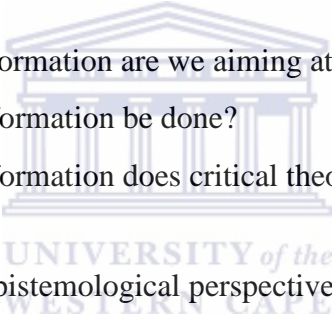
(p.54). For that, the critical paradigm fundamentally differs from positivism and goes beyond interpretivism.

Gephart (1999) observes that during the 1970s and 1980s, concerns were raised about quantitative data and methods often associated with positivism which was the prevailing paradigm. Positivism assumes an objective world, measurable, predictable and which can be manipulated. Positivism promotes the physical sciences as the ideal model for all research and positivist researchers believe that universal laws exist and that neutral language must be used when reporting observations (Mccabe & Holmes, 2009). In reaction to positivism, interpretivist researchers interpret the world and consider that it is human actions which continuously shape the world. In the words of Horkeimer (1937), critical paradigm radically demarcates itself from these two paradigms:

> The critical theory of society, on the other hand, has for its object men as producers of their own historical way of life in its totality. The real situations which are the starting-point of science are not regarded simply as data to be verified and to be predicted according to the laws of probability. Every datum depends not on nature alone but also on the power man has over it. Objects, the kind of perception, the questions asked, and the meaning of the answers all bear witness to human activity and the degree of man's power (Horkeimer, 1937 in Horkeimer, 2000).

We can identify three important ontological and epistemological elements in the above statement. First, there is a materialist conception of history (as developed by Marx) and as regard 'being' (ontology), human beings make their own history ("producers of their own historical way of life") in the existentialist perspective of Jean Paul Sartre. Second, the researcher's approach to a problem should not be from the positivist perspective ("simply data") but to consider that these "real situations' have been influenced by human beings and are not neutral situations. In the positivist paradigm, "real situations" are taken for granted and presented as such while interpretivism does not only present but it also interprets and investigates this taken-for-granted view. For critical theory, political, ideological factors, power and interests shape behaviour in real life situation (Carspecken & Walford, 2001). It does not only present as positivism, and interprets as interpretivism, but it also interrogates, critiques and works for transformation (McPherron and Schneider, 2005).

Taking, the "real situations" of KM as a "starting-point of science", I investigate the political and ideological interests underlying the situation which is being researched and try to transform it through a proposal for action after my findings. For Mccabe & Holmes, the purpose of scientific research in the critical tradition is to 'uncover not only sociocultural knowledge about an unfamiliar or little-known group but also patterns suggesting exclusion and social injustice' (Mccabe & Holmes, 2009). In this regard, I see Mauritius as a post-colonial society which is grappling with the language and identity issue. My study is built on the premise that KM is the language of the oppressed and there is a need for a theory with practical intent (Bernstein, 1978). A theory with practical intent is one which seeks not only to understand the world, but also to transform it. But this motivation to work for transformation needs value-clarification and begs some questions such as:

- What type of transformation are we aiming at?
- How can this transformation be done?
- What kind of transformation does critical theory propose?

Both the ontological and epistemological perspectives of the critical paradigm have informed my research methodology. They have provided a basis for my overall methodological framework. For Crotty (1998) 'different ways of seeing the world shape different ways of researching the world.' (p.66). It is in this sense that the critical paradigm is embedded in my research processes. My choice of the research design and the methods used to implement this design are all pervaded by the critical paradigm. At this point a discussion of the critical theory would shed light on the theoretical perspective of my study.

5.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

5.3.1. Critical Ethnography

A research design is the way a research has been crafted. In his definition of research design, De Vaus (2001) makes two distinctions. First, he explains that research design is not *just* (his

emphasis) a work plan but is the outline of the strategy to be deployed to collect evidence when investigating a research question:

> A research design is not *just* a work plan. A work plan details what has to be done to complete the project but the work plan will flow from the project's research design. *The function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible*. Obtaining relevant evidence entails specifying the type of evidence needed to answer the research question, test a theory […]. In other words, when designing research we need to ask: given this research question (or theory) what type of evidence is needed to answer the question (or test the theory) in a *convincing way?* (p.13)

With my research question: 'what changes in language practices have been experienced after the introduction of KM as an optional subjects in schools', I had to look for evidence of change in language practices (at micro and macro levels) to answer my question. In order to research for evidence of change and the nature of the phenomenon under study, I realized that an ethnography study would be more appropriate as one type of possible investigation. Normally, ethnography implies a prolonged presence in the field and it allows the researcher to get immersed into the community and thereby observing and recording the changes. Given my public advocacy for KM dates back to 2005, I have been in the field for a prolonged time and ethnography became, therefore, an appropriate research design for me. Ethnography became an appropriate design into which I could deploy different methods to collect clues of change as data. Second, a distinction has to be made between design and method:

> Research design is different from the method by which data is collected. Many research method texts confuse research designs with methods. It is not uncommon to see research design as a method of collecting data. But there is nothing intrinsic for a research design that requires a particular method of collecting data. […] How the data is collected is irrelevant to the *logic* of the design (De Vaus, 2001: p.13).

For this study, I used different methods (which I explain in coming sections) whose needs emerged as and when I proceeded in my research. My choice for different methods is linked to my ethnography approach as research design. Ethnography as an approach or paradigm entails that a variety of methods can be added to collect a range of details on the phenomenon under study which are analysed in their totality (Blommaert, 2010). Therefore, based upon the

ontological and epistemological perspectives of critical paradigm and the nature of my research work, I chose critical ethnography as a specific form of ethnography approach to underpin my research design.

Critical ethnography retains the basic characteristics of conventional ethnography such as immersion of the ethnographer in a group, observation of the behaviour of the members, taking notes, conducting interviews, analysing, reflecting and writing (Dawson, 2009). However, in the critical ethnography tradition, there is a closer tie between the researcher and the researched. For Averill (2006), this close link between the researcher and researched arises from 'a critical ethnography paradigm, in the traditions of ethnographic inquiry, critical social theory and community based action research' (p.26).

Carspecken & Walford (2001) state that the term 'critical ethnography' was first noticed in Peter McLaren's book, Life in Schools (1979). The term was used in reference to qualitative educational research informed by critical theories of education such as critical pedagogy theory, feminist theory, neo-marxist theories of education. Critical ethnographers start their research with basic assumptions that society has systemic inequalities that are maintained and reproduced by culture. According to Althusser (1969), society consists of three levels practice: the economic level, the political level and the ideological level. In fact, critical ethnography studies and acts upon the phenomenon under study by looking at these three levels of practice. In my study, I examine the economic, political and ideological levels of language. And as critical ethnography is not just a distant description of the phenomenon but implies the involvement of the researcher, I intend to develop an ethnography of language which is counter-hegemonic (Hymes, in Blommaert, 2009: 258). Blommaert (2009: 258) observes that for Hymes an ethnography of language which is counter-hegemonic challenges not only language but social capital in societies in general.

The critical ethnographer addresses these issues of inequalities by bringing participants to reflect critically on their situation. Critical ethnography can be considered as critical theory in practice. With regard to language in society, Blommaert and Dong Die (2010) remark that ethnography

(in general not solely from the critical paradigm) contains a perspective on language which differs from that of other branches of the study of language:

> Language is seen as a set of resources, means available to human beings in societies. These resources can be deployed in a variety of circumstances but when this happens it never happens in a neutral way. Every act of language is an act that is assessed, weighed, measured socially, in terms of contrasts between this act and others. In fact, language becomes the social and culturally embedded thing it is because of the fact that it is socially and culturally consequential in use (Blommaert & Jong Die, 2010: 7-8).

This definition of language lends support to the posture of a critical ethnographer. When I unpack the definition, I find that language is 'seen as a set of resources'. By 'resources', it implies that language is not just a means of communication but it is socially laden and it raises the issue of access to resources. The definition says that 'these resources' are not deployed in 'a neutral way'. The absence of neutrality means that various interests may come with language. Language is thus 'socially and culturally embedded'. Researching issues related to language imply a critical understanding of this social and cultural embeddings of language.

From a critical perspective the definition of language in ethnography is a social phenomenon and it is linked to various interests at work in society. The role of the critical ethnographer is then to see to whom the 'set of resources' is being deployed and why is it deployed in a particular way. This is what I am also looking for in my research when I am researching KM. My study of KM is not in isolation to other languages at school. In order to understand the place of KM in school and the changes, if any, it has brought, I must research how languages are generally deployed in our schools. Does the arrival of KM bring a redistribution of the resources? Is the deployment 'neutral' and who benefits the most from this situation? These are questions which this definition leads us to beg for when considering language from this perspective. This definition confirms in a certain way the validity that I have couched my research design into a critical ethnography.

In this research project, critical ethnography is chosen because of my interest in gaining insight into new knowledge and understandings about how KM represents a 'set of resources', how is it 'deployed' when it is offered as an optional language and if it is 'socially and culturally consequential in use'. In the context of my study, this means that I examine the impact of KM in school and in society at large. KM has got into school after a long struggle marked by a

discourse on the relevance of KM as medium of instruction and then at a later stage the discourse developed into linguistic and cultural rights. After three years of its introduction in schools, what evidence do we have which indicate that its introduction has been 'socially and culturally consequential in use.'

Though KM is only at an early stage and it is quite difficult to get a clear picture of the situation, it can still give an indication about future trends. The early years are in fact the crucial ones because they are periods when we lay the foundation stone, and it is envisaged that actions taken at this period shape future destiny. And as language is not studied here as a Guinea pig in a scientific laboratory but as intervowen with society and its people, understanding of the social and cultural implications of KM in this study provides valuable insights into the future of Mauritius. Blommaert and Jong Die (2010) also observe that ethnography can be 'counter-hegemony' (p.10) as it has the 'potential and the capacity of challenging established views, not only of language but of symbolic capital in societies in general' (p.10). This capacity of ethnography to challenge the status quo resonates with the philosophical paradigm of critical ethnography whose ultimate aim is to make the researcher and the researched agents of social transformation. We might say that critical ethnography for its part addresses established views by discovery, investigation, and application of local knowledge for practice. I now consider how the critical ethnographer proceeds in researching a phenomenon. Carspecken and Apple (1992: 512–14) and Carspecken (1996: 41–2) identify five stages in critical ethnography when investigating an issue. The stages are described below.

5.3.2. The Five Stages of Critical Ethnography

My study was conducted from 2010 to 2014. The five stages below have informed my study. I present each stage with an account of how it has informed my research processes.

Stage 1: Compiling the primary record through the collection of monological data

At this stage researchers are comparatively passive and unobtrusive as participant observers. The task here is to acquire objective data and it is 'monological' in the sense that it concerns only the researchers writing their own notes to themselves.

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In 2009, I contacted the Roman Catholic Education Authority and expressed my interest to conduct fieldwork in two schools for my PhD studies. I was advised to choose the two schools as pilot schools where I have finally been conducting my full research work. The schools were informed that I would be conducting fieldwork on a pilot basis for two years only (2009-2011), following which it would be confirmed if I would continue with the same schools. In 2009, KM was not yet an optional subject in school. On the contrary, it was the heyday of the struggle for recognition of KM. I was at that period fully involved in public advocacy. My presence in these schools was seen by the school community as directly linked to my advocacy. I was fully conscious about this and considered that I had to be careful if I were to stay there for a couple of years to conduct my research. So, I started by a time of 'primary record'. I looked for all factual information about these schools and did not jump to classroom observations or conduct interviews. I came twice a month in the schools from 2009 to 2011. This was a period of pilot study, a time of self- reflection about how I would refine my research question and about how I would get immersed into the community. This time of 'collection of monological data' gave also a scientific approach to my presence in the school. For those who did not share my views and public advocacy I felt they started to consider that KM could have an inherent scientific value and it could be the subject of a scientific interest.

Stage 2: Preliminary reconstructive analysis

Reconstructive analysis attempts to uncover the taken-for-granted components of meaning or abstractions that participants have of a situation. Such analysis is intended to identify the value systems, norms, key concepts that are guiding and underpinning situations. Carspecken (1996: 42) 'asserts that what distinguishes this stage as 'reconstructive' is that cultural themes, social and system factors that are not usually articulated by the participants themselves are, in fact, reconstructed and articulated, making the undiscursive into discourse'.

At this stage, I was almost at the end of the school academic calendar of 2010, i.e. the 'third term' in the technical jargon of the education sector in Mauritius. In February 2010, the Prime Minister N. Ramgoolam announced that if his party was re-elected for the next term of office, he promised to introduce KM. This became the subject of conversation during the year. My

informal contacts with teachers, pupils and other persons whom I came across during the first and second terms helped to identify some major issues related to KM and the language issue at large. I identified the pedagogical, social, cultural and political dimensions of my research topic through recurrent themes in conversations.

Stage 3: Dialogical data collection

Here data are generated by, and discussed with the participants (Carspecken and Apple 1992). Participants are being asked to reflect on their own situations, circumstances and lives and to begin to theorize about their lives. This is a crucial stage because it enables the participants to have a voice, to democratize the research.

In 2011, I felt that my presence in school had been accepted and teachers came freely to engage conversation with me on my research topic. They expressed themselves freely, especially their fears and doubt about a possible introduction of KM. The General Elections were held in May 2010 and the elected alliance promised to introduce KM. This created the opportunity for me to conduct my first interviews and asked permission to conduct some class observations. I organised one Group interview which became a forum for discussion and introspection for both the participants and I. For some participants, the impending introduction of KM became an existential issue. It raised questions about their personal history, family education, cultural environment and all the acquired beliefs and attitudes towards KM. It was at this stage that I introduced 'language practices' into my research question.

Stage 4: Discovering system relations

This stage relates the group being studied to other factors that impinge on that group.

In the context of my research, I arrived at this stage in the middle of 2011. My fieldwork observation led me to realise that KM in school raised issues of cultural identity, the status of the teachers to be recruited and how was recruitment going to be done and other factors which would impinge the introduction of KM. The Ministry of Education and Human Resources set up the Akademi Kreol Morisien which was a high powered committee to look into the modalities for the introduction of KM. I was a member of AKM. Dev Virahsawmy stepped down after a

strong divergence with the Chairperson and went public to express his dissatisfaction where matters stood. The public debate on the modalities for the introduction of KM impacted on discussions at the two schools. I started making a review of newspaper articles on this issue and kept records of some radio talk shows and studied these external factors to make sense of what were the fundamental issues which underpinned KM's introduction. Newspapers and talk shows are good indicators of the pulse of the population.

Stage 5: Using system relations to explain findings

This stage seeks to examine and explain the findings in light of macro-social theories (Carspecken 1996: 202). In part, this fits the research findings into a social theory. In critical ethnography, therefore, the move is from describing a situation, to understanding it, to questioning it, and to changing it.

This stage represents the period 2012-2014. In January 2012, KM was introduced as an optional language in all primary schools within the Republic of Mauritius which comprises (mainland Mauritius and the two dependencies islands namely Rodrigues and Agalega.) It was a historical moment and got wide press coverage. A launching ceremony was done by Honourable V. Bunwaree, Minister of Education and Human Resources at Le Morne Government School. The venue was highly symbolical. Le Morne is a small village which is inhabited by the slave descents and a mountain situated there named Le Morne Brabant Mountain is a UNESCO World Heritage site in recognition of slave maroons. However, not all members of the Akademi KM were invited. This expressed the tension which underpinned the introduction of KM.

In May 2012, Catholic authorities sent an official letter to the two pilot schools confirming definitely my choice of these two schools for fieldwork (see Appendix 1). Data collection from 2010 to 2011 helped me to make sense of the situation and especially about my research topic. Data collected were from interviews, class observations, newspaper articles and radio talk shows. Analysis led me to some preliminary findings.

From 2012 to 2014 I got another set of data with additional interviews, class observations and document analysis and views of experts on potential future scenarios through the Delphi

Method. This set of data can be considered as post-KM data in schools. Finally I had pre-KM and post-KM data from the two schools. I applied systems thinking to relate the two types of data. System thinking views 'problems' as part of a whole and focuses on cyclical rather than linear cause and effect. For Boardman and Sauser (2008):

> A systems thinking is a deliberate attempt to think when thinking itself is put at risk by emotion, confusion, and confrontation. When the thinking process is being assailed and overwhelmed by debate, opinion, doctrine, and information, systems thinking stands in the breach and says, "I can help." Systems thinking does not suppress or supplant perspectives; it adopts them and finds sense in their multiplicity and diversity, their surprise. (p.2)

I found myself in the first year of introduction of KM (2012-2013) still 'assailed and overwhelmed by debate, opinion, doctrine and information....' Systems thinking borrowed from organisational management studies (Wilson, 2001) especially in the specific area of soft system methodology (SSM) helped me to tease out the major themes and preoccupations. SSM is used as a conceptual model building to deal with complexities of organisations with 'informed analysis, untainted by the emotional baggage of the organisation in the problem situation as it currently exists.' (Wilson, 2001: p.x). This conceptual coheres with the basics of critical paradigm. As discussed earlier, the critical theorist, while being part of the problem and with the people, has also the duty to step back and reflect critically on the problem.

Hence, these five stages apply to my research work. As an ethnography study these stages unfolded naturally and were not followed like a blue print. At completion of my fieldwork they confirmed the ethnography tonality of my study. These five stages became like a tapestry that the participants and I wove in the field. But like any research method, critical ethnography has also its limitations.

5.4. LIMITATIONS

Cohen, Manion & Critical ethnography literature identifies a number of limitations of critical ethnography and how they can be overcome (Morrison, 2007; Bernard, 2000). I give four of them that might affect the validity of critical ethnography study but I also explain what I did to mitigate their risks in my study.

5.4.1 .Participants' Definition of the situation

The participants are asked for their definition of the situation, but they may be 'falsely conscious' of the situation, deliberately distorting or falsifying information, or being highly selective. This limitation can be addressed by making use of different research instruments to verify the participants' views on the situation.

This is a real risk which I encountered in my study. I observed that participants (especially teachers) had an idea of the language issue related to KM but they did not have an informed opinion about the subject. This was quite understandable as their major occupation is teaching and learning. The language issue has several implications which go beyond the four walls of the classroom. So, I could not rely totally on the opinions of the teachers. But their opinion is also interesting for my study because it shows the degree of awareness of such an important issue in education. At the same time, given that critical ethnography puts the researcher in the position of co-researcher, my role was not limited to the distant investigator. I became a discussant with them on the language issue. I could see a difference between the pre-KM (2010-2011) and KM data (2012-2014). However, for the sake of validity of the research I made use of not only class observations and semi-structured interviews with participants, but I also verified the opinion of the teachers with evidence gathered from document analysis (for instance, newspaper articles and textbooks plus my own personal reflection on the situation).

5.4.2. The Hawthorne effect

The Hawthorn effect is a phenomenon where participants change their behaviour when they are part of an experiment. The presence of the researcher might alter the situation as participants may wish to avoid, impress, direct, deny, or influence the researcher. The researcher can overcome this limitation by carefully negotiating of his / his presence in the field.

From what I described above in my role as discussant on the language issue with the participants, it might have happened that there has been a 'Hawthorn effect'. I can also imagine that my position in the education sector might have prompted some participants to be conciliatory. But I did make it a point to the participants that they could speak their mind and

criticisms and objections were also important for me in this research. And as it is a critical ethnography where the researcher and the researched are co-researchers, I explained that it was important for both of us to search for truth. In spite of this note of caution and reassurance given to participants, I ensured that the Hawthorne effect was reduced to the strict minimum with the use of research instruments which struck the right balance between what the participants and what the documents revealed.

5.4.3. The Halo effect

The *halo effect* commonly refers to the researcher's belief in the goodness of participants so that the more negative aspects of their behaviour are neglected. By contrast, the *horns effect* refers to the researcher's belief in the badness of the participants such that the more positive aspects of their behaviour or personality are neglected or overlooked. This issue can be addressed by triangulation or getting feedback from a third party or external observer.

I experienced both 'halo effect' and 'horns effect' as it is in the normal human nature to be exposed by both effects. But my prolonged presence in the field helped me to keep a balanced opinion about the participants. It is important to note that there was a variety of participants in this study, that is, the teachers, pupils, parents and key informants. I observed teachers and pupils and conducted interviews with parents. I also analysed some documents as explained below. In this case, the Halo and Horn effects were minimized through the triangulation process.

5.4.4. Familiarity with participants

When participants (and, maybe researchers too) are so close to the situation, they tend to neglect certain, often tacit, aspects of it. This can be addressed by studying examples of the same situation or comparing them with other cultures.

In fact I was more than 'familiar' as I explained earlier with regard to my personal involvement in this issue. But I managed to overcome the limitation of being 'familiar' by disclosing my identity when entering the field and clarified who I was while conducting this research. I brought a new perspective in research with the term 'engaged researcher' and argued that no researcher is strictly speaking fully objective. In fact, the lack of objectivity on the part of a researcher would

be to feign that s/he has no interest in the research. The clarification of my position and my research identity was very important as it set the tone of my research work and I worked with an open agenda.

The 'tacit' aspects were brought to my attention by the participants themselves. They became my torch bearers in darkness or my guide when I was blind. I did also add one school at one moment to my field observation as I wanted to verify certain elements which I discovered in the two schools where I was conducting fieldwork. I wanted to know if I was getting too used to the school and 'familiar' to the participants so that there was a risk of overlooking some important aspects. But my observation in the third school showed that this risk was feared than real.

This leads me now to present the sites and the participants involved in the research.

5.5. SITES AND PARTICIPANTS

This study is bounded within two sites in the Republic of Mauritius and by the categories of groups chosen for study. Fieldwork was conducted in two school sites over a period of five years (2009-2014). In 2009, I sought clearance with the Catholic education authorities (see Appendix 4) and established contact with the two schools, which I refer herein with fictitious names of Saint Mathew Primary (SMP) School and Saint John Primary School (SJP) School. Both are referred respectively as SMP School and SJP School in my thesis. I chose these two schools because I considered that they presented a profile which would best enable me to observe the changes in language practices after the introduction of KM. So, the two schools had the Creole profile I was looking for. At the same time, when I explained to the Catholic authorities what I was researching for, I was advised to take these two schools. I relied on the inside experience and expert advice. My fieldwork started three years before KM was officially introduced as an optional language. These three years were a period of pre-piloting for my critical ethnography marked by observation, exploration of my research topic and verifying if these two selected sites were appropriate as sampling.

A sample is a selected number of cases in a population and the selected sampling affects the reliability of the study (Walliman, 2001). This means that great care should be taken for

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sampling. There are different methods of sampling but I opted for purposive sampling where a researcher selects what she/he thinks is a typical sampling. Purposive sampling is popular in qualitative research. The main goal of purposive sampling is to focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest and which will best enable the researcher to answer the research question (Patton, 1990). Underpinning my research question is the desire to know whether the changes were significantly pronounced to shape the language identity construction of Creole pupils in a school which was predominantly a Creole working class profile.

With purposive sampling, the sample being studied is not representative of the population, but for researchers pursuing qualitative or mixed methods research designs, this is not considered to be a weakness. Rather, it is a choice, the purpose of which varies depending on the type of purposing sampling technique that is used. In fact, there is a wide range of purposive sampling (viz. maximum variation sampling, homogeneous or typical and others). In my study I have used the critical case sampling. Critical case sampling is a type of purposive sampling technique that is particularly useful in exploratory qualitative research. It is especially used in research with limited resources, as well as research where a single case (or small number of cases) can be decisive in explaining the phenomenon of interest. It is this decisive aspect of critical case sampling that is arguably the most important. To know if a case is decisive, Patton (2002) gives examples of questions which the researcher must reflect upon:

> 'If it happens there, it will happen anywhere; or if it does not happen there, won't it happen anywhere; and if that group is having problems, then we can be sure all the groups are having problems?' (Patton, 2002, p.237).

So if changes that I am researching for do not happen in these schools with the pre-established criteria that I set for observation this would be interesting to know why the changes do not happen there. And where would these changes happen? If changes do happen in these schools they can become good indicators of change elsewhere. Whilst such critical cases should not be used to make statistical generalizations (Patton, 2002), it can be argued that they can help in making logical generalisations. However, such logical generalisations should be made carefully especially in ethnography studies.

The choice of sites is crucial in ethnography. For Walford (2009), 'sites need to be appropriate for the particular theoretical and empirical tasks and chosen for particular purposes rather than just convenience of access' (p.24). Having identified the two schools on the basis of critical case sampling, this allowed me to research language practices with a small community of agents in education within a critical paradigm. I chose SJP School and SMP School as research sites not so much for a comparative analysis but rather to get rich data and to conduct a 'thick description' (Wolcott, 1994). I established three criteria which would predetermine my choice of schools. I considered that the following three criteria should be met to allow me to conduct my research in a systematic way.

Firstly, the two schools had to be Catholic primary schools located in an urban region but with a pronounced suburban profile. The 'Catholic' sub-criteria for schools was based on the fact that catholic education initiated projects in KM and became a strong advocacy of mother-tongue education through KM for the period 2004-2011. This position impacted on language-in-education policy. It was obvious that Catholic schools were looked for as research sites because I assumed that I could gain insights into the impact of advocacy on Catholic schools themselves whose authorities had been the main protagonist at national level. Also, 'suburban' as other sub-criteria was justified by the fact that the Kreol identity movement which struggled for recognition of KM in schools held its stronghold in suburban regions. Hence, SMP School is a catholic primary school located in the suburban locality of the capital city town of Port Louis. It was founded in 1956.

SJP School is a catholic primary school in the centre of Beau Bassin/Rose Hill which is the third largest town. Although an urban school, the population comprises mainly pupils coming from the periphery of this town and having a mixture of lower middle class and working class background.

Secondly, both schools had to be predominantly Creoles and have a school population coming mainly from a disadvantaged background. SMP and SJP have a school population of four hundred and eight and six hundred and thirty two pupils respectively (see Table 9 in section 5.5.1).Given that my research area is heritage language and identity construction, I had to look

into issues related to ethnicity and education. So, I looked for two schools which are composed mainly of Creole pupils. Disaggregated data along ethnic lines in education are not a usual practice in school administrative policy in Mauritius. However, I managed to get an indication of the ethnic composition of the two schools by considering four elements namely the (i) names and (ii) religious belonging of the pupils appearing on the school register, (iii) the phenotype of the pupils and (iv) the choice for optional languages as such a choice generally reflects the ethnic belonging of the pupils. The two schools present the profile of a predominantly Creole school population with pupils from disadvantaged background.

Thirdly, nuances amongst Creoles of the working class are the last criteria. For socio-historical reasons linked to the legacy of slavery and social mobility, Creoles of the working class of the suburban regions of Port Louis (place of location of SMP School and those of Beau Bassin / Rose Hill (place of location of SJP School) share some commonalities and differences. The town of Beau Bassin/Rose Hill has been historically inhabited by the middle Creole bourgeoisie. Its periphery is inhabited by a vast number of Creoles who are economically deprived and which, in a Marxist view can be qualified as the lumpen-proletariat. On the other hand, Creoles of the periphery of the Capital City Town of Port Louis are considered amongst the most marginalized. The poverty map 2001/2 and 2006/7 (Statistics Mauritius) indicate that the suburban regions of Port Louis are amongst the regions which have the highest concentration of poverty.

It is interesting to note that the Creole population makes unconsciously a distinction between *Kreol site* (a Kreol expression meaning Creoles who live in townships) of Port Louis and those of Beau Bassin/Rose Hill. *Kreol site* of Port Louis are considered as inferior to those of Beau Bassin/Rose Hill. Generally, Creole parents of suburban Beau Bassin/Rose Hill are perceived as more favourable to French culture and reluctant to the use of Kreol in education, while those in suburban Port Louis are more creolophone and have a strong Kreol popular subculture. It is this nuance that I wanted to explore because I considered that it is an important element for an understanding of the place of Kreol language and culture in the identity of the Creoles. Therefore, SMP School has a Port Louis *Kreol site* profile while SJP School as a Beau Bassin/ Rose Hill *Kreol site* profile.

At school level, there are six groups of participants in this research namely, pupils, teachers, heads of school and parents.

5.5.1. KM Pupils

The first group of participants comprises pupils of SJP School and SMP School. From 2012 to 2014 there have been three cohorts of pupils studying KM. One cohort (2012 -2014) is the first group of pupils who opted for KM in Standard I; then a second cohort (2013-2014) and a third in 2014. By the time I withdrew from the field, I had observed the first cohort for three years (Standard I to Standard III) and the second cohort for two years (Standard I and Standard II) and the last one for one year (Standard I, renamed 'Foundation Year' in 2014 by the Ministry of Education). This makes a total number of 532 pupils that I observed over three years. The pupils were in the age bracket of 5 to 8 years old. Table 9 shows that SJP and SMP schools have a school population of 632 and 408 pupils respectively. The table shows that the trend has been almost the same for each new cohort.

Saint John Primary School School Population : 632 Number of Pupils taking KM: 316					Saint Mathew Primary School School Population: 408 Number of Pupils taking KM : 180			
STANDARD / GRADE	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL		STANDARD/ GRADE	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
I	49	53	102		I	29	31	60
II	53	55	108		II	28	31	59
III	54	52	106		III	34	27	61
	GRAND TOTAL		316		GRAND TOTAL			180

Table 9. Gender Profile of KM Pupils at SJP and SMP Schools as at 2014

By the end of year 2014, a total of 316 and 180 pupils were studying KM in SJP School and SMP School respectively. The figure for total number of pupils studying KM also represent the

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number of pupils that I have observed during class observations for the period 2012-2014. This makes a total of 496 pupils that I observed over three years. According to the school time table, KM lessons are conducted in a separate class. KM is taught at the same time as Oriental Languages.

Although my observation of the pupils study cannot be referred to as a longitudinal study, it does draw some elements of analysis from the longitudinal methodology. A longitudinal survey is defined as 'one that collects data from the same sample elements on multiple occasions over time' (Lynn, 2009: 1). The main characteristics of such type of study is that it is conducted over a number of years and at times, a decade which makes that my study is to a certain extent a longitudinal study. There is a variety of longitudinal surveys like surveys for businesses carried out by national or regional statistical offices, studies of school-leavers, graduates or trainees as traceability studies, household surveys and epidemiological studies (Lynn, 2009). As can be noted from the different types of longitudinal studies, quantitative methods are more often used in longitudinal surveys. In regard to method, my research work does not use quantitative method at all but only different types of qualitative methods. It is at this level that my research work may not be totally regarded as a longitudinal survey. However, the commonality with my study and longitudinal survey is that the latter is an observational study which tracks changes with the same people. This is what my study did with the pupils. I observed KM classes over three years with a particular attention to the pupils. I also asked the teachers to be attentive to any change during these three years. My study also includes some elements of observation of individual change at the level of teachers and heads of schools during these three years. So, some elements of longitudinal study have been incorporated for the data analysis. My second group of participants comprises heads of schools, school mentor, KM and GP teachers, parents and key informants which I interviewed. I present them in turn in the coming section.

5.5.2. Heads of Schools

Table 10 gives the demographics of the heads of school.

PARTICULARS	SJP SCHOOL	SMP SCHOOL

Name	Michael	Annie
Gender	Male	Female
Ethnic Group	Creole	Creole
Religion	Roman Catholic	Roman Catholic
Place of Residence	Urban	Urban
Qualifications	Academic Ordinary Level Certificate (Cambridge) Professional Diploma in Educational Management	Academic Ordinary Level Certificate (Cambridge) Professional: Diploma in Education Management
Teaching Experience	More than 25 years	More than 20 years
Experience as Head of School	8 years	6 years
No of years experience as a teacher and head of school inclusive	10	8
Language (s) used with pupils	French, at times Kreol	French, at times Kreol
Language (s) used with teachers	French, Kreol	French
Language (s) used at home	Kreol	French and Kreol

Table 10. Demographics of interviewed Head of Schools

Both Annie and Michael were of the Creole ethnic group. They both held the same academic and professional qualifications namely the GCE Ordinary Level (Cambridge) and Teacher's Diploma (TD) plus a Diploma in Education Management (DEM) respectively. Both TD and DEM are delivered by the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE). In terms of career track, TD is a two year- three month programme for trainee teachers who have been recruited by the Public Service Commission (PSC) and the Bureau de l'Education

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Catholique (BEC). It offers an opportunity to acquire a professional qualification in the field of Primary education in order to practice as a Primary Educator. The DEM professional qualification is held by Heads of School. The aim of this programme is 'to empower primary school Headmasters/Headmistresses and educators, through a body of specialised knowledge, practical skills and experiences, bring quality and good governance within their schools thus being active change agents of their institutions' (http://www.mie.ac.mu). In terms of number of years of experience, there is only two years difference between the two heads. As far as language use is concerned, both Michael and Annie spoke French and Kreol to pupils. Annie remarked that she spoke Kreol especially at the current school (this was because of the socio-economic profile of the pupils which are working class and creolophone). Michael spoke Kreol to his teachers while Annie uses French with her teachers. At home, Michael spoke Kreol only while Annie spoke both Kreol and French.

5.5.3. School Mentor

The mentor is a senior teacher who guides new teachers, plans, monitors and evaluates the pedagogical life of the school. Not all schools have a mentor and Mireille has been my contact person at SJ School to look after all the practical aspects of my scheduled visits during my field work. Table 11 gives the demographics of Mireille.

NAME	Mireille
Gender	Female
Ethnic Group	Creole
Religion	Roman Catholic
Place of residence	Urban
Qualifications	<u>Academic :</u> Ordinary Level Cambridge <u>Professional:</u> Diploma in Education Management
Teaching Experience	More than 20 years
Experience as mentor	7 years

Number of years of experience as teacher and head of school inclusive	6
Language(s) used with pupils	French, English, Kreol
Language (s) used with teachers	French, English, Kreol
Language (s) used at home	French and Kreol

Table 11. Demographics of interviewed SJP School Mentor

Mireille holds the same qualification as the two heads of school that I interviewed. But she is younger than them. She was in her thirties and is a Creole woman. She used the three languages (French, English and Kreol) with both pupils and teachers. With regard to teachers as participants, there were Kreol Morisien (KM) and General Purpose (GP) teachers.

5.5.4. Kreol Morisien (KM) Teachers

In 2013, the total number of KM teachers teaching stood at 93 teachers (Statistics Mauritius, 2014) within the Republic of Mauritius (85 in Mauritius and 8 Rodrigues). Table 12 gives the demographics of KM teachers who involved in the study.

PARTICULARS	SJP SCHOOL		SMP SCHOOL
Name	Nadine	Mala	Sabrina
Gender	Female	Female	Female
Age	35	30	26
Highest Qualification	<u>Academic</u> GCE Advanced Level <u>Professional</u> Teacher's	<u>Academic</u> GCE Advanced Level <u>Professional</u> Teacher's Diploma +	<u>Academic</u> GCE Advanced Level <u>Professional</u> Teacher's Diploma + Diploma in KM

	Diploma + Diploma in KM	Diploma in KM	
Teaching Experience	15 years	13 years	10 years
Ethnic Group	Creole	Tamil[48]	Creole
Religion	Roman Catholic	Tamil	Roman Catholic
Place of Residence	Urban	Urban	Urban

Table 12. Demographics of interviewed KM teachers

Fictitious names are used here. They are two KM teachers, namely, Nadine and Mala from SJP School, and Sabrina from SMP School. The KM teachers were all former GP (General Purpose Teachers) that is they were teaching English, French and Maths. As explained in chapter 1, the Ministry of Education and Human Resources appealed to GP teachers for the launching of KM in the first year of its introduction. GP teachers who accepted to work as KM teachers could revert to their former post if ever they felt afterwards that teaching KM would not suit them or become permanently KM teachers. The three KM teachers (2 teachers from SMP School and 1 at SJP School) remained in the post of KM teachers. They were therefore pioneers and collecting their experiences for my research was of immense value. They represent one 'KM government teacher' and two 'RCEA KM teacher'.

In terms of the employer-employee relations, it is important to note that there are two types of KM teachers working in catholic schools, namely, those who are employed by the RCEA and those employed by the government, falling under the direct responsibility of the Ministry of Education. For instance, Mala who was a KM teacher on the establishment of the Ministry worked at SJP catholic school. But, no KM or GP teachers who are employees of the Roman Catholic Education Authority (RCEA) work in government schools.

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[48] Officially the Tamil spoken group (whose ancestors came from the region of Tamil Nadu, India) is not considered as an ethnic group but forms part of the Indo-Mauritian community. But the Tamils have developed a specific identity in terms of religion, culture and language to distinguish themselves from the majority Hindi Speaking group in the Indo-Mauritian ethnic group.

All the teachers held the same academic and professional qualifications namely the GCE Advanced Level and a Teacher's Diploma which is delivered by the Mauritius Institute of Education respectively. The GP teachers who volunteered for KM went through an intensive three months training. As they already possessed a Teacher's Diploma, they were exposed to Kreol language studies. Their qualification was then officially changed into 'Teacher's Diploma with Specialisation in KM'. Both the training and the appellation for the qualification were a significant measure for it was unprecedented in the annals of the MIE. Also, the KM teachers had already a minimum of ten years teaching experience as GP teachers. In terms of ethnic group only Mala was a non Creole.

5.5.5. General Purpose (GP) Teachers

Four General Purpose (GP) teachers were interviewed before and after KM was introduced as an optional language. Although my intention was not to conduct a comparative study per se, yet I included these data as they give an indication how KM was viewed before and after its introduction. These teachers were selected for interview because while conducting pilot fieldwork at SMP and SJP School, I did some class observations in their classes. Table 13 gives the demographics of these teachers.

PARTICULARS	SJP SCHOOL	SMP SCHOOL		
Name	John	Joyce	James	Anabella
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age	24	36	26	30
Ethnic Group	Creole	Creole	Creole	Creole
Religion	Roman Catholic	Roman Catholic	Roman Catholic	Roman Catholic
Place of Residence	Sub-urban	Urban	Sub-Urban	Sub-urban
Highest Qualification	Academic : HSC Professional: Teachers' Diploma	Academic: HSC Professional: Teachers' Diploma	Academic: HSC Professional: Teachers' Diploma	Academic: HSC Professional: Teachers' Diploma
Teaching Experience	3 years	14 years	2 years	3 years
Language(s) used with pupils	English, French and Kreol	English and French	English, French and Kreol	English, French and Kreol
Language (s) used with colleagues	French and Kreol	French and Kreol	French and Kreol	French and Kreol
Language(s) used at home	Kreol	French	Kreol	Kreol

Table 13. Demograhics of interviewed General Purpose (GP) Teachers

The four GP teachers were all employees of the catholic education body which is the RCEA namely, John (SJP School), James, Joyce and Anabella from SMP School). The reason why I chose only one GP teacher from SJP school was that I observed the class of John more on a regular basis than others at this school. I also found that he was the only one to follow attentively the events before the introduction of KM. The GP teachers are all of the same generation and were quite new in their post with the exception of Joyce (SMP School) with fourteen years of experience. They are all Creoles. In terms of place of residence three of them lived in sub-urban area whereas Joyce lived in an urban area. This distinction is important as Creoles who live in sub-urban areas generally speak Kreol at home and share a popular culture. The demographics confirm that John, James and Anabella spoke Kreol at home. Joyce who lived in an urban area spoke French at home. All of them are also Roman Catholics and in terms of qualifications, they possessed the HSC and the Teachers' Diploma. In regard to language use, the three (John, James and Anabella) spoke English, French and Kreol with their pupils. Joyce was the only one not to use Kreol with her pupils.

5.5.6. Parents

5.5.6.1. Parents Year 2011

The last group of participants in the school were parents. I conducted two interviews with parents in 2011 and 2014. In 2011, I interviewed 24 parents (13 at SJP School and 11 at SMP School) during the days of registration for admission to Standard I for 2012. It is on the registration day that they made their choice for the optional languages. Table 5.7 gives the gender profile of the parents. These parents were included in the study as they were the first generation of parents who made a choice for their children to study KM. So, it was essential to capture the motivation and views of the parents. After three years of KM in schools, I wanted to get some feedback with a group of parents. I did not select parents who had taken KM only for the interviews. I also put questions to parents who had chosen another optional language, and also those who chose none of these languages. The rationale was to know more about the motivation of these parents to choose an Asian language for their children. With regard to the language identity construction issue, I considered that this was an important element for me to
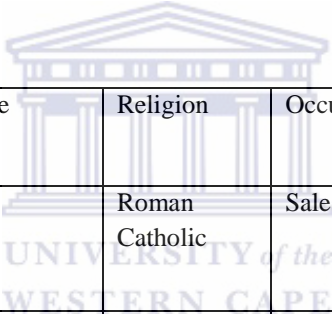
understand the process of identity construction amongst the non Creoles. Table 14 and Table 15 show the demographics of thirteen SJP and eleven SMP schools' parents respectively who were interviewed in 2011.

Parent	Gender	Age	Religion	Occupation	Child's Gender	Language chosen
1.	Female	35	Roman Catholic	Cleaner	Boy	KM
2.	Female	30	Roman Catholic	Saleslady	Girl	KM
3.	Male	35	Roman Catholic	Marketing Officer	Boy	KM
4.	Female	38	Hindu	Security Officer	Girl	Hindi
5.	Female	25	Hindu	Secretary	Girl	Hindi
6.	Female	26	Roman Catholic	None	Boy	None
7.	Female	50	Roman Catholic	Dressmaker	Girl	KM
8.	Female	28	Hindu	Pharmacist	Girl	Tamil
9.	Female	29	Hindu	None	Girl	Hindi
10.	Male	35	Roman Catholic	Senior Accounts Officer	Girl	KM
11.	Female	36	Muslim	None	Girl	Urdu
12.	Male	48	Hindu	Bus driver	Girl	Hindi
13.	Male	35	Tamil	Office attendant	Boy	Tamil

Table 14 Demographics of Parents Interviewed at SJP School

From Table 14 I gather three elements of information namely first nine female and 3 male parents participated in the interviews that I conducted. Second, in terms of ethnicity, there were six Creoles (Roman Cathlolics) and seven non Creoles (Hindu, Muslim and Tamils) which I identified from their religious belonging. Finally, Creole parents chose KM and non Creoles

opted for Oriental/ Asian languages. Table 15 provides similar information on parents of SMP school.

Parent	Gender	Age	Religion	Occupation	Child's Gender	Language chosen
1.	Female	28	Roman Catholic	Saleslady	Girl	KM
2.	Female	28	Roman Catholic	Saleslady	Girl	KM
3.	Female	30	Roman Catholic	Hairdresser	Boy	KM
4.	Female	30	Roman Catholic	Cashier Supermarket	Girl	KM
5.	Female	36	Roman Catholic	None	Boy	KM
6.	Female	38	Hindu (married with a Catholic)	None	Boy	KM
7.	Female	28	Christian Pentecostal	None	Girl	KM

8.	Female	38	Roman Catholic	None	Girl	Hindi
9.	Female	32	Roman Catholic	None	Girl	KM
10.	Male	28	Roman catholic	Mechanic	Girl	KM
11.	Female	38	Roman Catholic	Fish seller	Girl	KM

Table 15. Demographics of parents interviewed at SMP School

At SMP School there were ten female parents and one male parent. All the parents are Creoles (Roman Catholics) with the exception of Parent No.6 but she was married with a Catholic. With the exception of Parent N0.8, all the other parents chose KM. I have merged and interpreted information provided by Tables 14 and 15 into Table16 which provides a class representation profile of the parents.

St John Primary (SJP) School				St Mathew Primary (SMP) School			
Parent	UM	LM	WC	Parent	UM	LM	WC
1.			Cleaner	1.			Saleslady
2.			Salesgirl (Mall)	2.			Saleslady
3.		Marketing Officer		3.			Hairdresser
4.			Security Officer	4.			Cashier (Supermarket)
5.	Office Secretary			5.	None		
6.		None		6.	None		
7.			Dressmaker	7.		None	
8.	Pharmacist			8.		None	

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9.		None		9.	← None →		
10.		Senior Accounts Officer		10.			Mechanic
11.		← None →		11.			Fish seller
12.			Bus driver				
13.			Office attendant				
TOTAL	3	2	6	TOTAL	Nil	Nil	6

Table 16. Class representation of parents as per occupation

Key: UM= Upper middle class; LM= Lower Middle class; WC= Working class

Table 16 shows the categorisation of the parents in terms of class belonging based upon their declared occupation. I used Hickey and Thomson (2005) class model which represents class in terms of upper class (e.g. top level executives, heirs, etc.), upper middle class (e.g. highly educated and professionals, managers, etc.), lower middle class (e.g. semi-professionals, teachers, secretaries, etc.) and the working class (e.g. those who are poorly paid and/or rely upon government assistance). I have used this classification to get an indication of the socio-economic background of parents of these two schools. SJ School has a mixed background of upper, lower and working class parents. SM School is mainly working class. I now turn to parents who participated in my research in 2014.

5.5.6.2. Parents Year 2014

In 2014, four parents at SJP School were interviewed. Table 17 below gives the profile of the four parents which were interviewed.

Parent	Relation to child	Occupation
ES	Mother	None
NA	Grandmother	None
EB	Father	Mason

AB	Mother	Pre-primary school teacher	

Table 17. Profile of Parents at feedback interview

For the presentation, I have coded the parents' answers as follows: Parents ES, NA, EB and AB (SJ School). The four parents were identified for me by the GP teacher who works at SJP. He advised me to interview these four parents because he considered that these parents were following their children attentively at home. I did not conduct feedback interview with parents for SMP School because I considered that the four parents at SJP School were representative in terms of parents' voice in my study.

5.5.7. KEY INFORMANTS

For Lassiter (2005), informants are chosen purposively 'to test or extend particular growing hunches or understandings' (p.240). The views of the School Group and the Key Informants' group reflect 'different, contending perspectives" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.64) which enhance the credibility of the findings. Table 18 gives the profile of my four key informants. They all provided an informed view on the issues that I address in my work. They are all participants who were to some extent knowledgeable about the context and issues underlying the research.

Fictitious Name	Age	Gender	PARTICULARS
Harold	30	Male	KM teacher in Rodrigues Island
Spiritual	70	Male	Religious leader
Aline	48	Female	Ex-Senior position in Catholic education
Edward	60	Male	Ex-Senior position in Catholic education

Table 18. Profile of Key Informants

Harold is a KM teacher in a government school in Rodrigues. In 2012, KM was introduced as an optional subject in Mauritius mainland, in Rodrigues and Agalega which are two island dependencies. Contrary to Agalega, Rodrigues has an autonomous political status. Rodrigues has a population of 35,000 inhabitants (Statistics Mauritius, 2010) and ninety percent of the population are Creoles. In 2012 there were 384 pupils who were admitted to 14 primary schools

in Rodrigues and they all chose KM. There are nine government schools and 5 Catholic schools. In 2014, the Rodrigues Regional Assembly took the decision to freeze the teaching of KM in government primary schools on the ground that Rodrigues had its own specificity in terms of the Creole language and also from a cultural point of view. This decision was underpinned by a heated debate in Rodrigues on the risk of cultural alienation that Rodriguan children who would learn KM might abandon their specific Creole pronunciation or vocabulary. But Catholic schools are still teaching KM. It was therefore important to get a key informant from Rodrigues to get his views on the cultural dimension and understand why Rodrigues felt that there was need to teach Creole language of Rodrigues, while there were only minor differences as compared with KM.

Spiritual was a Catholic religious leader. I looked for his views because the Catholic church played a key role in the introduction of KM. It was important to have the views of somebody in the church hierarchy to understand the motivation of the church and how the Church viewed KM as an optional language in schools and its future in the Mauritian society.

Aline was a woman who held a former senior position in Catholic educational administration. Her views were sought so that she could give her appreciation about how Catholic authorities dealt with the national policy makers when KM was introduced and the changes she experienced even if she was no longer in the sector.

Edward held a former senior position in Catholic educational administration. His views were sought for the same reasons as Aline. But his profile interested me as he had a long career as primary school teacher before he occupied his former senior post. So his experience of primary education could inform my study.

With the exception of Harold, the three key informants were all from Catholic education. I made this choice because of the key role played by Catholic education for introducing KM and its keen interest and motivation to work on KM as a medium of instruction. The Catholic views were compared to other views expressed on KM through newspapers. The coming section explains the strategy that I used for gathering data.

5.5.8. Experts

I contacted four persons whom I considered as experts on the KM issue as it is defined in my research work. Table 19 below gives a brief profile of the panel experts.

Expert	Age	Gender	Profession	Expertise
Expert A	52	Female	Member of Parliament	Political dimension of KM
Expert B	36	Male	University Lecturer (abroad)	Afro-American and Carribean Literature ; identity
Expert C	44	Male	Corporate Chief Executive Officer	Popular education
Expert D	46	Female	Journalist	Education and social reporting

Table 19. Profile of Panel of Experts (Delphi Method)

These experts were a female Member of Parliament (Expert A) who had for a long time been associated with the Creole issue as a social worker and a politician. Another participant was a male Mauritian academic (Expert A) who worked in a university abroad. He had been involved at one stage in the socio-historical processes of KM into school. The third participant (Expert C) was a male professional in the corporate world who was also a social worker in the field of popular education. Finally, a female journalist (Expert D) who, by her profession, had covered issues on education, Kreol language and identity claims was involved

Hence, this section had two stages. First, I described the sites where fieldwork was conducted and the participants in my research work. I explained why I selected SJP and SMP schools. In fact they were both selected as pilot research sites before 2012 and I kept them as my research sites after the introduction of KM in 2012. These two schools were chosen because of their dominant Creole profile, providing a propitious field for researching the language identity construction of primary Creole school children. Second, I presented the research participants namely pupils, heads of schools, school mentor, KM teachers, GP teachers, parents, key informants and experts. The total number of research participants represents four hundred and ninety six (496) pupils with whom I was in contact through class observations and during school activities. There were also a total of forty six (46) adults. In the coming section, I present how I elaborated my strategy for data collection.

5.6. DATA COLLECTION STRATEGIES

Data collection strategies have been chosen to support the purpose and unique character of the research project. These strategies involve the use of different research instruments or research methods to understand the complexity of the issues under study. According to Brockmann (2011), a multi-method ethnography can yield meaningful data, and adopting different strategies also creates conditions for the validity of the data. This is what I chose to do. The strategies that I adopted during fieldwork and with the research participants are as follows: school/ class observation, ethnographic interviews, document analysis and Delphi Method.

5.6.1. School/ Class observation

Ethnography can involve participant and/or non-participant observation. In participant observation, the observer becomes partly or actively involved in the situation in which (s) he is observing. In my case I conducted class and school observations which were underpinned by the philosophy of participant observation. For Blommaert (2006), the particular ontology and epistemology of ethnography require the complete immersion and active involvement of the researcher in the community. He describes the fieldwork phase as 'a mutual learning process' which 'enables particular forms of interaction to take place and particular kinds of knowledge to travel between the two parties' (Blommaert 2006, 20). Genzuk (2003: 14) describes how participant observation takes place in the field:

> In participant observation the researcher shares as intimately as possible in the life and activities of the people in the observed setting. The purpose of such participation is to develop an insider's view of what is happening. This means that the researcher not only sees what is happening but "feels" what it is like to be part of the group. Experiencing an environment as an insider is what necessitates the participant part of participant observation. At the same time, however, there is clearly an observer side to this process. The challenge is to combine participation and observation so as to become capable of understanding the experience as an insider while describing the experience for outsiders. (Genzuk, 2003:14).

As described above, I managed to share 'as intimately as possible in the life and activities' of the two schools which I observed. My early immersion in the schools in 2009 before KM was introduced in 2012 helped me to build rapport with the head of school, teachers and parents. This created trust and confidence and gave me an 'insider's view'. This allowed me to pave the way later for a more active membership role and a fruitful fieldwork experience. Woods (1996) is of

the opinion that 'sociability' is the most important skill to develop in an observed setting. I had to be very careful in my actions and gestures; constantly clarifying my motivation, the objectives of my regular visits so as to persuade the teachers that I was not in their schools in my official capacity as the Head of Department of Applied Pedagogy or an inspector from the Catholic education office, but simply as a PhD student. In fact, looking back at my field experience, I would say that my position in the two research schools forced me to clarify my terms of entry and develop an awareness of my presence (Roberts and McGinty, 1995).

As from my third year, I felt the impression of being a 'suspect stranger' (Woods & Jeffrey, 1996: 113) receding. This worried me if the school community was to see me as a 'suspect stranger' because my position was to be an engaged researcher side by side with the participants while being mindful of the need to keep both the 'emic' (my inside view) and 'emic' (outside view) perspectives within the critical ethnography. At first I was a bit embarrassed when both Heads of School would refer to me in the morning assembly out of courtesy (which was quite understandable) but I felt at times it was like a formal respect because of my position in the sector. Fortunately, this situation was only for a transient period. Very soon, my presence became normal. I could then conduct class observations and I was invited by the school to attend special school events like the National Flag raising ceremony and the Music Day. During classroom observation, I became more the 'acceptable incompetent' (Lofland & Lofland, 1995) to whom the teacher would show how a lesson in KM was conducted. This pleased me as I learnt a lot from the teachers and my role as a researcher did not distance me from the teachers.

As regard the pupils, I used the 'Children's ways of telling' method from Milstein (2010). Milstein used oral accounts, images and written accounts which led finally to the production of a booklet. She used this method in a province of Buenos Aires (Argentina) with school children as 'co-researchers' to understand aspects of school politicisation. I focused on drawing during the three years of my fieldwork.

Moreover, participant observation gives the opportunity to the researcher and the participant to be 'co-constructors of meaning' (Brokmann, 2011). Fieldnotes comprised one of my main tasks. They are written accounts and description of what the researcher sees, feels and observes in the

field. They represent 'the ethnographer's deepening local knowledge, emerging sensitivities and evolving substantive concerns and theoretical insights' (Emmerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2001, p.353). My observations were conducted when I was on school visits.

Table 20 gives a recapitulation of the number of visits I paid to SJP and SMP schools during the pilot fieldwork 2009-2011. The visits represent a total of 30 and 32 visits to SJP and SMP respectively. Table 21 gives the number of visits for the period 2012-2014 which I made after the introduction of KM. This makes a total of 27 visits to each school. In terms of duration, it was a three hours visit, including classroom observations at times per day. This makes a total of 71 contact hours which I had with each school. However, my visits were not strictly regulated by school observations. I used to phone the head of school before I came or after a visit. Before leaving I would arrange another visit with another head of school. When I came for a visit I always met the head of school first, talked with some teachers and took the pulse of the school before I got finally in classes. At times I rather stayed half a day in the staffroom and talked with the teachers during lunch time or be with the pupils in the school yard. I paid particular attention that my visits did not become intrusive to the school community. It was for this reason I rather planned my visits on a term wise basis than on a weekly basis. My pilot years have helped me to know the cultural niceties of each school and how to deal tactfully and accordingly. I had a total of 32 visits for the period 2009 to 2011. As discussed earlier these were the foundation years for my ethnography and I discovered that a minimum of two or a maximum of four visits per term gave a breathing space to the school with regard to my presence and this gave me also enough distance to observe and reflect on my research question.

YEAR	Saint John Primary School				Saint Mathew Primary School			
	TERM				TERM			
	1ST	2ND	3RD	TOTAL	1ST	2ND	3RD	TOTAL
2009	2	5	4	11	2	5	4	11
2010	2	4	5	11	2	5	4	11
2011	2	4	3	9	2	5	3	10

	GRAND TOTAL	30	GRAND TOTAL	32

Table 20. Number of School Visits during pilot fieldwork (2009-2011)

YEAR	Saint John Primary School				Saint Mathew Primary School			
	TERM				TERM			
	1ST	2ND	3RD	TOTAL	1ST	2ND	3RD	TOTAL
2012	2	4	3	9	2	4	3	9
2013	2	4	3	9	2	4	3	9
2014	2	4	3	9	2	4	3	9
	GRAND TOTAL			27	GRAND TOTAL			27

Table 21.Number of School Visits (2012-2014)

The overall aim of my observations was to identify the changes with the introduction of KM in each school. I observed the head of school, the teachers, the pupils and the parents. In my search for identifying the changes and to reach a profound understanding of the situation, I paid particular attention first to the school set up.

I observed the visible and invisible signs (Starrat, 1996) of a school. The visible are all the tangibles in a school comprising the building, the classroom, the office and the school yard. The invisible or intangible refers to the school climate in terms of human relations, culture, values and beliefs. I was particularly attentive at the morning assembly which is an interesting platform to study if we want to know the values which a school promotes. Morning assembly is a platform for time and space where the head of school congratulates, admonishes or gives advice to the pupils. I observed the language used in this ritualisation of the daily routine of the school. At times it was KM and sometimes French. But then I observed specifically for which discourse was KM used, whether it was for meting out punishment or for congratulations. Given that, I was in the field since 2009 (before introduction of KM), and when KM was introduced in 2012 I tried to look if there was a change in the languages used at the morning assembly. For instance, I wanted to establish whether the Head of School or a teacher used more KM to address pupils

after 2012 or not. I also observed the logistics which was mobilised for KM. At Saint John School there were special classrooms for Oriental languages. When KM was introduced, I observed if special classroom accommodation was made for it. My observations focused also on what was going on in KM classes.

Lesson duration for optional languages was approximately 40 minutes. When I came in the class I used to sit at the back. Gradually, pupils and teachers got accustomed to my presence in class. I followed class lessons and noted how lessons were conducted and especially I observed all forms of interaction between the KM teacher and her/his pupils. At times I helped the teacher for some basic tasks like distributing papers, rearranging sitting position of pupils, making the pupils line up to go out for the morning break or the noon recess. While being involved in all these tasks, I was again attentive at language interactions between KM teacher and pupils. Special celebrations like the National Day or Music Day were very insightful for my observations. They are solemn occasions which reveal at the same time the naturalness of all the members of the school community. In these specific moments, formal relations are often abandoned and people give way to their authenticity. I paid attention to the content of the program of the cultural show in terms of how many items were in KM or in other languages, and how the teacher who was acting as the entertainer expressed herself/himself or when s/he used KM or any other language. All my observations were recorded.

At first I recorded my observations in a small note book which I carried every time. But gradually I realized that if I was to get completely immersed in the school life, I should refrain from using the note book. On writing fieldnotes, Emmerson et al. (1995) give the following advice:

> […] decisions about when and how to take jottings must be considered in the context of the broader set of relations with those in the setting. In some situations and relations, taking open jottings is clearly not advisable. In others, fieldworkers decide to take jottings but must devise their own unique means to avoid or minimize awkward interactions that may arise as a result. When deciding when and where to jot, it is rarely helpful or possible to specify in advance one "best way". Here, as in other aspects of fieldwork, a good rule of thumb is to remain open and flexible, ready to alter an approach if it adversely affects people (p.26).

In fact, I wrote on spot and when needed. But I rather wrote down my notes after leaving school. My notes became then reflection in action. Each note taking gave me an indication of what I should be observing at the next visit. Fieldnotes became a means for me to take a critical distance to the participants. As we saw earlier in our discussion of critical theory, a critical researcher although engaged, is not in total osmosis with the participants. For Emmerson et al. (1995) 'immersion is not merging [...] and [...] to write leads one [...] to step out of scenes and events to write the 'write-able qualities'. (p.42). I also kept a journal in which I wrote at regular intervals my research journey. I discovered that the use of a journal within a critical paradigm gives another possibility for the researcher to develop reflexivity which is the capacity to step back and self-reflect.

5.6.2. Ethnographic Interviews

Qualitative research interview attempts to 'understand the subject's point of view, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations' (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009: 50). Sennett (2004: 37-38) considers that interview is a craft:

> In-depth interviewing is a distinctive, often frustrating craft. Unlike a pollster asking questions, the in-depth interviewer wants to probe the responses people give. To probe, the interviewer cannot be stonily impersonal; he or she has to give something of himself or herself in order to merit an open response. Yet the conversation lists in one direction; the point is not to talk the way friends do. The interviewer all too frequently finds that her or she has offended subjects, transgressing a line over which only friends or intimates can cross. The craft consists in calibrating social distances without making the subject feel like an insect under the miscroscope (pp.37-38).

Descriptive questions start with grand tour questions, move to mini-tour and experience ones. Grand tour questions are general questions which are related to the subject matter but the aim is to make the participant enter the bigger picture. The grand tour is also an ice breaking technique. It helps to develop a relation of trust between the ethnographer and the participant. I applied this technique systematically and I also discovered other aspects of the participant whom I was interviewing. The grand tour often led me to the biography of the interviewee. The mini-tour questions focussed on the subject matter. That was the moment that I came with my research question. It was especially at that time that I invited the interviewee to give his/her opinion on

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the sensitive aspects of my study, especially its location into language and identity construction. At this point, we entered the realm of ethnicity, history, social justice and nation building.

Spradley (1979) recommends expanding descriptive questions which only give informants time to think. The researcher usually frames a statement like this "Tell me as much as you can, in great detail" (p.86). It is the moment I asked the interviewee to elaborate and at times my silences were cues to the interviewee for elaboration and thick description.

While conducting interviews I could not be too 'stonily impersonal' as the interviewees knew my involvement in public advocacy of KM and the language and identity construction issue in Mauritius. Inevitably, I had to 'give something' of myself and at the same time keep 'social distances' so that I could get a better understanding of my research topic. The interviews were semi-structured where questions were open-ended and leaving time for further answers to the questions (Walliman, 2001). Typical questions revolved around language, identity construction, KM, children and language and education (see Appendix 7[A] to [G]). But, the choice of ethnographic interview coheres with the assumptions of critical paradigm and critical ethnography of this study. For Heyl (2001, p.370), ethnographic interviewing is specific for 'empowering interviewees to shape, according to their world-views, the questions being asked and possibly even the focus of the research study'. The ethnographic interview is an in depth interview and I tried to follow the pattern of descriptive and expanding descriptive questions given by Spradlely (1979) in his classical guide, *The Ethnographic Interview.* All my interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed and then analysed for emerging themes. Below I give a description how interviews were conducted with heads of schools, teachers, parents and key informants with Spradley's (1979) framework in mind.

5.6.2.1 Interview of Head of schools

The interview of Michael, Head of SJP School was conducted in his office on 5th February, 2012 (see Interview Guide at Appendix 5 [A]). The interview lasted for two hours from 10.00 to 12.00. I had a phone with Michael before the appointment. I asked him that I wanted to interview him about the resumption of studies in January which had marked the historical introduction of KM. He was fully agreeable and by the tone of his voice I felt that he was enthusiastic for this

interview. I chose to interview only Michael at that time instead of interviewing also Annie who was the Head of SMP School. I considered that it was better that I concentrate my attention on SJP School and later got back to Annie. As I witnessed some significant changes at SJP School during my January visit, I found that it was better to have the views of Michael for what was happening in his school.

The interview comprised six themes namely:

1) language and the education system in Mauritius

2) the place of ancestral languages at school

3) the introduction of KM as an optional language

4) language and identity construction amongst Creoles

5) KM and the Creole child

6) the concept of heritage language

In conducting the interview, I first invited the respondent to introduce her/ himself. Second, I put the grand tour questions and finally I raised the mini tour questions. The interview was conducted fully in Kreol as respondent Michael used to express himself in KM to me.

I explained to Michael that the purpose of the interview was to take stock after the resumption of studies in January, and that I wanted to seek his opinion about KM as an optional language in school. I did not give him the six themes but we covered all of them at the end of the interview. He started by a biography of his career path. He told me that he was retiring in two years. In the context of that time the grand tour questions were around the teething problems of the introduction of KM which were mainly the recruitment of teachers, late distribution of KM textbooks in schools. Then Michael gave his opinion about the themes.

I first met the Head of School, Annie of SMP School for an interview on the 3rd of August 2013. I used a tape recorder and I also wrote down some notes. We had two sessions: one session of

forty five minutes and one session of one hour and thirty minutes. The first session was a preliminary session where the respondent Annie asked me some explanations on the interview.

I made an introduction to Annie about the type of interview I was going to conduct. I explained to her that an ethnography interview was not a cross interrogation but it sought to let the person talk freely on the questions and it could also be a dialogue between the interviewer and the respondent, but where the latter speaks more. I gave her some of the themes of my interview like her opinion about our education system, the introduction of KM and the place of ancestral languages in schools which is similar to that of Michael. I did not give her all the themes because this would have deprived the interview of its spontaneity and naturalness. Annie seemed to be taken aback and uncomfortable telling that all these questions were profound and that she wanted to prepare herself to provide thoughtful answers. She told me to email the themes and we fixed another appointment. I realized that I should have briefed her about the interview when we talked on the phone, and I took note about this for other interviews which I was going to conduct. Finally we met on 8th August 2013 and the interview did take place.

The interview was conducted in the morning from 9.30 to 11.00. We met in a computer room as she told me she would be disturbed by phone calls in her office. In fact, she did not have a separate office. She shared the office with the administrative staff. Obviously, she wanted to have a place which was quiet and where there was confidentiality. The same themes as with Michael were discussed with Annie and I followed more or less the established sequence. Basically, I wanted that Annie evoked her experience as a former primary school teacher, in terms of when and how she came to know about the language issue, her opinion about the introduction of KM and the changes she experienced with KM in school. The interview was in French and Kreol. Generally educators and especially Heads of School speak French and not KM, especially in a school set up. This explains in some ways the diglossia which exists between French and Kreol. Diglossia is the term coined by Ferguson (1959) to describe low and high variety of a language or two languages. In this case, KM is considered as low variety and French is a high variety which marks social distinction. The school Mentor of SJP was also interviewed.

5.6.2.2. Interview of School Mentor

I included Mireille who is mentor in my data collection strategy because she occupied a post which gave her a vantage point by the very nature of her work. The post of mentor makes the incumbent occupy both an administration's position and at the same time being close to the teachers. Her viewpoint was therefore crucial so that I interviewed her on 29th August, 2013. The interview came two years after the introduction of KM. My questions were more or less similar to those I put to the Heads of Schools (see Appendix 5 [A]) but with a bit of more emphasis on the pedagogical dimension. The interview was conducted on site during school hours and I proceeded in the same as with the Heads of Schools.

5.6.2.3. Interview of KM teachers

Below is a description of interviews conducted at SJ School and SM school.

I interviewed Sabrina first on 10th February 2012. The interview was conducted at SMP school during lunch time. Sabrina was the most enthusiastic amongst the KM teachers. Her husband was also a KM teacher who was involved in Creole identity movement. She was always dressed in a typical afro-kreol style. But Sabrina did not stay long at SMP School. After three months, she got the instruction to move to another school.

Nadine was interviewed on 12th September 2013 at SJ School. The interview lasted for one hour and fifteen minutes (10.45 to 12.00). Given that Nadine is a KM teacher, the interview was fully conducted in Kreol. The Head of School, Michael, asked me to use his office to conduct Nadine's interview and other teachers as well. Six themes were discussed during the interview (see Interview Guide at Appendix 5 [B]):

1) Teaching and learning in KM

2) Training of teachers

3) KM as an optional language

4) Curriculum and textbook

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5) Creole child and Kreol Language

6) Language and identity construction

I established more or less the same sequence as that of the interview with the head of schools. Nadine was a bit tense at first and then gradually, she spoke comfortably. She first introduced herself and explained why she chose to become a KM teacher. She gave her opinion about the six themes. At the end of the interview she told me that she was very anxious on the eve as she did not know what type of questions I was going to put to her. So, she read a lot on ill late the language issue on the eve till late at night.

Mala, who is a KM teacher, was also interviewed. The interview was held on 26th September 2013 from 10.45 to 12.00 in the Head of School's office. I followed the same pattern as with Nadine for the themes and the sequence. She also gave an account of her career and her motivation to teach KM and she covered all themes. Mala informed me that while she was on training she was involved in a mini survey about the perceptions of parents on KM, and she was very keen to know the findings of my research.

5.6.2.4. Interview of General Purpose (GP) Teachers

I interviewed four GP teachers namely Joyce, James and Anabella from SMP School. The interviews were conducted in 2011 before the introduction of KM. But the official announcement that KM would be introduced as from January 2012 was already made. My questions focused mainly on this event. I also put questions on about the whole issue of KM in school, the pedagogical importance of KM and the language identity construction of Creole children (see Appendix 5 [D]). These interviews were conducted with each GP teacher on separate days.

John, who was General Purpose teacher, was interviewed on 24th January 2014. The interview took place in the computer room for about one hour. John was the first teacher I followed in 2009 in the pilot phase. He had always shown a keen interest for the language issue. As I said earlier, he was chosen as a participant in this study because he worked with pupils who study KM. I wanted to know if he had witnessed any change amongst the pupils and any personal

experience of his own at that point with regard to KM as a school subject. The same sequence and same themes as with preceding teachers were taken with John. At the end of the interview he indicated to me that it would be good that I interviewed some parents whom he knew that they supported their children with their studies at home. But he had a personal position on KM which was quite different from mine. He considered that KM should not be associated with the Kreol ethnic group as it is the language spoken by all Mauritians.

5.6.2.5. Interview of Parents

From 27th April to 4th May 2011, I interviewed 13 and 11 parents at St John and St Mathew schools respectively. These interviews (see Appendix 5[E]) were held during the registration of Standard I pupils in January 2012. It was also the first registration for pupils who had opted for KM. I conducted short interviews with the parents on spot. I was at school half day on four days waiting for parents. The registration of pupils took place such that parents had to wait for their turns. They met the Head of School and if they met the criteria for admission of their ward to the school, they were directed to the administrative staff for registration. After having done all the formalities, they were invited to meet me for a brief interview in a separate room. The questions were about the choice of KM, why did they chose it and what their expectations of KM in school.

On 25th February 2014, four parents were interviewed at school (see Appendix 5[F]). They were parents whose children were in Standard III in 2014. They were parents whose children were in Standard III in 2014. The interview lasted for one hour for each parent. The aim of the interview was to get their opinion about any change they had noted amongst their children since the introduction of KM as a subject, and their own perceptions of KM in school.

5.6.2.6. Interview of Key Informants

Same themes and sequence as with the head of schools were adopted with the informers but my questions wanted the informants to explain their positions on KM (see Appendix 5 [G]). In the category of key informants, I interviewed Spiritual, who was a catholic religious leader, first on 11th September 2013 from 17.15 to 18.30 at his place. I phoned him two weeks before the

interview and I explained to him that I wanted to interview him in the context of my research work. He accepted willingly. Spirtitual's views were essential as I expected them to inform the interpretation of my findings. He had been involved at his level in the introduction of KM in schools. I wanted to get his views from the perspective of a spiritual leader and religious person in the Mauritian society. The interview was conducted fully in French as the respondent answered questions in French. He talked on his personal experience with Kreol language and the Kreol issues within the church and the society at large. Questions that were put to him were why he took position for KM and I invited him to comment on some specific events when he took position publicly. His views were also sought about heritage language programmes which existed in other countries.

I interviewed Harold who is KM teacher in Rodrigues on 21 January 2014 at his place of residence. This was a one hour interview in the afternoon which was fully conducted in KM as the respondent is a KM teacher. He gave his own experience as KM teacher and why he volunteered to shift from General Purpose to a KM teacher. Topics of interview were about the language and cultural context in Rodrigues, the cultural affirmation of Rodrigues within the Republic. He made an interesting reflection about how the public debate on KM made the Rodriguans realize the importance of language in their cultural identity.

Aline, who held a former senior position in Catholic education was interviewed on 18th March 2013 at her place. The duration was one hour and a half. She stated that the introduction of KM came as a result of change inside the Catholic education which impacted on national policy. She also gave her views on how she saw the future. The medium used for interview was French as she spoke French with me.

The interview with Edward was conducted on 20th March 2014 at his place. Interview was conducted in French and Kreol.

5.6.3. DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

Documents are qualified as 'social products' in critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1993; Van Djik, 1993). Documentary analysis is the use and analysis of documents as subject of

systematic research on their own right or in conjunction with other methods. As such, we need to know the context of the document as they are 'situated products' (Prior, 2003: 26), who is the writer of the document and how the researcher approaches it. For Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007), researchers must, however, exercise extreme caution in using documents as they 'have a life of their own' and 'have their own interpretation'. Several documents were in circulation before and after the introduction of KM in schools. They were as follows: Hansard (Minutes of the National Assembly), KM's curriculum and textbook. Hansard of Session 31 May 2011was selected because it contains all the debates on the setting up of the different Speaking Unions. I assumed that an analysis of these documents would reveal the entrenched issue of language and identity construction. In the same way, an analysis of KM textbook and curriculum would shed light on their overt and hidden parts, that is, 'the norms and values that are implicitly, but effectively taught' (Apple, 1990: 84). I also collected pupils' drawings which I submitted to a psychologist for analysis. I also asked Mireille (Mentor) to submit a report on the impact of my research work at SJP School. I asked her to do so because as explained earlier from a critical ethnography perspective, the critical ethnographer aims at transforming certain situations during the period of fieldwork. I wanted to verify if any transformation occurred at SJP school. I did not ask a report for SMP school as the School Mentor there was not involved at all in my research work. All coordination activities of my fieldwork at SMP school were done by the Head of School Annie and not by the School Mentor.

In addition to document analysis, Delphi method was used.

5.6.4. Delphi Method

The term "Delphi" may be traced to Greece, where ancient people used the mythology of the Delphic oracle to predict future events. However, the Delphi method has become popular not because of this prediction, but because of its systematic and reliable research method of eliciting experts' opinion. The first Delphi method was pioneered by Norman Dalkey when the Rand Corporation opted for the Delphi method, for the sponsored military project, in the 1950s. Over the years, the Delphi method has become an attractive method of research, especially at masters and PhD levels (Cheong et al, 2012) and it forms part of one of the forecasting tools in futuristic

studies (Schostak, 2005). This is because as a futuristic study, researchers can use Delphi Method to explore and explain what people recognize as highly desirable in a preferred future.

There are different modes of Delphi study interaction or also known as Group communication techniques ranging from conference telephone call, committee meetings or committee panel. In terms of application, the Delphi technique requires one facilitator and a panel of experts who are knowledgeable in the subject matter being discussed. The panel can be from three experts to a few hundred. The questionnaire can be article-based (direct interview), ordinary mail, or email (Schostak, 2005). At least two rounds are needed. The number of rounds should depend on the research aim and objectives and not be pre-determined at the outset of the research. The rounds must correspond to at least three phases.

The first phase is characterized by exploration of the subject under discussion, wherein each individual contributes additional information s/he feels is pertinent to the issue. The second phase involves the process of reaching an understanding of how the group views the issue. If there is significant disagreement, then that disagreement is explored in the third phase to bring out the underlying reasons for the differences and possibly to evaluate them. The last phase, a final evaluation, occurs when all previously gathered information has been initially analyzed and the evaluations have been fed back for consideration. Depending on the nature, scope and scale of research, the use of the Delphi technique may have some variations. Typical of them are first, the number of rounds. It is believed that more rounds lead to greater probability of consensus about the future. Second, the method of selection and size of the panel can also differ. Third, the extent of anonymity afforded to the panelists. Fourth, how consensus is defined and how disagreements are dealt with. Finally, in terms of data analysis some use a scoring system and rules to aggregate the judgments of the panelists. In my case the purpose of using Delphi Method was to get a complementary research tool to understand what would be the future trends in KM as an optional subject and the whole issue of language and identity construction.

I kept the anonymity of the composition of the panel to the experts. Given, that the members are known to each other, I preferred not to disclose their identity to each other as this could have

influenced each other's reflections during the online discussion. I emailed only one questionnaire to the experts. The questionnaire started with a brief introductory note on my research work and it outlined the main features of the Delphi Method. The questionnaire (see Appendix 6) requests the experts' comments on: (i) the definition of ancestral and heritage languages (ii) the place of ancestral languages in the Mauritian context (iii) the future of KM (iv) the future of Oriental languages and (v)identity construction. These questions have commonalities with those that were raised with other participants in the interviews. But they were framed in the Delphi questionnaire with the aim of assessing the judgements of the experts on the impact of these issues on the future of KM. Two questions are directly related to the future namely questions (iii) and (iv) above. Following replies to the questionnaire, there were three rounds of discussion. I coordinated the discussions through exchange of mails while still preserving anonymity of the experts to each other.

5.7. VALIDITY

Cresswell and Miller (2000) see validity as 'how accurately the account represents participants' realities of the social phenomena and is credible to them' (p.124). In terms of validity (Carspecken & Walford, 1996; Carspecken & Apple, 1992) delineates also some validity checks like using a flexible observation schedule to reduce biases, conduct interviews and peer discussions, peer debriefing and respondent validation of data and interpretation at each stage to counter-check if data and interpretation are valid. But in qualitative research like critical ethnography, validity should be taken in terms of the richness, depth, honesty of the researcher and it is more appropriate to replace the positivist notion of validity by authenticity and understanding (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This multi-method approach ensures that there is triangulation which is a powerful way to demonstrate concurrent validity in qualitative research (Campbell & Fiske, 1959). Triangulation may be defined as the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour. Analysis is finally combined with different sources of data. This study has ensured that there is an internal validity with the

use of different research methods or instruments like participant observation, interviews and Delphi methods.

However, Carspecken & Walford (2001) remark that many qualitative researchers who consider themselves 'constructivists', 'poststructuralists", "post moderns", "post colonialists", "feminist theorists" and "critical race theorists" argue that any effort to specify a method and a concept of truth or validity will at bottom be no more than a claim to power that attempts to erase differences between cultures and people. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) refer to 'catalytic validity' which embraces the paradigm of critical theory. Catalytic validity simply strives to ensure that research leads to action. The agenda for catalytic validity is to help participants to understand their worlds in order to transform them. Lincoln and Guba (1986) suggest that the criterion of 'fairness' should be applied to research, meaning that it should not only augment and improve the participants' experience of the world, but also improve the empowerment of the participants. The role of the researcher has therefore, to be defined and I will explain how I had to engage in self-reflection when interpreting and reporting the findings.

5.8. REFLEXIVITY

Reflexivity is defined as 'a turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference' (Davies, 2008: 4). It can be mistakenly taken as a self-introspective exercise so that it is often confused with self-reflection or reflective practice. But it is more precisely the capacity of the researcher to acknowledge how his own experiences and contexts inform the process and outcomes of inquiry (Etherington, 2004). This acknowledgement is not an attempt at making one feel guilty that one is not objective in conducting a research. But it rather confirms that qualitative research does not separate the researcher (self) from the researched.

The notion of self in research has especially gained currency with feminist paradigm. Feminist research approaches lay emphasis on equality, challenge researchers to make transparent the values and beliefs that lay behind their interpretations. They represent a critique of dominatory and value-free research and posit that the barrier between researcher and researched must be lowered (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2007). This means that researchers have to take responsibility for their views, using the first person pronoun, 'I', thus losing the security of the

anonymous third person – 'the researcher', or 'the passive voice that distances subject from object' (Crotty 1998, p.169). In my case, the concept of reflexivity is highly pertinent because of my personal involvement as a professional and active participant in public advocacy for KM, so that I had to develop and keep a constant reflexive gaze on the research process. This explains also the use of 'I' in this study. However, reflexivity should not be equated with subjectivity but it rather opens up a space between subjectivity and objectivity which allows the researcher for an exploration of one's experiences and projections in the research (Etherignton, 2004). My central research question looks at the changes in language practices that have been experienced with the introduction of KM. It is underpinned by my own experience of change as a witness and agent of these changes.

My interpretation of the findings has to weigh my own perceptions with those of the participants with regard to the changes. But reflexivity is not limited to the self only, but it leads us to be more conscious how our self is shaped by the outside world. It touches on the nature of being (ontology) and what it means to know (epistemology). In fact, reflexivity helps the researcher to understand why s/he has chosen to locate the research in a particular epistemological paradigm and theoretical perspective. In my case, I believe that knowledge is socially constructed; education is the seat of reproduction of social inequalities, that KM has the potential for empowerment, giving voice and agency. My experience of advocacy of KM has led me to believe that it is a crucial issue in the national conscience of the citizens of Mauritius.

For Shachklock, G. and Smyth, J. (1998) reflexivity in research is built on an acknowledgment of the ideological and historical power dominant forms of inquiry exerting over the researcher and the researched. In fact, it is an awareness of this externality which makes one to become a reflexive researcher (Etherington, 2004). Reflexivity challenges us to be more fully conscious of our own ideology, culture, and politics and that of our participants and our audience. It is reflexivity which helps the critical researcher to go through the process of deconstruction and reconstruction of discourses. Reflexivity has also the virtue of creating trustworthiness in a research work.

For Etherington (2004), if we can be aware of how our own thoughts, feelings, culture, environment and social and personal history inform us as we dialogue with participants, transcribe their conversations with us and write our representations of the work, then perhaps we can come close to the rigour that is required of good qualitative research. My interpretations can be better understood and validated by readers who are informed about the position I adopt in relation to the study and by my explicit questioning of my own involvement. This means 'interpreting one's own interpretations, looking at one's own perspectives, and turning a self-critical eye onto one's own authority as interpreter and author' (Alvesson and Skoldberg 2000, p.vii). In my view, this enhances the trustworthiness of the findings and outcomes of research. Also, reflexivity raises those ethical and political questions which arise in the field between the researcher and the researched that are implicit to the research agenda and research methods.

5.9. ETHICAL ISSUES

This study complied with the Code of Ethics of the American Research Education Association (2011). This Code establishes the principles of professional competence, integrity, respect for people's rights, dignity and diversity and social responsibility in research. In terms of ethical standards, the code spells out that 'Education researchers adhere to the highest possible standards that are reasonable and responsible in their research, teaching, practice, and service activities. They rely on scientifically, scholarly, and professionally derived knowledge and act with honesty and integrity'.

Levinson (2010) defines ethics as follows:

> The word ethics is defined here as the capacity to know what harms or enhances the well-being of sentient creatures. To speak about the harms or enhancements to humanity inevitably launches our discussion into the arena of morality and the edifice of our civilization. Additionally, ethics entertains our personal capacity and our integrity to stand up for our cherished notions of good, responsibility, duty, obligations, etc. With our ethical standards in mind, we necessarily have to think about the transgression of those standards.

In line with the above statement, this study made an attempt to stand up for cherished notions of good, responsibility, duty and obligations'. For Sikes (2006), when deciding to research a

particular topic, as well as reflecting honestly on why they want to do it, researchers need to think carefully about what use any findings may be put to by others, and to consider whether any potential moral or ethical problems could arise. The author remarks:

> [..]research which could be taken to support socially divisive or discriminatory policies or practices, or which represents any groups of people as negatively 'other', comes into this category. In the past, research has sought to 'prove' 'superiority' on grounds of 'race', sex and social class. Some of this work has ended up having a significant impact on people's life chances. (p.110)

My main concern when I chose my research topic was about the 'socially divisive' danger that it can provoke. My research clearly targets children of the Creole ethnic group under the umbrella topic of language and identity construction. Although, research and reports related to ethnicity in Mauritius abound (Eisenhlor 2004; Miles, 1999; AGR II, 2012), yet conducting ethnography on a related issue to ethnicity in a school set up is highly sensitive in the Mauritian context. I addressed this issue by developing a pace to pace strategy so as to make the participants more at ease in the long run to speak up their mind openly on these delicate issues. For Soobrayan (2003), ethics implies how far the researcher assumes responsibility for her/ his deed:

> *How* ethical decisions are made is the crux of the matter. The nature of the ethical decision, and its acceptability to a research community and indeed to the researched, is contingent on this process. This does not mean that once the researcher can show how the decision was taken that it is ethical. It is only when the researcher takes *responsibility* for and is able to deal with the consequences of her decisions, can the decision be deemed to be ethical. However, the validity of such decisions is not permanently enduring. They may act as signifiers for other research decisions, but they are not timeless. Small (2001) makes a similar case. She says 'what we need is a closer attention to the *ways* in which ethical decisions about research are actually made' (Small, 2001, p. 387) (my italics).

Another ethical decision that I was confronted with was my role as a researcher. Skies (2006) consider that those who embark on insider research have to think very carefully 'about what taking on the role and identity of researcher can mean and involve in a setting where they are normally seen as someone else with particular responsibilities and powers' (p.97). I was in an insider research situation with responsibilities and power. This impression of an important

person, relatively young professional and now embarking for a PhD was compounded by my overexposure in the media.

Soobrayan (2003) observes that the qualitative researcher is constantly and consistently called upon to deliberately engage with the ethical, truth and political implications of his research. Amongst these issues are, for example, 'access' (Denzin, 2005) and 'positionality' (Giampapa, 2011) in critical ethnography. Both 'access' (how and in what capacity to enter the research sites) and 'positionality' (how to situate oneself) refer to the identity of the researcher. 'Access' and 'positionality' have been some of the first ethical issues I had to clarify.

My professional position in Catholic education does not necessarily needs that I have to seek for official permission for access to the two schools that I identified for my fieldwork. At the time, I asked for access to these schools as it was known that Catholic education was working on a pilot project on KM and I was in charge of that project. Given that my presence in these two schools was not for the KM project as such, but for my PhD fieldwork (although related to KM), it was important that I clarified my presence and motivation. I made an official request to the Bureau of Catholic Education (BCE) which is the mother institution of Catholic primary schools. My request was approved and I got a letter of access by the Secretary of the Roman Catholic Education Authority with explanation about my posting to the two heads of school. I found it essential that the teachers and heads of school were clear that I was not in their schools for the KM project but my presence was linked to my start of PhD studies. This was an element of trust that I had to strive for during my early years of fieldwork. My effort paid as it mitigated any feelings of 'hierarchical position' and 'power relationship of the researcher-researched' (Xi Wang, 2002) to a certain extent in the school community. On my first day, the Head of School introduced me to the teachers and pupils. I was also invited to talk to the parents in the year about my research project. Since then, I went to both schools at least three times a month, and I participated in the school life.

There is, nonetheless, my ethical concern of the children's participation in the research. Wong Kim (2012) refers to several studies (Einarsdottir, 2007; Forsmoshino & Barrosarauja, 2006 in

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Wong Kim, 2012) which show that research involving children has become increasingly popular in recent years. It tends to focus on children's opinions and views, as their voices are increasingly recognised in the educational field (Alridge & Wood, 1998 in Wong Kim, 2012: p.264). In this study, I organised parents' information meetings to inform them about the research and asked their permission to be present during class activities. Information sheet coupled with Informed Consent forms were distributed to parents. They were reassured that their children had the right not to participate or to withdraw at any stage of the research. After that, I nurtured my relations with the learners and their teachers. This entailed systematic and regular negotiation of my presence in the classroom.

For this study, ethical procedures with regard to information sheet for participants and informed consent were observed (see Appendices 8a, 8b and 8c). Participants and key informants had the right to confidentiality, anonymity and withdrawal at any stage of the research. However, Punch (1986, p. 46) argues that claims of anonymity 'ring hollow' because, with the close relationships developed, the long term stay and then the richness of description in the findings, it is easy for some insiders, including the main players, to recognise each other and themselves. Worse still, Punch states that it is when the people 'recognised' are the wrong ones.

The research was conducted in line with the Singapore Statement on Research Integrity (2010). This statement was developed as part of the 2nd World Conference on Research Integrity from the 21st – 24th July, in Singapore. It is a global guide to the responsible conduct of research. The Statement stipulates the following principles: *integrity* in all aspects of research, *accountability* in the conduct of research, *professional courtesy and fairness* in working with others and *good stewardship* of research on behalf of others. As is the procedure at the University of the Western Cape, I applied for ethical clearance with the Senate Research Committee before starting data collection. Given that, I had to conduct some pilot observations prior to the research fieldwork as I have mentioned that I was already working in two selected schools since 2010. Consent forms were given to participants and I explained to them that they had the right to withdraw at any time from the research. In the case of the pupils, consent forms were distributed to parents, preceded by an information meeting which was held in the two schools.

5.9. Overview of Research Design

This research is designed to highlight the changes in language practices which different actors have experienced with the introduction of KM as an optional language for the period 2012 to 2014. My research question invited a critical ethnography research design. This allowed me to get an in-depth understanding about the participants experienced the different changes in language practices. The design also resonates with the critical paradigm which I adopted in this research. The following table provides a summary of the research design which outlines how the research questions generated by the central research question were related to the data, the gathering tools for collecting information and the timeline used for the research process. Table 22 gives an overview on how the research was designed from pilot phase to implementation of the research work.

TIME LINE	RESEARCH PROCESSES	METHOD &DATA COLLECTION	CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

2009	-Expression of interest to embark on a PhD Study (UWC) with submission of a draft research proposal / Acceptance of expression of interest -Pilot research at St John and St Mathew Schools -Reading on research studies within field of language and identity -Identification of critical ethnography as research design	-Collecting factual information –Fieldnotes and diary -Group Interviews with teachers ; Interview of one key informant; class observation	
2010	-Registration for PhD Study -Elaboration of a tentative central research question-: 'What are the socio-historical processes which underpin the struggle for KM?' -Literature reading in heritage language -Central research question finalized : How far does the introduction of KM can bring changes in the language practices of Creole children in the Republic of Mauritius' - Proposal submitted	-Press cutting of newspaper articles -Recording of radio talk shows -Downloading of Parliamentary debates (Hansard) related to KM	-May 2010 General Elections -Lobbying for KM (I was amongst the lobbyists) -Elected party announces officially introduction of KM as an optional subject for 2012

2011	-Approval of Research Proposal and Ethics clearance granted by UWC -Pilot schools (St John & St Mathew) confirmed as research sites	-Class observations, Interviews, documents analysis	-Ministry of Education sets up the Akademi KM, high powered committee looking into modalities for KM in school -Divergence amongst members of AKM with one member resigning and finally consensus reached
2012	-Refining of central research question: 'How far does the introduction of KM has brought changes in the language practices of children in primary schools?'	-Class observation - Regular school visits -Identification of participants - Issuing consent forms to participants -Pupils are asked to draw their KM class	-January 2012: Introduction of KM in all primary schools -Teething problems with implementation of KM : e.g. recruitment and training of teachers, textbooks
2013	-Refining research question: What changes in language practices have been experienced with the introduction of KM language?	- Starting a series of interviews (head of schools, teachers, parents, key informants)	

Table 22. Overview of the research design

Hence, it is expected that these different methods yield rich data. In the next section, I present the data.

CHAPTER 6

PRESENTATION OF DATA

6.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the data which were collected by means of interviews, class observation and document analysis. As stated in the previous chapter, some sections of the data cover the period 2005 to 2014. In the presence of the rich data generated by the different research methods

that have been used, I selected only data which I considered would help me discuss my central research question.

With regard to the interviews I have kept the fictitious names of respondents as mentioned in chapter 5. Where there is an indirect reporting of a respondent, the name is bracketed. Extract of direct quotes are also given with indication of their original version where necessary.

Head of schools teachers and key informants' interview have been conducted in French, Kreol and English. Only interviews for parents were fully in Kreol.Words are worlds. The Italian adage 'Traduttore traditore' ('translator, traitor') expresses the untranslatability of texts. I have not systematically given the original version for each translation, but only where I considered that there are limits in my translation, and I have reproduced the original version in footnotes. First, I present data from interviews which were conducted with heads of schools, school mentor, KM and GP teachers, parents and key informants. Second, I give the main features I noted down during my class observations. Third, I present data from five types of documents namely (i) a psychologist's report (ii) the curriculum (iii) KM syllabus (iv) KM textbook and (v) the Hansard. Finally, I present data from the Delphi Method.

6.2. INTERVIEWS

6.2.1. HEADS OF SCHOOLS

6.2.1.1. Seven Areas of the Respondents' Answers

Two heads of school namely Annie (SMP School) and Michael (SJP School) were interviewed. With regard to their answers to my questions, I present them in terms of seven areas that have been covered during the interviews (see Interview Guide at appendix 7 [A]), namely their life and professional experience (Area N0.1), primary education (Area N0.2),Oriental /Ancestral languages in school (Area N0.3), KM as an optional language (Area N0.4), heritage language (Area N0.5), identity construction (Area N0.6) and KM and the Creole child (Area N0.7)   But given that these were semi-structured interviews, questions were not raised in the order they appear in the questionnaire. The questionnaire contained several questions and sub questions but they were used in an indiscriminate order while respondent was speaking. The questionnaire was

used just as a guide for covering the desired areas. I present the answers of both respondents in terms of seven areas specified in the questionnaire. This means that I do not give the answers of the two respondents to each question. Only relevant answers have been taken as data and reproduced herein.

6.2.1.1.1. Life and Professional Experience

The respondents were invited to give an account of their life and professional career. In response to this, Annie, who is SMP head of school, related her own story with regard to KM. In the 1970s, as a young married couple aspiring for social mobility, she and her husband decided to have their children admitted to a private school which is the French Lycée Labourdonnais situated in Curepipe in Mauritius. In those days, having one's children in this school was a sign of self-advancement and social prestige. At home she spoke French with her children, and the whole family adopted French culture. This created quite a double paradoxical situation. First, she was a Creole (ethnic group) with a modest socio-economic background which was dominantly Kreol speaking. Second, she was a teacher in a catholic primary school where English was the official medium of instruction and Kreol was used as a support language in the classroom situation. So, she had to reconcile the education choice she made for her children with her own work. This was not an easy task because when she was helping her own kids in mathematics, for instance, she had to explain everything in French, while she had to conduct a mathematics lesson in English at school. She had to use French and most of the time she had to explain in Kreol. However, when her children were grown up and attended secondary (known as 'Grand Lycée' in the French education system) they all spoke Kreol. She remembered how this was a big concern for her, and to a lesser extent, to her husband. As time passed by, her children have become grown up adults and that they occupy a good position in life, she is now at ease to speak both French and Kreol with them. This is because she considers that she has done her best for her children, but at the same time, she wonders if her choice for a French school was right.

For the past two years, Annie has been delivering an evening course on the teaching of the Catholic Credo[49] in Kreol at grassroots level with a team of lay Catholics. She is living a deep experience with this course and she said that with the introduction of KM in school, and being the first head of school to witness this change, she felt confused, but at the same time, she felt that she was reconnecting with what made the essence of her identity. She said thus:

I was taken aback when Father A.R who has mounted this Credo course in Kreol contacted me. I asked myself, why me? This is something new and revolutionary in the church. I have grown up learning my prayer (Our Father) in French and same for the Credo. You know...as I told you....There is also my own personal story with Kreol and French languages. But now, I realise the power of KM, how it can transform the life of people.. (Annie interviewed on 2013, August, 8)

Michael had a totally different life experience with KM. He had been working in different schools and he had always found it normal to switch from French to Kreol and vice-versa. As for many teachers of his generation, he believed that a 'little of French' is important to manage in life. But as a parent, he did not give too much importance to this and he considered that making his children succeed in their exams was more important than the social prestige of French. As a school teacher, he generally conducted his lessons in the following order: French, Kreol and English.

In the morning assembly he preferred to address the pupils in Kreol because he was sure that pupils understood his message. He also spoke freely with his teachers in Kreol. He thought that all the teachers spoke Kreol and that it was the language of all Mauritians. According to him, speaking Kreol helped him build a good relationship with his staff. However, he had observed that it was more often lady teachers who spoke French and refrained from talking Kreol with him. He also did not hesitate to speak Kreol with parents. He considered that his choice of language depended on the social and cultural environment. As SJ school had a diversity of parents, that is, working class and lower middle class parents, he had no problem to address parents in Kreol at a parents' meeting. Although he had no objection to the introduction of KM, he considered that only time would tell if this had been a good decision for the education system.

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[49] A Latin word meaning 'I believe' is the prayer which Catholics recite to profess the Christian creed. The Credo is recited in French in Mauritius. In 2012, the Church adopted officially a Kreol version of the Credo (Kredo).

6.2.1.1.2. Primary education

Annie and Michael were asked in this section to give their appreciation of the primary education system, the challenges they face in the day-to-day running of their school and their views on the language policy. In response to the question about the education system they both considered that there was currently, a cut throat competition at primary level for access to the best secondary schools. Concerning primary education, the respondents were unanimous that the education system of Mauritius was elitist. They considered that it was an examination oriented system which eliminated and selected pupils for admission to secondary instead of assessing their real competencies. This system gave few opportunities to the pupils to express themselves as they were just prepared and drilled to run for the examination competition. In other words, it is more of a rote learning system than a space for self-expression and creativity. According to Annie, there are lots of concepts to be learnt by heart and the teacher is the one who always has the last word. Annie mentioned that there was a lack of political willingness and courage to bring a true reform, despite several attempts to reform the system. Annie referred to some projects which the Ministry has implemented recently to improve teaching and learning like the UNESCO Sankore Project and the Enhancement Programme. The former involves the use of interactive electronic white board in schools and the latter is an evening extra curriculum programme for pupils who want to stay after normal school hours. The Enhancement programme comprises music, drama, songs and poem recitation, amongst others.

However, Annie was concerned that these projects were not addressing fundamental issues in education such as the medium of instruction and the holistic development of the child. She was of the view that KM should be used as medium of instruction in the first three years of primary education, and suggested that English be introduced in Standard/ Grade 4. She mentioned that even teachers who taught English had difficulties to express themselves. The simultaneous use of French and English in the early years confused the pupils. Expressing her hopelessness she stated:

This system goes in all directions. As constraints and challenges she said that every fortnight the Ministry comes with a new project. They just inform us to introduce another two projects. One is the Road Safety Kit which aims at preventing road accident. The idea is to sensitize pupils at an

early age about discipline on roads. The other project is about sexual education. Teachers are overburdened and we are everyday solicited by all sorts of activities. (Annie interviewed on 2013, August, 8)

Annie was also of the opinion that there were two systems within the education system: the government and the catholic schools. According to her, catholic schools lay emphasis on processes and competencies and not on completion of the syllabus, but government schools are 'more obsessed by C.P.E results'. Although she observed that catholic education care for the overall development of the child, she acknowledged that some initiatives in her sector were difficult to reconcile with the exigencies of the national policy. For instance, she made reference to the fact that catholic schools did not have summative assessment in lower primary education, while government schools did have these assessments. She made the following observation:

There is incoherence in this policy. When catholic schools do not have summative assessments and no results appear in the pupils' report I feel anxious and I can understand the parents, you know…They want to know the progress of their child. At the end of the day, the pupils will have to sit for the C.P.E. Even before Standard VI, we have a national exam in Standard IV. (Annie interviewed on 2013, August, 8).

She felt that it would be better that the French system of education was adopted. This system comprises three cycles, namely 'la grande maternelle' (pre-primary), 'la premiere' (primary) and 'la seconde' (secondary). She proposed that pre-primary schools be attached to primary schools. This would create then a better coordination in terms of learning and a smooth transition to primary education. She stated that primary schools were in great need of psychologists and social workers with all the problems that teachers had to deal with.

Michael (Head of SMP School) had a more cynical view of the system. He mentioned that nobody wanted the change as it played in the interests of those who were in power. He argued as follows:

Don't you see ….For the examination at CPE level they have decreased the standard just to keep this exam which is decried by all. Why do they keep in spite of all? Why do they keep English as the medium of instruction? (Michael interviewed on 2011, February, 5)

He further said that 'the government had control over the system. Only their children would get the best secondary schools. According to him, the post-independent period is one 'when new leaders have stepped in the shoes of the British', meaning that the new leaders kept the privileges

of the British. At that point, he was very critical of catholic education authorities who had banned private tuition on its school premises:

This decision is not in the interests of the ti-kreols (poor Creoles). The church is marginalizing furthermore the Creole community. There is an overall decrease in standard in the catholic sector. What is that mixed abilities[50] all about? Do you have any idea about it? On one hand we tell the Creole parents that they must care for the education of their kids and when they perform well they do not get catholic schools because they keep seats now for the low performers. How is it? (Michael interviewed on 2011, February, 5)

Michael seemed to retract at that point. I asked him if he thought that the struggle of catholic education for recognition of KM might be another risk for the Creoles to get marginalized. He fidgeted with his pen, made a pause and gave a sardonic smile to me. Then he continued the conversation by telling me that the Creoles were not doing well in education, and that today children of the Indo-Mauritian community are doing better than Kreol even in French. He said:

In the past, Creoles were supposed to be good in French. Today that's not even true. Just have a look at the names on the list of scholarship awarded by l'Alliance Francaise[51]. You have to use a microscope to see the Creoles. (Michael interviewed on 2011, February, 5).

6.2.1.1.3. Oriental/Ancestral Languages in schools

In this section the interview tried to capture the views of the heads of school about the oriental / ancestral languages. The two respondents (Annie and Michael) were of the view that many pupils abandoned Oriental languages in upper primary education. If they did the subject, some of them did not even sit for the final examination in this subject at C.P.E level.

For Annie and Michael, Oriental language (OL) teachers received a preferential treatment as compared to those teaching other subjects. The two respondents explained thus:

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[50] In chapter 5 we referred to the preferential option for the poor as a resolution of the Church's Synod (1997-2000). One post synod change was the change in catholic education policy admission criteria to Form I (first year of secondary) which is called the 'mixed abilities'. It is the admission of pupils of different abilities (from low to high) in all catholic secondary schools which till then were open only to the high performers.

[51] Alliance Francaise promotes French language and culture by developing and consolidating links with France amongst others.

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OL teachers have a light workload. They have very few pupils. Some have only three pupils and inspectors do not say anything about it. ... For the enhancement program, OL teachers are paid extra allowance same as GP teachers even if they have only three children in their class. (Annie interviewed on 2013, August, 8)

Since 2004 OL teachers are supposed to teach also other subjects like English, French, Maths, History/ Geo but they do not do so. Given OL teachers are posted in our schools by the Ministry of Education, they are not our employees. So, we do not have any control over their work. (Michael interviewed on 2012, February, 5)

Michael explained that OL teachers could apply for the post of Head of Schools if they had the required qualifications and good experience. He thought that this was unfair for General Purpose (GP) teachers. For him, GP teachers had a bigger load of work and participated more fully in the school life. He observed that the fact that OL teachers were eligible to become Heads of Schools, which decreased the chances of GP teachers to be appointed as OL teachers could compete for the same positions. In spite of all their concerns, the respondents considered that OL teachers must work in proper conditions. It is for this reason that a special room was allocated to them for their classes. The respondents also appreciated that OL teachers encouraged their pupils to participate in special school events like the National Day Celebration or Music Day. For the respondents, that showed the diversity of the school which reflected at the same time, the diversity of Mauritius. It is in this optic that the Michael and Annie two respondents claimed that the introduction of KM might bring a change and give due recognition to KM as language and culture.

6.2.1.1.4. KM as an optional language

As stated in chapter 5, I conducted Michael's interview in February 2012, just one month after KM was introduced. Even though the teething problems like recruitment of teachers, availability of textbook and peripatetic status of KM teachers had been solved by the end of my fieldwork, there are some elements of reflection mentioned by Michael which are still relevant to this study. In response to my question on his opinion about the policy to appeal to General Purpose (GP) Teachers to teach KM as a transitory measure, Michael expressed his doubts about the real motivation of the General Purpose (GP) Teachers who volunteered to work as KM teacher during the transition period between the introduction of KM and the recruitment exercise of fully fledged KM teachers. He said that many of the teachers preferred to work as KM teachers just to

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be like the OL teachers. That is, having a light workload and being peripatetic afforded them time and space to look after private matters like going to pay electricity bills, shopping and to do other activities during their working hours. So, he did not have high expectations of this new subject. For him, KM was just an additional subject although he reckoned that the introduction of KM had been a historical event. But for him nothing had really changed in terms of medium of exchange which still remains English and the exam-oriented system.

In a similar way, Annie expressed grave concern about the way things were managed at the Ministry's level in terms of posting of teachers. In 2012 two KM teachers were posted to her school for Standard I class. She was full of appreciation of these two teachers (both female). She said that she could see their motivation when she passed by their classroom. Pupils were fully participating and the class was really lively. But in 2013, these two teachers were transferred to another school. Two new teachers (both male) came in who, according to her, were less enthusiastic than the preceding ones. This perturbed the pupils as they were used to their former teachers. The resumption of 2014 also encountered some problems like non availability of textbook on time, teacher posting exercise in Standard III not yet done and absence of communication of the Ministry on these issues . For Annie, KM was not the priority of the Ministry and she thought that this was done deliberately to indirectly persuade parents to stop their children doing the subject.

In response to my question about how she found the impact of KM on teaching and learning, Annie said that she was afraid that pupils got confused and they mixed up French with Kreol and vice-versa. After three years, teachers told her that the pupils managed to distinguish quite clearly between French and Kreol. She was reassured through some spelling exercises which the KM teachers had been doing with the pupils in both French and KM for words which sounded similar in pronunciation.

The two respondents thought that the optional modality for KM was politically correct, meaning that policy makers could not do otherwise. Michael gave his view point on this political decision:

I think that the Prime Minister could not do otherwise than to satisfy the claim of the Kreol movements. At the same time he had to be careful not to take a decision which could be prejudicial to the Oriental Languages. (Michael interviewed on 2012, February, 5).

Annie found it really unacceptable that catholic education was no longer a leading partner in KM, as it had been a pioneer in introducing KM in prevocational education. She asked me what explained that catholic education was the 'bandwagon and not the locomotive'. I explained to her that the introduction of KM was a policy decision at national level, so it is normal that the government took things over. But still she was not satisfied and expressed her regrets that the politicians used KM for political mileage as and when they needed. The two respondents did not believe that KM would be introduced soon as a medium of instruction. They thought that this would entail big implication in terms of developing a KM curriculum for maths, science and other subjects. They considered to have KM as medium of instruction would need huge amount of resources and they did not see that any party coming to power would move in that direction. For them, the Kreol identity movements 'have sealed the destiny of KM' when they accepted that KM be offered as an optional language.

6.2.1.1.5. Heritage Language

This section on heritage language seemed the most difficult point for the respondents. My question was about how they would define heritage language. I was conscious that the subject itself was new and the space for such a type of discussion was quasi inexistent. But the gist of their answer was that a heritage language referred to the language which had been inherited by a group of people. Michael did not elaborate on the definition. He just observed that KM has been introduced on a par with Oriental languages and that makes it a heritage language if the latter is taken as ancestral language. Annie claimed that the Creoles had not yet developed a sense of identity with KM as the Indo-Mauritians had with the Oriental Languages. The sense of connection with the past was more prominent amongst the Indo-Mauritians than the Creoles. She thought that the Indo-Mauritian intellectuals of the past had done 'good work to raise awareness amongst their members while the Creoles have just embarked on this process'.

6.2.1.1.6. Identity Construction

In response to my question on how KM could help in identity construction of the Creole community, Annie thought that Creole priests were playing a major role in raising awareness amongst the Creoles. There were several initiatives at church level which she considered that they went towards the empowerment of this community. At the same time, the national television broadcast had launched a Kreol language channel[52] and she found that this channel was shaping the identity of the Creoles through its different programs, and especially the portrayal of the success and achievements of some Creoles. In response to the question how is KM identity present in their school, Annie said that KM identity was present at school when there was a sega[53] dance on the day of special events. She added:

Everybody joins into the sega. Hindus, Muslims, Chinese, all Mauritian communities. This shows that Kreol is our national language and culture. I can't understand why we should talk of the ancestral languages. (Annie interviewed on 2013, August, 8).

For Michael, identity construction was a delicate issue. In his profession he saw often the precarious situation of the Creoles. He thought that the Creoles lacked solidarity amongst themselves. He did not really find how KM could shape identity construction so long that the Creoles did not move out of their marginalized position in society.

6.2.1.1.7. KM and the Creole child

Respondents seemed not so much at ease with this part of the interview. The question was about how they thought KM could help Creole child in their identity construction. The use of the term 'Creole child' seemed to be an obstacle to prompt discussion. Then, they told me that they had not really given a thought about KM and the Creole child. But they thought that KM could help Creole children in schools like theirs. They said that KM gave them more confidence. Annie noticed that there were two projects in her school which were creating positive self-esteem amongst her pupils. One project targeted pupils of 5 to 6 years old about their mental and emotional health and well-being, and the second one was a course in photography for kids which

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[52] In 2013, the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) which is the sole national television broadcast introduced a Kreol channel in addition to its five existing ancestral language channels (namely Bhojpuri, Tamil, Marathi, Telegu and Urdu). This Kreol channel came one year after the introduction of KM in schools.

[53] The sega is a national dance which has African and Malagasy rhythm. Its origin is associated with the slaves.

aimed at self-discovery and self-esteem. Annie believed that KM was a plus point to these projects.

Hence my two respondents as Head of schools were interviewed about seven areas related to my research question. The next section is the interview of a school mentor at SJP School. The interview covered the same areas as I did with the Heads of school.

6.2.2. SCHOOL MENTOR

6.2.2.1. Seven Areas of the Mentor's Answers

6.2.2.1.1. Life and Professional Experience

I put same questions to Mentor Mireille as I did for the two heads of schools. Mireille remembered when she started as a young teacher in a rural school, she spoke French with her pupils, but then her pupils said to her one day: 'Madam, you speak like the news announcer on TV[54]. This was the first time she realised the language barrier in education. The barrier was not only the medium of instruction, but it was also social, especially when she was speaking French with the pupils in this region of the country. Mireille had to negotiate with her pupils and to get immersed in the social and cultural environment of her pupils and their parents. She learned to speak Bhojpuri which is a rural vernacular. Her first years as a teacher were a positive cultural immersion. This gave her a new perspective on education and languages. Probably influenced by this situation, she claimed that this might explain why she made her daughter choose Hindi when she was in primary school. She further explained:

I chose Hindi because this was my way to make my daughter discover another culture. I also chose Hindi so that she has a bigger chance to have better results at C.P.E. She is pursuing her studies in Hindi at secondary level. (Mireille interviewed on 2013, August, 29)

Her choice was quite abnormal because there was no talk of optional languages at that time. Hindi was referred to as an ancestral/oriental language. As a Kreol parent, her choice to have her child learn Hindi was unusual. She was happy today with the choice she made. But if her daughter was in primary education today, she would surely have chosen KM. She realised the

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[54] Original version in KM: 'Miss to koz kouma dir dan televizion'

cultural dimension of a language. She felt that her daughter might not know her own culture enough while she was doing Hindi which is different from Kreol. She also observed that the Kreol language debate in education was not an issue in rural areas. According to her, rural parents cared more about the outcome and results of their children's education than about social prestige. For her, social prestige was only an issue of the Creole middle class.

6.2.2.1.2. Primary education

Mireille pointed out that the system might have been good in the past, but there is an urgent need to change it because it is stifling a whole generation. Like Annie earlier, Mireille mentioned that there was a lack of political willingness and courage to bring a true reform, despite several attempts to reform the system. She considered that the system is too elitist, based on rote learning and drill exercises. In her role of mentor she said that she tries to help young teachers to adopt a more child centred pedagogy but she noticed that the novice teachers reproduce the old system which they acquired from their old teachers as models when they were pupils. The interview moved then to oriental / ancestral languages.

6.2.2.1.3. Oriental/ Ancestral Languages in schools

Mireille was in a good position to give an opinion about Oriental/ancestral languages which are taught at school. She said that her two children have been doing Hindi up to Form 3 (third year of secondary education). She observed that the primary curriculum for oriental languages was more culturally biased than in secondary school. For her, there was definitely a link between language and religion in the teaching of these languages. As a mentor, only General Purpose subjects fell within her purview. But she could witness everyday that the Hindi teachers (*mehinjee*) always started their classes with a prayer (*Aüm*). This is the usual practice for all Hindi teachers and it also applies to Urdu, Tamil, Marathi, Arabic and Telegu, with the exception of Mandarin or Modern Chinese. She remarked that Creole parents would generally opt for Mandarin, but as the subject is difficult in upper primary level (Standard /Grade 4 to 6), most of the pupils abandoned the subject. For Mireille, 'parents did not give much importance to these languages. 'It's often just politics'. She also observed that there might be a wrong perception that pupils of the Indo-mauritian community in rural areas did better in Hindi than

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those in urban areas. People falsely believed that that was the case because in rural areas people spoke more Bhojpuri than in urban areas. But for her this did not make any difference. She had this to say:

Generally those who perform well in other subjects are those who do better in Oriental languages. Performance is not linked with place of residence or home language. (Mireille interviewed on 2013, August, 29).

She thought this observation was also applicable to KM. She stated that if pupils were not laborious in their studies they would not work well in KM. For her the irony could be that non Creole pupils did better than Creole ones. She was of the opinion that as generally Creole pupils came from disadvantaged background, they were the ones who performed less better than pupils of other ethnic groups. She felt a bit anxious that if Creole parents were not fully conscious of the role of education, Creole pupils would neglect their studies and at the end of the day they would get poor results in KM. This would have a negative impact on the effort that was made to introduce KM in school as an optional language.

6.2.2.1.4. KM as an optional language

Mireille was sympathetic with the policy of offering KM as an optional language. According to her, that was the best solution for government to do in the context of Asian languages. She believed that it was important for the Creole parents to take advantage of this option. But for her KM would get its importance when it would reach the C.P.E level because then the marks would make a difference for the final results.

6.2.2.1.5. Heritage Language

Mireille was of opinion that the term heritage language is not appropriate for the Asian languages at school. But it was the term 'ancestral language' that should be used for the Asian languages as they have always been associated with the Indo-Mauritian community. In the case of KM, she thought that it is a genuine national heritage language as it is a language born in Mauritius. For her it was the slaves who gave us that language.

6.2.2.1.6. Identity Construction

Mireille had not given much thought to this question of identity construction. She said:

I did not really think before about this issue of identity construction. It was only when I followed a course in KM and when the research work started here that I realized how language is a core factor in identity construction. I myself I write now in KM and I am proud of my language. (Mireille interviewed on 2013, August, 29).

Mireille thought that KM could play a key role in the identity construction of the Creole children if in the long run they really identified themselves with this language subject as being theirs. For her just as the Indo-Mauritian children identify themselves with the ancestral languages, Creole children must have the same attitude for KM. But she said that KM is the national language and that KM could give both an ethnic and national identity to the Creole children if they take pride in it.

6.2.2.1.7. KM and the Creole child

Mireille stated that Creole pupils struggled with their studies. For her it is not true that they are lazy. But their disadvantaged background played against them. She was of the view that KM could be an empowering tool for the Creoles. But she was quite sceptical if the Creole community was in a mature phase to understand the importance of this language:

I hope Creole parents realise that there has been a long struggle for KM. The more important is that they also look after the education of their children. The irony could be that non Creole pupils do better in KM than the Creole ones. You know it often happens that Creole pupils because of their family background are not diligent in their studies.

Mireille considered that the introduction of KM is a high stake for the Creole community. She also believed that Kreol identity movements and leaders should be more vigilant now that KM was in school. She said that the challenge was to ensure the sustainability of KM as an optional subject until it should become a medium of instruction. In regard to the sustainability of KM, she also believed that KM teachers had a crucial role to play.

In the coming section, I present data gathered from interviews of KM teachers.

6.2.3. KREOL MORISIEN TEACHERS

6.2.3.1. Four Areas of the KM Teachers' Answers

Three KM teachers were interviewed namely Nadine and Mala (both from SJP School) and Sabrina (SMP School). Questions were directly related to the subject teaching such as the training period to become KM teachers, curriculum, syllabus and textbook. Answers to these questions represented specific data on KM. Interviews (see Interview Guide at appendix 7[B]) with KM teachers have been grouped into four areas namely, career path, life experience and becoming a KM teacher (Area 1), Pedagogy, curriculum and textbook (Area 2), Teachers' Training (Area 3), Optional language, Heritage language and Identity construction (Area 4). I give the data gathered from each area.

6.2.3.1.1. Career path, Life Experience and Becoming a KM teacher

In a similar way like for the Head of schools' and mentors' interviews, I asked the three KM teachers to give a description of their career path, life experience and how they became KM teachers. As stated earlier, Nadine, Mala and Sabrina were GP teachers who shifted to KM. They represented the first batch of teachers who started teaching KM. Nadine had been in the teaching profession for fifteen years and was employed by the RCEA. In the first years of her career, Nadine worked in schools located in villages, then in 2012 she moved to a catholic school in the City Town which has a prestigious reputation and which is subsequently highly demanded by parents. She taught KM in three catholic schools. She related how she became a KM teacher:

Kreol I heard about it several times, people were struggling for it, giving it its value. At first I did not agree at all to introduce Kreol in school… my perception was like this… but when the offer to teach KM came, this made me feel perplexed. Finally, I realized if it was introduced in schools, there must be some good reasons for doing so. It was a bit out of curiosity that I chose to become a KM teacher… I wanted to be in the train of change. A circular letter was sent, asking all those who would be interested to follow courses to teach KM. It was without conviction that I accepted. But afterwards … (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12)

She said that her real motivation was her attraction by the novelty of KM with 'something new came and I decided to go into it'. According to her, the choice to teach KM as a new subject getting into schools resonated with her character:

I am a person who likes to move ahead, looking for new things. I am here teaching each time the same thing…so something new came and I decided to go for it. Why not? (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12)

She got the confirmation that she made a right decision when she and her friends were amazed to see that lecturers from the French Department at the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE) left their Department to set up a KM Unit and conduct training in KM. Nadine says that 'this really persuaded me that KM has its importance, and its raison d'être' (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

In the case of Sabrina, she explained that she was motivated to shift to KM because her husband was also working in primary catholic education as GP teacher. So both husband and wife decided to become KM teachers. Sabrina explained that her husband was involved in Creole identity movement:

When the government called for GP teachers to volunteer to teach KM, my husband and I seized on this historical opportunity. Jean (fictitious name for her husband) was always in favour of KM as an optional subject. He was not in favour that KM be taught as an additional subject by the GP teacher. He was amongst the first people who suggested that if government intended to introduce KM, then we should get same advantages as the Oriental / Asian languages. I remembered he made such a statement at the first training which the Bureau de l'Education catholique (BEC) organised in 2006 on the UNESCO Mother Tongue Day. At that time he was considered as an extremist. But now this government policy proves that he was right. (Sabrina interviewed on 2012, February, 10)

As a government KM teacher, Mala had been posted to SJP School in 2012. She taught KM in three schools. She remembered when she was still a trainee teacher[55], when she was posted to a low achieving school for her teaching practice. This was a good experience for her. But unlike what people say and common belief about the low achieving schools known as Z.E.P[56] school she considered that:

As if in all schools you go, pupils are the same. Same needs… you need to give them same attention, care. There are no pupils who need less attention. You see, you have to give them attention, provide support. In fact, the same problem repeats everywhere like slow learners,

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[55] The Mauritian appellation for aspiring or pre-service teacher.

[56] Z.E.P stands for the French term 'Zone d'Education Prioritaire' (Zone of Priority Education). Z.E.P schools are those whose performances are lower than 40% pass at the end of the Certificate of Primary Education. These schools are situated in disadvantaged regions and are usually tagged with social prejudices. The Ministry of Education gives an extra allowance to teachers who work in these schools.

domestic problem at home, which upsets them, some pupils have learning difficulties, to write. In fact, it's same. (Mala interviewed on 2013, October 11)

She explained that she loved her work as a GP teacher very much and she made a brief comparison with the work of a KM teacher:

You know when you are a GP teacher, the pupil has a greater bond with you. The GP teacher replaces in some way the parent or what the child does not get from the parent. I had cases where parents told me that their children behaved in such a bad way at home. But they behave differently in my class…they have a good feeling for their teacher…they feel attached …but with KM, you don't have this complicity. It seems that this misses me at times a lot. You know kids remain always kids but I don't have time now to relate deeply with my pupils. (Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11)

When asked to relate how and why she accepted to shift to KM, she gave the following reason:

There are many reasons. I wanted a change in my career. KM came at the right moment. It was also a historical moment in the field of education. I wanted to be part of the first batch of teachers. Our experience is different from those who come after us. We are as if the pioneers… It is we who made the discovery, how to improve KM, what are the problems that can be encountered, what are the solutions to these problems and to improve the teaching of KM. Also there was the option that if we want we could revert to GP teacher. So, we were not taking really a big risk when as GP teacher we shifted to KM. But now that I am a KM teacher, I won't get back to GP. (Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11).

6.2.3.1.2. Pedagogy, Curriculum and Textbook

With regard to my questions about pedagogy, curriculum and textbook, Mala had observed within the three years that she had been teaching KM that the latter made a difference in terms of teaching and learning as compared to a GP class. Below is an extract of the discussion I had with her about this:

The response of pupils is very different as compared to the response of pupils in GP class. When you are teaching English, it takes a lot of time to teach a concept. But here as if it goes more quickly. But surely we have to make consolidation because kids forget easily. […] pupils are more at ease. For instance in Standard 2, we have sentences which say "No". These are negatives. But when you teach this concept in English and French, they cannot master it. But in Kreol it's easier. They are already using negatives in their daily conversation. They say 'mo pena" (English: I do not have) , "mo pa oule" (English: I do not want), It's easier. But in French

we have "je n'ai pas" (English: I don't have). It's more difficult for pupils to master. (Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11)

Concerning the contracted form "j'ai pas" (English: I don't have), Mala was concerned about what the book said, and how learners struggled to master it. She said:

But the book tells you that you must say "je n'ai pas". This is a problem. Even in Standard IV-V, pupils find it difficult. And the pupil also is frustrated. And then we have to stop and have the explanation again another day… (Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11).

Nadine brought a different perspective from that of Mala. She claimed that she has not observed any difficulty for the pupils to learn both French and Kreol which had similar vocabulary. She explained how she discovered that French could unexpectedly help pupils in KM:

I observe that now the pupils are in Standard II, yes…they know how to read…but then KM is syllabic, and French helps them to learn KM. They learn French in the syllabic way. They apply it to KM. So that they get it. But there are certain things they have not yet mastered. For example, there is no letter 'C' in KM. But otherwise for me I can say that at this stage when pupils have reached Standard II, they can read, they can decipher a word, they can… but a story…it will be difficult for them to read…but the words they can read, they can make short sentences. (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

Nadine gave an example of how the KM class used a pedagogy which was not oppressive. She gave a typical class activity for early literacy skills conducted in the first year of KM:

So I give them a drawing, I tell them to talk about it, discuss and then they write a sentence. Even if the word is not well written or there is no sentence order, that's not important! The idea is to let them say what is in the drawing in their own way of writing. Some can indeed make some sentences. I find this fantastic! So, here it is. Personally, I find that Kreol gets into school too late. (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September 12).

In the same way, Mala was convinced that KM motivated pupils to get interested in their study:

In the past, the child was blocked by the language barrier. He had to answer in English. Then he kept quiet. At times he does not understand anything. But now when you read in KM, he understands. But when I do reading comprehension in French, each pounce of word I have to explain. But in KM there is no explanation except some words. In English you have to stop each time, it becomes then boring. But when I do my reading comprehension in KM, they as if get into the story. When it is in English they can't get into it. When I did GP I can see the difference. All pupils really love KM. Especially they love the sound "wa" in 'tipwa' (English: beans) and 'lerwa' (English: king)…the child who does not speak well get this easily. At R….School there is one boy who always sleeps in class but we pronounce the sound 'wa' he wakes up quickly and says the word. (Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11).

Mala also discovered that the pupils even at such a young age could make a reflection. She realized this when one day she asked the pupils to explain what they understood by the word 'prekosion' (English: precaution):

Last time I asked what is the meaning of 'prekosion'' (precaution). All children were able to answer. They are using their language, their mother tongue, they can discuss on any theme. And they tell you things which are very interesting. At times am myself surprised. They have a reflection; they may tell you things which you did not realize that this is true. Real things which make sense. Because when I do a reading comprehension… Yes, they are more at ease in reading comprehension in KM that in English. At times when you finish the reading comprehension, they want to know more, they ask you more and you don't know what to tell them. (Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11)

For her part, Nadine was more confident after three years for having taught   KM as an optional subject. She considered that KM did not hamper learning in French. She raised the concerns she had before the introduction of KM:

 I had this type of worry. We did ask our lecturers about this, but they replied to us that in anyway children do mix Kreol with English and French and vice versa. Automatically there will be this language interference. Yes, it's natural. But we teachers we must develop a pedagogy of errors that is make pupils discover the difference in spelling for a particular in French and Kreol. (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

Sabrina and Nadine and were members of the writing panel for KM textbook. They said that it was important to point out the debate which occurred around the choice of names to be given to characters in the school textbook. This debate was about whether only proper nouns which were usually associated with Kreol names should be adopted or not. Nadine gave an idea about this debate:

It was a bit controversial. Yes, Given that Mauritius is multicultural, if we put an Indian or a Kreol name, others will say there is not our name. This is very sensitive. (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12)

 Responding to the issue of the picture in the English textbook, 'Toorab Family goes to the sea[57]' which showed a Muslim woman in swimming suit and which caused a heated debate, she had this to say:

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[57] This is the title of a chapter of an English school textbook for Standard I pupils in 2007. The teachers' Urdu Speaking Union protested against this title and asked the Ministry of Education to amend the title (online

We chose neutral names with a bit of a European accent. A bit like 'Remi and Marie'[58] textbook, this is what gave 'Vanessa and Leo' as title to volume I and volume II of the Standard II textbook. So these are names have no connotation… nothing cultural. All these we have to take into consideration…. (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

With regard to teacher status, Nadine said that KM teachers were being considered as a separate entity in school as it was the case for Oriental Language teachers. She found their status, like that of Oriental Language teachers as both a boon and a bane:

It all depends. At times it's good and in some cases no. If we have to ask a permission to leave early or to be absent, it's easier because we do not have a heavy workload but it's not good, I personally, I like to get involved in school life, but unfortunately we are no longer informed. But I think OL teachers like this. They do not have to do anything. But in my case I like all these extra curriculum or co-curriculum activities. (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

Besides, reactions of Head of Schools and GP teachers were not encouraging for Nadine and Mala in their first day at school as KM teachers. Both respondents got reactions like: 'why did you get into this…?'One day, a GP teacher popped in the Nadine's class, and she looked at what was written on the blackboard and said to Nadine: 'Ayo! Ayo! Ki ete sa?' (English: Oh! oh! What's that?'). Although Mala said that such remarks made her feel bad, she and Nadine were prepared for such a situation, thanks to the training they got.

6.2.3.1.3. Teachers' Training

For both Nadine and Mala, training at the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE) provided a souvenir of a great moment:

A good souvenir. At first it was quite difficult. We did know how to write in Kreol. I made confusion between 'C'and 'K'. At times it takes time but gradually it became natural. It was quite fun, the training, in a certain way. The training was different from what I got as a GP teacher. It was not too much academic. But we learnt a lot. For instance, on the history of Mauritius which I did not know. There were many things on Kreol language of which I was not

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newspaper: lexpress.mu, May, 3. 2007). The union considered that the picture conveys an image contrary to the Muslim norm and culture. This incident hit newspaper headlines. The Ministry requested all under duress all primary head of schools to delete the title and replace it by 'Sonia goes to the seaside'.

[58] *Remi and Marie* is a school textbook for French which was used in the 1970s. The content of the book was an early attempt at contextualising school textbooks.

conscious. How this language developed…I passed the Kreol examination also with good marks. (Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11)

Mala also felt the pride and a sense of belonging to her country:

Very different as compared to other courses, it was a course which makes you reflect, it changes you, the way you look at your country, language. I feel now having an identity and a certain pride. Because long ago, Kreol language was ignored. But now when I speak it, I value it with other people. I know its value. (Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11)

Nadine had this to say about their training:

Six months in all. We were very happy. Because government wanted to have KM introduced the soonest possible. For the catholic sector, we were only six teachers. Six out of a total of 80. We were the pioneers. We worked with other colleagues. This went on well. We had a good time. The lecturers were fantastic. And they taught us a lot of things. It was not only pedagogical but it was also technical. The way they taught us, the way they made us work was very interesting. We had sketch, we sang. Really we were involved in the learning. (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

Sabrina had, however, a more critical outlook on the training:

The training was interesting. We learned a lot of things. But my husband and I felt that the trainers tried to downplay the role of the Creole identity movement. In fact, it was thanks to the latter that KM is in school today. Only one lecturer made reference openly to the struggles of the Creole movement. At the same time, it seemed to me that most of the lecturers look at KM from a French linguistic perspective. Their perspective seems drastically different from your own perspective (she is referring to me) and that of Dev Virahsawmy. (Sabrina interviewed on 2012, February, 10)

I then moved to questions on optional language, heritage language, identity construction and the Creole child.

6.2.3.1.4. Optional Language, Heritage Language, Identity Construction and Creole Child

These areas which covered issues of heritage and identity were the most sensitive parts for me in my data collection. I was very embarrassed to ask questions on identity construction, especially questions on being a Creole child. This is because they are issues which touch the frontier of ethnic politics, power relations and ethnic relationship. Raising questions on ethnicity in a school context and with teachers needed tact and skills in negotiating with the respondent. However, I managed to make an entry point by explaining to the participants that my research was not about

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accents and word analysis, but about Kreol language and Creole children. I asked the participants to comment on how the Creole child constructed his/ her identity, and how identity construction assisted him/her when he/she learns Kreol. I observed some hesitation from the teachers in answering the questions. Nadine responded as follows:

(*Silence*). Let's say. This may be quite difficult to answer. (*A moment of hesitation*). May be with parents we can get a conversation, have meetings with them. I find that for instance for the World Book Day, when there was story telling…when it was in KM it was special….Children are more attentive. I think this has a role to play. (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12)

With regard to the number of Creole children in her school, she said:

Yes, a majority of Catholics. I got one non Creole, I think a Marathi. Her mum asked me if her child could learn also Kreol. I told her that she cannot take more than one optional languages, she must choose. You see, Kreol is spoken by everybody, Whites, high class people, etc. (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

Nadine did not answer the question on identity but then I came with the political decision underpinning the introduction of KM. She said that this decision was 'highly political' and she was totally agreeable with the optional modality. The reason she gave was as follows:

I agree with this political decision. Really when we hear how *ti-kreols* (poor Kreols and especially those of African origins) are getting bogged down, it's true Creoles are disadvantaged. When we look at the Muslims, Indians they have their languages in school. When we put KM in school, I think it's good. It will be examinable at CPE. Other languages are same. At least if Kreol pupils do not perform well in other subjects they can do so in KM. This can help them succeed in their CPE. Small steps… (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

Mala brought another dimension to the discussion. She thought that when looking at the role of the school in the identity construction of children, we must consider the power of persuasion of parents. She meant that if parents themselves were not convinced about the positive influence of KM on the identity of their children, there was no chance that KM in school could make a difference. She gave the example of another catholic school (Mala invited me for one class observation there in 2014) where she worked mainly with pupils from upper middle class families. Surprisingly enough, many Kreol pupils whose parents were well off had opted for KM. But Mala did not think that parents had opted for KM on an identity basis. Her opinion was based on the observation she made about these pupils:

Pupils of this school speak French at home; in this case they do not take KM for identity but to learn a language. They speak Kreol only in the KM class. As soon as the class ends, when they are in the queue they shift to French. French predominates. But here (meaning SJ School) this is different. Perhaps in the long term we can develop this identity dimension. Our language, our country, perhaps schools can play this role. When we Tamils, we do Tamil we know that this is the language of our ancestors. Right at the beginning we get that notion of identity. But KM how will we say that. It's quite delicate. When saying that some may not accept, some people may not accept this term. It is associated with slavery. There is a culture of shame about KM and especially when we talk of history, culture. (Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11).

The issue of identity led Nadine to speak about the recruitment and profile of teachers. She said that during the training she had noticed that many Muslims who were GP teachers had turned to KM. She considered that many GP teachers who have opted for KM had done so for 'the facilities, money[59], less work, lighter load of work than other teachers.' When asked if she thought that ethnic belonging impacted on the teaching of KM, she said that some teachers could barely speak Kreol properly. She explained herself as follows:

Am very sorry about that. One thing shocks me. There are different ways of speaking Kreol, there are some which make no sense. I remember while we were doing a role play at the MIE (being a teacher and pupil) one non Kreol teacher could barely speak Kreol and we could not understand him. There are different registers in Kreol-you can be familiar, friendly or formal. I was shocked by the familiar and vulgar tone which the teacher was using when doing a class explanation simulation. So what example do we give to our pupils? (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12)

The interview ended with a question on how the respondents saw the future of KM in school. Their first comments were about the risk of pupils dropping KM by the end of primary schooling. Although SJP and SMP schools had not registered a significant drop out during the three years (2012-2014), both respondents remarked that in some other schools (especially of upper middle class profile), some pupils had stopped doing KM. Nadine was worried that in one of these schools 25 pupils enrolled for KM in Standard 1 for 2014, but this number fell down to 15 pupils. The same situation had been observed by Mala in another school. The number of pupils in Standard I for 2014 decreased from 36 to 19[60]. In both cases, respondents said that pupils who dropped KM went to study Mandarin / Modern Chinese. Mala said that it seemed

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[59] As an incentive to GP teachers who shifted to KM, government gives an extra allowance to the teachers.

[60] It has not been possible for me to get an updated data as official figures stand only for the enrolment year.

that there was a sudden drop out after she distributed the KM textbook[61]. She thought that parents might have been shocked when they saw the Kreol orthography 'Mwa' which stands for 'Moi' in French and 'I' in English. This impression was confirmed when Mala met some parents on the Open Day (day of results distribution). Some parents told her that their kids were getting confused with KM words like 'gato' (French: gateau) and 'bato' (French: bateau) which have similar pronunciation in both languages.

Nadine ended the interview with a pessimistic view of KM as follows:

I'm really worried for the future. Will this continue? One thing which disturbs me is that when I talk to the pedagogical advisers of catholic education, it's not I who get information with them, but they come to me for information. Your institutions were leading this project. How government has stolen this project from you? It was your project? Catholic education is not doing anything. Even in its own schools there are no teachers, no textbooks. It is washing its hands with that. Am a bit disgusted! We do not know where we are and stand with that. (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

Sabrina shared the same opinion as Nadine about the future of KM. She said that the Bureau de l'Education Catholique (BEC) had not been enough far-sighted in its action after the introduction of KM. She said that BEC should not have let the government take the lead as catholic education had been a pioneer in this field.

The coming section presents data collected from interviews with General Purpose (GP) teachers. I now turn to the answers these selected teachers gave me during the ethnographic interview.

6.2.4.1. GENERAL PURPOSE (GP) TEACHERS

Three GP teachers were interviewed namely Joyce, James and Anabella from SMP School and John from SJP School. I have classified their view points in terms of 'before 2012' (for Joyce, James and Anabella) and 'post 2012' (for John). The 'before 2012' interview was conducted in 2010 focusing on the statement of the Prime Minister on 1st February 2010 that his government would introduce KM and the preliminary work that was conducted by the Akademi KM (AKM) . In chapter 2, I discussed the significance of this statement and I therefore sought the views of the GP teachers about this event. I present this data for the purpose of data analysis in the next

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[61] In the Mauritian education system, all primary school textbooks are given free to pupils by the government.

chapter as these respective chronological viewpoints give an indication of the context when KM was introduced, especially the expectations, fears and hope that this new subject in schools raised. The 'post 2012' period shows the impact of KM on teaching and learning. In the previous sections I gave   the view points of KM teachers, now I am   going to look at GP teachers' viewpoint.

6.2.4.1.1. View points before 2012

Interviews before 2012 (see Interview Guide at appendice 5 [A] to [G]) were conducted with respondents Joyce, James and Anabella in 2011. The case of Joyce interested me as she expressed some concerns to me in a conversation about the introduction of KM. She told me that she grew up in a poor family and that it was thanks to French that she had been able to climb up the social ladder. I was also interested to know what the young generation of teachers (James and Anabella had two and three years experience respectively) thought about the coming change in education, especially its impact. Before getting into the heart of the discussion, Joyce insisted that I understand why she had some reservations against the introduction of KM and she described to me her background as follows:

I come from the village of Goodlands. My parents are labourers. My mum started to work at the age of 12. Her mum had 12 children. My mum had to look after her little brothers and sisters. My dad went to school up to Standard 3. We talked only Kreol. We were four children. I completed my primary education at Goodlands Government School. At that time we spoke only Kreol, teachers spoke Kreol also with us. I passed my CPE and I went to Loreto Port Louis. I was the pride of the family. But in my village people started to look at me differently. People stopped talking to me. I was the little Kreol girl who wears the Loreto uniform. But the irony was that I had to fight to take my place in Loreto. When I was admitted to Loreto I could not speak French fluently. That was my greatest shame. There were Chinese and White students. When I asked a girl in where was the toilet, she answered me in French. I was ashamed. I did my best to speak French. Finally I succeeded my Cambridge GCE Advanced Level. (Joyce interviewed on 2011, October, 20).

Joyce met for the first time her husband in a youth Catholic movement. They got married and he started to work at a prestigious bank where he still works. Her husband also comes from a modest family. When they had their first daughter, they decided to speak French only with her. Their new social status allowed them to recruit a baby sitter to look after their daughter. They were quite anxious when the baby sitter spoke only Kreol with her. But today they feel happy as

their daughter is in secondary education. She is doing very well in her studies and speaks French fluently. I then interviewed James and Anabella.

The background of James and Anabella has some commonalities and is of particular interest and relevance to my study. Apart from being two novice teachers, Creoles and Catholics, they saw their appointment as teachers as a form of upward social mobility. Anabella and James gave a brief description of their background. Anabella gave the following description:

I was residing at Grande Rivière and it's been only 10 years since I'm residing at Pailles. My dad is a mason and my mother a housewife. My sister is married and resides at Bambous. At home we are just Dad, Mum and me. I come from a working class family. I've done my primary studies at Grande Rivière Government School and secondary studies (form 1 to 5) at Port Louis High School, Pailles and Upper forms at Bhujoharry College. All the time my parents put education first in our lives. As my father was a mason and had to work hard, my mother was here to help us with education. Fortunately both of us succeeded and are now educators. Even my brother-in-law is educator. I've always lived in "site" (township) though they called it Mon Plaisir Residence, I've always preferred "site". (Anabella interviewed on 2011, October, 25)

For her teaching practice during the pre-service training, Anabella was posted to a low achieving school in the suburb of Port Louis. Although the region where the school was located was highly populated by Creoles, the school had pupils from different communities. Most of the pupils came from poor families but the Kreol pupils seemed to have more difficulties to focus on their education.

James had this to say:

My father was a storekeeper and my mother is housewife. Every time we used to depend on our father for the households stuff that's why my mother was the one who encouraged us to have interest in education. We are three children. My dad was the man at home, working, bringing in food and mother was here to help us in our education. STD I to IV I've been at Vallijee Government School and I've continued STD V & VI at De La Salle School in the City Town (a highly demanded catholic school-fictitious name used here). It was a big change for me – feeling lost and I had to start anew. It was a teacher who asked my mother to change my school as I had another level of education. (James interviewed on 2011, October, 30)

When James was at De La Salle School as a pupil in his last years of primary education he felt lost. This is because it was a school with an upper middle class profile. But when he was posted there as pre-service teacher, it was like a 'revenge on history' as he was a teacher in this school. He said that unlike at SMP School, he always addressed the pupils in French and the parents

also spoke French to him. So, working at SMP School is another reality and it was his own reality as both Anabella and he lived in the same region where the school was located. They also grew up in that region and had succeeded in life as school teachers. It is against this background that Anabella and James gave me their opinion on KM.

Anabella and James referred to three aspects about KM: first, the link that KM would keep between home and school. Second, KM could give Kreol pupils the opportunity to learn more about their own culture, and finally, KM could give the Creole pupils a 'sense of belonging' to the language. Below I reproduce a verbatim account of the discussion around the introduction of KM in schools which the Ministry was planning. I wanted to know whether Kreol would be useful to children at school, and their opinion about the Kreol language:

It may help him. If on his first day at school we speak French, he won't feel at ease. However if we speak Kreol he may create a bond with the school. He will be at his place. I was saying that we already have lot of subjects and they are adding up Kreol now. Pupils had never done this before. For us it is difficult to read and write Kreol. But after second thought I would say that perhaps this may help some of them. They will somehow get more adapted to it as they speak Kreol at home, and at school we will be using the same language in formal way. (James interviewed on 2011, October, 30).

Concerning the benefits of learning Kreol, James commented as follows:

I think the Kreol child will know better his culture, his history. Often we had stories that our oldies told us but we never see them in books. Perhaps this will help children to know a bit about their origins. (James interviewed on 2011, October, 30)

On the same issue, Anabella said:

The child will have a sense of belonging. He will feel that he belongs to this language and he is learning it. He will create a bond with this language. (Anabella interviewed on 2011, October, 25)

The coming section presents data drawn from the interview that has been conducted with John who was a GP teacher after the introduction of KM.

6.2.4.1.2. Post 2012 view points

In 2014, I interviewed John who was teaching in Standard III and had only three years of experience as a primary school teacher (see Interview Guide at appendix 7 [D]). In his class, he

had the first batch of pupils who opted for KM in 2012. I deemed it important to have his opinion and observations about the progress of his pupils. John was another case of social mobility. He grew up at Plaisance which is situated in the suburb of Rose Hill, a town inhabited by the lower and middle class of different communities. Before joining the teaching profession, John was working in a travelling agency. He had to speak French and English regularly with clients. He chose to become a teacher because he grew up in a family of teachers. His mother was running a small pre-primary school in the locality. So, John has been able to fulfill his dream when he became a teacher. When he was a child, his mother used to speak French with him, while his father preferred Kreol.

John said that he had always been in favour of KM and that children should be allowed to express themselves freely through the use of their home language. When asked why he did not choose to shift to KM like some other GP teachers had done, he said that this policy decision was quite weird. He did not want to get into something which was not well planned. But he appreciated that KM had been introduced in school for three years. He thought that KM should be offered like English and French:

Offering KM as an option does not allow all pupils to benefit from our national language. I think government must change this policy. Now KM is associated only with Kreols. This deprives many kids of the joy of learning their language. (John interviewed on 2014, January, 24)

With regard to the relationship between French and Kreol, John found no dichotomy between these two languages. He said that he had always shifted from one language to another in a natural way. He did not feel torn apart when his mother was speaking French with him, while his father spoke only Kreol. He said that 'KM should not be taken as an issue…We must not give an undue importance to all these debates in public.'

John had noticed that one pupil who spoke French at home did not want to do KM at first. His mother came to see John to inquire about KM. John explained the content to her and the importance of KM. Finally the child opted for KM. John observed that the child seemed to be more confident and expressed himself easily in both French and KM. John had seen a similar transformation amongst his other pupils who were doing KM:

I don't know if I am right. I have only three years experience. But I can say my standard I class before 2012 was different. It seems to me that the batch of pupils who are doing KM do not hesitate to participate in the class by putting more often questions in KM or French than those I have known before. (John interviewed on 2014, January, 24)

After data were gathered by means of interviews with teachers, I also collected data from parents through interviews. Below I present data from parents' interviews.

6.2.5. Two types of Parents' Interviews

As stated in chapter 5, two types of interviews were conducted with parents of both SJP and SMP schools. First, I conducted a series of interviews in 2011 with parents who came on the days of children's registration for admission to standard I in 2012. A total of 24 parents (13 of SJP School and 11 of SMP School) between 28th April and 6th May 2011 were interviewed during the registration exercise for admission to Standard I in 2012. This exercise which is held every year was quite special in 2011. Parents had to express their choice for KM out of a total of eight optional languages (namely KM, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Marathi, Telegu, Arabic and Mandarin). All interviews were conducted in Kreol. In the context of the introduction of KM, data gathered in 2011represents the first data collected on the first parents who made their choice for KM. My second series of interviews were conducted in 2014 with a sample of parents who provided feedback on the introduction of KM in schools. I have a remark for the volume of data gathered during the interviews I conducted with the parents,

Both interviews did not really generate a significant number of data. But they were still valuable and I included them in my set of data. It might happen that the interviews which I conducted during the registration exercise had been constraining for the parents because the registration exercise is generally a very stressful day for parents whose main preoccupation is to secure admission for their wards. I could see the surprise on many faces when the Head of School introduced me as a researcher on KM. In order that they did not feel that their answers might be prejudicial to the admission exercise, I had to reassure them as per the confidentiality and consent protocol that they could withdraw at any time and most importantly my research was conducted independently from the admission exercise. Finally I managed to get some interesting answers. The second set of interviews in 2014 whose aim was to gather the feedback of parents

involved only four parents. The answers were quite lean. In this case, it might be that my presence intimidated the parents. In fact, literature in methodology underlines the impact of the researcher in the field which is often characterised by an asymmetry of relations between researcher and researched (Senft, 1995).

I present the data at two stages. First, I present data registration exercise days for Standard I 2012 (from section 6.2.5.1 to 6.2.5.1.3. 3.). Finally, I give data on the feedback 2014 (from section 6.2.5.2 to 6.2.5.2.3.3).For the presentation of data drawn from the interviews, I use the same numbering system to refer to the parents as I used in chapter 5 (e.g. Parent N0.1, Parent No.2) and the name of the school goes with the parent (e.g. Parent No.1 SMP School).

6.2.5.1. Registration Exercise Standard I 2012

6.2.5.1.1. Three Areas of Parents' Reactions

The questions during the interview were related to three areas, namely the impact of communication around the announcement that KM would be an optional language, what motivated parents for the choice of the optional language, and what the parents expected as content for the KM syllabus. Below I give the parents' responses for each area.

6.2.5.1.1.1. Public Communication

A set of questions to investigate whether parents were aware that they would have the possibility to choose KM as an optional subject were asked. The results of the interviews show that 54% of the parents from both schools knew that KM was being introduced in schools and therefore they could choose this subject. About their sources of information, parents said they heard on radio, read newspapers or watched the national television broadcast:

I heard the 19.30 News Bulletin on the MBC TV. I was also following the struggle for KM. So, my husband and I were prepared. We already made our choice before coming to school. (Parent N0.1interviewed on 2011, May, 4)

6.2.5.1.1.2. Motivation for choice

Parents said that they made their choice for KM so that their children could learn, read and write the language. For example, parent N0.1 of SMP School wanted her children to be able to read

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and write KM. For Parent N0.3 SMP School, developing children's writing skills was important: 'We can speak Kreol but we must also be able to write it'. The parent thought that her son would learn good manners and he would not speak 'enn Kreol vilger' (vulgar Kreol). Both the choice of Parent N0.4 and Parent N0.7 of SMP School for KM was motivated by aesthetic, cultural and historical reasons. The same trend was noted with other parents from both SMP and SJP schools. Below I give the comments of the parents from both schools:

Kreol is a beautiful language with its colourful expressions. My son may appreciate more fully his language. (Parent N0.3, SJP School, interviewed on 2011, April, 27)

We must know our culture. I would like to know reading and writing. Also the Mauritian culture. Where you come from, what is your origin. (Parent N0.4, SMP School, interviewed on 2011, May, 4)

My child can discover the history of our ancestors. (Parent N0.7, SMP School, interviewed on 2011, May, 4)

Parents who chose Oriental languages at SJ School gave also their motivation for choosing this language. Their comments are captured below:

I chose Hindi because it counts for the C.P.E[62] final results. (Parent N0.4 SJP School, interviewed on 2011, April, 27)

We are in this language (Hindi), it is our language, our culture. (Parent N0.5, SJP School, interviewed on 2011, April, 27)

I want that my children know their ancestral language. We want a plus...that our language is not lost. (Parent N0. 9 SJP School, interviewed on 2011, April 27)

6.2.5.1.1. 3.Expected content

With regard to KM content, parents expected that their children would learn how to read and write in KM and learn the history of their ancestors. The following answers from parents of both school are telling:

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[62] C.P.E (Certificate Primary Education) is the final examination at the end of primary education. In 2004 government took the decision to compute results in Oriental languages at C.P.E level. This means that it was definitely an advantage to study Hindi or any other oriental language before KM entered school as an additional optional language.

We made the choice for our child because we know KM. Bhojpuri and Tamil that he even does not know. This would allow him to know the story of Dodo...all this. Our history is in English but if it is in Kreol, he will understand better. (Parent N0.9 SMP School interviewed on 2011, May, 4).

KM can help them to read and write. May be my son can become a poet or writer one day like Dev Virahsawmy. (Parent N0.8 SJP School interviewed on 2011, May, 5).

When I was at school I had to study the history of my country in English, now my daughter will study in KM. (Parent N0.6 SJP School interviewed on 2011, April, 27),

I hope that my son study the history of the Creoles. Because the Hindus and Muslims know their history much better than us. (Parent N0,8, 2011, May, 5).

6.2.5.2. Feedback Year 2014

6.2.5.2.1. Three Areas as Feedback

6.2.5.2.1.1. Content

I interviewed four parents from one school only namely SJP School to get their feedback about how their children performed in KM. Their children were in their third year, that is, Standard III. It was the GP teacher, John, who assisted me in selecting parents for the feedback on their children's attitude and performance in KM. His own observation of these parents' kids in his class made him think that the parents were learning the language with their children at home. The school mentor phoned the parents for me, and the interviews were conducted at school during school hours. The duration for each interview was about one hour each. Interviews were conducted individually for each parent. As indicated in chapter 5, there were three mothers and one father accompanying his wife.

All the four parents said that they were learning KM in its written form with their children at home. The children told them that the letter 'c' did not exist in Kreol and it was replaced by 'K'. For example, we must write the word, 'kaye' (copybook) with 'K' instead of 'C' in French (cahier). Below I report some comments from the parents:

I found the book very elementary and easy to understand. I could go through without great difficulty. At times I had to struggle over some words. (Parent EB interviewed on 2014, February, 25)

For me the most striking was about the way words are written in KM. I did not see any accent as in French. Finally, I think it's not so difficult to have words written like this. (Parent NA interviewed on 2014, February, 25).

I think the teacher tells them short stories in KM. My daughter told me they listen also to music and song in KM. (Parent ES interviewed on 2014, February 25)

6.2.5.2.1.2. Interest and Motivation

Theparents said that their children showed great interest in the subject. For example, Parent ES said that her daughter liked to sing a song which she has learned in KM class. She also said:

Noah has not thrown away her Standard I textbook. She still keeps it preciously in her things even after three years now. (Parent ES interviewed on 2014, February 25)

Parent NA (grandmother) told me that her small child liked to recite a poem in KM with the title 'Kot To Reste?' (Where do you live?) to her neighbours who were very amused at listening to her child.

Parent EB said that she had noticed her son liked to open his KM book whose title was 'Tikoulou' when he got back home in the afternoon. She had also observed that her son was more 'relaxed and at ease'. The parent explained how she followed her child at home, helping him to do some exercises not only in KM, but also in other subjects. According to her, KM subject stimulated her son's interest in other subjects.

Parent EB and Parent AB stated that they had not seen any handicap that KM was causing to the study of French or English. Parent N0.3 (SJ School) said 'on the contrary, this has made my daughter feel proud to be a Mauritian'. The father remembered one day when his daughter told her grandmother that she was doing KM at school, and she liked to say then: 'Mwa mo Kreol Morisien' (I am a Mauritian Kreol, with an emphasis on the 'I').

Parent AB also spoke French with her son at home. She did not think that KM was harmful to his son's practice of French. She had observed that her son spoke less French after three years of learning KM, but he knew when and with whom he could speak French.

6.2.5.2.1.3. Cultural Dimension

Parents did not have much to say about the cultural dimension of KM. When I asked them if they think that KM could develop their children at the cultural level, they seemed quite limited in their response. They seemed not to have given at all a thought to this dimension of KM and they were for the first time confronted by such a question. They rather reaffirmed that their choice for KM was basically motivated by their wish for their children to know to read and write in KM. Parent NA, for example, stated that it was her desire to see 'KM takes its place in society…Who knows may be my daughter may become a KM teacher one day.'

All four parents also wished that the subject be offered at secondary level. For Parent ES it was important that KM led the pupils to know their history and the 'history of slavery…' and 'the language which was first spoken on our island'. When I asked the parent what she meant by 'history of slavery', she tried to explain to me about the history of the Creole community. She then said that slavery formed part of the culture of the Creoles. In the coming section, I present data from interviews with key informants.

6.2.6. Key Informants

As explained in chapter 5, my interviews (see Interview Guide for Key Informant at Appendix 5 [G]) with the key informants sought to get their view on the struggle for recognition of KM, the concept of heritage language in the Mauritian context, identity construction of the Creole community and the Creole child and language identity construction. The interviews generated data which I classified into four themes namely KM and change, Creole identity and nation building and the future of KM. As stated in chapter 5, the key informants were one KM teacher (Harold) working in Rodrigues Island (a Mauritian dependency), one male religous leader (Spiritual), one female leader (Aline) in senior position in catholic education and one male leader in the same senior position as Aline. I present the data as per the themes mentioned above.

6.2.6.1.1. KM and Change

Like other KM teachers in Mauritius, Harold was a GP Teacher who shifted to KM. Harold regarded the change that KM brought as a 'cultural progress' and 'a revolution'. According to him, KM was a means of recognising and valuing the culture of the child. As a KM teacher, he observed that KM symbolized an inclusive pedagogy which acknowledged the linguistic and

cultural background of the child. In the context of Rodrigues, he observed that people had been involved in the process of a cultural revolution since they got their autonomy status in 2000.

However, Harold said that the change that KM brought was especially to create awareness amongst people of the linguistic and cultural heritage Rodrigues within the Republic of Mauritius. Until the introduction of KM, people did not realize that language was an important element in cultural emancipation. It was for this reason that he thought that people in Rodrigues were asking for Kreol Rodrigues (KR) to be taught in schools instead of Kreol Morisien (KM). For him, KR has its own specifications which the Republic had to acknowledge.

Aline and Edward considered that change came first through catholic education. When Aline looked back at the period 2004 – 2012, she learned that there was a strong divergence, even amongst the catholic education actors. Aline had been participating in meetings for implementing the PrevokBEK program with stakeholders in the sector. She said that the whole catholic sector went through an internal change with mother-tongue based program for literacy and numeracy in KM. It is this internal change which influenced events at national level. Thus Edward remembered when he was a young primary school teacher, and how they were influenced by the rationale of a mother-tongue based program but they could not against the official policy as regard the medium of instruction:

Individuals like Dev Virahsawmy and international organizations like UNESCO spoke on the importance of mother-tongue. But we teachers we rejected their views while at the same time we were fully conscious that we could not ignore KM as mother tongue. In fact we did teach in KM, going against what the law tells us. (Edward interviewed on 2014, February, 19)

In view of the above, Edward claimed that they had a long walk to come where they were, and he stated that the change could have been so many years ago. He expressed regret for having been harsh with his pupils when they could not say in French 'Monsieur, je peux aller aux toilette, s'il vous plait' (Sir, can I please go to the toilets), and asked permission to go to toilets in Kreol, instead. He said that those were norms and values of the past. So, for him KM had brought a 'paradigm shift'. But at the same time, he observed that nothing had changed in terms of improvement of the education system. For him KM as an optional subject had not changed the

problem of illiteracy and an education system which alienated the child. Edward said that power relations had remained the same:

Nothing has changed. The official medium is still English. Those who have a strong cultural capital will survive while children who are disadvantaged will continue struggling. (Edward interviewed on 2014, February, 19)

For Spiritual, the language change came with a change in the church. He made reference to the expression 'malaise creole' which was coined in 1993 by the late Father Roger Cerveaux. He thought that everything started from there and that Roger's statement was a schism, especially in the church. He also thought that an institution had the capacity to give legitimacy to things which had been repressed. Spiritual said that he witnessed this when the church started using the word 'Creole' openly with the Bishop of the Catholic church published his Lent Letter on the malaise creole in 1993.

6.2.6.1.2. Creole Identity and Nation Building

Edward was of the opinion that there was a direct link between language and identity construction. For him, KM allowed unconsciously the child to reflect on her/his language. In the case of Rodrigues, he said that opinion leaders and politicians of Rodrigues worked a lot on identity to distinguish people of Rodrigues from those of mainland Mauritius. Autonomy was thus more a political status and, in fact, according to Edward, KM or Rodrigues Kreol became central to the effort to further their autonomous status.

Edward stated that there were two schools of thought on autonomy in Rodrigues. First, the federalist school of thought proposed that Rodrigues must stay within the Republic of Mauritius with a federal model of political governance. Second, the self-determination school of thought saw Rodrigues as an independent country. For Edward, both schools of thought regarded the Kreol language as a key element in the political construction of Rodrigues. Harold's dream was to see Rodrigues becoming a typical Kreol country within the Republic of Mauritius.

Edward refused to be assigned a Kreol identity which put him in the ethnic pigeonhole. For Aline, linking KM with the Kreol identity and with the Kreols had been a regrettable deed when KM was introduced as an optional subject. She thought that catholic education should not have

backed such a political decision. According to her, the catholic authorities should have maintained their advocacy of KM as medium of instruction instead of legitimizing the discourse of the Kreol identity affirmation movement. Aline explained her embarrassment as follows:

At one moment when I was involved in the processes, I felt torn apart between the pedagogical interest for the Mauritian child and the Kreol identity cause which my Church was defending. (Aline interviewed on 2014, February 25).

6.2.6.1.3. Christian anthropology

Spiritual said that he understood the position of the Church on the issue of KM, and for having played an influential role in pressurizing policy makers to have KM in schools. He argued as follows:

The church is composed of a majority of Creoles. In my ministry I come across many *ti –Kreol,* Creole people of the ordinary life. The church had to be on the side of the Creoles. Also you had Kreol priests who have upheld that cause. They are not stupid people. The Bishop listens and consults them on the Kreol issue. (Spiritual interviewed on 2014, February 16)

Spiritual also considered that there was an anthropological dimension which the Christian faith could not ignore, which was about the dignity of the human being. He referred to the missionary work of Father Laval amongst the emancipated slaves in the 19th century Mauritius. For Spiritual, the Catholic Church with an iconic figure like Father Laval in its history could not sit on the fence and stay neutral. The Church had to do something for the Creoles as they were the most disadvantaged group. For him as KM became the main claim of the Creole identity movement, it was quite natural that the Church to support this claim although did not share all the positions of this movement and its leaders.

6.2.6.1.4. Future of KM

Edward believed that keeping KM as an optional language at par with Oriental languages was to keep KM in a blind alley in the future. This meant that KM would remain stuck on ethnic balance. Edward was in favour of KM being taught as an additional language to English and French. For Aline, it would be better to let things evolve naturally in that KM would impose itself. One interesting thing she expressed was that KM teachers had been trained not as specialist teachers, but as General Purpose Teachers with specialisation in KM. In her view,

gradually all GP teachers would be aware of the importance of KM and would use KM as a medium. In that way, the policymakers would be forced to make KM a medium of instruction. However, she voiced out that she was still skeptical if the political establishment would adopt KM as a medium of instruction.

In summary, in this first section I have presented data collected from ethnographic interviews conducted with four respondents. First, I interviewed the Head of schools of the SJP and SMP schools and one mentor from SJP school. The interview covered the life and professional experience of the respondents, an analysis of primary education in general, the place of oriental and ancestral languages in schools, their views on KM as an optional language, their own understanding of the term heritage language, a discussion on language identity construction of the Creole child.

Second, with regard to interviews conducted with teachers, three KM and four General Purpose teachers were involved. For KM teachers, the interview provided insights into the career path, experience and how they became KM teachers. Also, pedagogy, curriculum and textbook and teacher training were covered in the discussion of interviews. The last area that was explored referred to heritage language, optional language, language identity construction and the Creole child. As for General Purpose (GP) teachers, data came from interviews conducted with three GP teachers before 2012 at SMP School and one teacher after 2012 at SJP School.

Third, a total of 28 parents were interviewed. There were 13 (SJP School) and 11 parents (SMP School) who were interviewed in 2011 on the day of the registration for admission to Standard I 2012. This registration process was quite special because it was the first time that parents had to opt for KM out of seven optional existing language subjects. Questions put to parents were about the effectiveness of the communication of the authorities to inform parents on KM as an optional subject, why they chose KM for their children, and their expectations about the subject content. Then four parents (SJP School) were interviewed in 2014 to get an indication of their feedback after three years of the implementation of KM in schools. The interview covered the areas of subject content, interest and motivation of their children and their views on the cultural dimension of KM.

Finally, the ethnographic interviews were conducted with four key informants. The informants comprised one religious leader, one KM teacher from Rodrigues and two informants occupying key positions in catholic education. Four areas were covered in these interviews, namely, the role and impact of change, Kreol identity and nation building, Christian anthropology and the future of KM. In the following section I focus on data collected by means of classroom observations.

6.3. CLASSROOM OBSERVATION

In this section, I present data collected by means of observations made at SMP and SJP Schools. It is mainly class observation that I have conducted although my presence at school on special occasions like the National Day Celebration or Music Day gave me also an insider's view of the overall school atmosphere which I took into consideration for my class observations. I have selected a number of activities in school namely, morning assembly, English, French, Science and KM classes which I present here as data. I give excerpts of these activities. The activities are from Standard I to 5. In Chapter 5, I explained the rationale of conducting my class observations in classes other than KM was that I wanted to assess the overall sociolinguistic situation in school and from there understand the place of KM. Each activity that I observed is labelled according to participants (i.e. pupils and teachers). For each pupil interaction with a teacher, I use letter 'P', and a number (e.g. P1), and for the teacher I indicate it by letter 'T' and number it (e.g. T1). My observations generated six observations namely (i) French was the dominant speech at the Daily Morning Assembly, English, (ii) Kreol and French were used in French class, (iii) the usual teacher's admonition to pupils was to tell pupils speak French and not Kreol (iv) French is used in English class and finally (v) Kreol and French are used to explain key words in Science class (vi) KM class provides the opportunity to write and draw the world in KM.

6.3.1. French as dominant speech at Morning Assembly

It is Wednesday. The bell rings at 8:45.Pupils line up. Each GP teacher is with her/his class. The Head of School greets the pupils and teachers. She makes some general comments about the need to keep the school tidy and encourages them to persevere in their studies. A group of pupils come forward and helps the assembly to pray. The prayer ends with the Christian prayer: Our

Father. A gospel is also sung up by the assembly. Then, all pupils look at the flag post, stand solemnly and sing the National Anthem. Afterwards, the Head School asks the pupils to dismiss and get to their class quietly and in order.

This was the daily ritual of the school which started with a morning assembly. It was a time for communication and laying emphasis on important issues and transmitting explicitly the values of the school. The Head of School always made her greetings in French, 'Bonjour tout le monde', (Good morning everybody). Communication was done mainly in French. The prayer was also in French. But some prayer songs could be in Kreol. By contrast, I observed that at SJP School 'Our Father' prayer was recited regularly in Kreol during the year. More prayer songs in KM were also sung there than at SM School.

6.3.2. English, Kreol and French in French class

This was a French class conducted by GP Teacher Rosa. All pupils had their French school textbooks. It was Lesson 1 (Lecon 1: Le son /a/) on the sound /a/ which was on page 6 of the book, *Trait d'union Francais, Standard I. 1e Partie*. (Ministry of Education and Human Resources, 2012).

Teacher writes the syllables on the blackboard: cr / cra / cru / cro

Line 1. T1: Vous avez bien appris comment on écrit ? Comment on écrit patate? (Have you well understood how we write? How do we write sweet potato?)

Line 2. P1: Pa-ta-te (teacher spells out the syllables of French word 'patate')

Line 3. T2: Alors, comment on écrit tomate (So, how do we write tomato?)

Line 4. P 1: Mwa mo kone (I do know)

Line 5. T3: Vous allez écrire votre nom d'abord.(You're going to write your name first)

Line 6. P 2: Miss mo pena krayon. (Madam, I don't have a pencil)

(Class observation conducted at SMP School on 2012, April, 25)

The teacher asked the pupils to spell 'patate' (sweet potato) and 'tomate' (tomato). Both 'patate' and 'tomate' end with same phoneme. We can note the interventions by pupils (P1 and P2) in Kreol as illustrated in lines 4 and 6. But the teacher admonished the pupil not to speak in Kreol as I will describe below.

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6.3.3. Say it in French not Kreol

Line 1.T1: 'Miss je n'ai pas de crayon'. Alors qu'est-ce qu'il faut dire ? ('Madam, I don't have a pencil'. So, what should be said?)

Line 2. T2 : Allez vous autres on écrit dans l'air : tomate ? (Ok, we write in the air: tomato? Teacher asks pupils to make the gesture of writing the word with their fingers)

Line 3.T3: Attention, en anglais qu'on dit 'tomato'.

Line 4. P1: Tomato

Line 5, T4: Bravo! Oui ma fille tu travailles dur.

(Class observation conducted at SMP School on 2012, April 25)

In the above excerpt, the teacher (T1) tells the pupil to say the sentence in Kreol 'Miss mo pena krayon' in French (See line 1), In line 3, the teacher tells the pupils that we say 'tomato' in English.

The teacher confided in me that the Head of school was against that her pedagogical strategy of teaching the pupils learn to write because the pedagogical policy prescribes that writing should be preceded by oral activities in Standard I. But she believed that the earlier they knew how to write, the better. She added that all the pupils had to sit for the CPE examination in five years.

6.3.4. French in English class

This was an English class in Standard 3. It was an activity on identifying parts of the body. But before the teacher started explaining, he checked if the pupils still remembered words which he explained on the previous day (morning, how, are, etc.).

Line 1.T1: On retire le livre (we take out the book) and we open Chapter: Myself

Teacher writes a list of words on blackboard and checks if all pupils know the words:

morning, how, you, are, good, butterfly, well

Line 2.T2: Qui connait ce mot? (who knows this word ?)

Line 3. T3: Maintenant vous allez lire avec le doigt. (Now you're going to write with the finger).

Line 4. P1: Good morning! Good morning! How are you! Good morning! Good morning butterfly! How are you? I am well! I am well! Thank you!

Teacher makes pupils read the short text (p.1).

Teacher cuts sheet of paper for pupils and distribute

Line5.T4: Tu partages. Il faut faire vite.

Teacher asks pupils to draw the shape of a face. Then she puts the eyes (and pupils have to draw). Teacher tells pupils not to write but to draw only.

Line 6.T5: Draw the eyes, nose, the mouth, the neck and finally the hair.

<div align="right">(Class observation conducted at SJP School on 2014, January, 23)</div>

We can observe that in lines 1, 2, 3 and 5, the teacher speaks French. He speaks in English only when he refers to the key words (in line 6).

6.3.5. Kreol and English for key words only in Science Class

This is a science class of Standard 5 which I observed. The topic is a class demonstration

Line 1.T1: Nou ena plizir kalite gaz nitrogen, oxygen, carbon dioxide ek other gases. (We have several types of gases namely nitrogen, oxygen, carbon dioxide and other gases)

Line 2.T2: Nou alim nou labouzi- Tout le monde voit là ? (We light our candle. Can everybody see?

Line 3. T3: Nou labouzi pou brile (our candle will burn), so the candle will burn (teacher repeats sentence in English).

Line 4.T4: Kone ki vedir 'transparent'? (Do you know what is meant by 'transparent'?

Teacher put a glass jar on a candle

Line 5. P1: Miss pena ase ler.

Line 6. T5: When a candle burns, it needs oxygen. Enn tipe parey kouma nou. Nou bizin oxyzen pou respire.

<div align="right">(Class observation conducted at SMP School on 2011, April, 28)</div>

The teacher did a demonstration, showing the pupils the importance of oxygen. She lit up a candle and showed the flame. Then she put a jar on the candle. Gradually, the flame died and the candle stopped burning. In line 1, the explanation is in Kreol except the gases which are referred to in English. In line 2 she used both French and Kreol, and in line 3 she used Kreol and English. In line 5 the teacher gave the result of her demonstration in English, and then she put emphasis

on the demonstration in Kreol by saying: 'enn tipe kouma nou. Nou bizin oxygen pou respire' (A bit like us. We need oxygen to breathe).

6.3.6. Draw and write your world in KM class

This was a lesson about syllables in a Standard I KM class. The teacher was doing a lesson on syllables which she started on the preceding day. The teacher started by evaluating if the pupils had acquired some syllables.

Line 1.T 1: Ki nou ti koze yer ? (What did we talk yesterday?) Wi, sete bann silab. (Yes, it was about syllables) Donn mwa enn nom ki to kone? (Give me a name which you know) Komie silab ena ? (How many syllables do we have?) Sa ki mo: rido (for word 'rido')

Line 2. P 1: 2 silab (2 syllables)

Line 3.T2 : Helikopter (Helicopter)

Line 4. P2: 3 silab (three syllables)

Line 5.T3 : Pom/de/ter-3 silab ('pom/ de/ ter- 3syllables)

Line 6. T4: Zot desin 2 zafer, si mo mazinn enn rido, mo desinn li (You draw two things, if I imagine a curtain, I draw it).

Line 7.T 5: Zot bizin dir mwa ki zot finn desine . (You must tell me what did you draw.) Me selman, pa zis desine . (But not only draw) Bizin desinn 2 diferan kitsoz. (But draw two different things), Apre nou kolorye. (Afterwards we colour)Non pa fer de mem zafer. (No do not do two same things).

Line 8. T6 : Zot kapav mem gete ki nou ena dan klas, zot fer (You can even look at what we have in the class, then you draw it)

Line 9.T7: Dir mwa ki to finn desine ? (Tell me what did you draw?)

Line 10.P3: Lafenet (window)

Line 11.T8: Komie silab ena ? (How many syllables do we have?)

Line 12.P4: 3 silab (three syllables)

Line 13.T8: Dir tou zanfan… dir lafenet (Say all pupils...say window)

Line 14.P5: La maison (teacher tells pupil that we do not say 'la maison' but 'lakaz')

(Class observation conducted at SMP School on 2012, March, 22)

In lines 1 to 5, the teacher gave a list of words and asked the pupils to give the number of syllables they heard. She asked the pupils to draw an object or anything they could think about, anything in the class. Pupils had also to colour their drawings, as indicated in lines 6 and 8.

From line 9 to the end of the excerpt, she asked the pupils to show their drawings and say what these drawings were about. Then each time a pupil named her/his drawing, the teacher asked the whole class how many syllables there were in the word that were pronounced.

In summary, my class observations at SJP and SMP schools entailed gathering data during the morning school assembly and doing class observations for French, English, Science and KM classes. These observations led me to draw five major observations. First, the morning school assembly was a space where French was dominantly used. Second, the use of French, English and Kreol was common in French classes. Third, pupils were admonished when they made a statement in Kreol in French class, and they had to say it again in French. Fourth, French was frequently used in the English class. Fifth, Kreol was dominantly used in the Science class, especially for demonstration. English was used only for understanding key words and concepts. Finally, the KM class gave the pupils the opportunity to write in KM and draw their environment with their own cultural and linguistic reference.

6.4. DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

In this section, I present six types of documents from which I have drawn data for my research. These documents are the psychologist's report on KM pupil's drawings, the School Mentor's Report (SJP School) on my fieldwork, the KM curriculum, KM textbooks (Standards 1-2-3) and debates on the Speaking Bills on 31st May 2011 from the Hansard (Minutes of the National Assembly Debates).

6.4.1. Psychologist's Report on Pupils' Drawings: Smile and National Flag

At the end of 2012, I wanted to get an idea about the pupils' appreciation of their KM class. With the help of their teachers, I formulated a title for a drawing class activity: '*Ki zot Kontan Dan Klas KM*?' (What do you like in KM class?). This activity was conducted on spot during one KM class in SJ and SM schools. Pupils of Standard I drew their pictures on a sheet of their

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drawing copybook. They were encouraged by the class teacher to colour their drawings. They wrote their names at the top of the paper. The same activity was repeated at the end of 2013 when they were in Standard II and in Standard III at the beginning of 2014. There were a total of 90 drawings which I collected and submitted to clinical psychologist Ginette (fictitious name) in February 2014. I asked her to comment on the drawings from a psychologists' point of view. I told psychologist Ginette that my aim in asking the pupils to draw what they liked with their KM class was to get a basic indication about the language identity construction of the Creole pupils. Some of my questions were: (i) How did the pupils' drawings reflect the connection between KM and pupils' relations with others and their environment. Does KM class mediate their language and culture? I was fully aware of the difficulty of my aim and questions because these pupils were very young, It is for this reason that I collected the drawing over three years so that a more in-depth analysis can be conducted. In terms of analysis, the psychologist worked on all 90 drawings and made a general analysis over the three years. Psychologist submitted a three page report. I give below the gist of the report.

The report has a general introduction on the importance of children's drawings and what do they generally reveal. The report says:

The drawing of a child is in a sense the way a child wants to express something which is personal: something which belongs to him/her. The child produces a self-narrative. It means that he / she expresses what he/ she wants to represent as phantasms, drives, thoughts in a visual and graphical form.(Psychologist Report, 2014: p.1)

The report also states that no drawing is neutral. The drawing process has three stages namely: 'before' (pre-drawing), 'during' (during drawing) and 'after' (post-drawing) which indicate that it is a psychic elaboration involving the gesture and the psycho-motor investment. There is also the desire of the child to link a form of realism with his/her own creativity. For the psychologist, the 90 drawings are visual representations of KM class.

The findings of the psychologist are as follows:

(i)These are descriptive drawings depending on the instructions that were given to the pupils.

(ii)The drawings reflect that the pupils have used elements found in their own classroom environment to express themselves. All the drawings show a classroom, 2-3 pupils plus one

teacher. Elements used are the classroom furniture and decorations in class (letters, numbers, etc). (See drawing N0.2 below).

(iii).A majority of the drawings are 'sensorial' meaning that pupils have made use of their senses- presence of colours and great care given to details. There were also some 'rational' drawings which are well organised, structured and where lines and borders have been made with a ruler.

Specimen drawing N0.1-KM pupil (SMP School, 2012)

(iv).Most of the characters are smiling and happy. Teachers are often shown near a blackboard.
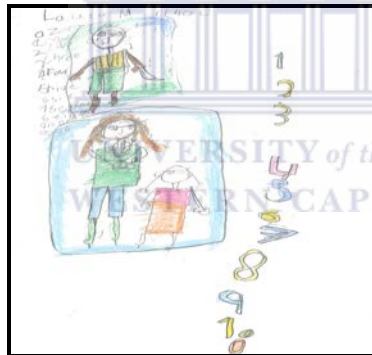
Specimen drawing and writing N0.2- KM pupil (SJP School, 2012)

(v).Often the pupils use the colours of the national flag (red, blue, yellow, green).

Specimen drawing and writing N0.3 –KM pupil (SMP School, 2014)

Below I present data collected from the School Mentor's Report (SJP School).

6.4.2. School Mentor's Report on Fieldwork

As explained in chapter 5, this report focused on the impact of my fieldwork. School Mentor Mireille submitted a three page report. The report contained two main points namely the first reaction and gradual transformation of the KM teachers that I was going to conduct fieldwork at SJP School. This fieldwork implied that I did class observations. Mireille wrote the following in her report:

I explained to purpose of these visits, re-assured them that the visitor is not there to assess their work but as an observer. Some of them felt a bit reluctant at first but as the researcher came the contact was easily established and the teachers gradually felt at ease and confident; even the pupils were happy of his visits. The other visits went on smoothly, the researcher was most welcome to the classes and the teachers were happy to help and discuss about the issue. (Mireille's report, 2014, February, 20)

Second, the report described how the research impacted upon the Mentor, the GP and KM teachers, pupils and parents. About the impact on her own work, Mireille wrote:

These visits gave me the opportunity to exchange and share views on the introduction and teaching of KM in our schools. They also help me to develop a good relationship with the KM teachers. I was also encouraged to learn KM myself as I felt the necessity to master the language in order to be able to understand the teaching and learning process of the language in order to guide the teachers. The research also gave me the opportunity to discuss with the teachers of the importance of the mother tongue for the learners and how it can help to build confidence and to boost up the self-esteem of the learners. (Mireille's report, 2014, February, 20)

About the GP teachers, Mireille was of opinion that:

This research helped the General Purpose teachers to reflect on the introduction of KM in the primary schools and on whether it could help or hinder the learning of other languages. (Mireille's report, 2014, February, 20).

Mireille also noted the support that the research provided to the KM teachers:

For the KM educators these have been a boost up as they felt valued, they could also reflect on their teachings, it was not easy for them to be the pioneers in such a field. They had sometimes to face severe criticism from their colleagues who were not happy about the introduction of the mother tongue in schools. But the interest the researcher showed in their work and in the progress of their pupils encouraged them. (Mireille's report, 2014, February, 20).

Judging by Mireille's report it seemed that the research secured a retention rate of pupils for KM as compared to other optional languages:

The research even had a positive impact on the pupils and their parents, as we have noticed that there is a very low rate of drop outs when compared to the other optional language and to other neighbouring schools. (Mireille's report, 2014 February, 20)

I now look at data drawn from the curriculum

6.4.3. KM Curriculum

The KM curriculum document bears the title '*Addendum to National Curriculum Framework, Kreol Morisien, Standards 1-6*'. It is an addendum document in the sense that it came after the National Curriculum Framework for primary education which was published in 2007. From 2007 to 2010, three guiding documents were produced by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, namely, National Curriculum Frameworks for Pre-primary, Primary and Secondary sub-sectors which 'provide a child-centred curriculum to make schooling a rich and joyful experience' (Ministry of Education and Human Resources, 2013: 33).

The National Curriculum Framework for Primary (2007) 'makes a strong advocacy for a curriculum that caters for the holistic development of the child and prepares him or her for harmonious living in a multicultural society' (Ministry of Education and Human Resources, 2013: 33). Hence components of values, citizenship education, gender issues, and climate change have been integrated in core subjects. The National Curriculum Framework promotes the

integration of various subjects like Human values, Citizenship Education, the Arts, Sexuality Education, among others, in all core subjects at stages I, II and III. In 2011, a Kreol Unit was set up by the Mauritius Institute of Education to work on the curriculum for primary schools and textbooks for Standards I, II and III. The elaboration of the curriculum involved the consultation of various organizations and individuals for their experience in KM.

As stated in chapter 5, with the introduction of KM as an optional subject in primary education, the KM curriculum was added to the National Curriculum framework in 2011 so that KM classes could start officially in January 2012. I have identified four key points in the introduction namely that a curriculum (i) reflects the philosophy of education of a country (ii) is about pedagogical planning (iii) KM modifies relation with other languages and finally the introduction makes some comments about the future of KM. I have translated excerpts of the document from KM to English and indicated their page numbers in the original document. Below I present the key points that form the introduction of the KM curriculum.

6.4.3.1.Curriculum as a country's philosophy of education

The document starts by giving a working definition of a curriculum. It considers that a curriculum reflects the philosophy of education which a country wants to develop for its citizens:

A national curriculum is more than just a guiding document which establishes the main orientations of an education system. In reality, it spells out the educational philosophy that a society seeks to implement through the school system, as an institution, with the final objective to make children become full-fledged citizen in a well defined national and cultural space. […] Consequently, it (meaning curriculum. *my emphasis*) reflects necessarily the social project which a State Nation has adopted, and which will impact directly on its own evolution, through the development of different competencies acquired in the learning process at school. (MIE, 2011:2)

The document also states that a curriculum is dynamic and this explains and justifies the 'significant and historical change in the National Curriculum Framework which will come into effect as from 2012' with the introduction of KM as an optional subject. Commenting the policy-decision of the government to introduce KM as an optional subject, the authors write that this policy is 'related to the evolution of the country which has negotiated another phase in its existence and its development when it entered a post-colonial era'. (p.1). Afterwards, the authors present the curriculum in terms of pedagogical planning and political debate.

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6.4.3.2. Pedagogical planning and political debate

The document states that a distinction has to be made between political debates and a curriculum. It clearly specifies that a curriculum is basically a pedagogical planning although it is influenced by politics and society:

Besides, it is important to precise that, in its very essence, a *curriculum* (emphasis of authors), it is an essential tool for pedagogical planification. It allows locating and evaluating pedagogical implications surrounding the choice and methodology of different subjects at school. It also takes into account the learning process and the cognitive development of children. As a result, a *curriculum* (emphasis of authors) cannot be confined to political, sociological, multi(cultural) and psychological debates but it is located at the intersection of these different discourses. (MIE, 2011:1)

The document also says that KM as an optional language modifies relation with other languages.

6.4.3.3. KM modifies relation with other languages

The authors of the KM curriculum state that KM is not only a new subject which is getting into schools, but it is the mother tongue of a great number of learners which adds to a wide range of languages and other subjects. They qualify this new situation as a 'phenomenon' (MIE, 2011:1). For them, 'this phenomenon modifies fundamentally the relation that pupils develop with school and the learning content' (MIE, 2011: 1). It is against this background that the authors bring six perspectives underpinning the introduction of KM as an optional subject in primary education. According to the authors, it is important to consider the implications of these perspectives for the children and their learning 'before we fix a syllabus for teaching'. These six perspectives are spelt out in the document as follows:

(a). **Psychological and affective perspective** which underlines the importance of transforming the primary school environment which is friendly, sound and balanced for all our pupils:

(b). **A historical and anthropological perspective** which recognizes the existence of the Kreol community within the State Nation of Mauritius and its right to have access to symbolic capital and cultural like "ancestral language";

(c). **A linguistic rights perspective** which insists on the legal right which individuals and groups possess to use their language in State institutions;

(d). **A political perspective** which promotes actions targeting the construction of a nation and development of a citizenship awareness;

(e). **A socio-economic and social justice** perspective which foregrounds recognition and gives value to popular culture, which is often marginalized in the education system (notably in countries which are ancient colonies) in the interests of a social elite.

(f). **A cognitive perspective** which advocates the relevance of the mother tongue of the learner as an essential and reliable tool for school learning and all cognitive processes.

(MIE, 2011: p.3)

6.4.3.4. The Future of KM

After a thorough elaboration of each perspective, the document concludes by observing that only in 'five-six years that we will be able to make an evaluation, assessing what this has brought to our children and take a decision accordingly.' The document raises then three questions with regard to the future of KM:

(1). Following the formal introduction of KM in our education system, will we not be bound to review our *curriculum* (document's emphasis) model and the teaching pedagogy for pre-primary and primary.

(2). Will it become 'medium of instruction' for some subjects (for only at one stage or section of primary schooling)? According to which modality and perspective?

(3). To what extent the introduction of KM can help to build a sense of belonging to Mauritius, our country, and construct values which will cement the Mauritian nation?

(MIE, 2011: 19)

In the coming section, I present data gathered from the KM syllabus.

6.4.4. KM Syllabus

Table 23 gives an outline of the syllabus with its objectives. According to the syllabus, learners must be able to develop three types of competencies, namely, ability to distinguish between the different sounds (Standard 1-2), develop linguistic practices (speaking, reading and writing) and communication skills (Standard 3 and 4) and develop creative writing skills (Standard 5-6).

Standard	Competencies
I-II	1. To develop an awareness of the world of sound 2. To develop language skills to socialize, communicate and act 3. To develop cognitive capacity 4. To develop literacy skills (e.g identify corresponding grapheme with

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| | orthography) |
| | 5. To acquire concepts in use of language (e.g personal/ common pronoun, prepositions, etc) |

III-IV	1. To develop an awareness of the world of sound
	2. To develop language skills to socialize, communicate and act
	3. To develop cognitive capacity
	4. To develop literacy skills
	5. To acquire concepts in use of language

V-VI	1. To develop language practices
	2. To develop language skills to socialize, communicate and act (e.g ask for information, interrogative/ affirmative statements, etc)
	3. To develop cognitive capacity
	4. To develop literacy skills (e.g ability to understand the different types of text)
	5. To acquire concepts in use of language

Table 23. Outline of KM Syllabus

6.4.5. Textbook

I have selected the Teacher's Guide to the KM school textbook which is used in Standard 3. This Guide is similar to the pupils' textbook but it contains some hints in the margin on how to conduct the activities in class. The content of the pupils' textbook can be presented as follows:

Chapter / Page N0s.	Content	DATA SELECTED	
		Items	Pictures
1 pp.1-24	Title : In the country of the Dodo Episode 1: In the Library (Dan Libreri) Episode 2: Dodo, where are you? (*Dodo, kot sa to ete?*)	Text on Pieter Both Legend (p.20)(Lezand Pieter Both)	Pages 1,2,3,4,5,23
2. pp.25-46	Title (not provided): Tizan the Sweet cube (*Tizan Gato Kanet*)	Presentation of Fanfan as story teller and definitions of (p.32):	Pages

	Episode 1: A Story Teller of the past (*Enn rakonter lontan*)	heritage (*patrimwan*), tradition (*tradision*),	32-36-37-47-
	Episode 2 (not provided) : Tizan and the witch	Activity about labelling a picture (p.33)	
3. pp.47-67	Title: Laval Diary-Independence and the Republic (*Karne Laval-Lindepandans ek Larepiblik*)	Activities around Independence and the Republic (p.47-p.67)	Pages 48-50-51

Table 24. Content of KM textbook and Data selected

As shown in Table 24 above, the pupils' textbook contains three chapters. Each chapter contains two episodes which focus on a short story with a character. All the chapters have exercises on grammar, vocabulary and writing activities related to the episodes (e.g. short sentences). As compared to the textbooks for Standards 1 and 2, the one for Standard 3 has elements which are worth mentioning for discussion of my research question. These elements relate to the phenotype representation in pictures found in the textbook, the names of characters and a list of items like reading comprehension and vocabulary exercises.

6.4.5.1. Phenotype representations

All human appearances in the pictures are not real life characters but character drawings. The characters are not easily recognisable in terms of the different phenotypes existing in Mauritius. But what is striking is that none of the pictures are portrayal of African phenotype except Tikoulou who is portrayed as a mythical character rather than a real being. Table 25 gives a description of the different pictures in the textbook where there are human appearances.

Page N0.	Phenotype Representation with background description
1.	Picture for chapter heading showing 3 characters: Leo and Vanessa (2 main characters), plus Tikoulou (another character). Main characters are in school uniform. Leo (see picture 2) wears spectacles. He is medium dark and wears short curly hair. Vanessa (see picture 3) is also medium dark and wears a two ponytail hairstyle. Tikoulou (see picture 4) is relatively darker skin tone and has his afro-hair tied up in a high messy

	bun with spiky ends. *Picture 2: Leo* *Picture 3:Vanessa* *Picture 4: Tikoulou*
2.	Leo and Vanessa plus one pupil (see picture 5) are reading at a table, plus one adult. One girl is standing, seeming to move out. Both pupils and the girl have same phenotype as Vanessa. *Picture 5: Leo, Vanessa and other pupils are in the library*
3.	Same pupils (see picture 6) at page 2 looking at books on the shelves with different heading sections in KM : Sians (Science), Tikomik(Cartoons), referans (reference), zournal (newspapers). *Picture 6: Pupils looking for books*

4.	A mother is paying goodbye to her three children who are leaving for school (see picture 7). Mother has a medium tone skin colour and has long silky chestnut hair and wears a long purple Indian style dress. She wears Indian sandals.
	Picture 7: Mother paying goodbye to kids
5.	A father accompanies his son to school (see picture 8). They are near school gate just to get in. The father of an Indian phenotype has a thick moustache, dark silky hair and wears a short and slippers.
	Picture 8: Father accompanying kid to school
23.	Children are playing football (see picture 9). Same phenotype as Vanessa and Leo. Some at the back are unrecognisable. As background, there is a
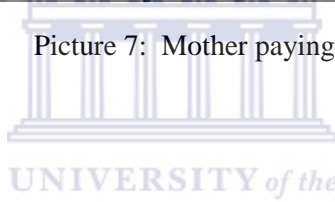
	mountain range known as Moka range. We can see also the 'badamier' tree which blooms once a year in November/ December symbolising the coming of end of year festivities. (see picture 9) Picture 9: Children playing football in open air
32.	Gabriel Joseph, well known local story teller (see picture 10). He is an old man, black Creole phenotype and holds a 'ravann' (round percussion instrument). Picture 10: Storyteller Gabriel Joseph
36.	A shopkeeper is at his counter (see picture 11). Bald man, a small moustache, wearing round spectacles. Ambiguous phenotype: can be taken for Chinese or Indian.
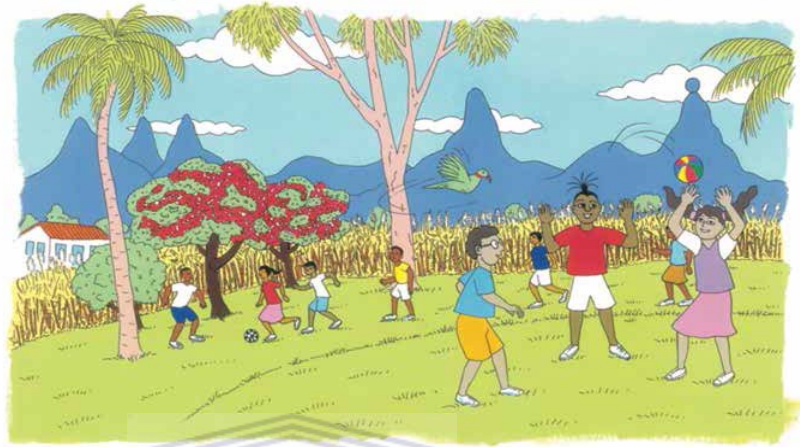
	Picture 11: Shopkeeper
37.	Vanessa is helping Tizan, another character to get out of a bag. (see picture 12). Tizan is of lighter complexion than Leo and has same hair as him. Picture 12: Vanessa helping Tizan get out of the bag
47.	Picture accompanying chapter 3 which bears title : 'Karne Laval-Lindependans ek Larepiblik' (Laval's Diary- Independence and the Republic). Three boys and two girls are waving the national flag. They

	are all like Leo and Vanessa. (see picture 13) Picture 13: Pupils waving National Flag
48.	National Day celebration at school. The headmaster is at the lectern speaking in the micro (probably thanking the Guest of Honour for her presence). The Guest of Honour, a lady, receives a bouquet of flowers from a girl (see picture 14). One boy is hoisting the flag. There is also musical band. The headmaster is bumpy, wears square spectacles and is of same phenotype like Leo. The lady wears a long skirt, has short hair, with a necklace and big round earrings. Picture 14: Guest of Honour at school
50.	A British soldier congratulating the first Prime Minister S.S. Ramgoolam on the accession of independence at the Champ de Mars, venue where ceremony was held on 12 March 1968 (see picture 15). Both are standing on a podium. There is a crowd near the podium. The Prime Minister is easily recognisable in terms of Indian phenotype. The people near the podium might be taken as of Indian phenotype.

	 Picture 15: Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam on 12 March 1968
51.	A crowd rejoicing on the independence day (see picture 16). All characters have same phenotype as Leo and Vanessa with differences in age. Picture 16: Crowd on Independence Day
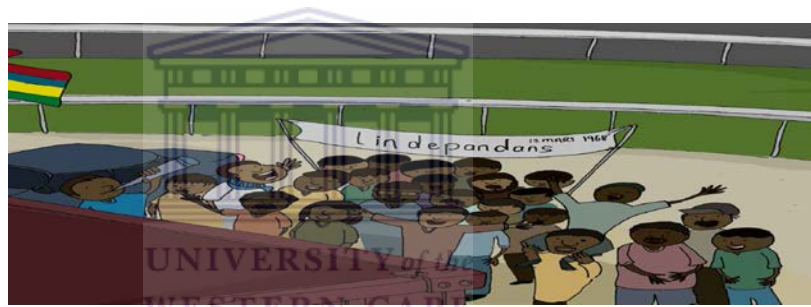
Table 25. Phenotype human representation in pictures.

6.4.5.2. Names of characters

I have also identified the names of individuals appearing in the textbook and classified them in terms of main and secondary characters and names which appear occasionally in sentences. Table 26 gives the classification.

Main Characters	**Secondary Characters**	**Appearance in sentences**
Leo	Pazan	Titonn
Vanessa	Granzan	Siko
Kelly	Zozom	Tantinn

Tikoulou	Zeremi	Reyel
Tizan		Koyol

Table 26. Individual Names appearing in textbook

6.4.5.3. Four content based item

There are four content based items that I have selected as data because, in my view, these items represent the cultural and linguistic citizenship dimensions of KM at school. These items cover the following: (i) text on the legend of Pieter Both Mountain, (ii) presentation of Fanfan (iii) labelling activity and (iv) Laval Diary: Independence and Republic.

6.4.5.3.1. Text on the legend of Pieter Both Mountain

This is a text on the legend Pieter Mountain which comes from the Bhojpuri speakers. The legend explains why the peak of the mountain looks like the head of a human being. The story says that there was a milkman (Doudwala in Bhojpuri) who used to travel long distances by foot to sell his milk and he had to cross the mountain. One day he was so tired to climb the slope that he decided to take a rest on the mountain. He fell asleep and at midnight he was awaken by fairies who were singing and dancing. The fairies told him that he should have never seen them. He promised not to talk to anybody and the fairies told him if he broke his promise he would be transformed into a rock. But one day the milkman attended a party and he was so enjoying himself that he told some guests that he had seen some fairies on this mountain. He even brought them there to see the fairies. On the mountain he said to them that the fairies would appear on the struck of midnight. As soon as he said these words he felt:

his feet becoming heavy, his belly, his hand, his shoulder, his neck, his head. All became heavy. He could not move. Doudwala remembers what the queen of fairies told him: he has broken the promise and he has been transformed into a rock. It is for this reason that when we look at Pieter Both mountain we see as if the head of somebody upright at the top of this mountain. This is the mountain which people call **'Mourya Pahar'** (*emphasis of textbook*) which means in Bhojpuri **'mountain which has the form of a person's head'** (*emphasis of textbook*) (p.20, my translation)

6.4.5.3.2. Presentation of Fanfan

This is a small text on page 32 whose title is 'Ki ete enn rakonter?' (Who is a Story Teller?). The text is accompanied by a picture of Fanfan, a famous story teller. First, the text defines a story teller:

as someone who knows how to relate story very well. He has a fertile imagination. He observes his environment and nature, and then he invents a story. Very often the stories reflect reality. One famous story teller in Mauritius is Fanfan.' (p.32, my translation)

The name of Fanfan is Louis Gabriel Joseph and the text says:

on Saturday evening Fanfan used to perform in evening sega entertainment at Mahebourg, Riche en Eau or Vieux Grand Port. [...] Through his short stories and songs which form part of our heritage, Fanfan will always live in our hearts'. (p.32, my translation)

6.4.5.3.3. Labelling activity

This was an activity which required the labelling of a picture which showed a stable in a village in the past (see picture 17). There were two cows inside the stable. Outside, there was a woman with equipment in her arm. There was also a man who was breathing in a pipe to light a stove made of rock. The names of the equipment were given in a list below the picture and pupils had to choose the correct word from the list, and label the equipment on the picture. These were equipment which was used for cooking food (e.g. petrol lamp) and for working in the field.
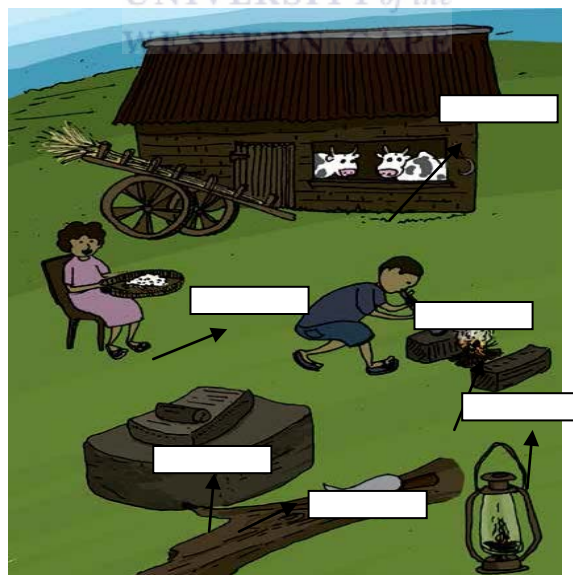
Picture 17: Labelling activity

There was also a list of four riddles which related to the equipment in the picture. The riddles read as follows: (i) which cooked food we do not eat. (*ki kari nou pa manze*), (ii) three black

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kids look at the belly of their being burnt (*trwa piti nwar get vant zot mama brile*), (iii) mother crushes a baby (*mama kraz piti*) and (iv) when big black mum sings, all black children dance (*kan gran mama nwar sante, tou piti nwar danse*).

6.4.5.3.4. Laval Diary: Independence and the Republic

This item is based on   a diary which Leo and Vanessa discovered in a lorry container when they were at the Champ de Mars on the national day celebration marking the independence (12 March 1968) of Mauritius, which has been reported in Chapter 3. The chapter provides an explanation about the independence in 1968 and the accession to the republic of Mauritius in 1992.

Concerning the diary, Leo, Vanessa and Tizan were playing hide and seek. Vanessa got into a container to hide when she saw a small notebook there. She picked it up, and the children discovered that it was a journal of a boy who was writing on the 1968 event.

There were vocabulary activities that were based on the diary, e.g. words like 'patriot', 'flag', 'coat of arms' and other questions related to the status of the country. Finally, the textbook explains that Laval was the main character of a novel written by Ama Sewtohul who is a contemporary Mauritian writer. According to the novel, Laval's parents came from China and they were living in a container in the China Town area of the City Town of Port Louis. Laval became friends with Feisal and Ayesha and they had many adventures together.

I now turn to my last document from which I gathered data.

6.4.6. Hansard

As stated in chapter 5, I selected the 2011 Debates in the National Assembly which highlight the status of the languages (Arabic, Bhojpuri, Chinese, Creole and Sanskrit) in the Mauritian society, especially with regard to cultural policy. Six Members of Parliament (four members and two Ministers) intervened on the Bill. I give an overview of each member's intervention. According to article 49 of the Constitution of Mauritius, 'The official language of the Assembly shall be English but any member may address the chair in French' (article 49). But in practice, there is

regular code-switching. For direct quotes in French, I have translated them in English with the original version as footnote. I give the gist of the debates as follows: (i) language is more than language (ii) language is essential to group identity (iii) the key role played by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute for the promotion of Indian languages and culture (iv) the General Elections of June 1982 were a turning point (v) there is an element of chance at times. In the coming sections I present each data in turn.

6.4.6.1. Language is more than language

Honourable Mr Cader Sayed Hossen who was a member of the majority alliance declared that the series of Bills were more than about language. For him it was:

'about culture, about values, about that most profound of creations that human beings can master, that is, harmony and understanding.[…] But primarily it is a bridge between individuals and groups'.

In the same vein, Honourable Mr. Sik Yuen, Minister of Business, Enterprise, Cooperatives and Consumer Protection said that in the history of Mauritius both Bhjojpuri and KM became the main vernaculars when people were speaking their own languages like French and Chinese. The Honourable Sayed Hossen further warned that the Speaking Unions should not lead to ethnic compartmentalization and he mentioned KM as an example of the danger of ethnic focalization:

I have often said to some friends with whom I discuss the Kreol language, that if Kreol is an identity factor, it is evident that I am not a Kreol. But Kreol language belongs to me as it belongs to all other Mauritians. Thus, I use this example, Mr Speaker to make my point, as the saying goes, that language must not become in a plural, multiple and diversified Mauritius, an ethnic factor...[63]

But another Member of Parliament argued that language is essential to group identity.

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[63] Original version (French) : J'ai très souvent l'habitude de dire à certains amis avec qui je discute à propos de la langue Créole, que si le Créole est un facteur identitaire, il est clair que je ne suis pas Créole. Mais la langue Créole m'appartient comme elle appartient à tous les autres mauriciens. Donc, j'utilise cet exemple, M. le président, *to make my point,* comme on dit, que la langue ne doit pas devenir dans une Ile Maurice plurielle, multiple et diversifiée, un facteur identitaire ….(Honourable Sayed Hossen, Speech delivered on 2011, 31st May)

6.4.6.2. Language essential to identity of groups

Honourable Mrs Francoise Labelle who is a member of the major opposition party started her intervention by quoting the former UNESCO Director General, Mr Koïshiro Matsuura, for his message on the International Year of Languages in 2008:

Languages matter. Languages are indeed essential to the identity of groups and individuals. They constitute a strategic factor of progress towards sustainable development and a harmonious relationship between the global and local context.

Addressing the Speaker, she said: 'Thus, Mr Speaker, Sir, promoting a language is promoting the identity of the individual, and promoting the identity of the individual is promoting the individual himself'. She then said that all the five languages that were being debated were all present in the society, at different degrees. At this point, she observed that Bhojpuri and Kreol were somehow in a different situation. They had always been looked down upon, and then on a personal note she let the House know that she grew up in a village and her grandfather was Bhojpuri speaking, but he was a Kreol and she claimed that 'Bhojpuri forms part of my cultural heritage'. Then, she spoke about Kreol language, giving all the socio-historical processes and the role of her own party which helped to promote KM.

The Member of Parliament also expressed her disagreement with Honourable Cader Sayed Hossen who said before that Kreol language should not be associated with ethnic identity claims. She said:

Yes, there is this identity side, to which Honourable Sayed Hossen made reference, because there is a community which finds in this language its identity dimension and this does not preclude the recognition of the Kreol language as the national language. Honourable Sayed-Hossen had put it well, this language belongs to me as well as to all Mauritians and I think it is this particularity of the language which gives it de facto the national language status. But there is also the identity dimension for one section of the population, in particular the Kreol community, who identifies to Kreol as their ancestral language. (My translation).[64]

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[64] Original version (French): Oui, il y a le côté identitaire, l'honorable Sayed-Hossen en a fait référence, parce qu'il y a une communauté qui retrouve dans cette langue ce côté identitaire et cela n'empêche pas qu'il y a aussi la reconnaissance de la langue Créole comme langue nationale. L'honorable Sayed-Hossen l'a bien dit, cette langue m'appartient aussi, appartient à tout les mauriciens et je pense que c'est cela qui la donne le statut de facto de la langue nationale, mais il y a aussi le côté identitaire dont une partie de notre population, la communauté Créole, s'identifie à cela comme leur langue ancestrale. (Honourable Francoise Labelle, Speech delivered on 2011, May, 31st)

The Member of Parliament expressed her dissatisfaction that the Grammar Kreol Morisien document was launched on Africa Day by the Minister of Education. According to her this constrains KM to an ethno-identity perspective and does not help the language to acquire a national language dimension. Another Member of Parliament brought out the historical contribution of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute.

6.4.6.3. Key role of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute

Honourable S.Dayal, a member of the majority, made a special tribute to the first Prime Minister, Dr Sir S. Ramgoolam, who, after independence supported the promotion of the oriental languages. In fact, the Mahatma Gandhi Institute (MGI) was set up by an Act of Parliament in 1970. On 9th October 1976, the former Prime Minister, Indira Gandhi of the Republic of India and Dr Ramgoolam launched the MGI as a joint venture 'for the promotion of Indian languages, tradition and culture on the Mauritian soil'(mgi.intnet.mu/home.htlm). For Honourable Dayal, the vision of Dr Ramgoolam was to see MGI as an institution promoting all languages and cultures on the Mauritian soil:

'Speaker, Sir, he saw the MGI as playing a creative role; a creative role as the intellectual and spiritual lighthouse radiating its beam on all the cultures and languages in our country. He expected the Institute to span out as a cultural bridge linking the East, the West and the Afro-Asian world through its nascent School of Asian, African and Mauritian Studies. At the laying of the foundation stone of the School of Mauritian, African and Asian Studies, this is what SSR said and, I quote - "Mauritius has still to be discovered; for many of us, our history, our folk tales, our poetry of our own country.'

Another Member of Parliament considered that 1982 was a turning point in the struggle for KM.

6.4.6.4. Turning points: 1982, 1990s and 2004

Honourable S. Obeegadoo, former Minister of Education (2000-2004), member of the Opposition from the MMM party, made a historical review of KM. For him, 1982 marked a turning point when his party in an alliance with another party (PSM, Parti Socialiste Mauricien) came to power, after a landslide victory. In power, the alliance amended the MBC (Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation) Act to allow news bulletin in KM and Bhojpuri. From 1982 to 1995,

the Cabinet Ministerial meetings, chaired by the Prime Minister, were conducted in KM. It was after 1982 that the Church also started to undertake its KM translation projects. Then the Minister said that KM achieved another dimension in the 1990s, with the Kreol identity affirmation movement which he describes as follows:

[...] an ethno-identity movement, when the Kreol community of the country seeks to affirm its cultural identity and a very significant movement takes place. Just as it was the case for the Indian community in the first half of the twentieth century, a very tough struggle in the days of colonisation which asserted the Indian cultural heritage, there is, therefore, this movement around the 1990s which represent a Kreol renaissance.[65]

He then explained how KM came to be regarded as an ancestral language by the Kreols. For him, the French Code Noir (rule which governed the life of the slaves) imposed religious conversion, and as such, all the languages of the slaves' ancestors from Mozambique and Madagascar disappeared. Consequently, KM was recognised as the ancestral language. The Member of Parliament also mentioned the Grafi-Larmoni publication of 2004, during which period he was the Minister of Education. He also made reference to the PrevokBEK program and other initiatives until 2011, which helped KM to make progress in society.

For the current Minister of Education, Honourable Dr V. Bunwaree, there is an element of chance at times which plays in favour of the politician who is in power.

6.4.6.5. The element of chance

Honourable Dr V. Bunwaree, Minister of Education and Human Resources, made a contextual speech as he had to announce the different steps that his Ministry was taking to implement KM in schools in 2012. However, he started his statement with a simple, but interesting observation which, according to him, could explain why the Labour government had been able to make a final step to introduce KM in schools:

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[65]Original version (French) : Puis, dans les années 1990, n'est-ce pas, il y a un autre mouvement à partir de cette interrogation autour du malaise créole ; un mouvement ethno-identitaire, où la communauté créole du pays cherche à affirmer son identité culturelle, et il se passe un mouvement très important. Tout comme ce fut le cas pour la communauté hindoue dans la première partie du vingtième siècle, lutte très dure sous la colonisation pour affirmer l'héritage culturel indien, il y a, donc, ce mouvement qui se fait dans les années 90 autour de cette - pourrait-on dire - renaissance culturelle de la communauté créole. (Honourable S.Obeegadoo, Speech delivered on 2011, May 31st)

On Tuesday 08 June 2010, in the Government Programme 2010-2015, section 145, the President of the Republic formally announced that Government will work towards the introduction of *Kreol Morisien* together with Bhojpuri as optional languages in the primary schools. I won't quote, because it is in the Government Programme already. (At this stage, the Minister addresses the House in French) But, somehow, there is no need to fall in nostalgia; we must be happy. The problem is that there have been attempts, especially the honourable members of the other side and others, but they did not find the right way how to succeed. This is our chance. The government of Navin Ramgoolam has come with the introduction: this was the breakthrough that should have been found (my translation)[66].

In this section, I gathered data from five documents. First, I examined a psychologist's report on pupils' drawings in KM classes at SJP and SMP schools. This was a class activity which began at the end of 2012, and was repeated in 2013 and 2014. The main objective was to see how far the pupils appreciated their KM classes and at the same time examine the possibility of getting a first indication of the impact of KM on the language identity construction of Creole pupils. The psychologist analysed 90 drawings collected over a period of three years. She identified five findings, amongst which the pupils made use of their class environment to draw their KM class and she also noticed that they used the four colours of the national flag.

Second, the KM curriculum was discussed. This is a document produced by the Kreol Unit of the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE) in 2011 as an addendum to the National Curriculum Framework. I identified five key points in the introductory part of this document. First, the document considers that a curriculum reflects the philosophy of education that a country wishes to share with its citizens. Second, the curriculum is about pedagogical planning and cannot be restricted to a political debate although the elaboration of a curriculum is at the intersection of politics and societal issues. Third, the introduction of KM would most probably modify the relation of learners and the school community at large, with other languages. Finally, the introduction makes some observations about the future of KM, bringing in the question of the medium of instruction and other issues related to KM.

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[66] Mais, seulement, il ne faut pas avoir de la nostalgie ; il faut être content. Le problème est qu'on a essayé, surtout les honorables membres de l'autre côté de la chambre et d'autres, mais peut-être qu'ils n'ont pas trouvé la façon de réussir cela. This is our chance. Le gouvernement de Navin Ramgoolam est venu avec l'introduction ; c'était le *breakthrough* qu'il fallait trouver. (Minister Bunwaree, Speech delivered on 2011, May, 31st)

Third, I examined the syllabus of KM which is included in the document. The syllabus focuses mainly on developing competencies amongst learner to identify sounds, develop literacy and communication skills and creative writing.

Fourth, I presented data from the teachers' Guide to KM school textbook in Standard III. This Guide contains the same exercises as in the pupils' textbook, plus notes and hints on the right hand margin for teachers on how to conduct their lessons. I identified four elements as data for my research work in this document. First, I made an analysis of phenotype representations in pictures. Second, I made a list of names which I classified into main and secondary characters and names appearing occasionally in sentences. Third, I examined four item based content in the three chapters of the school textbook, namely, a text on the legend of Mountain Peter Both (Chapter 1), the presentation of Fanfan who is a story teller (Chapter 2), a labelling activity (Chapter 2), and the last chapter on independence and republic.

Finally, the third document is the Hansard. I have selected the debates which took place on the Speaking Bills at the National Assembly on 31 May 2011. I tried to get the gist of the debates which can be summed up in five points: language is more than language, language is essential to identity of groups, the key role played by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, the 1982 turning point and the element of chance.

In the following section I present data collected by means of the Delphi Method which is discussed at length in Chapter 7.

6.5. DELPHI MEHOD

I presented the Delphi Method in the chapter 5. As per this method, I organized three rounds of questions (see appendix 8) to the experts that were selected for the study. For the first round, I framed the questions and emailed them to the experts. For the second round, I selected some reactions to the first set of questions and emailed them for further comments. Finally, for the third round I tried to capture the different answers that had been given into a statement which solicited the experts to comment on how they saw the future of Asian languages and KM. I did not go directly to the question on the future of KM as I found it more appropriate to create the

conditions for forum discussions which ultimately led me to address the future. My first set of questions asked the experts to give their definition of key concepts which were central to my research work. Below I present their answers to these questions.

6.5.1. Definition of Heritage Language and Ancestral Language

The definitions of heritage language seemed to focus on the idea of inheritance. For expert A, it was language inherited from parents, whereas expert B defined it as a language that is inherited (often informally) from a group; be it the family, the regional/geographical community or the religious denomination. In addition, expert B said that an ancestral language was 'old language' and 'common source' from which other languages were derived. According to expert C, a heritage language had a link with 'the country of origin' from where the language came. Expert D considered that it could be a legacy of colonization linked to the settlement of first communities which populated the country. He observed that there was a 'thin line of demarcation' between heritage and ancestral languages.

Concerning the relevance of these languages in primary education, expert B, claimed that the definition of heritage and ancestral languages in the Mauritian context focused on 'ethnic' origin instead of 'linguistic' origin. For instance, people would more readily think in terms of the ancestral language of Creole people in Mauritius, instead of the ancestral language of Mauritian Kreol (language) used by all the constituents of the population. This ethnic connotation is further consolidated in the following way:

KM has been introduced at school reinforces this perception: the language has been introduced following an electoral promise in line with the demands of a particular socio-cultural-ethnic group in favour of the preservation of that community's culture. However, the (very mixed) profile of trainees who enroll as prospective KM teachers partly helps to challenge this. (Expert B).

My second set of questions were about identity, cultural identity and ethnic identity.

6.5.2. Identity, Cultural Identity and Ethnic Identity

Expert A defined identity as the various elements, including language, in the making of an individual. Expert B saw identity as a subjective personality label in this way:

Identity as a concept leaves the door open to a myriad of possibilities, such that one identity (e.g. someone's professional identity or his affiliation to a social organization or NGO) might be more prominent than some other identity manifestation (e.g. ethnic, religious, or marital.)

For the experts there was a distinction to be made between cultural and ethnic identity. Cultural identity entails features which tie an individual to a larger group. For expert D ethnic identity was tangible and visible at first sight, but one could also cheat on one's origin. But for expert B, there could be a difference between one's life style and one's phenotype:

A person's physical traits speak on behalf of the person herself/himself when it comes to her/his ethnic identity. When we come to other features associated with ethnicity, such as the way of life, I believe that is where we leave the realm of ethnic identity to enter that of cultural identity.

After these first set of questions on the definition of concepts, I invited the experts to discuss one reflection which one of them made. The reflection is given below, followed by the comments they made.

6.5.3. Discussion on a Reflection

The reflection that was made reads as follows:

KM is de facto part of cultural and ethnic identities of the Kreol child. But a language cannot on its own help in the child's construction. It needs to be accompanied by other support.

For expert A, it takes more than a language for a child's construction. Expert C thought that the above reflection can be challenged in the following way:

Creole parents are still wondering whether learning of the KM at school is good or not. Some of the middle income group believe that it makes more sense for their children to learn Hindi or Mandarin which they consider as a foreign language next to English and French. However, for the lower income group, where the home language is mainly the Kreol language, the learning of the Kreol Language at school is a good thing. Nowadays, the Kreol Language has left the circle of Afro-Mauritian community in Mauritius because teachers, researchers and participants to the Kreol language promotion come from people of different cultural background. This is why the above assertion saying that KM is part of the identity of the Creole child may be challenged because the KM can be part of the general identity of both Creole and non Creole children.

Expert B had a similar view as expert A because he thought that we must get of strait-jacket definitions of people. He raised these questions:

What do we understand by the Creole child?

Do all Creole children fall into a 'one-size-fits-all' category?

 What about the middle class Creole child?

Expert C thought that Creole children needed social support and that putting all hopes in KM was not wise. For him, KM was not the panacea to the critical issues which the Kreol community had to struggle with.

The last round was an invitation to discuss the future of KM.

6.5.4. The Future of KM

Finally I asked the experts to give their views on the future of KM. Below are the views of the four experts on the future of KM.

Expert A: I do share the view that academic achievement may be the first motivation of parents who opt for KM in the context of CPE. Without the CPE in its actual form (i.e a selective exam for secondary schools), I strongly believe that parents who will opt for KM will be driven by ethnic/cultural affiliation.

Expert B: It is perfectly OK to envision MK in terms of its cultural/heritage dimension, etc., but these should not be its only manifestations, as a failure to properly underscore its academic cachet precisely contributes to reinforce the somewhat 'inferior' status of this language vis-à-vis other languages present in Mauritius (e.g. Asian and European languages) and which have for long been very potent agents of either academic success or failure. As a policy in itself, the phasing out of the CPE was long overdue and can only be welcomed, but I can't help thinking that with regard to the status of MK as an academic subject, the denied opportunity to envision MK as an examinable subject for CPE will be one of the (few) incidental casualties associated with the policy.

Expert C: We can at least aver that most Creole parents do not opt for KM for better CPE results in the future. They opt for it more for ethnic/cultural affiliation. As regards to non Creole parents, opting for KM will still be popular even at a lesser degree because it also forms part of the national identity.

 Expert D: I won't be surprised that some parents will opt for the KM because they believe in the promotion of the KM and they want this language to gain its deserved recognition… I believe that some parents who opted for KM as elective language were motivated by the prospect of academic performance, and not solely by issues of ethnic/cultural affiliation. With the announced phasing out of the CPE, I feel that it is the latter issues (ethnic/cultural affiliation) that will be the major drive for people embarking upon the study of KM and the latter will solely appeal to members of the Creole community.

To sum up, in this section I presented data gathered by means of the Delphi Method. Questions were sent to four experts for three rounds. The first questions for the first round invited the experts to define key concepts central to my research work. The first concepts were about the distinction between heritage language and ancestral languages. For the experts the former seemed to relate to something that has been inherited or a form of legacy, while the latter was associated with the past and ancestry or settlement of first settlers. Then the experts were asked to comment the relevance of these two concepts to the primary school context. One expert observed that heritage and ancestrality were associated with ethnic origin and not linguistic origin in the Mauritian context.

The second round was a discussion about a statement which one of the experts made on the KM and the Kreol child, and about the limits of language in the identity construction of a child. Experts were unanimous to say that language is not the only element which constructs the identity of a child. The last round was about the future of KM. Some experts considered that KM had to prove its academic validity. Others thought that non Kreol parents would take KM.
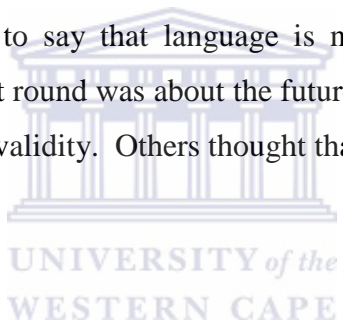
CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have presented the data that I have gathered from four different methods namely ethnographic interviews, class observations, document analysis and the Delphi Method. Each method has generated its own set of data. The main feature of this chapter is the richness of data generated by the different methods which leads me to develop three categories of data as presented in Table 27.

METHOD	TYPES OF DATA	
	INTERNAL	EXTERNAL
1. Interviews	Head of School Mentor KM Teachers GP Teachers	Parents Key Informants

	MICRO	MACRO
2. Class Observation	KM classes : Standard I, II, III GP classes: Standard IV, V Standard	
3. Document Analysis	Curriculum KM Syllabus KM Textbook School Mentor's Report	Hansard
4. Delphi Method	Experts: **MICRO & MACRO**	

Table 27. Internal/ External &Micro/ Macro Data

The Table shows the four methods by which data were collected. The different data that have been generated and presented in this chapter can be categorised into three types of data namely (i) internal /external. Internal are data generated from interviews with those working (heads of schools, mentor and teachers) in the two selected schools and external data come from research participants (parents and key informants) (ii)micro /macro. Micro data are data from class observations and document analysis comprise the curriculum, KM syllabus and KM textbook. Macro data come from Hansard. (iii) micro and macro. In my opinion data generated by the Delphi Method are a combination of both micro and macro data. The team of experts has shown their capacity to take distance and examine micro (pertaining directly to school) and macro (mainly at policy level) issues. This categorisation demonstrates the validity and integrity of the data collection.

The next chapter analyses and discusses the data in relation to my central research question and the research questions.
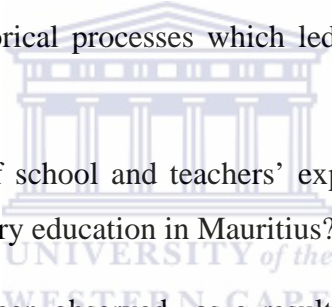
CHAPTER 7

DATA ANALYSIS & DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

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Kreol Morisien & Identity Construction of Primary Creole Pupils

7.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to conduct an analysis of data and a discussion of my findings. These two tasks are to answer my central research question and to verify the main assumption that I made right at the start of the study. As stated in chapter 1, my central research question was: **How does the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education shape Creole pupils' language identity construction?** At this final stage of my research, I address the central research question which was guided by **three** research questions that I used during my investigation. As spelt out in chapter 1, these research questions were as follows:

(i) what are the socio-historical processes which led to the introduction of KM as an optional language ?

(ii) what are the heads of school and teachers' experiences on the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education in Mauritius?

(iii) what changes have been observed as a result of the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education ?

Schram (2006) describes qualitative research as "contested work in progress" (p. 15) and the qualitative predisposition as "embracing complexity, uncovering and challenging taken-for-granted assumptions" (p. 7) and being "comfortable with uncertainty" (p. 6). My data analysis and discussion of findings reveal, in fact, the complexity of my central research question. My 'taken-for granted assumptions' are challenged. My main assumption was formulated as follows: given KM has been introduced at par with Oriental / Arabic languages, it is expected that KM becomes a strong marker of Creole identity construction for Creole primary pupils. In fact, for Schram (2006), the aim of qualitative research is closer to problem generation ("problematizing") than problem solution. In line with the intellectual tradition of critical theory which underpinned my theoretical framework discussion (chapter 4), the current discussion adopts an interpretive approach which is defined by Sandelowski and Barroso (2003) as follows:

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The defining feature of such findings is the transformation of data to produce grounded theories, ethnographies, or otherwise fully integrated explanations of some phenomenon, event, or case. […] Such explanations are composed of a science- or narrative-informed clarification or elucidation of conceptual or thematic linkages that re-present the target phenomenon in a new way. (Sandelowski & Barroso, 2003: 904)

Based on the above quote, I transformed the data for my critical ethnography by using an integrated approach for analysis and discussion of findings. As presented in the preceding chapter, I had four sources of data with their categories namely interviews (Source 1) with heads of school, teachers and parents, class observation (Source 2) with KM and GP classes, document analysis with curriculum, textbook (Source 3) and Hansard and Delphi Method (Source D) with three rounds of questions and discussions by mail. In the presence of these four sources and their respective categories, I proceeded with a three stage analysis. First, I examined each source and the data from each category (for example,   heads of schools, teachers and parents from source 1). Second, I juxtaposed the categories and I identified the commonalities and recurring issues coming out from the comparison exercise. Finally, I carried out a meta-analysis by identifying 'thematic linkages that re-present the phenomenon' that I have discussed till now 'in a new way'. It is this meta-analysis which helps to adopt an interpretive approach and which is not just a listing of the themes. But for Kearney (2001) in Sandelowski and Barroso (2002), the interpretive discussion carries out three integrated operations.

First, there is a 'dense explanatory description' meaning that I explain and describe each theme. Second, there is a 'shared pathway'. I find this operation relevant to critical ethnography as I think the discussion should reflect the meta-analysis of the data as a dialogical discourse of the researcher and the researched whereby 'language is a continuous generative process implemented in the social-verbal interaction of speakers' (Bakhtin in Denith, 1995: 26). Third, there is a 'depiction of experiential variation'. Experiential variation means that 'learning and understanding are often differentiated and distinguished from each other and people's experience and thinking but they are necessarily related to each other' (Fazey & Morton, 2003: 234). In fact, I tied my three research questions with these three integrated operations. Each research question has been organised as theme. In so doing, this gave me an interpretive frame with three main themes namely socio-historical processes of KM as an optional language in primary

education (section 7.2) , experiences (section 7.3) and observation of changes (section 7.4). The findings of the study pertaining to each research question are discussed under various sub-headings. At the end of each section I give a summary of the analysis and the findings. In the coming paragraphs, I discuss the three themes in turn.

7.2. Socio-Historical Processes Underpinning KM as an Optional Language

In this section, I analyse what the data brought as information on the socio-historical processes which led to the introduction of KM. Interviews with Head of Schools and Key informants plus Parliamentary Debates in the Hansard reveal three main information which I classify as follows: (i) from Marx to Kreol Renaissance (ii) Catholic church as catalyst (iii) Accommodating role of the State. I analyse and discuss them in turn.

7.2.1. From Marx to Kreol Renaissance

In chapter 2, I identified and discussed the milestones for KM after independence as ruptures. Data from Hansard confirmed that the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2004 (to which I referred in chapter 2) were crucial years with the development of a burgeoning literature in KM (1980s), the introduction of KM bulletin on TV (1980s and 1990s) and the elaboration of Grafi-larmoni (2004). But central to these milestones is the Creole identity movement which I discussed lengthily in chapters 2, 3 and 4. Data from interviews with KM teachers and from Hansard confirmed the key role played by the Creole identity movement behind the introduction of KM as an optional language. Allusion to the Creole movement was made by the KM teacher Sabrina who observed that the Creole struggle was completely obliterated in the training programme for KM teachers with only one lecturer making reference to the struggle. The speech delivered by the former Minister of Education, Honourable S.Obeegadoo and as reported in the Hansard gave a better complete overview of the socio-historical processes covering the period 1967 to date. The milestones he identified such as the work of the militant linguist Dev Virahsawmy, the adult literacy programmes conducted by LPT and PrevokBEK are similar to the socio-historical overview I gave in chapter 2.

In chapter 3, I described how when Honourable S. Obeegadoo was Minister of Education, the ideological positioning of his party and his own left wing bent together with members of the Grafi Larmoni committee who were of the same leftwing generation as the Minister, has influenced the standardisation of the KM orthography. Data from his speech and when cross checked with other members of Parliament showed that the evolution of KM has been marked by a movement from Marxism to Creole (Kreol) identity claims. This is why I would qualify this movement in the following terms: 'from Marx to Kreol renaissance'. I mention 'Marx' because the MMM is a leftwing party and it has always adopted a class analysis of society. The term 'Kreol renaissance' was used by the former Minister himself in his speech when he compared the Creole struggle to the Indian community in the first half of the twentieth century who in the days of colonisation asserted their Indian cultural heritage. So, the statement of his former Minister of Education is very telling if we take into consideration that it came especially from one of its front bench members who is known as the only Marxist ideologue left in the party. In fact, I mean the MMM Party has not really addressed or referred as explicitly to the Creole identity movement as it did until now through Honourable Obeegadoo. In the context of ethnic politics, the MMM Party whose grassroot base has been the Creoles, has paradoxically always played down the Creole identity movement. In the course of its evolution and in line with other socialist parties in the world, the MMM has adopted a more pragmatic outlook at societal issues and an analysis of its discourse since the 1980s show that the party has always made reference to the majority community (Hindus) and the Muslims but it never did so for the Creole community in such clear words as it did in the Hansard. This adds weight to the argument that I developed in chapters 2 and 3 about the key role played by the Creole identity movement.

The above analysis leads me to say that the Creole identity movement has shaped the introduction of KM. In a certain way it created a space for the Creole child in school. The Creole child was getting the possibility to study its language. In chapter2, I referred to the position of the Catholic church which stated that it was a legitmate right for Creole parents to make their children study KM. In otherwords, this automatically gave legitimacy to the language and cultural identity of the Creole pupils at school after KM was introduced. But, prior to the introduction of KM, only pupils who studied Oriental languages got recognition. For example,

the school time table was organised according to the Oriental languages classes so as to allow Indo-Mauritian pupils attend these classes. As a Mauritian, I could still remember in my primary school days when we used to call the Oriental language pupils ' hindi, urdu and tamil' pupils to distinguish them from Creole pupils who followed catechism classes. Oriental language classes were conducted at the same time as catechism classes. While the Indo-Mauritian pupils were defined by their language identity, Creole pupils were defined their by their 'catechism class'. The introduction of KM brought a change in identity of the Creole child. The latter's identity was now a language identity and not a church belonging identity. At the same time, this confirms the view of Hawkins (2005) about language strength and cultural strength (which I referred to in chapter 3). Language strength and cultural strength were defined as the willingness to identify oneself as a member of a group. Language becomes therefore the visible sign of identification.

Basing myself on the socio-historical overview conducted by the Honourable Member of the MMM Party and the observation made by the KM teacher that Creole identity movement was pushed under the carpet during the training for KM teachers, I would say KM became the language and cultural strength (Hawkins, 2005) of the Creoles giving them not only visibility but more importantly political legitimacy as a recognised entity amongst others in the Mauritian society. So the introduction of KM as an optional subject was marked by KM as symbol of language and cultural strength of the Creole community. As far as the Creole pupils were concerned it meant that when Creole parents opted for KM, these pupils were studying a language which represented the strength of their community and this should normally impact positively on their language identity construction. But at this point, I would rather look at the key actors, as revealed by the data, who participated in the socio-historical processes.

7.2.2. The Creole Priest Cerveaux as Socio-historical Catalyst

Data from interviews with Head of School, KM teachers, Key Informants and the Hansard all highlighted the catalyst role of the Creole priest Roger Cerveaux catholic church. According to OED (2012), a catalyst is a substance that increases the rate of a chemical reaction without itself undergoing any permanent chemical change. Figuratively, 'catalyst' is a person or thing that precipitates an event. For instance, the Hansard mentioned the malaise creole, translation work

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of the Catholic church and the PrevokBEK programme in education as milestones at national level for the progress of KM. Also, data from KM teacher interviews mentioned the 'first training' that the catholic education authorities conducted on KM. For Spiritual (Key Informant), the catalyst was the 'malaise creole' statement made by the Creole priest Father Roger Cerveaux in 1993. Triangulation of the Hansard with the Key Informant interview clearly indicates that the Creole catholic played a key role in the socio-historical processes. His statement even forced the church to issue an Open Letter on 'Le malaise creole' which was addressed to all catholics and Mauritians. According to my Key Informant, both the statement and the Letter were the starting point of all the Kreol language issue. My discussion in the preceding chapter referred to these events.

In the chapter 2 (section 2.4.7) I referred to Palmyre (2008), who stated that by the term 'malaise creole', Cerveaux wanted to describe plight of the Creoles who victims of the slavery system, were abandoned by their own intelligentsia, alienated culturally by the Catholic Church and selfish politicians. I also referred to Chan Low (2004) for whom the 'malaise creole' was used to describe the marginalisation, invisibility and social exclusion of the Creoles in the Mauritian society at large. With regard to the Bishop Letter, I explained how the newly appointed Bishop had to address the Creole issue in the church. While my Key Informant qualified the malaise creole as a 'schism' in the church, I discussed this issue as a 'rupture' in chapter 2. Having said that, however, what is more interesting with the data is that it singles out the role of Father Roger Cerveaux. The data leads me to draw a parallel here between the impact of Cerveaux's statement and the discussion I had in chapter 2 about social epistemology of truth (section 2.2.3) and Kreol Englightenment (section 2.4.3).

When discussing social epistemology of truth, I used the term 'collective doxastic agent' (Goldman, 2011) which means the capacity of a group to create a counter knowledge and belief. In this sense, the malaise creole statement turned into a 'collective doxastic agent' in the church. In my discussion in chapter 2, I also mentioned the 'epistemology of testimony' (Lackey, 2011: 15) which means justified true belief or knowledge accepted as true just on the basis what other people tell us. In the light of the data, the malaise creole statement appeared to have been an 'epistemology of testimony'. Just as I explained in chapter 2 that it was on basis of knowledge

brought by key actors who struggled for KM which persuaded policy makers to take a policy decision with regard to KM, in the same way I would say the Church made progress on the Creole issue thanks to the new knowledge brought by a Creole priest. The sincerity of Cerveaux's statement created trust and confidence in the genuineness of the Creole cause. In my discussion on ideology (chapter 2), I referred to Lukács' concept of reification which means that ideology can lead to a thingification or trivialisation (Harris, 1990) of an issue central to human relations. Prior to the statement of malaise creole, the Creole community has been in a state of 'trivialisation'. Kreol language was limited to songs only during masses. The linguistic and cultural dimension was not central to the church but was restricted to the periphery. Similarly if the first article of the linguist and militant scholar Dev Virahsawmy in 1967 ushered in a Kreol Englightenment period as I discussed in chapter 2, I would be tempted to say that Roger Cerveaux's statement made the Catholic church of Mauritius experience its first aggiornamento in its contemporary history. The term 'aggiornamento' is a term used in the Roman Catholic Church meaning the process of bringing up to date methods and ideas in the church. It was a key term used associated with the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) to which I referred to in chapter 2 as a major reform movement in the Church. Indeed, the 'malaise creole' was the beginning of a 'rupture' (concept which I developed in chapter 2) for the church. It broke away from a French colonial church. The data on Cerveaux's statement ties in with the Gramsci's view of the role of the organic intellectual as I discussed in chapter 4. According to Gramsci (1971) the organic intellectual creates a counter-hegemonic vision and stages a cultural revolution through subversion. Cerveaux has been an organic intellectual in the catholic clergy.

For Spiritual (Key Informant), the Bishop had to be 'on the side of the Creoles' in the struggle for KM because the Creoles priests are not 'stupid people. The Bishop listens and consults them' (Spiritual interviewed on 2014, February, 16). The catholic priests supported the Creole identity claims for KM. Although the malaise creole statement was not linked with the language issue, it inevitably led to a reconsideration of the place of KM in catholic church structures amongst which are the Catholic schools. This might explain why the catholic education which was traditionally opposed to KM, unexpectedly introduced the first mother tongue based literacy

program called PrevokBEK in catholic schools. The case of Cerveaux shows that individuals can make a difference within a system.

This could explain also why my Key Informant could not help himself to refer to the memory of Father Laval (whom I presented in chapter 2 as the White missionary priest who worked with liberated slaves after the abolition of slavery in the 19th century) when he was talking about the malaise creole. Father Laval did make a difference in the context of a clergy and a dominant society which were hostile to his work with the former slaves. Similarly, Cerveaux did meet also at first with clerical hostility leading to a split in the church between Creole and White priests by the end of the 1990s. (Palmyre, 2008) This brings me to the discussion I had with my theoretical framework in chapter 4.

Both the classical Marxist and structuralist Marxist lenses (chapter 4) examine societal issues in terms of means of production, class infrastructure and superstructure (classical Marxist lens). The Althusser's structuralist Marxism developed the concept of Ideological State Apparatuses and cultural hegemony (Althusser, 1969). The case of Father Roger Cerveaux shows the limits of these two lenses as they fail to account for the agency of the individual. In this case the post structuralist lens with Foucault is more enlightening for our understanding. As discussed in chapter 4, Foucault (1982) looks at the 'exercise of power not only in terms of relationship between partners, individual or collective' but 'in a way certain actions can modify others' (Foucault, 1982: 789). Both the case of Father Laval and Roger Cerveaux shows that not being in a dominant position can paradoxically bring socio-historical change. It is on this account that the Head Teacher Annie in an interview told me that she could not imagine the socio-historical change which was taking place inside the church when she was asked by a priest to conduct a course on Credo in KM. The translation work of the French credo and the New Testament can be compared here to the translation work of Virahsawmy which I observed gave KM an acrolect status (Chapter 2). This change inside the church impacted the outside world. Data showed that the malaise creole and other events acted upon the State. In the socio-historical processes, the State played an accommodating role.

7.2.3. The Accommodating State

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Data from Hansard showed that the State did not play a key role in the introduction of KM as an optional language. The State just took a policy decision at the right moment. The Minister of Education, Honourable Bunwaree declared surprisingly 'this was our (his government, *my emphasis*) chance' meaning that it was thanks to fortune that it happened that he was coincidentally Minister when the situation was conducive to the introduction of KM. He acknowledged that 'honourable members of the other side and others [...] did not find the right way to succeed' (Minister Bunwaree, Speech delivered on 2011, May 31st), implying which he succeeded to do. Apart from the political opportunism that this statement implies, it prompts me to deepen the discussion on the nature of the State which I conducted on the Althusserian's Ideological State Apparatuses (Chapter 4, section 4.4.1) as part of the structuralist Marxist lens for my research. In order get an idea of the nature of the State in the light of the statement reported by the Hansard, it is essential to re-examine briefly the relation of the State of Mauritius with the socio-historical evolution of KM. In the coming paragraphs, I base my discussion on the references I made to the State in chapters 1, 2 and 4.

As discussed in the preceding chapters, Mauritius is a post colonial state having as legacy the English medium of instruction. The section 43 of the Education Ordinance (1957) which established the language policy has never been amended but instead accommodated with the addition of optional languages. Chaudenson (2004) qualified this situation as "laisser-faire linguistic" policy with a minimalist intervention. In the list of optional languages, there is the first generation of ancestral languages (Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Marathi and Mandarin) whose existence date back to the colonial days. Then, Arabic was added to the list in 1981. As discussed in chapter 1, this addition took place with the influence of Pan-Arabism and Pan-Islamism especially with the opening of the Embassy of Libya. The case of Arabic was, therefore, the first example of how post-independent Mauritius addressed the symbolism of ethnicity, religion and languages. This decision to offer Arabic as an additional ancestral language is the way the Mauritian state manages ethnic diversity and especially ethnic claims. The same logic can be said to lay behind the government's decision to introduce KM. As discussed in chapter 4, there are multiple factors of contradictions which Althusser (1969) called 'overdetermination'. I would read the statement of 'chance' as a reflection of the

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'overdetermination' upon various multiple factors which I discussed in chapter 4. The 'chance' statement translates political acumen on the part of the government of the day but more certainly corresponds to the distinction made by Milliband (1969: 23) between the instrumentalist and the structuralist dimension of the role of the State.

Within an instrumentalist perspective, the State is an instrument of the dominant class of society and is assumed not to operate in the interest of society as a whole. This is the classical Marxist definition of the State. But for structural Marxism (as discussed in chapter 4), the character of the State is not determined by who controls the State but by constraints of the societal structure which ultimately furthers the interests of the ruling class. The 'chance' statement confirms the structuralist perspective of the State. As I stated in chapter 4, the State took the decision under duress which through political rhetoric is presented as 'chance'. In fact, the introduction of KM as an optional subject has been an accommodation policy with an additional language just as it was the case with Arabic in 1981 But the difference is that Arabic did not have the impact as KM. The case of Arabic was just a circumstantial accommodation of a diplomatic force represented by Libya. The case of Arabic and KM leads me to the discussion I made in chapter 4 about 'polyethnic rights' (Kymlicka, 2007) which is defined as a group specific measure intended to help. However, the case of KM is different from Arabic. For KM the State had to accommodate with a long history of class struggle, creativity and production of literary works, ethnic claims and mass mobilization. The character of KM as a national language made also a difference. Data drawn from Delphi Method indicated according to the experts' views that the definition of heritage and ancestral languages in the Mauritian context focused on 'ethnic' origin instead of 'linguistic' origin. They said that people would more readily think of KM in terms of the ancestral language of the Creoles instead of seeing KM as the ancestral language of all Mauritians. I think the introduction of KM as an optional language indicates an accommodation with this double ethnic and national identity dimension. It is an accommodation which I would locate on a socio-historical continuum. At one extreme of this continuum was a total denial of KM and at another other one the socio-historical processes gradually led to the recognition of KM. But at the end of the day, the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education has been a historical accommodation with the new sociolinguistic landscape of

Mauritius whereby KM became the language of ethnic claims and ethnic recognition. But at the same time, as data from Delphi Method confirmed, KM transcended the ethnic claims as teachers, researchers and participants who participated in the promotion of KM came from people of different ethnic background. So, I would say that the Creole pupils who took KM as an optional language since 2012 were studying in a favourable context of change with on one hand KM finding its legitimacy in the church with the progress of the translation works and adaptation in KM. This meant that Creole pupils of KM were gradually getting valued by their religion. On the other hand, the accommodation state policy helped to facilitate the introduction of KM. This accommodation policy made it possible to reconcile ethnic with national concerns and interests for KM. I would say then this fostered the relationship of the pupils between the language studied in class and his/ her cultural environment. For example, data drawn from the report of the psychologist on the drawings of the pupils indicated that their drawings showed that they expressed happiness with their KM class. The pupils reproduced both home and school in their drawings.

SUMMARY

This section examined the research question about the socio-historical processes which underpinned the introduction of KM as an optional subject. The data gave three findings. First, the socio-historical processes can be qualified as a movement from Marxist ideology and militancy to Kreol renaissance. Second, the Creole priest Roger Cerveaux acted as a catalyst both for his statement on the malaise creole and the authenticity of his position as an individual within a dominant French system. Third, the policy decision to introduce KM as an optional language was an act of political accommodation with a new sociolinguistic situation shaped by ethnic claims and identity.

With regard to my main research question, I made two observations. First, I stated Creole pupils studied KM in the context when KM positioned itself as 'language of strength and cultural strength'. Second, the importance that the Catholic Church gave to KM in its liturgy and education services on one hand and the accommodation of the State policy with the Creole identity movement created optimal conditions for Creole pupils to study KM. I presumed that

this reinforced the relationship of the pupils with the language they were studying. The coming section looks at the experiences of the heads of school, school mentor and teachers on the introduction of KM.

7.3. Experiences of Heads of School, and Teachers

My second research question is about the experiences of the heads of school, sand teachers on the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education. I discuss below the answers that my data gave to this question. The data came mainly from interviews with the two heads of school, school mentor, KM and GP teachers with some references to the interviews of Key Informant.

7.3.1. The Existential Experience

My first question in the interviews was about life and professional experience (see interview guides from appendix 7 (A) to 7 (G). Analysis of data on the question what experience did the respondents had on the introduction of KM showed that answers of respondents turned out to be a full narrative of their experience at both personal and professional level on KM. Respondents narrated how at one moment in their life they were confronted with a choice to be made as regard the language in which their children should be instructed, grown up with or exposed to.

Although she was working as teacher in a catholic school where French and English plus oriental languages were taught, Annie (Head of school) made, however, the choice to admit her children in a French private school or a catholic school. After her marriage, Joyce (GP teacher), her husband and she felt the imperious need to speak French at home with their new born child. Michael (Head of school) did not really make the linguistic choice a central issue to his life. But he said 'a little French in life' could always help. One commonality is Annie and Michael are of the same generation (Annie in her 50's and Michael on the point of retirement) while Joyce is in her early 40's.The life narratives by the respondents about their first encounter with the language issue are an illustration of the choice of language as an existential concern.

An existential concern can be broadly defined as a question which crops up when one is at a turning point in one's life or in a situation which pushes for a search for meaning. For van

Tilburg and Igou (2011) existential concerns can relate to death, as an end to existence, values, or meaningfulness of life. They are issues which trigger inner psychological conflicts, judgments and behaviour. Butterfield and Borgen (2005) state philosophical queries in existence are from two perspectives: those queries which state how someone could or should live (macroperspective) and those which frame what someone may be experiencing right now (microperspective). In my view Annie and Joyce fall in both perspectives. The choice of admitting one's child to a French school (Annie) and the choice of speaking only French with one's first child (Joyce) intersect with how someone should live and what someone is experiencing. Both respondents believed that embracing French as home language and culture speak to how they should live (macro-perspective). At the moment they made their choice for French, it made them feel that this was the only way for self-advancement, progress and social prestige (Annie) in life. For Joyce, this represented a personal struggle to break away from the remote and small village where she lived so as to make her place in the French milieu. Her admission to the prestigious catholic Loreto secondary school of Port Louis symbolised entry to the world of French language and culture. It was therefore quite natural that Annie and Joyce raised their children by speaking French at home and set high value on French culture. This had a direct impact on the language identity construction of their children. In fact, the philosopher Heidegger defines *Dasein* (existence) as 'Being –in- the world (Heidegger, 1949). No human existence can make abstraction of the outside world, living and struggling with its difficulties while being rooted in one's subjective sense of reality (Butterfield and Borgen, 2005). The respondents' existence is inextricably linked to their 'being-in-the world'. Theirs is the Creole world.

Joyce narrated that she grew up in the village of Goodlands which is situated in the north of Mauritius. Generally, Creoles who live in this village have a modest background. In primary school, all classes were conducted in Kreol. Her success at the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) is taken as a victory over her Kreol Self. It meant that in spite of her inability to speak French (teachers had to address the pupils in Kreol because they could not understand French or English) during her primary school days, she had been able to make it and more importantly got admitted to this catholic secondary school which is the symbol of French culture. Joyce

explained how she felt bad at first because she could not express herself in French like the other school girls and that she did her best to speak French. Her mastery of French gave her confidence and she thought that this was behind her success at the Cambridge Ordinary level. In an indirect way, the attitude of the villagers also pushed her towards French. Her educational success created envy and jealousy in the village.

Joyce became a foreigner to the villagers, labelled enviously as the 'little girl who went to Loreto'. Her admission to this school in those days meant that she got access to an inaccessible school[67] for the ordinary Creole villager. This was a school known for its bias for French language and culture which was the symbol of social promotion. The attitude of the villagers is typical of the 'Tall Poppy Syndrome' which is a term used to describe the cutting down to size of a successful individual by her/ his own community (Mouly & Sankaran, 2000). It is the interplay between her experience of ostracisation and the meaning or interpretation she made of that experience which led her to shape a new identity with French. The latter became henceforth the label of her social promotion. But this experiential relation with language and identity is highly differentiated at an individual level. This differentiation could also be on ground of age differences when compared to the two other respondents.

Respondents Anabella (GP teacher) and James (GP teacher) experienced something totally different. If the language issue was also an existential concern to them, it, however, came in a different way. It should be noted that both respondents were young teachers (in their twenties) as compared to Joyce and Annie and they were not yet married but this did not underrate the richness of their contribution to an understanding of the phenomenon under study. In the context of my research they represented that generation of young Creoles born after the major events which marked the Creoles, that is, the malaise Creole (1993), Kaya riots (February 1999), inscription of Le Morne Natural Landscape in 2008 and the International Kreol Festival (since 2006 to date) which were all discussed in chapters 2, 3 and 4. It is a generation who grew up with the Creole identity discourse and which gives an indication of the profile of the emerging

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[67] As stated in chapter 3, prior to 2004 catholic secondary schools were not as socially diversified as today because the 'mixed abilities' policy was not yet introduced. As Joyce stated these schools were mainly dominated by Whites and Chinese who were more economically more advantaged than the Creoles. (Chapter 6).

middle class who particularly comes from the *site* (township). Anabella and James stated that they were confronted with the language issue when they were posted as teachers during their pre-service training in a school situated in a poor area (the case of Anabella) and a middle class school (the case of James). Anabella conducted all her classes in Kreol because the pupils had difficulties with English and French. James had to conduct his lesson in French or even address the pupils in French because it was a middle class school. At the time I interviewed Anabella and James, they were in their third and second years of teaching experience respectively and KM was on the threshold of entering schools as an optional language. They had witnessed and followed attentively my public advocacy, the position of catholic education and the Creole identity movement about the claims to KM as language of instruction and language of identity construction respectively.

Associating himself with this new wave of change in a certain way, James said to me:'we had stories that our oldies told us but we never see them in books'. Thus, we have here two different attitudes in terms of existential concern: one which sees French as 'Dasein' and 'Being-in-the world' and another one which finds KM as such. A close look at the experiences showed that the pro-French choice is located into self-advancement and individualistic aspirations whereas the pro-KM choice is based on sense of belonging to a community and is focused on language and identity construction. In my literature review (Chapter 3), I discussed heritage language as 'community language'. It was found that from his perspective, heritage language is usually a non dominant language and when people chose to study this language, it translated the sense of a personal and family tie (Tseng & Fuligni, 2014; Fishman, 2001) plus some degree of collective affiliation (Mufwane, 1997; Niño-Murcia, and Rothman, 2008) between these languages and their speakers. This was what happened for James and Anabella. For them the announcement of the introduction of KM would usher a new period where the Creole child would 'know better his culture, his history' (James), 'the child will have a sense of belonging [...] a bond with this language' (Anabella). In otherwords, I would say that the young generation of teachers experienced the introduction of KM as a 'collective affiliation'.

In my view, this shows the birth of a new Creole world marked by a new configuration of the class composition of the Creole group and second, as a result this creates a new outlook on KM.

In my coming discussion I will refer to the views of Annie and Michael, Joyce, and Anabella and James as typical of three types of generations respectively. Based on data drawn from the interviews, I analyse the views of the respondents below in terms of generation which can further enrich my understanding.

7.3.2. Generational / Class Dynamics Experience

Novelist Douglas Coupland popularized the term 'Generation X' with his novel *Generation X, the Accelerated Culture* (1991) which was later conceptualized by to describe the generation born after Western World II baby boomers (1946-1964). Afterwards, the term gave rise to others to coin precedent and successive generations (Coughlan, 2009) with categories like the 'Builders' (prior to 1926), 'Silent Generation' (1927-1945), 'Post Boomers or Generation X' (1946-1964), 'Generation Y' (1977-1994) and 'Millenials' (1995 to date). These appellations for each generation are underpinned by the idea that 'each generation is shaped by particular events and circumstances which determine the particular way that they view the world and their place in it' (Coughlan, 2009: 39). Drawing from this model of generation classification and in line with the discussion I had on the 'history from below' in chapter 4, I elaborated my own generation classification to understand and typify the difference between the two groups of respondents. In my case, I have tried to identify three types of generations within the Creole community. Table 28 gives the birth years, generation name and the main feature of the social discourse which shaped each generation.

I ended up with the following appellation notably the *Patris syndrome* Generation (1950-1967), *Morisien Pa Kreol* Generation (Mauritian not Kreol Generation) and *Simen Lamliyer* (Light Pathway) Generation (1983-2000). Dominant discourses which shaped each generation were the anti-independence vote event, *Enn Sel Lepep Enn Sel Nasion* (One People One Nation) discourse which characterised the post-independence period until 1983, the Malaise creole discourse which dominated the public scene in the 1990s and *Montagn Le Morne* (Le Morne Mountain) discourse in the context of the struggle for recognition of the contribution of the slave maroons in the construction of the country.

BIRTH YEARS	GENERATION NAME	SOCIAL DISCOURSE
1950-1967	*Patris* Syndrome Generation	Anti-independence vote
1968-1982	*Morisien Pa Kreol* Generation (Mauritian not Kreol Generation)	Enn sel lepep enn sel nasion (One Nation One people)
1983 to date	*Simen Lalimyer* Generation (Light Pathway Generation)	Majority versus minority, Malaise Creole, Maroon slave & Le Morne Mountain

Table 28. A typology of Creole Generations

I now bring out the relevance of each Generation for my analysis and discussion.

The *Patris Syndrome* Generation refers to those born from 1954 to 1967. This generation grew up in the divisive years over the issue of independence as mentioned in chapters 2 and 4. I use the term 'Patris' which is the name of a steam ship on board of which many middle class Creoles (*gens de couleurs* or coloured Creoles) migrated to Australia and Europe[68] massively during that period. The working class Creole who could not afford to pay a trip had to stay in Mauritius and bore the stigmata of having voted against independence. This generation had to position itself in the new political order and found itself beheaded of its elite who migrated for greener pastures. It is for this reason that I use the appellation '*Patris syndrome* Generation'. A syndrome can be defined as a collection of signs and symptoms that are characteristic of a single condition. The condition of this generation was its abandonment by its leaders and the feeling of being torn between its rootedness to the country and the dream of a foreign land flowing with milk and

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[68] The early years of independence was marked by a massive number of middle class Creoles who emigrated to Australia, England, France and Italy. This exile was fuelled by a campaign of fear and hatred by the anti-independence party (Parti Mauricien Social Democrate-PMSD) and his leader Sir Gaetan Duval against the new Hindu dominated political order. About 44% of the population voted against independence and it is estimated that a high percentage of the voters were Creoles. (Moutou, 1996)

honey. Its exiled Francophile elite left its imprint on its social memory and this explains why French has been viewed by the working class Creoles as an Epinal image of the successful Francophile Creoles who were living abroad. Working class families usually aspire that their children acquire the French language and culture. This is a form of alienation which I described in Chapter 1, leading the people to look down upon their own language.

In my classification, respondents Annie and Michael fall in the category of this *Patris Syndrome* Generation on two counts. First, Annie and Michael were of the post-independence generation. In their late 50s, they could be considered as heirs to the Creole generation who took position against KM as seen in chapter 2 when I discussed the opposition that the Creole linguist Virahsawmy had to face when he stated that 'Morisyin' should become the national language after independence. Annie and Michael grew up in this atmosphere of migrating to Europe or Australia just because there was a strong belief that there was no place for the Creoles in the country and that Hindus were taking control of every sector. Second, both Annie and Michael were in favour of French which is similar to the profile of the Patris Syndrome Generation. In fact, my observation led me to state that this generation experienced the introduction of KM as a most radical change because it was unimaginable for that generation to think that KM could one day be considered as a language and being studied at school. It took Annie time to understand what was happening. This was why she said that 'I was taken aback' when a catholic priest contacted her to run a course in Credo in KM. Not only KM was now being studied at school, but the fact that the church was using KM compounded her surprise. In this case, there was a shift in cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984). As defined in my theoretical framework, cultural capital is the 'accumulated cultural knowledge' that comes from education, family set up and social environment. For the Patris Syndrome Generation, French played a key role in the accumulation of this cultural knowledge. Speaking French and adopting the French culture were means to acquire cultural capital. The introduction of KM meant in a certain way that KM could be another means of acquiring cultural capital. Years of cultural alienation (Fanon, 1967) led Annie and Michael to develop negative language attitudes towards KM. But the introduction of KM in primary schools and its wide use in the church forced a change in Annie's and Michaels' language attitudes. They moved from resistance to acceptance. In my literature review, I referred

to Fishbein and Ajzen (1975:6 in O'Rourke, 2011) who define language attitude as a 'learned predisposition', that is attitudes are acquired through socialisation. In the case of Annie and Michael, based on their interviews I would say the introduction of KM led them to undergo an unlearning experience of the 'learning predisposition' acquired before. I mean they had to call into question their dispositions towards KM which they grew up with. I come now to my second type generation.

The *Morisien Pa Kreol* (Mauritian Not Kreol) Generation is that generation who grew up with the nationalist discourse of *Enn Sel Lepep Enn Sel Nasion* (One People One Nation) especially in the 1980s. Respondent Joyce was of this generation. I was also of this generation and I bring here my own personal insight. It is a generation which hesitantly adheres to the Creole identity discourse and especially if it is of the upper middle class and comes from the professional world of the private sector. In fact, Joyce's husband who is a Creole works in a well established private bank. This generation of Creoles like Joyce and her husband have been shaped by a Mauritianist discourse. The adjective 'mauritianist' comes from 'mauritianism' which is a local term coined to design a sense of belonging to the nation. Generally Creoles having the same profile as Joyce and Michael would painstakingly assert themselves as 'Creoles'. They would rather say they are 'Mauritians'. Defining oneself as 'Creole' would be considered as a form of communalism which is defined in instances where people care only for their narrowly concerned interests through the means of their religious faiths, old customs and conservative practices (Kumar, 2012, see chapter 1, subsection 1.2.2). In the 1980s there was a real effort to build national unity after the traumatic elections of 1967 which led to independence. Mauritianism became the rallying concept and it became also the dominant discourse of the catholic church. As such, the introduction of KM is experienced with mixed feelings by Joyce and her husband. For Joyce, the introduction of KM was an implicit definition of oneself as Creole and not as Mauritian. By acknowledging KM as an optional subject, they were forced to change their position on the Mauritianist discourse. The third type of Creole generation was finally more immersed into a Creole discourse than a Mauritianist one.

I qualify the generation of the period 1983 to date as the *Simen Lalimyer* (Light Pathway) Generation. Anabella and James were of this generation. The term 'Sime Lalimyer' (Light

Pathway) is a term which I borrow from one of the song titles of the Rastafarian singer Kaya who died in police cells in 1999, provoking civil riots. It was a generation who lived four important events, with one at international level and the others locally. Internationally, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and successive events in Eastern Europe leading to the disappearance of USSR (United Soviet Socialist Republic) created delusions in left wing ideology. The end of the Cold War bipolarisation between East and West, First World and Third World impacted on local politics in Mauritius. This led to a shift in local political discourse.

In Mauritius, the ideological discourse of left versus right receded. The end of the ideological era was superseded by a political discourse of majority versus minority issues. In fact, this change in political discourse came with a split in the major local socialist party which is the MMM and to which I referred at length in chapter 2. In 1982, the MMM Party in alliance with the PSM (Parti Socialiste Mauricien) came to power with a landslide victory winning all the 60-seats at the National Assembly. After nine months, the MMM left the government and one of the controversial issues was the translation of the national anthem from English to KM on the Independence Day celebrations under the aegis of the Minister of Arts and Culture who was from the MMM . The Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth who was the President of the MMM created another party named MSM (Mouvement Socialiste Militant) and some Ministers of the MMM joined his party, thus giving him a short term majority. Snap elections were held in 1983 and as from them the political discourse shifted from class to community. The MMM represented the Creole, Tamils and Muslim minorities while the new born MSM represented the Hindi-speaking community. The MSM went in alliance with two other traditional parties namely the Labour Party and the PMSD (Parti Mauricien Social Democrate). The MSM-Labour-PMSD Alliance won the General Elections. Although KM was not a political issue during that period but the Creole and Muslim communities felt marginalised by the Hindi-speaking majority. The three other events which marked the *Simen Lalimyer* Generation were the malaise creole discourse (which I discussed at length in chapter 2), the Kaya February 1999 Riots (which I discussed as one major rupture in chapter 2 paving the way to ethnic claims for KM) and the struggle to have Le Morne Mountain inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List (which I also discussed in chapter 4 as a foundation myth). The funeral of the Rastafarian singer Kaya

Tolbize took place in a catholic church situated at Roche Bois which is a Creole locality located in the suburb of Port Louis. His song *Simen Lalimyer* was sung by the choir and since then it became a protest song which many church choirs took afterwards during Sunday masses. The song (see bilingual version at appendix 11) states the only way for progress in spite of difficulties in life is to take the path of light. The song says that the rich has to give away all wealth and the poor has to lead a life of honesty. Thus, the *Simen Lalimyer* Generation grew up in a different political and social climate compared to the two preceding Creole generations.

Anabella and James are of the generation which has been the most exposed to the Creole identity discourse marked by resistance and resilience. But today it is at the same time a generation living in the digital age and network society (Castells, 2001) characterised paradoxically by both a globalised identity and a localised one. This generation experienced the introduction of KM as a strong identity marker and equal access to the State sponsored resources for the Asian languages.

So far, I argued there is a generational dimension which explains partly the pro-French choice of the *Patris Syndrome* Generation, the mixed feelings of *Morisien Pa Kreol* Generation and the pro-Kreol choice of the *Simen Lalimyer* Generation. With regard to my main research question, these experiences of the head of school, school mentor and teachers imply that Creole children who studied KM had educators who looked at KM from different life perspectives. One category of educators saw French as the symbol of social prestige and grew up their children with this mindset. Bu this same category evolved in its position on KM when the latter was gaining ground and was finally introduced as an optional subject. A second category of educators (the youngest teachers) had a positive outlook on KM. Contact with these educators surely influenced the language identity construction of the pupils. I assume that the *Simen Lalimyer* Generation teachers who were the youngest would have a more long term impact on the Creole pupils as they would work with these pupils until they completed their primary education. It could mean therefore that Creole pupils grew with a more Creole identity consciousness as the *Simen Lalimyer* Generation teachers have been shaped by discourses of malaise creole and narratives of slave maroonage through Le Morne Mountain. At this point I would like to raise the debate from Delphi Method where the experts made the remark about who could be defined as a Creole pupil. One expert asked 'what do we understand by the Creole child?' and observed if we should

not take into consideration class disctinction amongst the Creoles. This question of class distinction was raised in Chapter 1 when I discussed the typology of Creoles as defined by Boswell (2006). I stated that with the rise of the Creole identity claim movement which was symbolised by the FCM (Federation des Creole Mauriciens) during the period 2006-2010, class distinction became secondary. Recognition for KM became a rallying issue transcending class. In order to further support my argument, I also looked at the different experiences of three Generation of teachers towards KM from a class perspective.

Basing myself on Hollingstead's 'Four Factor Index of Social Status' (Hollingstead, 1975)[69], teachers fall in the category of 'lesser professionals' on the occupational scale with other occupations such as librarians, nurses or officials of public administration. Respondents of three Generations have working class origins and grew up in a less advantaged region. The cases of *Patris Syndrome* and *Morisien Pa Kreol* Generation reflect generally the typical life story of Creole individuals and families in their journey to upward social mobility. This story is generally characterised in the early years of social mobility by questions like making a choice for the place of residence, school, language, taste and life style. These are factors which the Creole *nouveau riche* accounts because they represent the 'starting capital' for accumulation of cultural assets. As discussed in chapter 4, my classical Marxist lens showed that infrastructure determines the base, and as the infrastructure is dominated by the White French speaking sugar plantocracy, French becomes obviously the dominant language. For the social category of teachers, language and culture represent the artefacts of social advancement. It is quite normal then that the choice is for French for the *Patris Syndrome* Generation and not Kreol. I think it is a rational choice in the context of the economic and social structure of a society in a particular period of time. This choice reveals the subaltern position of the Kreol language and culture which from a classical Marxist lens is explicable. Given that the Creoles are not the dominant economic group, it goes

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[69] The Four Factor Index of Social Status (Hollingshead, 1975) is premised on three basic assumptions: (i) a differentiated, unequal status exists in society (ii) there exist four primary factors indicative of social status namely, education, occupation, sex and marital status (iii) when these four factors are combined, researchers can 'quickly, reliably and meaningfully' estimate the status individuals positions individuals and members of nuclear families occupy in society. Although this measurement was designed for social status in USA and apart from its limitations like any sociological tool, I consider it is transferable and applicable to the class structure of Mauritius.

without saying that Kreol language cannot be the prestigious language and marker of social mobility.

However, a new situation has cropped today so that Annie said 'I am taken aback when Father A.R who has mounted this Credo course in Kreol contacted me. [...] This is something new and revolutionary in the church'. In chapter 4, I explained that the church as an Ideological State Apparatus in the Althusserian theory is viewed as an apparatus which consolidates the status quo. But I pointed out that the church has contrarily contributed to change with the rise of a Creole clergy and an Afrokreol intelligentsia. Annie's statement confirmed the comment which I made. My 'Generation Typology' and 'Class analysis' lead me to observe that the Creole community is going through a generation and class dynamics with the choice of language as an axiological issue. I observed that there is *Patris Syndrome* Generation (1950-1967) which was diametrically opposed to *Simen Lalimyer* Generation (1983 to date) in the sense, conversely to the former, the latter does not associate social mobility with French but with success in educational achievements and fidelity to one's origins. Anabella stated that both her brother and her succeeded in education and worked as teachers but she liked to continue living in her township. She even said that she preferred the term 'site' (township) than 'residence'[70] . I consider this emphasis on the use of 'site' demonstrates a desire to define one's own identity and not to be defined by others. For the Creole pupils whose teachers were like Anabella and James, this meant that their teachers valued their culture and social environment. They did not have any negative bias against their own locality. In fact, both Anabella and James lived in the same locality as their pupils. In a way the teaching of KM reinforced the pupils' sense of belonging to their environment because the teaching of KM was not associated with social mobility as it was for the teaching of French with teachers like Joyce. In the case of KM, learning KM was appreciated on its own and not as a means for social mobility. My data further demonstrated that the teachers especially experienced self-actualisation, pride and prejudice on the introduction of KM. In the coming section I will deal in turn with these experiences.

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[70] There have been some attempts in the 1990s to rename the 'site' (approximate translation is 'township') as 'residence' by some community social workers to combat prejudices associated when one lives in a township. But in reality people continue to use the term 'site'.

7.3.3 Self-Actualization, Pride and Prejudice

Investigation of my research question about the experiences of the teachers on the introduction of KM led me to ask them how they found the training and curriculum. My data provided me insights into the pioneering role of the KM teachers and the implications of the introduction of KM in the 'formal school system'. I would like to mention here that although the PrevokBEK programme which I referred to in Chapter 2 was the first mother-tongue project in the formal education system yet the introduction of KM in primary schools was of a different order and had wider implications at national level. Therefore this means that the teaching of KM is conducted in a formal way with a designed curriculum and syllabus and a prescribed textbook which were not the case for PrevokBEK. I would like to use a quote from the Director's Report 2011 of the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE) as support to my data analysis. The Director's Report 2011 gives an account of preliminary works that were conducted prior to the introduction of KM in 2012. The excerpt reads as follows:

> The MIE has been able to devise a comprehensive teacher education programme to support pioneer teachers in embracing their role as teachers of Kreol Morisien. In this spirit, notwithstanding the drafting of a syllabus for Kreol Morisien and school textbooks, a series of co-curricular activities were organized including a conference by the Ombudsperson on Children's Rights. The main thrust was to provide teachers with an adequate background to be able to understand the implications of introducing Kreol Morisien in our formal school system.
>
> The Mauritian Kreol Unit has also been set up in September 2011 at the MIE. The main objectives behind the creation of this Unit are to train teachers as well as develop the curriculum, syllabus and textbooks. More importantly, the Kreol Unit has a significant research role to play in order to document the process scientifically. (Mauritius Institute of Education, 2011)

This report highlights (i) the 'pioneer' role of KM teachers (ii) lists the core activities related to the introduction of the subject (viz. teacher training and elaboration of curriculum and syllabus) (iii) informs about the setting up of a Mauritian Kreol Unit since September 2011. In my view, there are two important aspects related to the introduction of KM which the report raises. These two aspects are namely (i) the rationale underpinning the various preliminary activities which 'was to provide teachers with an adequate background to be able to understand the implications of introducing Kreol Morisien in our formal school system' and (ii) 'the Kreol Unit has a
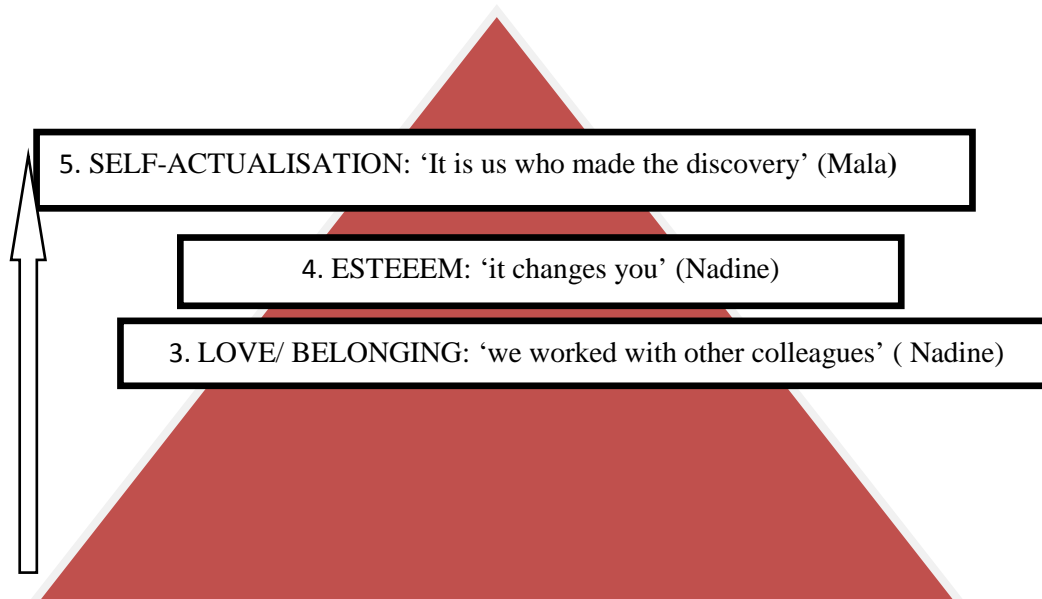
significant research role to play in order to document the process scientifically'. The experiences of the teachers related more to the first aspect.

My data showed that KM teachers seemed to confirm the perception that they chose to teach KM on purely individualistic basis. Michael (Head of School) was quite blunt about the motivation of the GP teachers who shifted to KM teaching during the transition period (2012) before fresh recruitment of KM teachers was conducted. He said that these teachers and those who were recruited chose to teach KM just because they were looking for the same privilege of going early and having a light time work load as the Oriental language teachers. In fact, there was a strong perception that Oriental Language teachers have greater advantage compared to their GP colleagues for same pay and conditions of work. This perception is confirmed by the strong divergence between the two unions representing these two categories of teachers. A recent policy decision giving the possibility for Oriental Language teachers to be appointed as Head of School in their career path has created much controversy. The General Purpose Teachers Union (GPTU) expressed its strong reserve against this decision because it considered the training content for Oriental teachers is not as substantial as that for GP teachers. The union considered that GP teachers have more merits than Oriental language teachers to become head of school (Seegum, 2014). But for the Hindi Teachers Union (GHTU), given that both teachers have the same qualifications, they claim both must get same career opportunities[71]. It is, however, evident that Oriental Language teachers have only one subject to teach as compared to five for the GP teachers. The statements of my respondents seem to confirm to some degree that their motivations to choose KM might have been the prospect of working with the same advantageous conditions like their Oriental language colleagues. In fact, they could get back to their post of GP teachers if they were not satisfied during the transition period. None of my KM teacher respondents did so. But a close analysis of the data led me to make a distinction between the

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[71] In 2012 a group of Oriental language teachers who have twenty five years of experience lodged a complaint at the Equal Opportunity Commission (EOC) against the Ministry of Education on basis of discrimination. They decried that they were debarred from applying to the post of Deputy Head whereas GP teachers could do so with the same number of years of experience like them. Following a favourable statement of EOC in 2014, the Ministry of Education informed took the decision to allow Oriental language teachers to become Head of school. (2014, February 19, *Le aurcien* newspaper).

time invitation was launched by the Ministry of Education to get the first batch of KM teachers and when the teachers were appointed in their substantive capacity as KM teachers. My data revealed a gradual evolution and transformation of the teachers' from the moment they volunteered to be KM teachers to the time when they were appointed as full fledged KM teachers. This evolution can be better understood by using Maslow's hierarchy of needs as framework for data analysis.

Given the data revealed that this evolution was more specifically in terms of motivation, I chose Maslow's theory of motivation (Maslow, 1943) which identifies five level needs that impact an individual's motivation. It starts with the basic needs (physiological) and moves to the highest needs in ascending order with self –actualization at the top. Table 29 shows the level of needs of the KM teachers in terms of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Applying the discourse analysis, I studied closely the statements of my two KM teacher respondents and I identified at which level they could be located. Figure 7 shows each level of needs, accompanied by a corresponding statement of the respondent which reflects that specific need. Below, I give a brief explanation of each need according to Maslow (1943). I then comment the corresponding statement (physiological needs are self-explantory).

5. SELF-ACTUALISATION: 'It is us who made the discovery' (Mala)

4. ESTEEEM: 'it changes you' (Nadine)

3. LOVE/ BELONGING: 'we worked with other colleagues' (Nadine)

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  2. SAFETY: 'we were not really taking a big risk' (Mala)     │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘

┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│  PHYSIOLOGICAL: Food, sleep, sex, breathing, etc              │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Figure 7: KM Teachers' Motivation as per Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Safety Needs: 'we were not really taking a big risk' (Mala)

The second level of needs is the safety needs. The broader aspects of the attempt to seek safety would be preference for the known rather than the unknown and familiar rather than unfamiliar. At this level, respondent Mala stated that accepting to shift from GP teacher to KM teacher did not represent a risk for the teachers ('we were not really taking a big risk', Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11) who did so as their conditions of service remained the same and, as stated in chapter 1 they could revert at any time to their GP post if ever they were not satisfied.

Love / Belonging needs: 'we worked with other colleagues' (Nadine)

The third level is love and belonging needs. According to Maslow (1943), if physiological and safety needs are satisfied, thereafter the need for love, affection and belonging will emerge. Accordingly, respondent Nadine shared the happiness of her colleagues and hers to work together during training at the MIE and on the writing panel ('we worked with other colleagues', Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

Esteem Needs: 'it changes you' (Nadine)

The fourth level is esteem needs. Any individual in society has a desire for 'a stable, firmly based, (usually high evaluation) of themselves. Esteem needs can be of two kinds: self-esteem and esteem by others. Respondent Nadine was explaining how she felt confident after she completed the training. Looking back at the training sessions, she stated that 'it changes you' (Nadine interviewed on 2013, September, 12).

Self-actualization: 'It is us who made the discovery' (Mala)

The fifth and highest level of needs is self-actualisation. A person will be happy if she/ he does what he/ she is fit to do. Maslow (1943) gives the example of a poet or artist and says 'what a man *can* be, a man *must* be'. This is beautifully expressed in fact by the statement of Mala: 'it is us who made the discovery' (Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11) who gets high satisfaction for having been a pioneering teacher in KM. She explained how she and other KM colleagues grappled with the difficulties as KM was a new subject and how they made interesting discoveries in their teaching practice about the official orthography. In fact, the latter was put to test when implemented during class explanations. Hence, the application of Maslow's framework showed that KM teachers moved from safety needs to self-actualisation. I would say then that their experience on the introduction of KM brought personal transformation. I would make use here of an additional framework to complement Maslow's one. This framework is the 'transformation perspective'.

The term 'transformation perspective' is associated with the theory of transformation learning in adult education developed by Mezirow (1990; 1981; 1977). According to Mezirow (1990), a 'transformative perspective' results from a 'disorienting dilemma' (p.5) which triggers a life crisis or a major transition in life. Then the adult goes through a three cycle learning experience. The three cycles are namely psychological (changes in understanding of the self), conviction (revision of belief system) and behavioural (changes in lifestyle). The three cycle learning dimensions show that experience plays a critical role in the learning process. Figure 11 shows Mezirow's learning cycle showing self, conviction and change in behaviour.
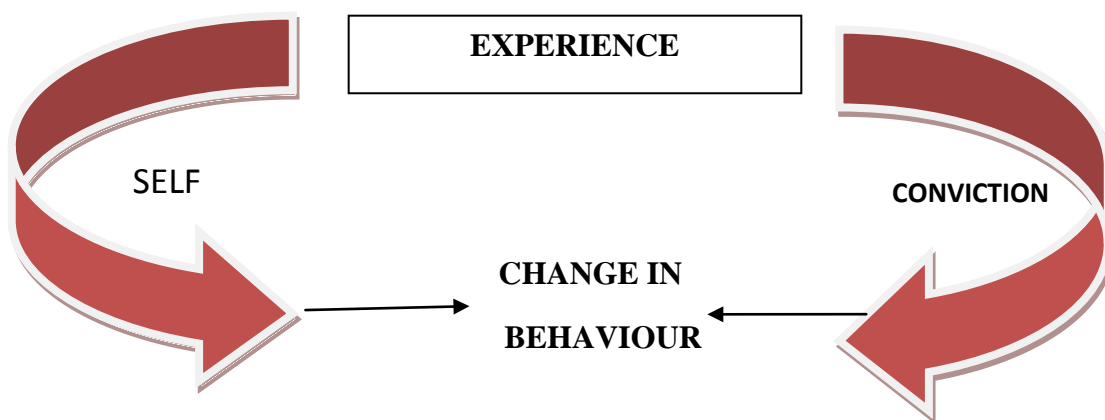

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Figure 8.Mezirow's Learning cycle applicable to KM teachers

I use below Mezirows' learning cycle to explain how, for instance respondent Nadine particularly went through a learning journey from the moment she took the decision to shift to KM until she changed her whole attitude towards the language.

The Self cycle phase: In the presentation of data, we found that Nadine said that she was not really in favour of the introduction of KM. But when she was faced with the offer to teach KM she felt 'perplexed'. She joined the project 'out of curiosity' and to be on the 'train of change'. It was 'without conviction'. But then she tried to understand her own 'self' and looked around her. Like her colleagues she was amazed by the French Lecturers who conducted the course in KM with interest and enthusiasm. Then, she realized as she was a person who 'likes to move ahead', she could not stay behind. So, KM was her 'disorienting dilemma'. She moved then to the conviction phase.

The Conviction cycle phase: This is the phase at which one starts to reframe and restructure one's conception of reality (Mc Laughlin, 1991: 48). Nadine broke with her past belief system. She exclaimed: 'Six months in all. We were very happy! […] It was not only pedagogical but it was technical'. When asked what she meant by this she said that the knowledge about languages and KM were great for her. So, she was now convinced.

The behaviour cycle phase: This is the phase when the person adopts a new behaviour and re-integrate society with a new perspective on the initial 'disorienting dilemma'. The person brings a new dimension to society. Both respondents Mala and Nadine expressed their pride of being KM teachers.

The learning cycle through which Nadine went through reflects the whole learning process which other KM teachers went through. It gave them new knowledge on KM. My discussion on epistemology (Chapter 2) with knowledge as a social construct can be seen in the narrative of the respondents. Nadine went through a deconstruction of the dominant knowledge which was in fact 'false knowledge' not in the sense 'untrue' but ideologically shaped by the dominant class. It can be observed also how the contribution of the French Lecturers at the MIE turned out to be an

epistemology of testimony (Lackey, 2011:p.15, see chapter 2). It was the testimony that they gave to KM through their courses which convinced Nadine and Mala that KM is a language. At the same time my analysis of the motivation of the teachers from the Maslow's hierarchy of needs confirms my discussion about the postmodernists (see Chapter 4) who reject the 'grand narrative' or 'meta-narrative' (Lyotard, 1979) to explain societal phenomenon. The 'self-actualization' and the 'transformation perspective' frameworks demonstrate that the KM issue cannot be analysed only through the prism of classical Marxist or structural Marxism lenses. This shows that in a postmodern world the self should be considered as 'multiple, ever changing and fragmented' (Merriam & Cafarella, 1999, see chapter 4). Thus, it is the individual who makes a difference. This is further illustrated by my respondents' narratives when they described how they experienced some forms of prejudices from their GP teacher colleagues and even from some heads of school. In the presentation of data, I mentioned how Mala had to bear the mockery of a colleague who stepped into her class and made a satirical comment about a word she was writing on the blackboard in the standardized orthography. She said that this remark 'until now makes me feel bad' but she and other KM colleagues were now able to stand stoic before such remarks.

Hence, the Maslow's lens shows that Creole pupils got motivated KM teachers. In terms of language identity construction, this meant that the first batch of KM teachers had certainly a positive impact on the pupils' motivation to study the subject. Data drawn from parents' interviews pointed out how one parent reported that her child did not want to give away her Standard I KM schooltextbook when moving to Standard II. My class observations showed the creativity and resourcefulness of the teachers.

SUMMARY

In this section I examined my data to understand the experiences of the heads of schools and teachers on the introduction of KM as an optional subject in primary education. The analysis revealed three findings. First, the introduction of KM triggered an existential question to my respondents. I found that the choice of language became a central issue in their life and especially as members of the Creole community. In the analytical process, I discovered there is a

generational gap in terms of experiences amongst the heads of school and teachers. This generation gap is not forcibly a question of age but rather of socio-historical events which shaped a group. Therefore, in terms of their experiences, I developed a typology of Creole generations for the respondents which I classified as *Patris Syndrome* Generation (1950-1967), *Morisien Pa Kreol* (Mauritian not Kreol) Generation (1968-1982) and *Simen Lalimyer* (Light Pathway). I also completed the generation typology with a class analysis which indicated that the experiences of the youngest generation of teachers diametrically opposed their elders. For the former social mobility was linked with education and keeping the link with the community by rooting oneself in the Creole language and culture. But for the latter, adopting French language and culture and moving to a new residential area was a sign of upward social mobility. Finally, I found that the introduction of KM was lived as a form of self-actualisation and pride by the KM teachers I used the Maslow's hierarchy of needs and Mezirow's learning cycle to study the processes through which the teachers went through from the period they were asked to volunteer as KM teachers, their participation in the training sessions and their first teaching experiences at school. In the light of my main research question, the main finding was that KM pupils got convinced teachers about the importance and relevance of KM. As far as the language identity construction of the Creole children is concerned I would presume that having convinced teachers should normally reinforce the identity construction of the pupils. But at the same time it all depends on the real changes that KM brought in school. The following section examines these changes based on the data.

7.4. Observations of change

This section addresses the research question about the changes that have been observed with the introduction of KM. I examined data drawn mainly from interviews, class observations, document analysis and Delphi Method.

7.4.1. Optional Language: Utilitarian Essentialised Strategisation

In chapter 1, when I gave the background to the introduction of KM as an optional subject, I stated that the striking feature with the advent of KM was the inclusion of KM on the list of optional languages. The first change that my data indicated was at the level of choice made for

the different languages. Parents could choose for the first time KM. This data was drawn from short interviews that I conducted with parents on the days of registration exercises for admission to Standard I. My data revealed there was a utilitarian essentialist strategisation in terms of language attitude by parents. My observation comes after I studied the choice that parents made for KM as an optional subject. By utilitarian I mean the idea that the use of something will not do harm to oneself but will be of benefit to oneself on the contrary. Utilitarianism as defined by the British philosopher John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) is 'according to the Greatest Happiness principle [....] an existence as far as possible exempt from pain, and as rich as possible from enjoyments...' (Mill, 2009 [1879]:22). When I analysed the motivations of parents or teachers, I saw their choice was based primarily on this 'absence of pain' and ultimate benefit that the language could bring to their children.

Respondent Mireille (School Mentor) was an interesting case because her opinion was from the vantage point of both teacher and parent at the same time. In her life experience with language, Mireille narrated how her first posting as a novice teacher in a rural school was an encounter with an unknown language and culture notably Bhojpuri and the Indian culture. It was however, a positive experience which she appreciated. She said that this could have been partly the reason which motivated her to choose Hindi for her daughter. At that time KM was not yet introduced and there was no talk of 'optional languages' but only 'Oriental languages'. She then also added something very important which was decisive in her choice. She made this choice 'so that she (*her daughter*, my emphasis) has a bigger chance to have better results at C.P.E' (Chapter 6, section 6.2.2.1.1). I would say then that the 'Greatest Happiness' for Mireille was to expose her child to another culture which would enrich her world view and at the same time choosing Hindi gave her daughter a competitive edge when she would sit for the C.P.E examination[72]. Data drawn from Delphi Method indicated that the experts which I interviewed were all of the view that it was 'academic achievement [...] which was the first motivation of parents who opt for KM'. With regard to the future they also stated that as long as the C.P.E would remain in the

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[72] Since January 2004, Oriental/Arabic languages are included in the grading system, having the same status as all other examinable subjects for the CPE examination. The weighting is as follows: English: 3 points; French: 2 points (Asian languages/Arabic as an option: 3 points); Mathematics: 3 points; EVS: 3 points. (Sonck, 2005: 45)

system, parents would react in this utilitarian attitude. In fact, the utilitarian attitude is not limited to C.P.E only. Data showed that basically parents looked at KM for other utilitarian functions.

Parent Gilberte (SM School) told me that she chose KM so that her child may know how to read and write in KM; Parent Danielle (SM School) chose KM because she wanted her child to achieve literacy; Parent Nita (SJ School) states 'I chose Hindi because it counts for the C.P.E final results'. In fact, choice is based on one's own attitude and ideologies toward the chosen language.

In my literature review, I discussed 'language attitude' and 'language ideologies'. As a brief recapitulation, language attitude refers to the feelings of people about their language Crystal (2008; 2011). These 'feelings' are not merely individualistic or idiosyncratic but they are often shaped by social structures and social representations of a language. The choice of Mireille (mentor) and Parent Nita (SJ School) could be considered as egoistic but their choice was determined by the place that Hindi occupies in the grading system at the final primary examinations. In the same line of thought, I explained that the mentalist approach to the study of language attitudes (Chapter 3) considers that language has three dimensions namely 'cognition' which is the process of acquisition of knowledge, 'affect' which relates to emotion and 'conation' which is behaviour determined by the connection between cognition and affect.

Just as I gave the example where someone may chose English (cf. chapter 3) not because she/he loves the language but merely for economic (utilitarian, *sic*, my emphasis) we can say that the choice of Mireille (Mentor) for Hindi can be considered as of the same order because she said that if KM was in school at that time she would have chosen KM (because it will be an examinable subject like other subject) and not Hindi. I could denote in her language attitude a 'cognitive' dimension coupled by 'conation' but without 'affect' for Hindi and which may be the same for KM.

I must say that my intention in interviewing my respondents about their motivations for choosing an optional language was especially to know how far their choice had the weight of 'affect'. It is for this reason that I did not deliberately restrict my interviews to parents who chose KM only.

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Given that Oriental languages are generally considered to have a strong identity marker and affiliation, my assumption was that the choice for KM would be of the same nature. But my analysis afterward showed that even for the Oriental languages my assumption was partially true as data from respondents reflected that the choice for KM was not connected with 'affect' but was just an esssentialist strategisation (which I will explain shortly). If parents made their choice not by 'affect', this makes me observe that Creole pupils were studying KM not for identity reason but on a purely utilitarian basis. If KM is seen only as utilitarian, it means that the Creole pupils' language identity construction might not have been influenced by ethnic identity claims of the Creole movements and leaders. The statement that 'parents do not give much importance to these languages, it's just politics' (respondent Mireille, mentor), as reported in the previous chapter, is a recurring viewpoint for Oriental Languages. This might also prove true for KM in the future. In fact, the irony is that parents have their own 'politics' which may not be the same as the macro politics of the politicians which they deploy when they exercise their choice. Before I explain what I understand by an essentialist strategisation I would like to go back to my post colonial lens.

I used the term 'essentialist strategy' in chapter 1 as part of my post colonial lens. 'Essentialist identities' are often positive in the sense that if they form part of a long term strategy they may help a disenfranchised group to position itself in a hybrid world. Examples of essentialist strategy can be deciphered behind such statements like 'We must know our culture...where you come from, what is your origin' (Parent Danielle, SM school), 'We are in this language, it is our language, our culture' (Parent Nirmala, SJ school) and 'we want ...that our language is not lost' (Parent Amrita, SJ school). There were also statements which reflected language ideologies as representation of language and discourse that are constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group (cf. Chapter 3, section 3.4.1). The first statement that I just quoted echoes the Creole identity discourse and the two others reflect the identity discourse of the Indo-Mauritian community.

I am of the opinion that the essentialist strategy should not be disconnected from the act of choosing. In the case of oriental languages the actual trend confirms that pupils abandon these languages after C.P.E as soon as they get into secondary (*Le Defi Quotidien* newspaper, 2011,

April 30). Therefore I see the choice for Oriental languages as an essentialist strategy coupled with a utilitarian motivation. I mean that it is taken for essentialist reasons but also for utilitarian ones. At one moment the later predominate upon the former. It is for this reason that I qualify the choice of optional languages as 'utilitarian essentialist strategisation'. By 'strategisation' I mean it is a not a fixed plan of action designed to achieve a goal but a process which might necessitate change while moving towards the goal. So, looking at the choice of parents just from an essentialist perspective may be limitative.

The goal of all parents in primary education is to see their children succeed the C.P.E examination and get access to the best secondary schools. Their primary concern is not identity construction but how opportunities offered by the government can help their children succeed in their educational pathway. If ever what is offered to them helps in identity construction they will seize it. So, the choice for KM or any other optional languages should be seen as the strategisation of essentialism with a utilitarian purpose.

What may appear as essentialist features in the motivations of parents' choice are not pure essentialism but a 'pure strategy' based on a rational decision which they make consciously in the best interest of their child's future. I use the term 'pure strategy' with its associated meaning with the Game Theory[73] (Kelly, 2003) where it refers to a situation where one makes a decision on a purely rational and selfish basis in relation to dependent and interdependent factors to achieve one's aim. But I personally expected that Creole parents would react on an ethnic equation basis that is non Creoles take Oriental Languages and Creoles take KM. But my finding shows that reality is not an equation even if KM was introduced as a result of a politico-ethnic equation. The optional policy is underpinned by an ethnic trade off as I explained in chapter 2. Respondent Michael (Head of school) shared the same opinion on this policy when he said that 'he (Prime Minister) had to be careful not to take a decision which could be prejudicial to the Oriental Languages' (Chapter 6). Even if Creole parents opted for KM and non Creole parents

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[73] Game theory is a strategy of decision making and originally associated with analysis of games like chess and bridge. I think it is applicable with the issue that I am dealing as parents act as players on a chess board where the pieces represent the optional languages. Parents chose the piece with their own agenda in mind.

for Oriental Languages or Arabic but what really motivated the choice of parents for KM was not automatically an ethnic push. In my literature review I referred to attitudinal research (O'Rourke, 2011) which shows that language has 'an integrative or solidarity dimension…into a community of shared understandings and hence identity' (p.19). This means that language creates a sense of bonding and if the language is that of the native speaker, we would expect a high level of 'integrative or solidarity dimension'

However, I noticed during my mini-interviews on the day of registration exercises for admission to Standard I in 2012, 2013 and 2014 a marked difference between Creole parents and non Creole parents in relation to choice made on an ethnic or cultural basis. I had more answers from non Creole parents who chose an Oriental language for ancestral, cultural or religious reasons than from Creole parents. But this might be explained (as respondent Annie reported to me, Chapter 6) by the fact that the Creoles have not yet developed a strong sense of identity and identification with KM as the Indo-Mauritians have had with Oriental languages due to a long history of Hindu consciousness. At this juncture, I would like to bring one element of reflection in my discussion to understand ultimately the limited essentialist attitude of the parents in their choice. I draw my reflection from the field of pragmatic ethics studies.

Pragmatic ethics examines moral experience in terms of norms, principles and moral criteria which can improve through inquiry. The philosopher and educational reformer John Dewey (1859-1952) is known for his contribution to the concept of 'deliberation', that is how we take a decision in conflicting situations (Dewey, 1969-72). The term 'dramatic rehearsal' is the term used by Dewey when dilemmas arise in concrete life situation and as such we tend to visualize beforehand the consequences of one course of action against another. For Serra (2010) 'dramatic rehearsal' is the rehearsal of the possible consequences of every course of action. A choice or decision can be made either personally or socially while trying to figure out the responses of others. I think in the first years of introduction of KM, parents found themselves in this dilemma as they could base themselves on any past experience for KM to make a judgment. It was therefore a 'dramatic rehearsal' which predominated on other considerations at the moment they made their choice amongst the list of optional languages. The term 'radical choice' was used by the French philosopher Sartre (1905-1980) to explain that 'we are our choice' (Sartre, 1946)

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meaning that 'Man is nothing but what he purposes human beings, he exists only in so far as he realizes himself…' (Sartre, 1966:41). The choice for KM was therefore a personal choice and could be difficultly be associated with the Creole identity discourse although Sartre also states that this freedom in our action entails also a responsibility towards others and for the future (Caspary, 2006). Therefore, so far as my main research question is concerned, I would say that the way in which the parents exercised their choice did not necessarily shape the Creole pupils language identity construction in an essentialist way. For the parents, the choice of KM was not primarily based on an ethnic identity basis. It was just normal for Creole parents to choose KM instead of oriental languages. I would say that somehow the parents conveyed the idea that KM should not be taken as an ethnicised language but as an additional language which gave their children a competitive advantage later for the C.P.E examinations. The policy decision to offer KM as an optional subject was influenced by pressure of identity claims made on basis of equal opportunity in terms of linguistic and cultural rights as discussed in chapter 2. I found that the optional modality gave the parents sovereign rights. In the coming section I examine changes in curriculum, textbook and pedagogy and their impact on the Creole pupils.

7.4.2. Syllabus: Obliterating the Creoles

In this section, I analyse data from three documents namely the curriculum, syllabus and the KM textbook.

The three documents have a common thread. I have observed that they are pervaded by the six perspectives which underpin the curriculum namely the psychological and affective, historical and anthropological, linguistic rights, political, socio-economic and social justice and the cognitive perspectives (as presented in chapter 6). The historical and anthropological perspective is of particular interest to my research as it reads as follows in the document: 'recognizes the existence of the Kreol community within the Nation of Mauritius and its right to have access to symbolic capital and cultural like 'ancestral language.' (See also Chapter 6).This notion of symbolic and cultural capital has extensively been discussed earlier with the language shift to French by the older respondents because of French's cultural capital. In this introductory note of the KM curriculum, 'ancestral language' is referred to as a 'symbolic and cultural capital' to

which the Creole community could aspire with the introduction of KM on a par with Oriental / ancestral languages. Indeed the policy decision to offer KM on same conditions as the ancestral languages is to correct an unfair distribution of resources. Data drawn from interviews wih heads of school and teachers indicated that for them KM should be considered on a par with the Asian languages although in their opinion KM is the 'genuine national heritage language' (chapter 6, section 6.21.1.5). I discussed in my Chapter 2 how Eisenhlor (2008) refers to the ancestral languages as 'state cultural patronage'. Recently there has been more open support of the government to Hindi. In a public statement, the Prime Minister Navin Ramgoolam stated that his government would ask UNESCO to add Hindi on the list of international languages (lexpress.mu, 2013, August, 25). Similarly the Parliament voted the World Hindi Secretariat Act (2012) for the establishment and the management of the bureau with, as objective, to promote Hindi as an international language and further the cause of Hindi towards its recognition at the United Nations as an official language.

Apple (1990) considers curriculum as a key agent of cultural reproduction. He observes that the selective tradition in elaborating a curriculum calls for questions like 'whose knowledge is it? who selected it? why is it organized and taught in this way ? to this particular group ?' (Apple, 1990: 7). As a matter of principle, the KM curriculum must target all children as it is offered as an optional subject and given it is the language of all Mauritians it is quite normal that the subject should not be reduced to its bare minimum to an ethnic essentialism. The term 'hidden curriculum' conveys the idea of transmission of particular values, norms and beliefs in a school context. It would be expected, however, that the KM curriculum conveys quite naturally certain values and ethos which resonate with the Creole child. Nevertheless, my data analysis leads me to conclude the syllabus and the textbook which embody the underpinning perspectives of the curriculum make the Creole community invisible.

A close examination of the syllabus (see chapter 6) shows there is no mention at all be it directly or indirectly of the Creole community or even reference to its linguistic heritage and cultural values. In fact, the KM syllabus looks more like a usual language syllabus with emphasis on development of language and literacy skills, communication skills and cognitive capacity. The

syllabus has more in common with a typical syllabus of a foreign language than with heritage language programmes properly. In my opinion this absence of the Creole community may be attributed to the dominant idea amongst the Mauritian academia that culture and identity dimension should be restricted to cultural identity claims and not into school syllabus. I base my opinion here on the interpretation that I make of the views of the Expert B in the Deplhi Method. The expert, who is an academic, stated that it is was good to look at KM from its cultural and heritage dimension 'but these should not be its only manifestations, as a failure to properly underscore its academic cachet precisely contributes to reinforce the somewhat 'inferior' status of this language vis-à-vis other languages present in Mauritius' (Expert B). Although I would not say that expert B was saying that the cultural and heritage dimension was not important The fact that he opposed 'cultural and heritage'with 'academic cachet' shows that there is an opposition between the culture / heritage and cachet. In order to get an idea of what I am arguing I have identified three heritage language programmes from other countries (Australia, New Zealand and Ireland) for comparative analysis.

Table 29 shows the three heritage languages and the objectives of each. The column on the right gives the objectives of KM's syllabus for primary education.

HERITAGE LANGUAGE	OBJECTIVES		KREOL MORISIEN OBJECTIVES
Aboriginal Languages K-10 Syllabus	(i)To develop communication skills (ii) to focus on languages as systems (iii) to understand the relationship between language, **culture** and land (iv)to increase self-esteem through an enhanced understanding of their **linguistic heritage**		*Standard I-II:*(i)To develop an awareness of the world of sound (ii)To develop language **skills** tosocialize, communicate and act (iii)To develop cognitive **capacity** (iv) To develop literacy **skills** (e.g identify corresponding grapheme with orthography)(v)To acquire concepts in use of language (e.g personal/ common pronoun, prepositions,
Maori	(i)To develop an understanding of the Cook Islands Màori language and **culture** in New Zealand and the wider Pacific (ii) To develop verbal and non-verbal communication skills for a range of purposes (iii) To experience the stories, texts, and visual **symbols** of the Cook Islands		

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		etc)
		Standard III-IV: (i)To develop an awareness of the world of sound (ii)To develop language **skill**s tosocialize, communicate and act (iii)To develop cognitive **capacity** (iv) To develop literacy **skills** (v) To acquire concepts in use of language
Irish	(i)To acquire a basic competency in the Irish language; (ii) To gain a basic understanding of how the language works (iii) To deepen the awareness of Irish language and **heritage** among students ; (iv) To **experience** the richness of the Irish **natural environment** and the **human environment** through visits and fieldtrip	*Standard V-VI:* (i)To developlanguage practices (ii)To develop language **skills**, to socialize and act (iii) To develop literacy **skills** (iv) To acquire concepts in use of language (v) to developcognitive **capacity**

Table 29 . Comparative Table of Heritage Language Programme versus KM syllabus

The Aboriginal heritage language programme is for primary pupils, the Maori one is the overall curriculum guideline for teaching heritage language whereas the Irish one is for adult. I have bolded the key terms in each programme which give an idea of the main characteristic of their Heritage Language teaching as compared to KM. Words like '**skills**' and '**capacity**' are recurrent in the KM syllabus whereas for the international heritage language programmes '**culture**', '**linguistic heritage**', '**human environment**', '**symbols**' and '**experience**' come out forcefully as dominating features.

There are two paradoxes with the KM syllabus. First, the syllabus focuses on developing language and communication skills while the learners are all speakers of KM. This means that the syllabus looks at KM as a language to be taught to foreigners and not as one for native speakers. Second, while the curriculum speaks of recognising the right of the Creole community to have access to 'symbolic and cultural capital like ancestral language', the syllabus is not

supposed to insulate the Creole child from her/ his culture. There is therefore a cultural inequality compared to the ancestral languages at school. But both the syllabus and the textbook were worked out by the Mauritian Kreol Unit of the MIE and not at the level of AKM. Therefore the Creole identity has been left out somewhere. The coming subsection examines the textbook.

7.4.3. Textbook: Grey Area for the Creole Pupils

Basing myself on different models of analysis of identity and cultural representations in textbook by researchers (Liese, 2010; Aliakbari, 2005; Wenninger &Willians, 2005; Cortazzi & Jin, 1999) I conducted a content analysis of some selected stories and activities (see Pictures 2 to 17 in Chapter 6), a study of phenotype / facial representations in pictures (see Table 25, Chapter 6) and the names of characters (see Table 26, chapter 6) in the KM textbook for Standard III. The outcome of this analysis calls for some comments in terms of the cultural referents used in the textbook.

I now move to the analysis of four cultural artefacts in the textbook namely Mouriah Pahar Legend (p.20), a labelling activity of a rural farm house (see picture 17 in Chapter 6), use of proper names and picture representation of human faces.
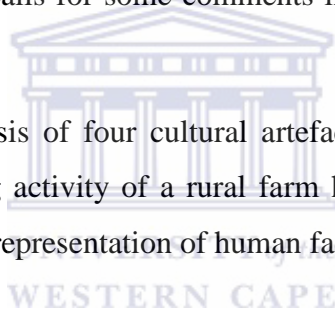
Mouriah Pahar Legend (p.20)

The Mouriah Pahar Legend comes from the Bhojpuri oral traditions. As explained in chapter 6 it is a fairy tale about Pieter Both Mountain which the Bhojpuri speakers in the past called Mouriah Pahar. The moral of the tale is to give one's word is sacred and if one does not respect one's own word, one can be petrified like the milkman in the mountain of Pieter Both. Mountain is a strong symbol of identification inspiring awe and domination shaped by the history of human imaginings since immemorial times. In chapter 4, I discussed the Lemurian foundation myth linked with the giants living in the mountain of Moka and I also referred in the same chapter to the symbolism of Le Morne. Ancient civilisations like Aztec, semitic and judeo-christian have also similar myths anchored into mountains as abodes of 'living spirits' (Wilson, 1993). This shows how mountains inhabit the collective imagination of people and Mauritian

children feel more close to mountains and sea as they are islanders. We may ask ourselves then why no reference is made to Le Morne Mountain in the textbook as it resonates more with the cultural world of the Creole pupils. Being a UNESCO World Heritage Site, it could have prompted conversations about the history and culture of the AfroCreoles. A similar comment can be made for the labelling activity of a rural farm house.

Labelling of a rural farm house (p.33)

This rural farm house is interesting as it gives the pupil an idea how families lived in the past. It shows also the main activity in those days such as cattle rearing and agriculture. We can also see a woman separating the good from the bad rice. There are also some ancient kitchen materials which have to be identified and labelled by the pupil. This activity is accompanied in the Teacher's Guide by hints about how to develop the interest of the pupils in our intangible heritage. But still, the world of agriculture and farming is not the typical world of Creole families although we do have some families living in rural areas which conducted in the past farming activities. Yet, for historical reasons, Creoles have been in occupations like carpentry, masonry, fishing and working in the docks. Another important artefact which touches the self is giving of names.

Names

Names like 'Zozom', 'Granzan' and 'Pazan' (see Table 26, chapter 6) are used in folk storytelling but they are not names of Mauritians in real life. Research shows that names are critical categories in constructing identity (Ngade, 2011) and names have psychological bearing on the construction of the self (Zweigenhaft et al., 1980). Respondent Nadine who was amongst the writing panelists for the textbook pointed out that the choice of names for the characters has been a bone of contention. Members of the panel were divided over whether to have only Creole names or to mix all types of names. In fact, they wanted to be cautious because of a precedent case[74]. The panel also got negative feedback three years ago on the Standard I KM textbook

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[74] In 2007, a Standard (Grade 2) English textbook became the subject of cultural controversy. A picture illustrating one head chapter 'Mrs Toorab family goes to the Sea' showed Mrs Tooran wearing a swimming suit. The Urdu language teachers union considered this picture inappropriate and was a lack respect towards the cultural specificities and values of the Muslim community. Consequently, the Ministry of Education and Human Resources

(Younit Kreol Morisien, 2011). Its first chapter bears the title 'Mwa mo nom' (I, my name). It comprises nineteen activities around names[75]. KM teachers reported these activities created a feeling of embarrassment amongst some pupils as they were quite personal and the uneasiness was especially noted in schools located in disadvantaged areas. It is to observe here that some names in the Creole community bear the prejudice of the past as they were given by the slave masters[76]. Finally, the panel opted for 'neutral names' which would not be identifiable with any ethnic group of Mauritius and would avoid such negative experiences that were reported for the first textbook but names 'with a bit of European accent' were formulated. Thus the two main characters of the textbook bear the names 'Leo' (boy) and 'Vanessa' (girl). As a concluding remark, Nadine said 'so these names have no connotation...nothing cultural' (Chapter 6). But the fact that 'a bit of European' name has been chosen represents a European cultural hegemony.

Pictures

Generally, human facial images provide the demographic information, such as ethnicity and gender. In the textbook, the pictures are ambiguous in terms of ethnic identification. The colour used and the image resolution seem to have hidden deliberately such identification. But English and French textbooks contain typical human face images representing the different ethnic groups in Mauritius and the pupils can identify themselves with these pictures. Similarly, Oriental Language textbooks contain Asian human faces and have explicit cultural referents (e.g. names, stories, religion and cultural traditions). So, I would say that pupils who study Oriental Languages have cultural referents whilst Creole pupils have none. The invisibility of the Creoles in the textbook can be explained on two counts. First, there was the embarrassment of the

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sent a circular letter to all schools informing them that apart from the change in the chapter head, the following amendments should also be brought : (i) names of characters Sania and Zulfi be replaced by Sonia and Zul. Thus 'Sania makes a sandcastle' became 'Sonia makes a sandcastle'; Zulfi looks for shelfs became ' Zul looks for shelfs'. (lexpress.mu, 2007, May, 3)

[75] These activities were about distinction between first and second name, alphabetical classification of names, small and capital letters, etc.

[76] In *Les Noms de la Honte* (Names of Shame), Romaine (2006) makes an anthropological analysis of typical Creole names linked with slavery. In….as measure to protect slaves, British Colonial Office took the decision that all slave masters must have a record of the number of slaves with their names. Romaine (2006) explains that the slave masters felt very annoyed by this decision and in act of fury they gave different derogatory names to their slaves.

writing panellists to make explicit representation of the Creole community as we saw with the debate about names). Data from interviews with KM teachers also indicated another form of embarrassment when I asked questions about Creole pupils. This shows that talking about the Creole community was a taboo. Second, there is the ideology which underpinned the teaching of KM. In fact, the Creole culture and identity are neutralised in a sense by a folk culture ideology in the KM textbook.

The Preface to the KM textbook (Standard I) states that KM class would fulfil four functions namely first to develop the learner's capacity to express herself/ himself, second, to develop literacy skills, third to help the child discover his/her own culture and environment (noting that the Kreol class will make use of songs, poem, and all that come from *our intangible heritage*, my emphasis) and finally to help the child reflect on his / her own language which will bring clarity of thought. In fact, the textbook is beautifully illustrated by local landscapes, fauna and flora. As compared to French and English textbooks (although they contain local scenes), the KM textbook has a local flavour. Truly, the whole textbook is immersed into the intangible heritage of Mauritius. Feather (2009) states intangible heritage 'is concerned with aspects of culture which have no material form. It includes traditions, language and orally transmitted music and texts' (p.2084). The textbook, for instance, indicates the presence of 'Tizan gato Kanet' and the Legend of Mouriah Pahar which are oral texts. There is also a CD compilation of folk songs compilated and interpreted by the ABAIM[77] group which teachers can use as pedagogical aid. The question arises therefore about how far do folk songs, music and text influence the Creole identity construction of the Creole pupils. Figure 12 below tries to illustrate this question.

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[77] ABAIM (Association pour le Bien Etre des Aveugles de Maurice) is a non-governmental organisation which was founded in the wake of the setting up of a solidarity platform with blind disability workers of the Lois Lagesse Trust Fund during a strike in 1982. Since then the group has focused its activities on the protection of vulnerable children from a social and cultural rights perspective. It has undertaken an anthropological work by collecting, preserving and disseminating elements of the Mauritian intangible heritage (folk songs, music and texts). Recently the group has developed pedagogical materials and elaborated pedagogical practices in KM which aim at the promotion of the holistic development of children. ABAIM is on the list of acknowledgement of contributors to the KM textbooks for the three levels (Standard I, II, III).
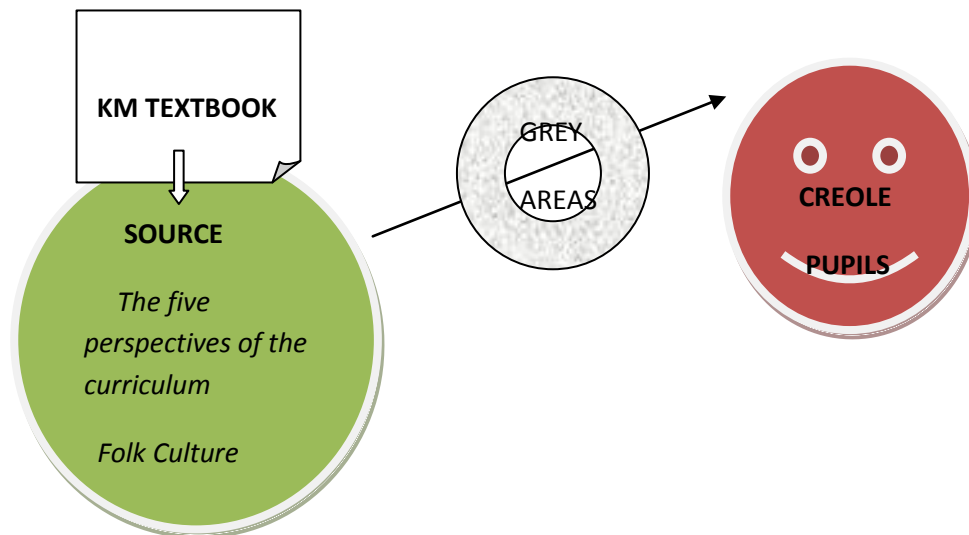
Figure 9.The cultural referents: Grey Areas for the Creole Pupils

Figure 9 shows the school textbook underpinned by the five perspectives of the curriculum plus the folk culture. The drawing shows that this sends grey areas to the Creole pupils. But I think only future research can bring an answer to my question. My comments are made while taking into consideration that the textbook is used by pupils who are eight years old. In the Mauritian context, Standard III for Creole parents represents the year of preparation for the First Holy Communion which the Creole pupils live as an initiation rite during the year. It is therefore an age when they enter the world of symbolism. In his theory of eight stages of developmental psychology, Erikson (1968) stressed the importance of middle childhood as a time when children move from home into wider social contexts. It is also an age where they learn what he called a 'sense of industry' which means the child learns that social status is acquired through mastery of certain skills and competences and if the child cannot do so she/ he ends up with a 'sense of inferiority'.

For Eccles (1999), cognitive changes in middle childhood, which she brackets from 6 to 14 years, give children an expanded view of themselves and others. This awareness of a broadened world view prepares them for important social and emotional changes which begin at these years. The fact that they also spend less time at eight with their parents and more with the

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outside world (e.g teachers, friends, scout leaders or sports coaches) make them exposed to different religious and ethnic groups. So, I would say that the Creole child at eight years old has already a sense of cultural referents. In the context of my research and at this point in time I think this 'folk culture' flavour of the content of KM can be of no harm for Creole pupils. If teachers have an awareness of their role in the identity construction of the Creole pupils, this 'folk culture' dimension can certainly give a national rootedness to the identity of the Creole pupils. However, another condition needs to exist, that is, it all depends on the pedagogy which is deployed in class whether it is a pedagogy which inhibits or enhances the Creole identity.

7.4.4. Pedagogy: Empowering Learning for Creole Pupils

Data drawn from interviews with KM teachers and the class observations I conducted clearly indicated that the introduction of KM brought a new pedagogy. In the words of the respondents this was not an oppressive pedagogy as compared to traditional teaching. Data showed that the pupils 'are more at ease' (Mala interviewed on 2103, October, 11). Pupils were invited to express themselves through drawing and write freely afterwards without the teacher being obsessed with spelling mistakes. Pupils were delighted with some exercises like the pronunciation of the Kreol sound 'wa' (Mala interviewed on 2013, October, 11). Pupils were also invited to explain words which they spoke in their own language. Teachers at their level developed for the first a pedagogy of comparative linguistic in French and KM so as to help pupils identify errors.

It was interesting to note that the KM teacher in Rodrigues whom I considered as my key informant considered that the introduction of KM was a cultural revolution in school. But another key informant (Edward) the introduction of KM did not bring any fundamental change. As regard the Creole pupils' language identity construction, I would say that this new pedagogy definitely helped Creole pupils to express themselves in their own language. The data corresponds with the views of Desai (2012) and Chumbow (2005) about the relevance of the mother-tongue as medium of instruction. Teaching and learning in KM was the highest form of valuing the Creole children as we noted in earlier chapters, the Creole community is the most marginalised group. Hence, I would say that although the syllabus and textbook did not

recognise the Creoles, the introduction of KM gave the opportunity to the Creole pupils to express themselves.

SUMMARY

This section examined the last research question about the changes that have been observed with the introduction of KM. My data indicated changes in four fields namely the right to choose KM on the list at with Oriental languages, the elaboration of a new KM syllabus, the production of a school textbook and the pedagogy in terms of teaching and learning.

Accordingly, there were four corresponding findings for each field. At the level of language choice, parents chose KM rather for utilitarian reasons than on ethnic ground although the cultural ancestrality was more pronounced for those parents who chose Oriental languages. Second, the KM syllabus was more a programme for the teaching of language skills and competencies and it obliterated the Creole community as compared to heritage language programmes in other countries where emphasis is laid on the cultural and identity dimension. Third, the KM textbook in terms of its content (pictures, facial and phenotype representations and activities) render ambiguous the visibility of the cultural referents of the Creole pupils. Finally, the pedagogy used to teach KM gave, however, the Creole pupils the possibility to express themselves. The key finding of this section was that the introduction of KM did not really enhance the Creole pupils' language identity construction

CONCLUSION

This chapter analysed the data drawn from interviews, class observation, and documents analysis and Delphi Method. I then engaged a discussion on the findings. My three research questions provided a frame for discussion with focus on the main research question. The socio-historical processes together with the experiences of the head of schools and teachers and the changes that I have observed with the introduction of KM indicated that they are factors which could influence the Creole pupils' language identity construction. At almost the final stage of my investigation I would say that the whole research process tried to verify the assumption that the introduction of KM as an optional language with other oriental languages would automatically

create ethnic self identification with KM by Creole parents as it is the case for parents of non Creole community with the Oriental languages. My aim was to examine the link between heritage language and identity construction. The whole discussion has been until now with the ultimate aim of addressing the main research question about the influence of KM on the Creole pupils' language identity construction. In the last chapter, I conclude my observations in the light of the key findings and I make some recommendations.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1. Introduction

In this chapter I provide an overview of the study summarising the basic research findings, which are followed by a reflection on the significance of the study, its limitations and some remarks as conclusions. I then proceed with a brief discussion on the recommendations arising from the study.

8.2. Overview

In January 2012, the State of Mauritius implemented the historical decision to offer Kreol Morisien (KM) as an optional language subject in all primary schools within the Republic of Mauritius. This study was a critical ethnography into KM located in heritage language studies.

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The main aim of this study was to examine the link between heritage language (HL) and language identity construction of Creole primary school pupils with special reference to KM as an optional language in two primary schools. Fieldwork on KM was conducted from 2010 to 2014 in two primary schools, investigating the first three years of the introduction of KM. As indicated in chapter 5, my research design was based on critical ethnography informed by reflexivity as I was personally involved at one point in the socio-historical processes leading to the introduction of KM in primary school. My participants were heads of school, teachers, pupils and parents. As data collection strategies, I conducted school/ class observations, ethnographic interviews, document analysis and Delphi Method. I had four objectives in this study. I explain how each objective was achieved in the coming paragraphs.

The first objective was to work out a Mauritian definition of KM as a heritage language (HL). Taking into consideration the different geographical appellations and definitions to HL, I worked out a taxonomy of HLs with two major categories of HLs. The first category defined HL as indigenous languages which are underpinned by a non majority perspective, meaning that they are languages which are often marginalised because they are spoken by minority groups which do not have access to resources. The second category defines HLs as languages of specific linguistic and cultural communities with personal, family and affiliation dimensions. In the light of the two categories and basing myself on literature in HL, I borrowed the concept of 'naturalization' from natural science to come with a working definition of KM as a 'naturalized language' which I located as a third category into the taxonomy of HL.

The second objective was to examine the different aspects of the introduction of KM as an optional language in terms of its socio-historical processes and modalities of its implementation. For this I located my discussion into epistemology, creolisation and ruptures. In terms of epistemology, I explored issues of justified true belief, source of knowledge and theories of truth, Plato's Allegory of the Cave and the social epistemology of truth. The discussion pointed out KM as a social construct shaped by the evolution of the socio-historical processes. As far as the concept of creolisation was concerned, I examined the scholarly debate on the definition of KM. There were two opposing schools of thought namely one which defined KM as French Kreol represented by Chaudenson (1979) and another one which looked at KM as a full- fledged

language which went through the process of pidginization (Virahsawmy, 1967). This debate on KM showed the difference between the Francophone and the Anglo-saxon perspectives on KM. I explained that the former was underpinned by French geolinguistic and cultural policy to protect the francophone interests in the post-colonial era whereas the latter was located into studies of applied linguistics in the 1960s. This discussion examined creolisation in terms of cultural identity under the appellation 'creolité/ kreolite' I demonstrated that creolisation meant cultural hybridity and the term 'creolité' was used especially by writers in the French Carribean departments to define their identity within the larger French republic. I argued in my view the term 'creolité' was only partially appropriate for the Mauritian context. I stated that this was because the identity claims by the Creoles in Mauritius should be seen as recognition of their distinct identity in relation to the dominant Hindi-speaking group. With regard to the 'ruptures' discussion, I showcased the evolution of KM from the nineteenth century to date. KM evolved from an object of exotic interest and black prejudice to an era of Kreol Enlightenment after independence, giving birth to a Kreol acrolect. KM also overlapped with the malaise Creole becoming thus the symbol of an AfroKreol quest for identity in the twenty-first century.

The third objective was to situate and analyse the place of KM in primary school as an additional optional language in relation to other optional languages. I pointed out that the term 'optional languages came to be used for the first time with the introduction of KM. Prior to the presence of KM in schools, the term 'Oriental or Asian languages' was used and not optional languages. My fourth objective was to examine how the introduction of KM had a direct or indirect impact on the language identity of the primary Creole pupils who were in Grades (Standards) I-II-III[78]. My whole investigation was oriented towards this objective. What follows is a summary of my findings in relation to my main research question and the research questions which guided me in my investigation.

My main research question was formulated as such: **how does the introduction of KM (KM) as an optional language in primary education shape Creole pupils' language identity**

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[78] When I completed my fieldwork at the beginning of Year 2014, I have been able to observe the same pupils for three years meaning they were pupils of Standards Grades) I (Year 2012), II (Year 2013) and III (Year 2014).

construction in Mauritius? My research investigated how KM as an optional language had a great influence on Creole pupils in its early years of introduction. According to me Creole parents who chose KM on the list of optional languages represented the emergence of a Creole consciousness. I paid particular attention to language practices which according to me was the best clue to start with when researching the language identity construction of Creole pupils. By language practices, I meant language ideologies and language which represent the attitudes, behaviours, and social and mental representations of learners and teachers, as well as the power relations inherent in acts of communication among learners, teachers and other agents of communication (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylsverter, 2003; Pennycook, 2005). I studied these language practices at both their micro and macro levels within broader socio-political structures. I organised my investigation around three research questions.

Research Question N0.1

My first research question was about the socio-historical processes which underpinned the introduction of KM as an optional subject. The data gave three findings. First, the socio-historical processes can be qualified as a movement from Marxist ideology and militancy to Kreol renaissance. Second, the Creole priest Roger Cerveaux acted as a catalyst both for his statement on the malaise creole and the authenticity of his position as an individual within a dominant French system. Third, the policy decision to introduce KM as an optional language was an act of political accommodation of the state with a new sociolinguistic situation shaped by ethnic claims and identity. With regard to my main research question, I made two observations. First, I stated Creole pupils studied KM in the context when KM positioned itself as 'language of strength and cultural strength'. Second, the importance that the Catholic Church gave to KM in its liturgy and education services on one hand and the accommodation of the State policy with the Creole identity movement created optimal conditions for Creole pupils to study KM. I presumed that this reinforced the relationship of the pupils with the language they were studying.

Research Question N0.2

My second research question was about the experiences of the heads of school, school mentor and teachers on the introduction of KM. The analysis revealed three findings. First, the

introduction of KM triggered an existential question to my respondents. I found that the choice of language became a central issue to their life and especially as members of the Creole community. Second, there was a generational gap in terms of experiences amongst the heads of school and teachers. This generation gap is not forcibly a question of age but rather of socio-historical events which shaped a group. A class analysis of the respondents indicated that the experiences of the youngest generation of teachers diametrically opposed their elders. For the former social mobility was linked with education and keeping the link with the community by rooting oneself in the Creole language and culture. But for the latter, adopting French language and culture and moving to a new residential area was a sign of upward social mobility. Finally, I found that the introduction of KM was lived as a form of self-actualisation and pride by the KM teachers

Research Question N0.3

This research question examined the changes that have been observed with the introduction of KM. There were four findings. First, at the level of language choice, parents chose KM rather for utilitarian reasons than on ethnic ground although the cultural ancestrality was more pronounced for those parents who chose Oriental languages. Second, the KM syllabus was more a programme for the teaching of language skills and competencies and it obliterated the Creole community as compared to heritage language programmes in other countries where emphasis is laid on the cultural and identity dimension. Third, the KM textbook in terms of its content (pictures, facial and phenotype representations and activities) rendered ambiguous the visibility of the cultural referents of the Creole pupils. Finally, the pedagogy used to teach KM gave, however, the Creole pupils the possibility to express themselves.

In the light of the above overview, it would be appropriate to come to the following conclusions with regard to the data collected. First, the first batch of KM teachers represents convinced teachers who believed in the importance and relevance of KM. I presumed that having convinced teachers should normally foster the identity construction of the pupils. But at the same time the content of the training programme at the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE) did not acknowledge the Creole pupils' language identity construction. Second, some indicators like the

KM curriculum and syllabus and school textbook point that the Creole identity was obliterated and superseded by a folk representation of KM as language and culture. Third, parents chose KM not necessarily on basis of ethnicity although a majority of pupils studying KM were Creoles. Their choice was made in terms of the competitive advantage that KM could give their children for the end of primary examination. Fourth, the introduction of KM as an optional language was most of all the result of a combination of socio-historical processes where cultural militants, organic intellectuals, the catholic and the media played a determining role.

The next section focuses on the limitations of this study and provides an explanation for the tentative character of the study of KM in its early years of introduction.

8.3. Limitations

In this study I have tried to examine the link between heritage language and identity construction with reference to KM as an optional language in primary school. This study has limits on four counts namely first, it is the first study which looked at KM as heritage language. The dearth of local literature and research work made my research investigation. I had to find an entry point which I did at chapter 2 by taking a philosophical route.

Second, my study was an attempt at investigating how the introduction of KM shaped the Creole pupils' language identity construction in primary schools. Given KM was in its early years of introduction, it was quite difficult to examine the impact of KM on the Creole pupils during only a period of three years. But the Creole pupils' language identity construction was crucial because of the very special nature of my research. The introduction of KM was preceded by an ethnic identity struggle which based itself on the claim for linguistic and cultural rights enshrined in the UN Convention of Childs' Rights. It was quite normal that the first research study made an attempt to examine the impact of KM on Creole pupils' language identity construction. In spite of the arduous, it is for this reason that I used several research instruments as indicated in chapter 5 to reach a plausible explanation on the phenomenon under study.

Third, although I was in the field for a prolonged period (five years), yet the features of the two schools which I selected might not reflect other schools attended by Creole pupils. However, I

did not opt for a comparative study with other primary schools deliberately because it was the first ethnography study on KM as an optional language and as such, I considered that it was important that I remained focused for a long period.

Fourth, other limitations such as the methodological ones are discussed in chapter 5.

In the next section, I consider the significance of this study and outline possibilities for further research.

8.4. Significance of the study and further research

Through this study, I have tried to examine the link between KM and identity construction of the Creoles in Mauritius. Although there exist sociolinguistic studies which deal with KM and the identity issue (Tirvassen, 2001; Carpooran, 2006), yet the researchers did not take an engaged researcher position on this issue like I did as a Creole researcher. They do not examine KM from the perspectives of the Creoles but more as detached researchers who conduct research on people rather with the people. In this sense, my study gives the first emic (inside) view on KM as compared to the dominated etic view until now. As such it would be interesting to have other research in the future conducted from the engaged perspective. At the same time, this study throws light on the philosophical and sociological dimensions of KM. This study showed how KM was a social construct and was underpinned by deep seated reflections and issues found in the field of philosophy. Classical Marxist, post structural and post colonial lenses with reference to post colonial literature were used to examine the link between language and identity. This combination of different lenses and at times contradictory as indicated in chapter 4 show the importance of pluridisciplinary approaches to language studies. I think language as a social phenomenon should be looked at from different perspectives because of its complexity.

My data show that further research needs to be made with regard to the Creole pupils when they have completed their primary education. As I explained earlier, my findings were based on the first three years of the introduction of KM. The results of future research could be analysed in the light of these findings. Also, future studies could conduct comparative studies as regard the selection of schools for fieldwork. My research question which focused on the influence of KM

as an optional language on the Creole pupils' language identity construction could also consider other comparative studies with other optional languages.

In the light of the above, I would make the following recommendations.

8.4. Recommendations

The findings of this study are an attempt to throw light on the title of the thesis which is 'heritage language and identity construction: a critical ethnography of KM as an optional language in primary education within the Republic of Mauritius'. Based on the data, I would argue that the existing syllabus for KM should be reviewed and be given an orientation geared towards identity construction for all Mauritian pupils by paying particular attention to the inclusion of the cultural heritage of each ethnic group. Even if my major concern is about the Creole language identity construction of Creole pupils, I understand that the KM syllabus cannot be a syllabus for Creole pupils only. But on the other hand real attention should be paid to the Creole pupils as the KM class is the only place where the pupil can develop and foster his/ her ethnic identity within the national identity. In the coming paragraphs I give my recommendations.

The *first recommendation* is that the content for KM syllabus be aligned to international heritage language programmes as I gave some hints about in chapter 7. A close analysis of these programmes should be conducted and adopted to the Mauritian context.

The *second recommendation*, which is linked to the first, is the content of teacher's training should give more attention to the anthropological dimension of Kreol language and culture. This should not be limited to surveys or ethnography studies of different ethnic groups as such but should rather develop cultural critique skills amongst teachers.

A *third recommendation* would be to involve parents and the outside community. As pointed out in chapter 3, the sustainability of heritage language programmes in other countries is largely dependent on the involvement of parents. This can be in the form of frequent parents' participation in class activities. The link with the community preserves the loss of the richness of the oral culture. The potential danger of teaching KM in a formal education set up is that it runs the risk of stifling creativity and obliterating indigenous knowledge.

The *fourth recommendation* is local authorities like municipalities and village councils should be encouraged to develop KM heritage language programmes. Each local authority could conduct activities based on a curriculum and syllabus informed by the local context. It is in this way that we can develop KM as a national heritage language because as discussed in the thesis it is also the language spoken by all Mauritians. But the promotion of KM as a national language faces the challenge to take into account all the different aspects of KM portrayed by different ethnic groups.

The *fifth recommendation* is that to further develop the Creole identity dimension of KM, Creole movements, institutions like the Nelson Mandela Centre for African and Creole Culture, and catholic education authorities can mount heritage language programmes into KM. This would strengthen the link between heritage studies and the community. This is the real challenge because it is about how the Creole identity dimension is enhanced outside school premises while the Creole pupils are following the prescribed syllabus. The Creole movements and institutions which I mentioned above should develop a special syllabus geared towards language identity construction.
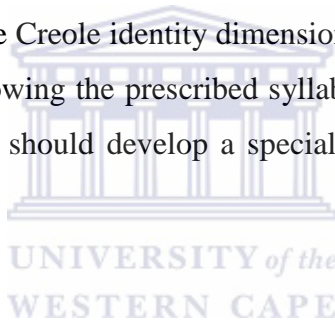
8.5. Conclusion

Hence, this study tried to establish the link between KM as heritage language and the Creole pupils' language identity construction. The research involved heads of school, teachers, pupils and parents. Data showed that the socio-historical processes prior to the introduction of KM created an atmosphere conducive to the development of the language identity construction of the Creole pupils. The data also showed that the first batch of KM teachers who worked with the Creole pupils were motivated by self-actualisation and pride in teaching KM. But the same data on curriculum, syllabus and textbook revealed the total obliteration of the Creole community whether in terms of the ambiguity noted for facial phenotype representations in pictures and absence of cultural referents or artefacts.

I acknowledged the limitations of this study which make it difficult to generalise its findings. However the profile of the Creole pupils and parents which I identified at Saint Mathew and Saint John primary schools presents common features of the Creole pupils of the working and

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middle class in Mauritius. It may therefore be possible that similar studies may give similar findings.

This chapter also considers the significance of the study and suggest further research areas, I Recommendations are also made in this chapter. They are of twofold namely actions which can be taken to intervene in the teaching of KM at school level and interventions outside school with the involvement of local authorities and civil society organisations, the catholic church and the Creole identity movements.

In its two hundred and ninety recommendations, The Truth and Justice Commission (2011) which was set up to investigate the consequences of slavery and indentured labour recommends amongst others the valorisation of the African and Malagasy heritage within the larger national heritage in all its diversity. The Commission also recommends several actions targeting the empowerment of the Creole community in terms of equal access to education and state resources. I think KM as an optional language can play a key role in this process of historical reparation and construction of a better future for the Creole children living in peace and harmony with other communities.
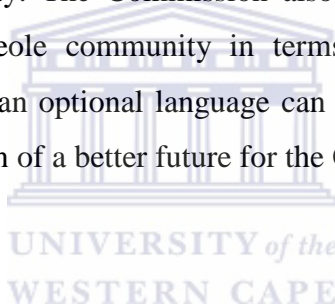
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Advert for the post of 'Enlistment as Trainee Educator (Primary) (Kreol

Morisien) Ministry of Education and Human Resources' (Mauritius Public Service, 2012, July,

5)

<div align="center">

MAURITIUS PUBLIC SERVICE

Enlistment as Trainee Educator (Primary) (Kreol Morisien)

Ministry of Education and Human Resources

</div>

Applications are invited from qualified candidates who wish to be considered for enlistment as Trainee Educator (Primary) (Kreol Morisien) in the Ministry of Education and Human Resources.

II.   AGE LIMIT

Candidates should be between 18 and 40 years of age by the closing date for the submission of applications.

III.   QUALIFICATIONS

1.   Candidates should possess:-

A.   a Cambridge School Certificate with credit in at least five subjects including English Language, French and Mathematics obtained at not more than two sittings or

passes not below Grade C in at least five subjects including English Language, French and Mathematics obtained at not more than two sittings at the General Certificate of Education "Ordinary Level" provided that at one of the sittings, passes have been obtained either (i) in five subjects including English Language with at least Grade C in any two subjects or (ii) in six subjects including English Language with at least Grade C in any one subject.

Note

Candidates not possessing a credit in English Language at the Cambridge School Certificate will also be considered provided they possess passes in at least two subjects at "Principal Level" and one subject at "Subsidiary Level" as well as the General Paper obtained on one certificate at the Cambridge Higher School Certificate Examinations; and

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B. a Cambridge Higher School Certificate <u>or</u> passes in at least two subjects obtained on one certificate at the General Certificate of Education "Advanced Level".

<center>OR</center>

Equivalent qualifications to A and B above acceptable to the Public Service Commission.

2. Candidates should be computer literate.

<center>- 2 –</center>

<u>NOTE</u>

1. Qualification at 1.A above should have been obtained prior to qualification at 1.B above.

2. Candidates should produce written evidence of knowledge claimed.

3. The Commission reserves the right to convene <u>only</u> the best qualified candidates for interview.

IV. <u>CONDITIONS OF TRAINING AND ALLOWANCE</u>

The selected candidates will be required to follow a two-year training course, both theoretical and practical, in all aspects of the work of an Educator (Primary) leading to the award of a Teacher's Diploma (Primary), at such institution as may be approved. Selected candidates will be trained to teach all subjects forming part of the School Curriculum but will be exposed to specialisation in the teaching of Kreol Morisien.

During the training period, Trainee Educators (Primary) (Kreol Morisien) will draw an allowance in scale Rs 9,600 x 200 – 10,000 a month plus compensation at approved rates. They will, however, have to meet from their allowance their expenditure on such items as books, travelling and such articles of personal equipment as required.

On successful completion of the training and, as and when vacancies occur, Trainee Educators (Primary) (Kreol Morisien) will be considered for appointment to the grade of Educator (Primary) which carries salary in scale Rs 11,200 x 250 – 11,700 x 300 – 13,800 x 400 – 15,000 x 500 – 16,000 x 600 – 23,200 a month plus salary compensation at

approved rates.

V.   BOND

Selected candidates will be required, after serving a satisfactory trial period of fifteen days, to enter into a bond (which will start as from the date of enlistment) together with two sureties in the sum of <u>two hundred and fifty-five thousand</u> <u>rupees</u> (Rs 255,000) to the effect that they will follow and complete the training course and serve in Government Primary Schools for a period of five years as from the date of appointment in the grade of Educator (Primary).

VI.   MODE OF APPLICATION

1.   Qualified candidates should submit their application on <u>PSC Form 7</u> which may be obtained <u>either</u> from the Enquiry Counter of the Ministry of Civil Service and Administrative Reforms, Ground Floor, Emmanuel Anquetil Building, Port Louis <u>or</u> from the Enquiry Counter of the Public Service Commission, 7, Louis Pasteur Street, Forest Side <u>or</u> from the Chief Commissioner's Office, Port Mathurin, Rodrigues.
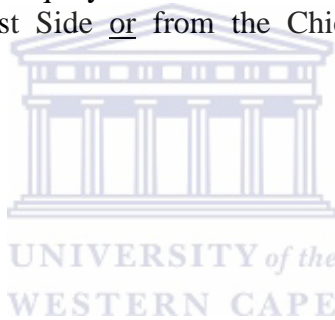
3
/
…

2. Candidates already in the service should submit their application in duplicate, the original to be sent directly to the Secretary, Public Service Commission and the duplicate through their respective Supervising/ Responsible Officers.

3. This advertisement together with the application form (PSC Form 7) are available on the website of the Public Service Commission at http://psc.gov.mu

4. On-line application can also be submitted through the government web portal at http://www.gov.mu

5. Acknowledgement of applications will be made as far as possible by e-mail. Candidates are therefore encouraged to submit their e-mail address.

6. Candidates are advised to read carefully the 'NOTES AND INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES' before filling in the application form. Care should be taken to fill in the application form correctly. Incomplete, inadequate or inaccurate filling of the application form may entail elimination of the applicant.

VII. CLOSING DATE

Applications should reach the Secretary, Public Service Commission, 7, Louis Pasteur Street, Forest Side, not later than 3.00 p.m on Wednesday 18 July 2012.

Public Service Commission, 7, Louis Pasteur Street,

Date: 05 July 2012.   FOREST SIDE.

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ANNEX 2: Correspondence dated 04th July 2011 by Grupman Larkansiel Kreol to HonourableDr Vasant Bunwaree, Minister of Education and Human Resources

_____

10 November 2011

Re: Workshop 'Kurikulum Kreol Morisien'

Hon. Vasant K. Bunwaree,
Minister of Education and Human Resources

Hon. Minister,
Dear Sir,

I refer to the above referenced, **GLK** wishes to place on the record its surprise that such an exercise has not been extended to all members of Akademi Kreol Morisien per se.

You will recall that in two previous letters expressing our concerns on curriculum development, we stated that limiting consultation to technicians, however learned they could be, resulted into restricting the debate out of the socio-cultural and historical backdrop of Kreol Morisien and its civilization aspects. It appears that in spite of our above mentioned inputs for this historical breakthrough which we fully support, our views have not been integrated in the process, at least not to our knowledge.

We henceforth formally request that the workshop be opened to **ALL** AKM members who feel concerned by this important exercise which in our opinion, should **NOT** be confined only to curriculum development practitioners. We also would appreciate being granted a meeting with your good selves to be able to share views on ongoing issues related to the introduction of kreol morisien at primary level, namely:

1. Rodrigues
2. Recruitment of teachers
3. Historical and cultural aspects for citizens of Afro-Malagasy, slave and maroon descent.
4. Kreol as a vehicle for knowledge acquisition.

Yours sincerely,

Jean Marie F. Richard
Chairperson

CC: The Director of MIE
    Members of AKM through Mr Menon Munien, Secretary.

But still

Me selma

Mum tells me

Mama dir mwa mo garson

Son you need to go to school

Fode twal lekol

That's your duty

Sa to rol

So you'll be educated

Pou to gagn ledikasion

So you'll be someone in society

Pou to vinn kikenn dan lasosiete

I've not neglected what she said

Parol mo finn ekoute pa finn rezete

To bear her respect, I've followed her advice

Par respe monn ekout konsey mama mwa

As if I'm now someone in society

Sanse monn kikenn dan lasosiete

Refrain: But still what a kind of education is it

Me Selma ki sa kalite ledikasion

Which makes me look down upon my cultre

Pe fer mwa rezet mo kiltir

Makes me ashamedof my mum

Vinn fer mwa hont mo mama

But still is this that what you call formation

Me selma eski sa ki twapel formasion

Those who decide of my future

Ki desid mo lavenir

Are all ignorant of my culture

Tou inioran mo kiltir

Today when I try to have a deep thought,

Zordi letan mwasize koumans kalkile

thinking of my success,

Mo sikse,

I feel that I'm not at peace with myself

Mo santi mwa divize

Today when I try to have a deep thought

Zordi letan mwasize koumans reflesi lor

on my life

nou lavi

I feel torn apart

Refrain

Mo santi mwa dekouzi

Why does our culture not give new breath

Ki fer nou kiltir pa vinn ansemans

to the soul of education

Ledikasion so terwar

   Why does our life experience not feed our pedagogy

Ki fer nou lavi pa vinn aliman nou pedagozi

Ki fer nou kiltir pa vinn agremant ledikasion so

Why does our culture not enhance the

Ki fer nou kiltir pa vinn agremant ledikasion

educational structure

so striktir

Refrain

Private Bag X17, Belville, 7535   Te

South Africa

Tel: +27 (0) 21 959 2442

Department of Language Education
Faculty of Education

8 February 2011

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Mr Jimmy Harmon is a doctoral student in the Language Education Department of this university. The title of his thesis is 'Education, Language, Identity and Citizenship within the Republic of Mauritius: An ethnographic case study of the introduction of Mauritian Kreol in primary education'.

We would greatly appreciate it if you could allow him access to relevant documentation in your institution or organisation. He would also like to interview teachers or other stakeholders in the education system as a whole should they be willing.

Finally, he would like to request access to two schools falling under your authority.

His presence in schools will not disturb learning or teaching processes in any way.

Thank you very much.

Caroline Kerfoot
Head: Language Education Department and research supervisor

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UNIVERSITY *of the*

APPENDIX 5 [A]: Interview Guide for Head of School & Mentor

YEAR 2012 -2013

Demographics

Gender	Male		Female	
Teaching Experience	Less than 15 years		15-20	20 +
Experience as Head of School	Less than 5 Years		5-10	10+
Ethnic Group				
Religion				
Place of residence	Rural		Urban	
Qualifications				
Number of schools where have been previously posted				
Language (s) used with pupils				
Language(s) used with teachers				
Language(s) used at home				

As an introduction, respondent is invited to give a brief account of life and professional career

1.1. Common questions raised on Ancestral Languages

1.1.1. What interesting question is usually raised about the teaching of ancestral languages?

1.1.2. What is a common question that Heads of School put on teachers of Asian/ Arabic languages?

1.1.3. What is the question that you personally put on teachers of Asian/ Arabic languages?

1.1.3. What question do other Heads of School put about teachers of Kreol Morisien ?

1.1.4. What is the question that is usually asked about the introduction of Kreol Morisien?

1.1.5. What question/s do you ask yourself about the introduction of Kreol Morisien?

1.2. Primary education within the Republic of Mauritius

1.2.1. How would you describe primary education within the Republic of Mauritius?

1.2.2. How would you describe the work of a Head of school?

1.2.3. How would you describe your own work?

1.2.5. Could you describe a typical working day?

1.2.6. What are the strengths of our education system?

1.2.7. What are the weaknesses of our education system?

1.2.8. How would you describe the language situation in our primary schools?

1.2.9. How would you describe the language situation of your school?

1.2.10. How would you describe your school?

1.3. Kreol Morisien as an optional language

1.3.1. When did you last deal with Kreol Morisien as an optional language in the course of your duty?

1.3.2. Could you describe this situation?

1.3.3. What important features have struck you in this situation?

1.3.4. Describe the attitudes of those involved in this situation.

1.3.5. What is your opinion on Kreol Morisien as an optional language?

1.3.6. What do you think about the policy decision to offer Kreol Morisien as an optional language?

1.3.7. How would you describe the other optional languages?

1.3.8. Does it make sense to offer Kreol Morisien on a par with these other optional languages?

1.3.9. If yes, why? If no, why?

1.3.10. What status would you suggest for Kreol Morisien in primary education?

1.4. Heritage Language

1.4.1. How would you define an ancestral language?

1.4.2. Is there a difference in meaning between heritage language and ancestral language?

1.4.3. Which term would you prefer to be in use? (Heritage or ancestral)

1.4.5. Why would you prefer heritage or ancestral language?

1.4.6. Could Kreol Morisien be qualified as an ancestral / heritage language? Why?

1.5. Identity Construction

1.5.1. How would you describe Creole identity?

1.5.2. Is Kreol Morisien an identity marker of the Creoles?

1.5.3. Give an example whereby Kreol Morisien reflects the Creole identity.

1.5.4. How is Creole identity represented in your school?

1.5.5. How is Creole identity represented in primary education?

1.5.6. Could Kreol Morisien at school help to construct Creole identity? In which ways?

## 1.6. Kreol Morisien and the Creole child

1.6.1. How would you qualify the Creole child?

1.6.2. How far is the Creole child different from children of other communities?

1.6.3. How far is the Creole child similar to children of other communities?

1.6.4. Give an example whereby the Creole child displays his / her identity.

1.6.5. Give an example whereby a non-Creole child displays his / her identity.
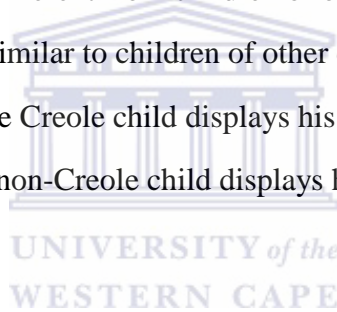
APPENDIX 5 [B]: Interview Guide for Kreol Morisien Teachers

YEAR 2013

Gender	Male		Female		
Teaching Experience	Less than 5 years		5-10	10 +	
Ethnic Group					
Place of residence	Rural		Urban		
Religion					
Qualifications					
Language (s) used with pupils					
Language (s) used with colleagues					
Language (s) used at home					

1.1. Career path and life experience
2.1. Becoming a KM teacher

2.1.1. How and why did you chose to teach KM?

2.1.2. How was the shift from teaching of French, English and Maths to teach only KM?

3.1. KM curriculum & textbook

3.1. 1.Describe the subject Kreol Morisien.

3.1.2. What are the strengths of the curriculum?

3.3.3. What are the weaknesses of the curriculum?

3.3.4. What suggestions would you make for the curriculum?

3.3.5. What values does the curriculum transmit?

4.1. Pedagogy

4.1.1. What are the main difficulties that you encounter in teaching?

4.1.2. What tasks do you regularly assign to your pupils?

4.1.3. Is there a gender difference in terms of learning Kreol Morisien?

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4.1.4. Do you feel belonging to the same category of teachers as the Asian / Arabic language teachers?

4.1.5. How do you feel being perceived by the General Purpose teachers?

5.1. Training

5.1.1. How would describe your pre-service training?

5.1.2. How would you describe your in-service training?

5.1.3. Do you feel supported in your work?

5.1.4. Do you feel sufficiently equipped with skills and competencies to teach Kreol Morisien?

5.1.5. What suggestions would you make for training?

6.1.KM as an optional language

6.1.1. When did you last have a discussion about Kreol Morisien as an optional language?

6.1.2. Could you describe this situation?

6.1.3. What important features have struck you in this situation?

6.1.4. Describe the attitudes of those involved in this situation.

6.1.5. What is your opinion on Kreol Morisien as an optional language?

6.1.6. What do you think about the policy decision to offer Kreol Morisien as an optional language?

6.1.7. How would you describe the other optional languages?

6.1.8. Does it make sense to offer Kreol Morisien on a par with these other optional languages?

6.1.9. If yes, why? If no, why?

6.1.10. What status would you suggest for Kreol Morisien in primary education?

7.1. Heritage Language

7.1.1. How would you define an ancestral language?

7.1.2. Is there a difference in meaning between heritage language and ancestral language?

7.1.3. Which term would you prefer to be in use? (Heritage or ancestral)

7.1.4. Why would you prefer heritage or ancestral language?

7.1.5. Could Kreol Morisien be qualified as an ancestral / heritage language? Why?

8.1. Identity Construction

8.1.1. How would you describe Creole identity?

8.1.2. Is Kreol Morisien an identity marker of the Creoles?

8.1.3. Give an example whereby Kreol Morisien reflects the Creole identity?

8.1.4. How is Creole identity represented in your school?

8.1.5. How is Creole identity represented in primary education?

8.1.6. Could Kreol Morisien at school help to construct Creole identity?

9.1. KM and the Creole child

9.1. 1.How would you qualify the Creole child?

9.1.2. How far is the Creole child different from children of other communities?

9.1.3. How far is the Creole child similar to children of other communities?

9.1.4. Give an example whereby the Creole child displays his / her identity?

9.1.5. Give an example whereby a non-Creole child displays his / her identity.
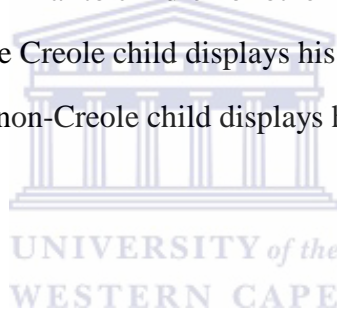
APPENDIX 5 [C]: Interview Guide for General Purpose Teachers

YEAR 2011

Gender	Male		Female	
Teaching Experience	Less than 5 years		5-10	10 +
Ethnic Group				
Place of residence	Rural		Urban	
Religion				
Qualifications				
Language (s) used with pupils				
Language (s) used with colleagues				
Language (s) used at home				

1. Give me your views about the introduction of KM as announced by the Prime Minister on 1st February 2010?
2. Can you relate your career path?
3. What is your opinion about this whole issue of KM at school?
4. Do you think that KM can help in teaching and learning?
5. Given that there is a strong identity claim for recognition of KM, do you think that its introduction KM would help Creole children ?

APPENDIX 5 [D]: Interview Guide for General Purpose Teacher

(St John Primary School)

YEAR 2014

Gender	Male		Female		
Teaching Experience	Less than 5 years		5-10	10 +	
Ethnic Group					
Place of residence	Rural		Urban		
Religion					
Qualifications					
Language (s) used with pupils					
Language (s) used with colleagues					
Language (s) used at home					

YEAR 2014

1. What has been your career path?
2. What are your observations after three years of introduction of KM?
3. Have you noticed any change in class?
4. Can you notice any difference between pupils who have opted KM and others?
5. In your opinion, does KM represent a handicap for learning of French and English?

APPENDIX 5 [E]: Parent's Qualitative Interview Guide on Registration Exercise for Standard I 2012

Conducted in April-May 2011

1.1 Profile

Gender	M		F		
Education Level	None		Basic		Secondary & Above
Total number of children	1-3		4-5		5+
Number of boys			Number of girls		
Ethnic Group					
Language(s) spoken at home with child					
Religion					
Place of residence	Rural		Urban		

BEFORE REGISTRATION DAY

1. Eski ou ti kone pou ena swa size ?
   Did you know that you would have to choose a language?

IMPACT OF COMMUNICATION

2. Si wi, Kot finn tande ?
   If yes, where and how did you come to know this?

3. Si pa ti kone, ki manier ou finn pran sa ?
   If no. How did you react when the officer in charge asked you to choose an optional language?

THE CHOICE

4. .Ki size ou finn swazir ?
   Which languace did you choose for your child?

MOTIVATION FOR CHOICE

5. Ki manier ou finn fer ou swa ?
   On what basis did you make your choice?

EXPECTED CONTENT FOR KM

6. *Ki ou tia kontan ou zanfan apran ? Eski ou panse li inportan ?*
   What would like to see your child learn?

   Do you think that this optional language is important?

APPENDIX 5 [F]: Parent's Qualitative Interview Guide- Feedback 2014 after three years of KM

1.1 Profile

Gender	M		F		
Education Level	None		Basic		Secondary & Above
Total number of children	1-3		4-5		5+
Number of boys			Number of girls		
Ethnic Group					
Language(s) spoken at home with child					
Religion					
Place of residence	Rural		Urban		

QUESTIONS

INTRODUCTORY QUESTION

1. How is your child doing in his/ her studies? Are you satisified?
   Ki manyer ou zanfan pe travay?Eski ou satisfe ?

SUBJECT CONTENT

2. (i) Did you have an opportunity to look at the KM textbook?
   Eski ou finn gagn lokazion get liv lekol pou KM?

   (ii) Give me your appreciation?

   Donn mwa ou apresiasion?

   (iii) Which aspect did you find more interesting in KM as a subject?

   Ki kitsoz ou finn trouv pli interesan dan size KM?

KM & CREOLE CULTURE

3. Do you think that KM can promote also the cultural dimension?
   Eski ou krwar ki KM kapav promouvwar enn dimension kiltirel?

FUTURE

4. Would like that your ward study KM at secondary level also?
   Eski ou to pou kontan ki ou zanfan etidie osi KM dan kolez?

5. Would you let your child pursue his/ her studies in KM?
   Eski ou pou les ou zanfan pourswiv so bann letid an KM ?
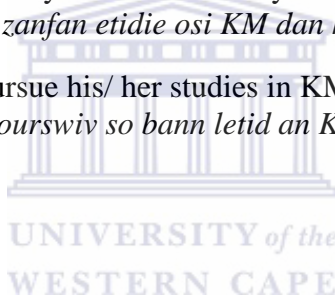
APPENDIX 5 (G): Interview Guide for Key Informants

(Church leaders & Catholic education leaders)

Conducted in February 2014

1.1 Profile

Gender	M		F		
Education Level	None		Basic		Secondary & Above
Profession					
Ethnic Group					
Language (s) spoken at home					
Religion					
Place of residence	Rural		Urban		

1.1.The struggle for Kreol Morisien

1.1.1. What has been your role in the recognition of KM?

1.1.2. What have been the main arguments for and against KM?

1.1.3. How would describe the means used by different forces in favour of KM?

1.1.4. How did the struggle for KM impact on the social fabrics?

1.1.5. How would you assess the role of catholic education in the struggle for KM?

1.1.6. How has the struggle for KM subsequently reshaped ethnic politics?

1.1.7. How has the struggle for KM repositioned the Creoles?

1.1.8. What changes have the introduction of KM as an optional language brought in society?

1.1.9. What changes have the introduction of KM as an optional language brought to the Creoles?

1.1.10. Do you think that the Creoles are aware of the relevance of KM to their culture and identity?

1.1.11. What has been the role of the International Kreol Festival in the struggle for KM?

1.1.12. What has been the role of the Federation of Creole Mauricien?

1.1.13. What has been the role of the politicians?

1.1.14. How far have the Kreol identity movement and its claim for KM given voice to the voiceless? What have been the dominant, marginal and peripheral discourses?

1.1.15. How could we explain the strong ethnic dimension linked to claims for KM in schools?

1.1.16. What has been the role of the academics?

1.1.17. What has been the role of the Catholic Church?

1.1.18. What has been the role of the press?

1.1.19. How would assess the role of the Akademi Kreol Morisien?

1.1.20. What is your opinion about the debate around the curriculum and the Creole culture ?

2.1. Heritage Language

.2.1.1. How would you define an ancestral language?

2.1.2. Is there a difference in meaning between heritage language and ancestral language?

2.1.3. Which term would you prefer to be in use? (Heritage or ancestral)

2.1.4. Why would you prefer heritage or ancestral language?

2.1.5. Could Kreol Morisien be qualified as an ancestral / heritage language? Why?

3.1. Identity Construction

3.1.1. How would you describe Creole identity?

3.1.2. Is Kreol Morisien an identity marker of the Creoles?

3.1.3. Give an example whereby Kreol Morisien reflects the Creole identity.

3.1.4. How is Creole identity represented in your school?

3.1.5. How is Creole identity represented in primary education?

3.1.6. Could Kreol Morisien at school help to construct Creole identity?

4.1. Kreol Morisien and the Creole child

4.1.2. How would you qualify the Creole child?

4.1.3. How far is the Creole child different from children of other communities?

4.1.4. How far is the Creole child similar to children of other communities?

4.1.5. Give an example whereby the Creole child displays his / her identity.

4.1.6. Give an example whereby a non Creole child displays his / her identity.

APPENDIX 6: Questionnaire for Delphi Method

This is a critical ethnography into in the experiences of two school communities in relation to the introduction of Kreol Morisien as an optional subject. The research is located in the field of heritage language and identity construction. Fieldwork has been conducted since 2010 in two schools. Interviews, class observations, documents analysis and the Delphi Method form part of the research instruments. The Delphi Method tries to capture the views of experts on the current situation and how it will evolve in the future. For the purpose of my research, I have identified experts whom I consider can give an expert view on the introduction of KM as an optional language in primary education.

You have been identified as **ONE** of **four** experts for the Delphi Method. The four experts are as follow:

1)   A member of the National Assembly, former Minister
2)   A scholar
3)   An activist and scholar
4)   A community worker in education at grassroot level

Your tasks will be to reflect and answer on the first round of questions. There will be three rounds of questions. After each round I will make a summary of the answers made by the four experts. The answers will be kept anonymous. Then, you will be asked to comment the points raised in the summary.

ORIGIN

The name "Delphi" derives from the Oracle of Delphi. The Delphi method is based on the assumption that group judgments are more valid than individual judgments. The Delphi method was developed at the beginning of the Cold War to forecast the impact of technology on warfare In 1944, General Henry H. Arnold ordered the creation of the report for the U.S. Army Air Corps on the future technological capabilities that might be used by the military. Different approaches

were tried, but the shortcomings of traditional forecasting methods, such as theoretical approach, quantitative models or trend extrapolation, in areas where precise scientific laws have not been established yet, quickly became apparent. To combat these shortcomings, the Delphi method was developed by Project RAND during the 1950-1960s (1959) by Olaf Helmer, Norman Dalkey, and Nicholas Rescher. It has been used ever since, together with various modifications and reformulations, such as the Imen-Delphi procedure. Experts were asked to give their opinion on the probability, frequency, and intensity of possible enemy attacks. Other experts could anonymously give feedback. This process was repeated several times until a consensus emerged.

WHAT IS IT ABOUT?

The Delphi method is a type of group decision making method with several rounds of anonymous written questionnaire surveys conducted to ask for experts' opinions. The purpose of the Delphi method is to achieve a consensus among the experts on the subject being evaluated. As a direct evaluation and prediction method based on the expert judgment and expert meeting investigation method, it possesses the following properties: anonymous response, iteration and controlled feedback, and statistical group response. The Delphi method makes the final evaluation and prediction results converge through multiple reverse feedbacks and it has been widely used to date since the Delphi method's inceptive development at Rand Corporation by Helmer and Dalkey .

(Yang, Xiao-Jun, Zeng, L, Zhang, R (2012) *Cloud Delphi Method.* International Journal of Uncertainty, Fuzziness and Knowledge-Based Systems Vol. 20, No. 1 (2012) 77−97)

PROFILE OF EXPERT

PLEASE, FILL IN

1.1 Profile

Gender	M		√	F		
Education Level	Secondary			Tertiary		Doctoral √
Profession	Senior Lecturer					
Ethnic Group	General Population					
Language (s) spoken at home	Kreol, French and English					
Language (s) commonly used in writing	English					
Religion	Roman Catholic					
Place of residence	Rural		√	Urban		

1st ROUND OF QUESTIONS

Please answer. There is no word limit for your answers. Feel free.

1.0. Heritage Language

1.1. How would you define 'heritage language'?
1.2. How would you define 'ancestral language'?

1.3. In the Mauritian primary school context, how would these definitions matter?

2.0 Identity Construction

2.1. What is identity?

2.2. What is cultural identity?

2.3. What is ethnic identity?

The outcome of the first round of questions gave rise to three major reflections. Please insert your comments after each reflection. There is no word limit. Thank you very much.

Reflection N0.1

'KM is de facto part of cultural and ethnic identities of the Creole child. But a language cannot on its own help in the child's construction. It needs to be accompanied by other support'.

Reflection N0.2

'I believe that some parents who opt for KM as elective language are motivated by the prospect of academic performance and not solely by issues of ethnic/cultural affiliation. With the announced phasing out of the CPE, I feel that it is the latter issues (ethnic/cultural affiliation) that will be the major drive for people embarking upon the study of KM and the latter will solely appeal to members of the Creole community'.

Reflection N0.3

Identity can be defined as a set of patterns, behaviours or objects which distinguish one person or a group of persons from the others.

ROUND 3 OUT OF 3

1.How do you see the future of the Asian ancestral languages offered as optional languages?

2. How do you see the future of the Kreol Morisien as an optional language?

Appendix 7: Drawing instructions to pupils

Pupils are asked to draw their KM class with the following instructions

Interest and Motivation for the subject

1.Ki zot kontan dan klas Kreol Morisien ?

What do you like with the class 'Kreol Morisien'?

2. Ki zot pli pli kontan dan klas la ?

What do you like most in that class?

3. Eski zot kapav desinn enn kout pou mwa lor enn papie zot klas Kreol Morisien ?

Can you draw for me on a sheet your class of Kreol Morisien?

Comparison with other classes

4. (i) Eski klas Kreol Morisien diferan avek lezot klas ?

   Is the class Kreol Morisien different from other classes?

(ii) Ki diferans ena?

   What difference do you find?

APPENDIX 8 (a): Informed Consent form (Head of School & Teacher)

Title of the research project: Heritage Language & Identity Construction: A Critical Ethnography of Kreol Morisien as an optional language in primary education within the Republic of Mauritius

Researcher: Jimmy Harmon
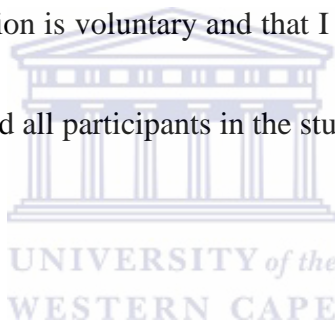
Contact email: jimmy_harmon@hotmail.com

As a teacher in ………………Primary School, I hereby acknowledge the following:

1. The researcher has explained to me the purpose of this study. He also explained to me that all information received as part of the study will be used for research purposes only.

2. I have given permission for him to observe in my classroom and if necessary to use or audio- and video recordings.

3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any stage.

4. I understand that the school and all participants in the study will remain anonymous.

Signed: …………….

Date: ……………….

Place: ………………

APPENDIX 8 [B]: Consent forms for Parents (BilingualVersion : English / Kreol Morisien)

RESEARCHER: Mr Jimmy Harmon

Serser : M. Jimmy Harmon

E-mail address: jimmy_harmon@hotmail.com

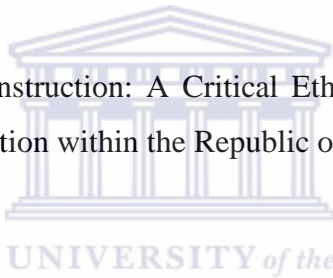*Ladres emayl : jimmy_harmon@hotmail.com*

Phone No: 7473029

Nimero Tel: 7473029

Institution: University of the Western Cape, South Africa

Institision : Linerviste Western Cape, Sid Afrik

RESEARCH TITLE:

Heritage Language & Identity Construction: A Critical Ethnography of Kreol Morisien as an optional language in primary education within the Republic of Mauritius.

TIT RESERS:

Lang Leritaz Ek Konstriksion Idantiter: Enn etnografi kritik Kreol Morisien kouma enn lang opsionel dan ledikasion primer dan Repiblik Moris

STATEMENT (ENGLISH VERSION)

I,……………………………….......... (Name and Surname) hereby give consent to the interviewer to interview my son / daughter, ……………………….................... (Name and Surname) in Standard I at ………………. .(Name of School)

I understand that participation is voluntary and that my son/daughter may refrain from answering any or all questions she might feel uncomfortable with. I have the right to withdraw my daughter from the study at any time if I so wish. Information gathered from the study will be handled with confidentiality and pseudonyms will be used to protect my daughter's identity

I am assured that the information will be used for research purpose only and I am reassured that there are no risks involved in participating in the study.

Name of Parent:…………………………………..

Parent's Signature: …………………..……

Date: ……………/………………/…………

DEKLARASION KREOL MORISIEN (Kreol Morisien Version)

Mwa…………………………………(Nom ek Sirnom) donn mo konsantman interviewer pou interviewe mo garson / tifi………………………………………….(Nom ek Sirnom) ki dan Standard I dan ……………………………(nom lekol)

Mo konpran ki so partisipasion li volonter ek ki mo garson/ tifi kapav refiz reponn   kit kestion ou tou bann kestion avek ki li kapav na pa santi li konfortab. Mo gagn draw retir mo tifi depi sa letid la ninport ki moman si mo anvi. Bann linformasion ki pou rekeir par sa letid la pou fer avek konfidantialite ek bann sedonim (foss nom) pou servi pou protez lidantite mo garson / tifi.

Finn asir mwa ki bann information pou servi pou resers selma ek mo finn gagn rasirans ki pena bann risk kan partisip dan sa letid la.

Nom Paran :…………………………….

Signatir Paran :…………………………………

Dat :…………/……………./…………..

APPENDIX 8 [C]: Informed Consent form from Parents for Classroom Observations

CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS

Title of the research project: Heritage Language & Identity Construction: A critical ethnography of Kreol Morisien as an optional language in primary schools within the Republic of Mauritius

Researcher: **Jimmy Harmon**

Contact details: **7473029 or jimmy_harmon@hotmail.com**

Dear Parent,

I would like to request your permission to observe the Standard I pupils at …………………Primary School as part of my PhD research on Kreol Morisien as Heritage Language at the University of the Western Cape in South Africa. Your written permission on this form is required for me to do this research.

Goal of the study

My study aims to investigate changes in language practices amongst children studying Kreol Morisien.

Research methods

I will be present in your child's class for 3 times a month. I will observe the class and make some recordings. I will not disrupt teaching in any way. I will also record some learners' speech during break times. I will also record video activities held at school. A few learners may also be asked for interviews to find out their views on Kreol Morisien and their parents will be contacted for their consent to interview their children.

It is voluntary and anonymous

Your child does not have to participate. There will be no penalties against your child for not participating. Learners only have to answer the questions they want to answer and they may stop at any time. The purpose of the research will be explained to learners and they will be able to ask questions.

Your child's privacy will be protected. No names will be recorded or attached to the research report.

A copy of the final research report will be given to the schoo1.

Thank you,

Jimmy Harmon

Please sign and give this form to your child to bring back to the school. Thank you for your help.

I, (name) …………………………………………. do / do not (please circle one) give permission for my child to participate in the survey.

Parent's signature: ……………………………………

Child' s name: ……………………………………

Date:

APPENDIX 9: Bilingual version of 'Simen Lalimyer' sung by Rastafarian singer named Kaya Tolbize

Sime lalimier-Kaya

The path of light-kaya
Samem sime to'nn montre mwa

That's the way you've shown to me

Samem sime ki mo pou pase

That's the path I'll go through
Sa sime-la li al laba mem

This way leads right over there

Samem sime ki mo pou pase

That's the path I'll go through

Samem sime to finn

 met mwa

That's the path on which you've put me

Samem sime dir pou pase

That's the way to go

 Sa sime-la sime lalimier

This way is the path of light

Samem sime ki mo pou pase

That's the way I'll go

Bon konsey ki vinn dan lalimier

Good advice comes from light

Li kouma soley ki pe leve gramatin

It's like the sun rising in the morning

Li donn saler depi boukou banane

It gives warmth since the dawn of time

So sazes ki nou tou bizen pe swiv

We all need to follow its wisdom

Devwar ris bizen fann larises

The duty of the rich is to spread wealth

Devwar pov bizen ena lonete

The duty of the poor is honesty

Samem sime to'nn montre mwa

That's the way you've shown to me

Samem sime ki mo pou pase

That's the way I'll go through
Sa sime-la li al laba mem

This way leads right overthere

Samem sime ki mo pou pase

That's the path I'll go through

Samem sime to finn met mwa

That's the path on which you've put me

Samem sime dir pou pase

That's the way to go

 Sa sime-la sime lalimier

This way is the path of light

Samem sime ki bizen pase

That's the way we should go

Mo lavi li ti dan marenwar

My life was in darkness

Depi letan mo na pa konn lalimier

I've never ever known the light

Azordi mo pe aprann lalimier

Today I'm learning about the light

Mo finn deside pou montre tou dimoun

I've decided to show it to the whole world

Montre mwa kisannla ki pe fer lasarite

Just show me who is practising charity

Dir mwa kisannla ki pe anvi fer linite

Tell me who is longing for unity

Montre mwa kisannla ki pe fer laverite

Show me who is working in favour of the truth

Sime lalimier sa li pou leternite

The path of light is for eternity

Samem sime to'nn montre mwa

That's the way you've shown to me

Samem sime ki mo pou pase

That's the way I'll go through
Sa sime-la li al laba mem

This way leads right overthere

Samem sime ki bizen pase

That's the way we should go

Samem sime to finn met mwa

That's the way on which you've put me

Samem sime dir pou pase

That's the way to go

 Sa sime-la sime lalimier

This way is the path of light

APPENDIX 10: Parliamentary Question on Mauritius as a secular state (26 June 2012)

PARLIAMENTARY QUESTION

B/348

The Honourable Third Member for Belle Rose and Quatre Bornes **(Ms Deerpalsing)**

To ask Dr the Honourable Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, Home Affairs and External Communications, Minister for Rodrigues:-

Whether he will state if Government will consider amending the Constitution to insert the word "secular" where appropriate so that the secular nature of the Republic of Mauritius be henceforth acknowledged therein?

REPLY

Mr Speaker, Sir,

Although the word "secular" does not appear in our Constitution, it is implied that Mauritius is a secular state.
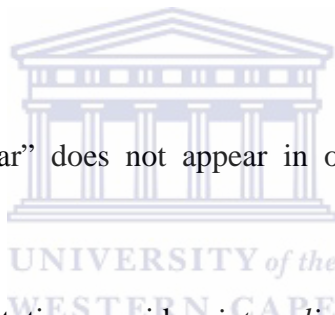
Section 11(1) of the Constitution provides, *inter-alia*, that, except with its own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of thought and of religion, freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, in public and in private, to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.

Furthermore, section 11(5) of the Constitution provides that nothing contained in or done under the authority of any law shall be held to be inconsistent with or in contravention of section 11 to the extent that the law in question makes provision –

(a)   in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality or public health; or

(b)   for the purpose of protecting the rights and freedoms of other persons, including the right to observe and practice any religion or belief without the unsolicited

intervention of persons professing any other religion or belief,

except so far as that provision or, as the case may be, the thing done under its authority is shown not to be reasonably justifiable in a democratic society.

On the other hand, section 45(1) of the Constitution provides that Parliament may make laws for the peace, order and good Government of Mauritius.

In the case of *Bhewa and Alladeen v Government of Mauritius and DPP* (1990) MR 79, Lallah SPJ (as he was then) analysed the duality of religion and the State in a secular system. He stated the following, I quote

> "*The secular state is not anti-religious but recognizes freedom of religion in the sphere that belongs to it. As between the state and religion each has its own sphere, the former that of law-making for the public good and the latter that of religious teaching, observance and practice. To the extent that it is sought to give to religious principles and commandments the force and character of law, religion steps out of its own sphere and encroaches on that of lawmaking in the sense that it is made to coerce the state into enacting religious principles and commandments into law. That would indeed be constitutionally possible where not only one particular religion is the state religion but also the holy book of that religion is the supreme law*".

Unquote

Lallah SPJ also referred to Article 44 of the Constitution of India which provides that the State of India shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India. He concluded that the coexistence of personal religious laws with the secular provision of Article 44 was mainly attributable to India's heavy heritage of having numerous religious groups before it attained independence and became a sovereign State, with a written Constitution. Lallah SPJ further concluded as follows, I quote,

> "*There have been some harsh comments from the Supreme Court of India on the lack of political will on the part of the state to give life to article 44 .*
>
> *The position in our country is different. We have never had in our history, whether during*

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French or British administration, any personal laws in spite of the fact that the major religions of the world have been present here for generations. Except for the attempt in 1981 to introduce Muslim personal law, a uniform Civil Code has always been in force.

Unquote

APPENDIX 11: Excerpts of Parliamentary Debates on motion for a secular state (18 June 2013)

<div align="center">

MATTER RAISED

REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS - SECULARISM

</div>

Mr S. Obeegadoo (Third Member for Curepipe & Midlands): Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, today has been an eventful day, and I am grateful to the hon. Prime Minister for his presence as I rise at Adjournment to raise what I consider to be an important issue. It carries with it a host of questions that are rarely canvassed because they are very sensitive, and it is considered politically unwise to raise those matters. But, I think I am duty bound, and my objective is to rekindle the debate on secularism within our society, and I want to stress at the very outset, since I have many things to say and I will try and say them within fifteen minutes, that my stance on this matter is non-partisan. By coincidence, as the Order Paper was circulated, there was also the Private Motion from hon. Ms Deerpalsing being circulated at the same time, which shows that there is a strong body of opinion on both sides of the House that we should place against this issue of secularism at the heart of the political debate in our country.

Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, let me refer to the present situation. I believe we are in a situation of *un amalgame malsain et très dangereux*. On the one hand, what do we find? On the one hand, referring to what takes place outside the House, there are some sectarian groups with a religious garb that, come an election, canvass in favour of one party or the other, and that immediately run to the defence of the one party to which they are linked. On the one hand, there are sociocultural organisations out there that are servile to the government of the day, whatever the government may be, and who will play party politics and invite politicians to be the main guests at their functions. On the one hand, there are individuals and organisations that will approach parliamentarians individually for financial help when it comes to religious festivals and

religious activities. There are organisations that will pressurise and lobby the State for infrastructural development and other forms of assistance when come religious activities. On the one hand, that is the situation with non-political forces.

On the other hand, there are parliamentarians, politicians who will use the platforms of sociocultural organisations to try and intermingle a religious discourse with party political messages. On the other hand, there are politicians who will attempt to transform themselves into priests of religion on the occasion arising, to score political points with the logic of the bank vote, if I may say so. On the other hand, many of us here feel obliged to respond to the pressure which is made to bear upon us by offering t-shirts, funding and free buses. We all parliamentarians know what kind of pressure we are...

(Interruptions)

I know what I am saying does not please hon. Bachoo but, at least, if he is in the House, maybe he can listen.

(Interruptions)

On the other hand, Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, many politicians feel obliged, and eventually it becomes normal practice to indulge in these practices.

(Interruptions)

My point, Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, is that this is not a laughing matter!

(Interruptions)

My point is that...

(Interruptions)

The Deputy Speaker: Please, please! Order please!

Mr Obeegadoo: ...is that those practices are outdated, they are counterproductive, and they are dangerous for our society! We all know, Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, that our society is a

plural society that is crisscrossed with fault lines that refer to class, caste and to race. It is all complicated by a diversity of religions, with different schools of thoughts within religions, making our society all the more complex and fragile. We have an explosive cocktail here. 1968-69 may seem far off, but 1999...

(Interruptions)

The Deputy Speaker: Hon. Minister of Local Government, kindly refrain from interrupting the hon. Member!

Mr Obeegadoo: Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, some have argued that it is impossible to separate politics from religion! I disagree, Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir. I think we need to learn the lessons of history. True it is, from antiquity up to the Middle Ages, in all societies, politics and religion were one. But, as from the days of the reformation, of the enlightenment in Europe, as from the colonial period in the Americas, Asia and Africa, things started to change. The decolonisation struggle was marked by the need to unify the people subjected to colonialism on secular lines. All the great movements of population in our present time, for different reasons, have ensured that most human societies today are heterogeneous and indeed increasingly plural, Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir.

Le progrès historique, la modernisation sociale, la démocratisation politique, le pluralisme culturel partout et en tout temps a été accompagné de ce progrès vers la sécularisation, la laïcité. Even today, Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is interesting to note that the attitude towards secularism has been the distinguishing factor between progressive forces and conservative forces. That was the key battle yesterday in Europe and Latin America. Today, in this day and age, what is the defining feature separating progressive forces from conservatives in North America and the United States, in North Africa and in Western Central Asia? That is the defining feature: our attitude towards secularism. I want to quote the example of India because often Mauritius returns to Mother India when we need to learn the lessons of history.

In India, need I recall that during the Independence struggle, Nehru, Gandhi, Subhas

Chandra Bose all insisted that religion should not interfere in politics and that in India divided by so many religions, secularism was the great cementing force of the diverse people of India. At Independence, India inscribed secularism in its Constitution, not expressly, but in the principles that our Constitution share. In 1976, it was expressly inserted that India is a secular democratic Republic.

But, even today, the present Government, the Congress Party, and progressive forces at State level and to the left of Congress see it as their sacred mission to define the secular principles of the founding fathers of the Indian Republic.

For those who say that you cannot separate politics from religion, I would like to quote no less than Mahatma Gandhi who had this to say –

> "If I were a dictator, religion and state would be separate. I swear by my religion. I will die for it. But it is my personal affair. The State has nothing to do with it. The State would look after your secular welfare, health, communications, foreign relations, currency and so on, but not your or my religion. That is everybody's personal concern!"

That was Mahatma Gandhi to be heard by those who say that we cannot and should not separate politics from religion.

Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, our commitment to secularism and the advocacy of a clear separation between politics and religion in Mauritius today is not derived from abstract principles and ideals, but from our awareness of the complexity and of the fragility of our society today and of the imperative of unity. The secularism we are advocating rests on a clear separation, as I said, between State and religion, between politics and religion, and on the impartiality and neutrality of the State and also of political parties vis-à-vis religion.