

EDUCATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN POST-INDEPENDENT MAURITIUS IN AN  
INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE - 1968-1982

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To the loving memory of the living: My beloved wife, Fifi; and my loving son,  
Kamal.

In the living memory of loved ones: My late Parents, my two elder Brothers,  
and a dear Sister.

"The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men that change circumstances and the educator himself needs educating."

Karl Marx: "Theses on Feuerbach: III", in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected Works, London: Lawrence & Wishart, (1968 (1888): 28).

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ABSTRACT

I will argue that education and development in post-independent Mauritius should be discussed in its proper historical context: the transformation of the international system in the post-war era. The major change was the rise of the U.S.A. as the dominant power in the international system; and it is under the aegis of various American institutions, most particularly the U.N.O, that the concept of education, implying formal education, and the concept of development, implying economic growth in the mode of the Western industrialised countries, were brought together.

I will suggest that Susanne Bodenheimer's model of 'Dependency and Imperialism' offers a new theoretical framework to better understand national-international dynamics. From a Marxist-Leninist perspective she argues that the rich industrialised countries of the West, through various infrastructures of dependency, indirectly underdevelop the Third-World countries and that this process has been uneven for some Third-World countries do have a dependent developed sector which acts as a 'bridgehead' between the centre and the periphery and which also gives rise to various clientele classes who have a vested interest in keeping the international system intact. She considers 'monopoly capital' as a further stage of capitalist development leading to the rise of multinationals and the internationalization of capital. She identifies a multiplicity of causes for the indirect under development of the Third World countries. She points out that the development of capitalism should be studied not only at its point of impact, but also at its point of origin. She finally observes that 'dependency' and 'imperialism' are the two sides of the same process: the former is the view from below, and the latter is the view from above.

I will argue that Mauritius is a 'fragmented' social formation which, throughout its history, has given rise to what I have called a **sectorally** fragmented system of educational institutions and practices which have been largely determined by forces - religious, cultural, political and economic -

external to the Mauritian social structure. This sectorally fragmented system of education has emerged as the educational system became increasingly the site of conflict between different social groups, dominated by the French national bourgeoisie. Since the nineteenth century, the dominant educational culture transmitted by the sectorally fragmented educational system has been that of the dominant class of the British metropolis—an educational culture which gives access to various kinds of employment in the Civil Service, which bestows prestige and status on its possessor and which is the main channel of social mobility. The sectorally fragmented educational system is perpetuated through a huge network of institutions, agencies and agents and that it has no systemic links with the mode of production in the country since its main aim has been to socialize the Mauritian child into an 'expressive' order rather than in an 'instrumental' one; that is education and production has been strongly insulated from each other.

I have argued that there is a close link between the educational culture, in its commodified form, and the rise of the power elite which would, eventually, adopt a 'clientele' role in post-independent Mauritius. Clientele classes, in the Mauritian context, is a key concept as it cuts across both, the class and caste lines, since contemporary Mauritius contains both these social categories and brings to the fore the underlying mechanism of a new type of social relationships between exogenous forces and internal clientelism.

Clientelism would eventually permeate the 'state' itself as the power elite controlling the apparatuses of the state, rely on material and ideological support from abroad—chiefly Great Britain — to justify its social positions through the accumulation of 'useful knowledge'. In order to legitimize its hegemonic position vis-a-vis other clientele classes and domestic classes, the power elite expands institutions allowing the accumulation of cultural capital which had been so crucial in its own rise to power, thereby creating the social possibilities for its own survival.

This study is divided into three parts:

Part I deals with various theories of education and development in a national and international perspective;

Part II consists of two chapters, and analyses educational development in Mauritius under different forms and functions of the international system;

Part III is the main area-study of education and national development in post-independent Mauritius, in an international context, 1968 - 1982.

All the explanatory and reference 'notes' are found at the end of each chapter.

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PART I

EDUCATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE:  
THEORIES, ISSUES, AND ALTERNATIVE.

## CHAPTER I

### EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT: A BRIEF SURVEY AND A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF PREVAILING MODELS.

#### 1.1 Introduction

The view of Ivan Illich (1) that "Education and Development are two sacred cows that since 1949 have been harnessed as the draft animals of so-called progress" has been shared by many writers.

Over the years, the meaning of the two terms has changed, but even more profoundly the meaning of their marriage. Forty years ago, education meant schooling. The word evoked classrooms, apprentices in overalls, college students, and readers in every home. In the early 1960s, more funds were made available, both in the developed and underdeveloped countries, for the expansion and organization of education: the agenda became systems management, curriculum design, audiovisual materials, radio and experimental work on TV satellite systems. During the less generous 1970s, expenditures for educational expansion and re-organization were curtailed: expectations were, instead, glued to conscientization and to computers; but education, throughout the entire period, went on producing certificated citizens.

'Development' the concept underlying economic and social policy in Western and perhaps Eastern countries, since World War II, went through a parallel metamorphosis (2): Early on, it meant economic growth and modernization of the underdeveloped countries which would result in the provision of various 'modern' facilities, better conditions of living and a general enlightenment of the people of the underdeveloped regions. The promise was a better economic reward; but the oil crisis of the 1970s halted and destroyed all hopes of further modernization. When Bank Rates went up the terms of trade changed, the purchasing power of the underdeveloped countries considerably diminished. The psycho-sociological impact of modernization on 'traditional' people and cultures has been traumatic (3). To shore up the legitimacy of development during its second half-life, the rhetoric has shifted

towards local subsidiaries, small scale production and self-reliance against the background promise of microprocessors, biological engineering, and the fallout effects from capital-intensive monster plants (4).

My point in this introduction, which I will support in the text, is that a strong capitalist ideology underlay the concepts and practice of education as related to development. The post-war years marked the beginning of a new era in World History: it saw the emergence of the USA as the most powerful country. As a result of its sustained economic growth and industrialization, the USA could well afford to help towards the social reconstruction of Europe, and at the same time finance various projects concerning post-war economic, social, and educational problems, both in the developed and emerging Third World countries. Consequently because of their close and day-to-day involvement in such projects through organizations like U.S.A.I.D. and the important role they played in the organizations, both materially and conceptually, American economists and sociologists have dominated the field of education and its contribution to economic development throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

The expansion of education, both in the developed and the underdeveloped countries, was a major event, so much so, that, according to Bock (5), "the decades since World War II may well be termed the Age of Education". There was a parallel preoccupation with the economic problem of the post-war years which resulted in various publications which were to guide policy makers, and later development agencies and development planners. Although as early as 1939, E. Staley proposed a "World Development Plan" (6); another former member of the ILO secretariat, W. Benson, was probably the first to speak in 1942 of "Underdeveloped Areas" in the post-war sense; and in 1944 Rosentstein-Rodan expounded his ideas for "The **International** Development of Economically Backward Areas", it is in the immediate post-war years that "Economic Development" became virtually synonymous with "Growth in per capita income" in the underdeveloped countries. In 1949, Arthur Lewis declared the object of a programme of rapid economic development to be to "narrow the gap" in per capita income between rich and poor countries. One of the first United Nations documents on development plans stated in 1947 that "the governments' ultimate aim in economic development is to raise the national

welfare of the entire population". Lewis's book on economic development appeared in 1955 under the title "The Theory of Economic Growth", and in Rostow's hands Marx's stages of economic development became 'The Stages of Economic Growth'. According to some writers, Gunnar Myrdal was reflecting established usage when, in 1957 he referred to "the definition of economic development as to raise in the levels of living of the common people". H.W. Arndt (7) concludes by saying that it was at that time that 'underdeveloped' resources' was attributed to people, whereas in most Colonial Development Plans, economic development meant 'the development of the underdeveloped resources'.

Hans N. Weiler (8) argues that, from the inception, educational planners, development planners and other 'experts' have made too many assumptions regarding the nature of the relationship between Education and Development:-

"The kind of innocence that expressed itself in some rather sweeping assumptions about the kinds of social and economic effects to which educational growth would lead has gradually given way to a more differentiated and cautious view of the complex and contingent nature of the relationship between Education and Development. Educational expansion, as we now know, does not necessarily make either people or countries more prosperous; instead it may and does, leave the former without jobs and the latter with increasingly burdensome claims on public funds".

While the relationship between Education and Development remains the major problematic; the relationship between Education and Employment in the underdeveloped countries remains another puzzle. Mark Blaug (9) tries to tackle the issue; he admits that there is a problem:-

"Nevertheless, the less developed countries enjoyed impressive growth rates in the 1950s and 1960s, which ought to have reduced their employment problem. In point of fact, however, the problem seems in some respects to have become more serious. In recent years, open unemployment and under employment in urban areas has reached rates such as 13.6 in Colombia and 7.9 in Venezuela; 9.8 in Malasia, 11.6 in the Philippines and 15.0 in Sri Lanka; 11.6 in Ghana and 14.9 in Kenya".

After surveying the field, and considering the various explanations from economists, sociologists, and psychologists, he reviews the traditional and radical solutions, and he concludes that:-

"If the 'employment problem is seen essentially as a problem of youth unemployment much but not all of which is also educated unemployment, the educational authorities have a clear duty to devise policies that may alleviate the problem. On the other hand, if the unemployment problem is regarded as a problem of poverty of both employed and unemployed workers, it is more difficult to see just what the Ministry of Education could do about it in practical terms". (10)

Ronald Dore (11) also addresses himself to the problem of Education, Development and Qualification; the gist of the 'Diploma Disease Thesis' is as follows: the quality of education lies outside the system itself - in the economy. The economies of the Third-World countries, as a result of the late-development effect, are becoming increasingly bureaucratized. One aspect of the bureaucratization is the increasing use of educational qualifications for recruitment, selection and promotion of personnel. One consequence of using educational qualifications for recruitment and selection is that as the education system produces an over-supply of students with a particular level of education that level is no longer in the minimum qualification for a particular job. In order to cope with too many applicants for the job, the personnel managers raise the level. This qualification escalation has the effect of increasing the demands of students, parents and teachers for more and more education, not because the increased educational content itself improves one's capacity to do a job, but because the higher qualification improves one's chances of getting a job in the first place. The obvious consequence of this 'qualificationism' is that there are more unemployed and few employed.

Another major issue, perhaps the major issue, emerging from the notion that Education is a primary prerequisite for Development is the extent to which formal schooling can act as an agent for change. In this connection, the often-quoted success story is the case of Japan in the post-war era, where education has been 'deliberately manipulated' to play a more direct and causal role in economic development (12). When Japan decided to

industrialize in the late 19th century, she had all the necessary components for a 'take-off': a high proportion of the male population was literate; a universal and unified education system and a model to follow, for the technology of the West was known and desired. Furthermore, in order to industrialize, Japan did not have to progress through the long and sometimes agonizing social processes experienced by Britain, starting with the simple to the more complex levels of technology. Thus, the level of skilled manpower required to modernize was high from the beginning. Schooling was, from the outset, regarded in Japan as essential for economic growth(13). But a pessimistic picture emerges in the case of Britain: Hobsbawm's observation, that "English education was a joke in poor taste" at the time that early industrial development occurred (14) aptly sums up the 'passive' and voluntaristic nature of formal schooling. The transformation and expansion of the school system in England during the Industrial Revolution did not occur without considerable debate (15). There were many who saw schooling for the emerging working class, as unnecessary, time consuming, and potentially sowing seeds of discontent and social instability by raising consciousness and aspirations of workers. Alternatively, there were others, at first a minority, who saw in schooling a source of discipline, and indirectly a means of improving the quality of the workforce by inculcating the norms of organized work, especially after the Education Bill of 1833 (16). Ryder & Silver point out that consensus about education was not achieved by the various parties until the first national Elementary Education Act in 1870 (17). As the pace of British industrialization quickened, the pressures to improve and expand the educational system and to match the increasingly complex structure of social stratification of a new industrial society increased. Musgrave (18) points out that only by the beginning of the 20th century, with the passing of Balfour's Act in 1902, and subsequently to Butler's Act of 1944, that schooling became a compulsory process through the two stages of primary and secondary education. Thus, the expansion of formal schooling was more a result rather than the cause of industrialization in Britain, and functionally, it has been more of a conservative force than a progressive one. However, one must not infer from this that education cannot act as an agent for change.

The question which now arises is, to what extent do the formal educational systems in the Third World act as an agent for change? Ward (19) suggests that, "The systems of education now to be found in developing countries have expanded more than they have changed". The resistance of educational systems

to change, is another crucial issue emerging from the education and development hypothesis.

According to Altbach and Kelly(20), educational systems in the Third - World act as a conservative force, and therefore are resistant to change because of what they call the 'colonial syndrome'. Inter alia, they argue that the schools which emerged in the colonies reflected the power and the educational needs of the colonizers(21); while the educational systems that were established served some of the needs of the indigenous population simply as a result of the interaction between those making policy, the colonizers and the colonized, schools were primarily designed to serve the needs of the colonizers. The aspirations of the colonized were for the most part ignored. Colonial administrators, when they took interest in education at all, were concerned with training literate clerks who could staff the lower ranks of the civil service(22). The colonial administrators exhibited substantial confusion about education policy. Some felt that schooling would promote colonial policies. Missionary groups often had substantial control over educational policy. For them, religious motivations were the key element in establishing schools. Therefore, the colonial schools in the Third World were alien institutions, alien in the sense that whatever they taught had little to do with the society and culture of the colonized, either purposely or unwittingly, and served as a mechanism whereby the schooled would gain a new social place and a new culture rather than be prepared to work within the context of indigenous culture(23).

Altbach and Kelly's volume represents the American version of the 'colonial syndrome' affecting the educational systems in the Third World countries; besides, it has also aroused the interest of many educationists who are preoccupied with the educational problems of the Third World. Thus, Watson's volume (24) is a useful contribution to the 'Education and Colonialism' debate. It deals with many issues omitted in Altbach and Kelly's volume and helps to reassess the role education played in the colonial policy of the metropolitan powers, as well as the impact of colonial policy on - educational development in many Third World countries. Thus, it should be viewed as complementary to Altbach and Kelly's volume.

Carnoy's book(25) is another timely, but important, contribution to the 'Education and Colonialism' debate. He emphatically argues that far from acting as a liberator, Western formal education came to most countries of the Third World as part of imperialist domination(26). It was consistent with the goals of imperialism: the economic and political - control of the people in one country by the dominant class in another. The imperial powers attempted, through schooling, to train the colonized for roles that suited the colonizer. He further points out that even within the dominant countries themselves, schooling did not offset social inequities. He further adds that despite the fact that the old-style imperialism and colonialism have all but disappeared and the great empires of the last century are dismantled, yet educational systems in the ex-colonies remain largely intact after independence. Curriculum, language, and, in some cases, even the nationality of the teachers themselves, are carried over from the colonial period. In many ways, the relationship between the ex-colony and the ex-colonizer is stronger economically and culturally than during the colonial administration. So the presence of metropole nationals is not even necessary to assure the imperialistic characteristic of the schools after the introductory period. All that is necessary is a dependency relation between the metropole and the region or country or class or group in question. Here are the dominant actors in Carnoy's theoretical framework aimed at understanding the national-international dynamics; but it does not do it very well because it relies too heavily on a single class-the national bourgeoisie.

All these interrelated issues indicate, in the words of Dale(27) that, " the relationship between education and development in the Third World is not a straight forward problem, with fairly obvious answers". It is evident, therefore, that the relationship between education and development is a complex one. Huq(28) brings to the fore this complexity. He observes that:-

" education interacts and is interdependent with the process of development. Social structures, policies, and goals exert their influence on the education sector, as on other sectors, while the education sector influence economic and social development by inducing change in technology through the systematic application of scientific and other knowledge for specialized tasks as a consequence of their division and differentiation, and in values and attitudes to provide the necessary incentives for increasing productive efficiency".

Dale (29) observes that, for too long, the sociology of education has been locked in its mould of insularity, and that it is high time that it breaks that mould, and ventures into new ground by 'going comparative', especially with the publication of Margaret Archer's, Social Origins of Educational Systems, and Bill Williamson's, Education, Social Structure and Development ; while the former focuses on the relationship of state and education in England, France, Russia and Denmark(30) the latter explicitly deals with education, social structure and development in countries, ranging from the most developed to the most underdeveloped. Dale further argues that by going comparative, the sociology of education would overcome its inherent ethnocentrism. He advocates the sociological study of as diverse countries as is possible in order to learn how other countries and other people organize their educational systems and educational practices, especially in the socialist countries which present 'attractive models' of alternative practices. However, he cautions the overzealous 'socialist' that ' the socialist education' is yet to be constructed(31). In fact, it should be pointed out that there are as many 'socialisms' as there are countries which espouse them (32). Dale's final injunction bears on the fact that, for too long, Education and Development has been studied within the Nation-State parameters, and this 'micro' perspective only helps in providing a partial view of the educational systems and educational practices, both in the developed and the underdeveloped countries, while international exogenous factors, like the World Bank, the IMF and the EEC, which are impinging upon and influencing national structures, are completely ignored:-

" So, whether we are looking at England or Ghana, Spain or South Korea, we can only effectively understand the education system if we recognise the nature of wider international contexts within which it is embedded (33).

In short, Dale is advocating a 'national -international' dialectic to bear upon the sociological study of education and development in general, and the study of education in particular. But this 'national-international' perspective presents itself as a new problematic, in the sense that, the operative nature of the national-international dialectic has not yet been fully explored; but attempts are being made to do this through Wallerstein's

world system analysis.

Wallerstein's 'world system analysis'(34) signals a new departure in the study of Education and Development in a national and international context. He insists that any social system must be seen as a totality. Nation states, in the modern world, are not closed systems and cannot be the subject of analysis as if they were:-

" We take the defining characteristic of a social system to be the existence within it of a division of labour, such that the various sectors or areas within are dependent upon economic exchange with others for the smooth and continuous provisioning of the needs of the area." (35)

He points out that the only kinds of social system that have existed are 'mini-systems' (closed local economies), 'world empires' (defined by the extraction of tribute by a central authority) and 'world economies' (connected by market exchange). A 'world' system does not necessarily have to cover the whole globe; it is defined as a 'unit with a single division of labour and multiple cultural systems'(36). A world economy, then, is a world system without a single central authority. The modern world system is capitalist since it is a world economy, as defined; and it is divided into three tiers of states, those of the 'core', the 'semi-periphery' and the 'periphery'. He points out that the essential difference between these is in the strength of the state machine in different areas, and this, in turn, leads to transfers of surplus from the periphery to the core, which further strengthen the core states. State power is the central mechanism since 'actors in the market' attempt to 'avoid the normal operation of the market whenever it does not maximise their profit' by turning to the nation state to alter the terms of trade(37).

Wallerstein's 'world system analysis' is a useful contribution to the study of Education and Development in a national and international context; but it has its shortcomings which will be fully dealt with in Part I of this study.

My project, " Education and National Development in post-independent Mauritius", based on Suzanne Bodenheimer's model of Dependency and Imperialism is another attempt to explore the national-international dialectic and at the same time attempt to unravel the 'operational mechanisms' which render national-international 'relationships' possible.

I will, therefore, devote Part I of this study to a critical appraisal of the prevailing models of education and development, starting with the 'economistic' model- Human Capital Theory; then I will discuss the sociologist's and psychologist's contribution- Modernisation Theory; followed by the contribution of Dependency and Underdevelopment Theories, and various attempts to 'link' the national and the international, especially in the works of I.Wallerstein and Ann Wickham whose model for understanding the development of education in the Republic of Ireland, both nationally and internationally, exemplifies the national-international problematic. Finally, I will discuss Suzanne Bodenheimer's model, based on Imperialism and Dependency, which explores the link between the national and the international- the model which I will use.

1.2 HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY: THE ECONOMISTS' CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

That the Human Capital perspective remains an influential force is evident in the recent Nobel Lecture by Theodore Schultz (1), one of the principal proponents of the theory. In his address, Schultz reiterated the main arguments in much the same way and with the same conviction that he did some 20 years previously. Speaking broadly about the general transition from agricultural to industrial societies, Schultz states that:-

"A fundamental proposition documented by much recent research is that an integral part of the modernization of the economies of high and low-income countries is the decline of the economic importance of farmland and a rise in that of human-capital skills and knowledge". (2)

Despite the fact that a general air of skepticism and caution has developed around Human Capital theory, its impact is still felt in the various educational and development plans of many Third-World countries.

In the following sub-sections, it is my intention to trace the genesis of the theory and to make a critical assessment, both ideological and conceptual, of its framework.

1.2.1 The Genesis of the Human Investment Revolution

Irvin Sobel (3) points out that historians of social thought may diverge, regarding the relationship between the emergence of new systems of thought and contemporary issues, but all agree that to some extent new analytical concepts emerge in response to contemporary problems that current theories neither can address nor explain and thereby fail to provide an adequate basis for their solution.

The issues out of which the Human Investment approach developed were varied. They originated out of the attempt to facilitate development of the Third-World countries initiated in the 1950s, the rate of economic growth contest between capitalist economies and the USSR, the concerns about education in the United

States in the wake of the Sputnik, and attempts through economic planning in many Third World countries to intensify their pace of development.

The failure to replicate the success of the Marshall Plan, which was mainly attributed to infusion of physical capital, in the policies towards the less developed economies, was predominantly explained by the fact that Western Europe already possessed adequate supplies of trained human resources as well as the requisite manpower-generating institutional capacity necessary for their growing capital stocks; while the absence of similar capacities in Third-World countries meant that their economies were unable to effectively utilize the physical capital provided to them. Perhaps the most significant work, according to I. Sobel, which finally brought about the investment in human capital, is the work of Dr. Dewitt on USSR education, who observes that, "57 percent of Russians students in higher education were in the sciences and technology as opposed to 24 percent in the United States; and that the proportion of GNP in the USSR devoted to education was substantially higher than that of the United States and Western Europe". (4)

It was in such a climate of acute competition between the USA and the USSR, and the preoccupation with economic problems of the postwar era, coupled with emergence of the Third-World countries, which might unsettle the balance of power if they became satellites or the USSR that the Human Capital revolution took place.

#### 1.2.2 Optimistic Reception of the Human Investment Revolution

The human capital approach was enthusiastically received by the growing body of micro-economists and the elites of Third World countries, not only because of its predominantly micro-orientation, but also because it offered a fertile ground for statistical inferences embodying the econometric regression technique. As the Human Capital framework was able to incorporate labour economics; micro-economists were able to link the demand for and supply of schooling and training and theories of occupational choice to their neo-classical formulation of wage and labour market theories. Thus, the Human Capital approach provided a framework for incorporating the economics of education, the economics of discrimination, the economics of poverty, and

the new "planned family size" approach to demography into an applied branch of micro-economics, loosely termed, "the economics of human resources" (5). As I. Sobel argues the investment in man concept provided an umbrella that could cover both the conservative elements of given societies, which were interested primarily in economic growth, and their more radical counterparts, which saw in educational expansion, equalization of opportunity, income, and ultimately, power as well. (6)

### 1.2.3 The Content and Concepts of Human Capital Theory

T.W. Schultz enunciated his approach., in the 1960s, not only to explain income share changes but also to develop a testable theory along micro-economic decision making lines of the demand for secondary, technical, and higher education. The approach's key rate of return decision making criteria were subsequently amplified in the October 1962 supplement volume of the Journal of Political Economy (7).

Schultz attributed a major share of the large increase in earnings per worker to the relative growth of investment in human beings, which not only greatly increased their productive capacity but also the wage and salary shares relative to that of interest and profits. Since investment in humans comprised expenditures on education and training, including income foregone during the schooling period, he contended that the best way of achieving even greater future income equality was by increasing the availability of free or low tuition education programmes provided by the State, as well as by developing new types of institutions designed to reduce the opportunity costs of achieving higher education.

Schultz's position regarding the underdeveloped countries is even more emphatic:-

"My last policy comment is on assistance to underdeveloped countries to help them achieve economic growth. Here even more than in domestic affairs, investment in human beings is likely to be undervalued and neglected. The most valuable resources we could make available to them is in very short supply in these underdeveloped countries" (8).

As a result of the pioneering works of Schultz and Becker, a host of literature emerged, measuring the rates of return to education and the most notable one, as far as developed and **developing** countries are concerned, is the OECD work by George Psacharopoulos which summarises this standpoint (9). His work clearly shows that: -

- (a) Education pays off both in the **developed** and underdeveloped countries, and the pay off is substantially higher in the latter;
- (b) The most profitable education level viewed from the returns stand point is the primary one;
- (c) Returns on investment in human capital are well above the return on physical capital in less **developed** countries;
- (d) Higher education is very expensive in relationship to the other levels of education, particularly in less developed countries; and
- (e) Private rates of return to those who are able to migrate successfully from less-developed countries to developed ones, particularly the United States, were far higher than those that can be obtained at home.

#### National Correlation Comparisons: Income, Growth, and Education

The Human Capital Theory was further strengthened by the work of Harbison and Myers (10). The work combines a highly perceptive but under-publicized policy and strategy-oriented analysis of human resources development with the indices, which remain the work's most known and diffused aspect. The indices represent the summed results of selected ratios of school **enrolments** of various types, heavily weighted toward higher-level education and toward the more costly technical, vocational, scientific, and technological categories. These human resources development indices, grouped into four categories, were correlated with national income in the same seventy-five countries also grouped into four categories. High correlation ratios were obtained between human resource and income groupings and these were often uncritically interpreted as implying that the best way to move upward into the higher national categories was to increase investment in human along those lines heavily weighted in the indices.

### The Production Function and Residual Approach:

The works of E. Denison, J. Kendrick and S. Kuznets brought a macro-economic dimension to Human Capital **Theory**; the macro-economic linear production functions attempted to relate increases either in national product or per capita income to increases included in the production function. The magnitude of the residual or unexplained proportion is therefore determined by the number of explanatory variables included in the production function. This method soon fell into disuse because of restrictive data limitations and that fewer policy inferences could be drawn from it (11). Manpower and Educational Planning: this is, perhaps, the most popular approach within the Human Capital **Theory**; the rapid rates of growth of the OECD countries in the 1950s resulted in the need to increase the supply of scientific, technical and other qualified manpower to keep pace with the rapid rise in capital investment. Accordingly, in 1958 the OECD established the Committee for Scientific and Technical Manpower, and this approach was soon applied to the underdeveloped countries (12).

Each major industrial sector was assigned a specific growth target, which when related to the planned rate of productivity increase enabled the computation of the aggregate changes in manpower required for the sector over the planning period. Essentially, the same techniques were used to generate the educational requirements for each industrial-occupational category, with the use of various coefficients, both in the occupational structure and the educational sector; early retirements, deaths and withdrawal were subtracted in order to minimize shortfalls or surpluses. The works and methodologies of Parnes and Tinbergen & associates have dominated the manpower approach (13).

#### 1.2.4 A CRITIQUE OF THE HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY

It is apparent from the contents of Human Capital **Theory** that it is made up of several approaches, and my intention is not to offer individual critiques of each approach, but rather to attempt a 'global' critique.

Schultz' presidential address was challenged by Professor Shaffer, who argued that it would be inadvisable to liken machines and humans both as investment goods. Shaffer emphasized the contrast between expenditures on education, which are incurred by families for a variety of reasons other than income maximization, and expenditures on physical **capital**. He concluded by prophetically arguing that utilizing rates of return as the basic rationale for educational expansion would be placing the educational system in future jeopardy when education might not seemingly pay off in economic terms (14).

T. Majumdar (15) argues that the old paradigm of the economics of education which is very much concerned with input-output, has to be transcended because the metaphor school-factory has been carried too far, and eventually breaks down. If people and nations are investing in education, it is because there is a demand for it, and that institutions and societies supply it. Therefore, he argues, demand and supply equation is the alternative to input-output. His best argument is the question of social choice; students have a choice whether to invest in a particular form of education or not; when it comes to decision making, he argues that, how can the student, the raw material, be investor, decision-maker and final product, at the same time?

In the early 1960s, the investment value of education for improvement of human productivity was virtually unquestioned. By the end of the same decade Human Capital **Theory**, as the basis for a viable development strategy, had been brought into doubt. No longer was it universally accepted that an increase in educational expenditure and of participation rates was sufficient to improve economic productivity both in industrialized and non-industrialized countries. By the early 1970s belief in education as a panacea for development had entered an "age of scepticism" (16).

Recent criticisms of the Human Capital **Theory** approach have generally focused on the underlying assumptions of the theory itself. For example, the theory generally assumes that the labour market in which the educated worker must compete is a perfect one, such that the better educated get the better jobs. Secondly, while those who espouse the theory recognize that many factors such as job satisfaction and the reward structure contribute to worker productivity, they continue to believe that education remains the most important factor, and

in many ways is the most amenable to human intervention (17).

Human Capital **Theory** contends that the key to economic growth lies in individual characteristics. It makes no reference to aspects of the social structure and rather than advocating structural change to promote development, it advocates individual change. As such, it also completely neglects the nature of international ties between countries and assumes that differences between advanced and non-advanced countries, and between rich and poor countries rest in characteristics within the countries themselves.

Radical critics of Human Capital **Theory**, such as Bowles and Gintis (18), do not deny the investment value of education in promoting human productivity. They do contend, however, that education should be examined more critically in its relationship to development. For in addition to the imputation of skills and values, they argue that ~~education~~ **education** serves, at least in capitalist societies, to maintain the status-quo and in the long run may be detrimental to the continued economic growth of a society. In effect, the radical critics argue that it creates a docile and adaptive work force which serves the needs of the power structure of the economy. To this extent, the radical critics fall into the same camp as those who opposed the expansion of schooling in the late 19th century England.

The methodology of Human **Capital Theory** also leaves much to be desired. For the most part, attempts to correlate the development outcomes of improvements in the quality of human **capital** rely upon linear equation models whereby gains in national productivity (usually measured as GNP) over a period of time are explained in terms of known factors, such as improvements in technology and other forms of capital investment. The residuals, or the gains in productivity, left unexplained after all known factors are taken into account, are attributed to improvements in the quality of "human stock". However, a basic fallacy in this reasoning is that the size of the residuals in linear models can be the result of many factors, not the least of which concerns the specification of the model itself, as well as the adequate measurement of the variables in the model. In short, the strength of Human **Capital Theory** rests upon theoretical assumptions and methodological procedures, which to say the least, are tenuous with the best of data. Given the dubious quality and inadequacy of the data available for most early Human Capital research, it is

not surprising that policies based on the theory have failed to produce the expected results (19).

It is most fitting to conclude this critique in the words of Mark Blaug, who had been among the best-known proponents of **Human Capital Theory**:-

"There are grounds for thinking that the human capital research programs is in something of a crisis; its explanation of the private demand for education seems increasingly unconvincing; it does not begin to explain either the patterns of educational finance or the public ownership of schools and colleges that we observe. It does not take into account the organizational components of internal labour markets, and there are significant unexplained differences in rates of return for different forms of human capital although its schooling-education model goes on assuming that all rates are equal. Worse still is the present resort to ad hoc explanations and a certain tendency to mindlessly grind out the same calculations which are the typical signs of a degenerating research program" (20).

Undoubtedly, **Human Capital Theory** has had considerable influence over policies concerning education and development strategies, for example, in international organizations such as the World Bank, OECD, and UNESCO. Indeed, much of the early optimism regarding the direct contribution of education to development was based, in part, on beliefs in **Human Capital Theory**. In many respects **Human Capital Theory** represents the contribution of economists to developmental strategies. When **Human Capital Theory** began to be questioned, so too, did the link between education and development.

### 1.3.0 Modernisation Theory

Modernization **Theory**, as it is known today, emerged in the 1950s and contrasted sharply with the evolutionary theory of the 1920s and 1930s. To some extent, modernization theory was an intellectual response to the two World Wars and **represents** an attempt to take an optimistic view about the future of **mankind**. Early forms of modernization theory had little to say about the further advancement of the already modern, industrialized societies; it was assumed that they had "arrived" and that their past was of interest only to show the future path of those societies still on the road to modernity (1). Modernization **Theory** is also interdisciplinary, it has been used by sociologists, **psychologists**, political scientists, economists and social and cultural anthropologists. It has been particularly important for sociologists and social psychologists.

#### 1.3.1 Theory of Social Change

The recognition that development represents a particular kind of social change stimulated an interest in social change which had been generally neglected as a macro-sociological preoccupation, certainly in American sociology, the treatment of social change was accommodated in varying degrees to the prevailing mode of structural-functional analysis, (2) although involving some modification of the latter with the introduction of concepts of strain and tension into its basically static perspective. The classic sources of functionalism, Spencer and Durkheim were drawn upon to provide the dynamic of the differentiation-integration of social change.

#### 1.3.2 Conceptualizing the modern

Modernization **Theory** conceptualizes development or modernization as a movement along a continuum of historical change exemplified in Rostow's "Stages of Economic Growth", upon which all national societies can be placed according to indices such as GNP, per capita income, acceptance of 'modern' values, social differentiation and the various pattern variables of Talcot Parsons (3).

### 1.3.3 Evolutionary, rather than Revolutionary Development

The historical continuum is meant to describe a universal path of societal evolution, supposedly already followed by the modern, developed nations, and eventually to be travelled by the traditional, underdeveloped ones.

The end points of this continuum have the methodological status of ideal types. The concept of modernity or developed is fashioned by abstracting attributes from the social structures of the advanced capitalist countries, especially those attributes which supposedly typify the social structure of the "lead nation", the United States. As Gabriel Almond puts it: "The model of the modern ... can only be derived from the most careful empirical and formal analysis ... of modern Western politics (4). Modernization Theory thus takes quite seriously and, by abstracting it from its textual and historical context, reduces to absurdity Marx's famous statement that the country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed, the image of its own future.

At the other end of the modernization continuum sits the ideal type of traditionality or underdevelopment. Unlike the concept of modernity, the ideal-type of traditionality is not comprised of attributes abstracted from a single 'social system' or area of the globe. The reason for this is simple. While there is an identifiable lead nation which shows to all others what modernity means, traditionality is supposedly a state that has been shared by all societies. As Bert Hoselitz formulated it: "If there are developed and advanced countries in the present, they must have been, at some time, underdeveloped" (5).

### 1.3.4 Modernising Process in the Third World

When it diagnoses the condition of the contemporary Third-World, modernization theory sees underdevelopment, which it conceptualizes as development manqué (6). Contemporary Third-World countries are 'backward', 'late-starters' which lack the attributes of developed modernity. Development will result from the 'diffusion' of these attributes from the developed West. 'Diffusion' in this schema serves as a code word for capitalist expansion in its economic,

political, and cultural guises. The modernization theorists have identified several levels at which diffusion can and should take place:-

- (i) The individual psychological level where 'modern values and skills-achievement orientation, 'empathy', democratic values and political participation, political obedience are seen as necessary for development.
- (ii) The institutional and organizational levels where markets, division of labour, bureaucratic rationality, modern state structures, political parties, are seen as prerequisites or necessary concomitants of development.
- (iii) The technological and financial levels where know-how, advanced technology, and capital are brought to the Third-World (7).

According to modernization theorists, the Third-World societies comprise of a traditional and a modern sector command by corresponding elites; traditional subsistence economies and political systems and modern commercial economies and political systems coexist in relative isolation within the same society. They locate the major obstacles to development within the traditional sector and postulate that the major political conflicts within Third-World societies take place between sectors (8).

#### 1.3.5 Agents of Modernisation: Education and The Elites

Henry Bernstein, quoting Edward Shils' phrase, 'will to be modern', observes that the task of modernizing the Third-World countries falls on the shoulders of the 'modernizing elites', whether political, bureaucratic, intellectual and often military (9), who are charged with the articulation of development goals and development strategies for their countries, and with the task of 'nation building'.

Starting from the 1950s through to the early 1970s the general view among many sociologists was that there is a direct relationship between education and

socioeconomic development. Like the human capital theorists, sociologists also focused upon individual level characteristics within a population to explain different levels of economic growth and development (10). Also like human capital theorists, sociologists maintained that education brings about a change in the individual which promotes greater productivity and work efficiency. Whereas human capital theorists spoke in terms of improvements in the population through education in the productivity process, sociologists spoke of education's modernizing influence on Values, Beliefs and Behaviour. For sociologists, the underlying assumption of what has come to be called modernization theory is that in order for a society to become modern, it must be composed of a modern population meaning modern values, beliefs and behaviour (11).

It has been argued that David McClelland's work occupies a central position in Modernization Theory; in the 1950s and 1960s, McClelland, a social psychologist, attempted to explain why some societies have attained higher levels of social and technological organization than others. He argued that the factor most responsible for differences between societies in social and technological advancement was in the cultures and model personalities of those societies, specifically in what he called the need for achievement (n Ach.). Advanced societies contained high proportions of individuals with a high need for achievement, while the populations of less advanced societies contained lower proportions (12).

In sociology, an approach similar to McClelland's was being pursued but with a focus on attitudes, values and beliefs rather than personal traits. Largely based on the work of Alex Inkeles and his modernity scale, it became generally recognized that social and economic development could not occur until an appropriate proportion of the population held modern attitudes, values and beliefs about work, quality of life, the ability and desirability to control one's environment, and other related values. The modernity thesis is clearly summed up in the following passage from a six country study of modernization by Inkeles and Smith:-

"Mounting evidence suggests that it is impossible for a state to move into twentieth century if its people continue to live in an earlier era, A modern nation needs participating citizens, men and women who take an active interest in public affairs and who exercise their rights and perform their duties as members of a community larger than that of the kinship network and the immediate geographical locality. Modern institutions need individuals who can keep to fixed schedules, observe abstract rules, make judgements on the basis of objective evidence, and follow authorities legitimated not by traditional or religious sanctions but by technical competence. The complex production tasks of the industrial order, which are the basis of modern social systems, also make their demands. Workers must be able to accept both an elaborate division of labour and the need to co-ordinate their activities with a large number of others in the work force" (13).

The unique contribution of the sociological version of modernization theory to development theory in general rested on its contention that education, and particularly schooling, was perhaps the most important agent for transforming a traditional society into a modern one.

#### 1.3.6 Origin of Modernization Theory

Henry Bernstein (14) points out that the inability of economic theory to meet the development needs of the poor countries brought the social scientists on the scene, speaking of economic theory, he wrote that:

"Its neglect of culture, of disciplines such as history, sociology and anthropology, meant that it never produced a theory of economic development and of industrialization".

But Frank T. Fitzgerald points out that :

"As post-war imperialism faced movements for national independence or socialist transformation in the so-called Third-World, modernization theory was formulated to serve as an ideological cover and a framework of policy orientation for continued capitalist expansion, geared to keeping and further incorporating Third-World areas within the capitalist orbit" (15).

Writing in a similar vein, Donal Cruise O'Brien (16) makes a study of the American political science between 1960-70, and argues that, modernization had been ~~used~~ as a political weapon in order to create stability and order among the new emerging nations of the Third-World countries; the new problem was how to create a sense of order in the chaotic colonial legacies of these new nation states; the model that all these Third-World countries had to follow is the USA, the most modern country in Western Europe.

### 1.3.7 A Critique of the Modernization Theory

Modernization Theory's reliance on ideal types which fail to grasp the essence of the situations from which they are abstracted, its obfuscation of the actual relationships between Third-World and developed capitalist countries by means of the deceptive concept of diffusion, its penchant for sectoral rather than class analysis - all derive, in the final analysis, from its basic conception of a universal path of societal evolution (17). This basic conception focuses on the nation as its primary unit of analysis, and thereby ignores the international context which is so crucial to any understanding of historical development and current realities in the Third-World. For several centuries now, the Third-World has been part of a structured whole, a world political economy . As a consequence, it has experienced different patterns of class formation, economic development, and much else that distinguish its path of evolution from that followed by the now developed capitalist countries. Besides, Hoogvelt (18) points out that Modernisation Theory in its assumptions about the end-point for the modernization process is ideologically biased and ethnocentric. In terms of the criteria used to measure modernization, for a society to become modern, it must also become Western. Despite the fact that great faith had been placed in the modernizing effects of education, which would, most of the time, be directed to some segments of the population, this faith seems to have been misplaced; since Ward observes that, educational expansion in the developing countries has increased, but it has brought no change in its wake (19). In general, modernization theory fails because of its basic conception of development: a universal path to societal evolution.

#### 1.4 Dependency and Underdevelopment Theories: Education and Development in a National and International Perspective

##### 1.4.1 Introduction

Up to this point, the education and development hypothesis, has been discussed and theorised from the perspective that Third-World countries should follow a capitalist model of development, helped by physical capital, experts' aid, and various forms of incentives from the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and North America. The onus of developing these countries falls squarely on the national states, and other elites. This form of capitalist development, as I have argued in the preceding sections, provide only a partial solution to the education and development problematic. Formal schooling in particular, and education in general, have been endowed with benign qualities; acting as a positive agent of change and development; but educational expansion in the Third-World countries has rather had an opposite effect: more social and economic inequalities, more educated unemployed, and more internal conflicts generated as a result of economic and social problems - problems which the capitalist model does not address itself to. Moreover, the international dimension, exemplified by various Development Agencies, like the World Bank, The IMF and UNESCO and the EEC, which, to a large extent, determine Development Policies in the Third-World, have not considered either its impact or its influence. The breakdown of the modernization theory, and the general air of scepticism which shrouded the Education and Development equation in the 1970s, have brought about a 'Paradigm Crisis' which resulted in a 'Paradigm-Shift', leading to the Dependency and Underdevelopment Theories - theories, because the Dependency paradigm consists of several approaches (1).

Since the Dependency and Underdevelopment Theories - DUT in future use - comprise of various approaches, therefore the national - international problematic will be differently addressed; so will be the Education - Development problematic. For example, Martin Carnoy makes use of Dependency theory and Imperialism to discuss education and development in the Third-World. A. Pomfret makes use of a combination of Weberian sociology and Wallerstein's World - Systems to understand historical school change in Newfoundland, Southern Ontario and New England. Ann Wickham uses the 'core - periphery' metaphor to focus on education in the Republic of Ireland from a national - international perspective.

In the following sub-sections, it is my intention:-

- (i) to look at the central ideas of DUT;
- (ii) to examine the way in which Martin Carnoy, A. Pomfret and Ann Wickham have formulated the Education and Development equation in a national - international perspective and to attempt a critique of each by focusing on the national - international problematic.

#### 1.4.2 Dependency and Underdevelopment Theories in Perspective

Dependency and Underdevelopment **Theories**, DUT, while having their roots in the structuralism of the ECLA economists, arose most directly and forcefully as an extended critique of the modernization paradigm. DUT focuses upon the relationship both between and within societies in regards to social, cultural, political and economic structures. The underlying assumption of DUT is that development and underdevelopment as relational concepts within and between societies are inversely related. The underdevelopment of a region or society is seen as a process which is linked to the development of another region or an outside society. The term dependency is used to emphasize that the casual relationship between the development of central or "metropolis" society and the underdevelopment of peripheral or satellite societies is an historical and at least indirectly an intentional process (2).

The intellectual origins of DUT can, in part, be traced back to Marx. Marx's thesis of the exploitation of the proletariat by a bourgeoisie which led to the American economist, Paul Baran, in his "The Political Economy of Growth" to make a fundamental transformation. The exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie became the exploitation of the Third-World by the capitalist countries. Another antecedent of the theory stems from Lenin's concept of Imperialism, which dependency theorists used to describe the process whereby capitalism dominates and exploits the poor countries (3).

In some respects, DUT can be seen as the obverse of the theory of imperialism. Whereas the latter concentrated on the domination and exploitation of the poor countries by the rich, the former focuses on the extent to which poor countries are dependent on the rich. Without question, the most important popularizer and systematizer of the DUT has been A.G. Frank.

A.G. Frank argues that it is false to suppose that development proceeds through the same stages in each country. Contemporary developed countries were never underdeveloped as is the Third-World today, but were rather Underdeveloped. Underdevelopment, instead of being caused by the peculiar socio-economic structures of Third-World countries, is the historical product of the relations which have arisen between underdeveloped satellites and developed metropolis (4). In short, development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin, two poles of the same process, metropolitan capitalist development on a world scale creates the 'development of underdevelopment' in the Third-World. The major mechanism of this development of underdevelopment is the drainage of economic surplus from the satellites (5). His comment on the Third-World is that the chain of Metropolitan/satellite relations existing on the international level is replicated within each country.

A. G. Frank argues that all of Latin America has become capitalist because it is involved in the world-wide chain of metropolitan/satellite surplus appropriation. In fact, he maintains that Latin America's most backward areas were precisely those areas which had once been most strongly linked to the metropolis. The result of this incorporation of all Latin America into the world capitalist system with its chain of metropolitan/satellite surplus drain was underdevelopment, economic stagnation. Economic development, according to Frank, was experienced in Latin America only in those times when the metropolitan linkages were weakened - the Spanish depression of the 17th century, the Napoleonic Wars, the Depression of the 1930s and the two World Wars of the 20th century and it came to end precisely as the metropolises recovered from these disruptions and recemented their links to the Third-World.

Arghiri Emmanuel (6) also brought his contribution to DUT. His theory of unequal exchange postulates that capital mobility on the world level creates world values, while labour immobility creates national wage rates. Differential wage rates, low in the Third-World, high in the capitalist world, are responsible for higher rates of exploitation in the Third world. The surplus from this finds its way through international trade at world prices into the pockets of the 'First World' proletariat, which since the labour struggles which began in the 1870s has been able to capture a greater portion of world surplus in the form of wages.

Samir Amin's ideas also are deeply rooted in the DUT perspective. He argues \* that the capitalist world economy is divided into two distinct types of social formation, those of the centre and those of the periphery. In the centre, the capitalist mode of production eliminates other modes, and generates a process of development of the sort analysed by the classical Marxists. In the periphery, capitalist development is 'blocked' by the competition of the more advanced industries of the centre, so that pre-capitalist modes persist for a long time, and an economic and social structure quite distinct from that of the centre arises. The explanation that Amin presents for the central mechanism of unequal specialisation hinges on the development of productivity in the industries of the centre and of the periphery, and he gives no adequate explanation for it. He also presents an analysis of the 'contradiction between the capacity to produce and the capacity to consume', which he uses to explain the evolution of wages in the centre and to link his arguments to the 'falling rate of profit'\*\* and to the discussion of surplus absorption started by Baran and Sweezy.

\* See Anthony Brewer's Marxist Theories of Imperialism, P.257, RKP Publication, 1980.

\*\* Ibid. P.257.

The DUT reaches its apogée in the works of Immanuel Wallerstein (7). Following the ideas developed by Frank, Wallerstein argues that the expansion of Europe starting in the 16th century signalled the end of pre-capitalist modes of production in those areas of the Third-World incorporated within the world capitalist market. To talk of dualism or feudalism in the Third World he states, is consequently mystifying of what is an integrated global system. One cannot speak of stages of national development, but only of stages of the world system. The modern world system, he maintains, is unitary in that it is synonymous with the capitalist mode of production, yet disparate in that it is divided into "tiers-core", "semi-periphery", and "periphery" - which play functionally specific roles within the system as a whole.

F.T. Fitzgerald (8) points out that the primary advance made by world-system analysis over earlier versions of dependency theory is in its breadth of analysis. World-system analysis places a new emphasis on the multilateral relations of the system as a whole (analogous to Emmanuel's "world values"), rather than on a unilateral relation of the metropolis and satellite syndrome of dependency theory. Thus core-core and periphery-periphery relations become as central to the analysis as do core-periphery ones (9).

#### 1.4.3 Martin Carnoy's, Education as Cultural Imperialism: Education and Development in a National and International Perspective

Martin Carnoy's book (10) is firmly grounded in the DUT tradition. He is the first writer to discuss educational systems in the Third World by using DUT concepts:- He arrives at the conclusion that formal education system in Third-World countries is not acting as a positive agent of change to bring about social and economic development. He observes that:-

"There may be an inherent contradiction as well between the function of educational system as seen by metropole educators and its function in the dependent society" (11).

He argues that neo-classical development theory views schooling as being a 'liberating' process, in which the child is transformed from a 'traditional' individual to a 'modern' one. This transition is supposed to enable the child

to be creative as well as functional. Schooling is also supposed to enable the graduate to contribute to the economy, policy, and society. But in dependency theory, the transformation that takes place in school cannot be liberating, since a person is simply changed from one role in a dependent system to a different role in the same system. While the latter may be more economically satisfying, it still leaves the individual in a conditional situation, one dominated by the metropolis culture, technology, and goods through the dominant group in the periphery. The graduate cannot contribute to the society to his or her full potential, since the dependent society is limited in its ability to provide work for everyone. Much of the labour force is not even able to enter the 'dynamic' sector which is dominated by metropolis technology, which uses a lot of capital but little labour. The 'inefficiencies' of the school system as related to the social and economic structure are not inefficiencies at all, but direct derivatives of the dependent situation (12).

Carnoy also points out that schools oriented to the economic structures of the dependent society only function for a small proportion of the population. Rather than being the means through which individuals fulfill their potential, then, schools are reduced to being largely selectors and socializers (13). The large number of dropouts and illiterates in a particular society may, in fact, be accompanied by an overdeveloped school system, in which numbers of children go to school, but are henceforth unable to find employment different from that which they had before.

Carnoy (14) concludes by saying that, despite schooling's primary functions of selection and socialization, it does produce individuals who are not only agents of change within the dependent system, but also some who want to break the dependent situation.\*

#### 1.4.4 Alan Pomfret's Comparative Historical School Change - Educational Change in a National and International Perspective

Pomfret attempts to construct a general model for the study of historical school change in Newfoundland, Southern Ontario and New England by combining Collins' 'status-conflict model', derived from Weberian sociology, with Wallerstein's modern world-economy concept (15).

His intent is to delineate the relationships among, first, an area's position in the modern world-economy; second, the characteristics of its cultural markets for schooling; and third, its pattern of historical change. Pomfret argues that this model is more comprehensive than existing ones, which have been developed to explain developments in what Wallerstein terms "core-states", and "semi-peripheral" areas, and which do not adequately account for historical school change in the "periphery" (16).

I have already outlined Wallerstein's project in Section 1.4.2; now I will outline Collin's 'status-conflict' model as used by Pomfret. Collins postulates that within the market, various combinations of power, status, and material interest groups contend for or demand various kinds of education-practical, status-group, and bureaucratic. Collins (17) hypothesizes that the 'extent to which education develops in different societies and historical periods varies according to the nature of their cultural markets'; it is plausible that the 'differences among the main types of educational structures in the modern world can be explained by differences among lineups of contending interests'. Further on, Pomfret quotes Collins's: "cultural market for school systems as: "a multisided struggle among status communities for domination, for economic advantage, and for prestige" (18).

#### 1.4.5 Ann Wickham, "National Education Systems and the International Context: The Case of Ireland"

Ann Wickham's paper (19) is explicit in her objective: she argues, that educational systems, for too long, have been discussed within the nation-state parameters; and the obsession of theorizing the state has resulted in the complete neglect of the International context; sometimes, she argues, the concept of the state has been linked with the 'concrete' state itself; she further argues that dependency theory, through its concepts of 'core and periphery' provides an alternative for the study of educational systems, both in the West and in the underdeveloped countries.

She makes it clear that:

"Within any particular state, foreign and domestic forces interact together, so that its policies and its institutions can only be adequately understood by taking this dialectical interplay into account" (20).

She then proceeds to assess the impact of the international context upon state educational policies in Ireland. She emphasizes the impact of EEC, OECD, World Bank, and other regional organizations.

Martin Carnoy's book and Pomfret's and Wickham's papers all attempt to resolve the national - international problematic from different approaches; and I will argue that these approaches have not been adequately and theoretically formulated in order to resolve that problematic - this will be apparent in my critique of the dependency and underdevelopment theories in the next section.

#### 1.4.6 A Critique of the Dependency and Underdevelopment Theories in General; and a Critique of Carnoy's Pomfret's and Wickham's Works relating Education and Development in a National and International context

In dependency and underdevelopment theories, social classes, stages, and politics appear as derivatives of economic forces and mechanisms; classes, class projects, and class struggles appear neither as the prime movers of historical change nor the prime focii of analytic attention (21).

In much of the DUT literature, the meaning of 'development' and therefore, underdevelopment is unclear. Given that it is frequently argued that 'development' occurs in the Third-World when metropolitan/satellite linkages are weakened, does 'development' imply autarchy? (22). If, the argument goes, the Third-World countries cannot replicate the capitalist path to development, what kind of socialism should they follow; besides, DUT cannot explain the pockets of 'economic miracles' in various parts of the Third-World. It is a fact that DUT advanced beyond modernization theory but in so doing, it turned it on its head: thus, diffusion leading to modernization is inverted to read 'dependency leading to underdevelopment modernization theorists argued that 'diffusion' brought growth, DUT theorists argue that 'dependence brings stagnation'.

The DUT has suffered from a certain ahistorical character ; change within the Third-World tends to be viewed as an outcome of its undifferentiated dependent status; as Colin Leys puts it:-

" DUT concentrates on what happens to the underdeveloped countries at the hand of imperialism and colonialism, rather than on the total historical process involved, including the various forms of struggle against imperialism and colonialism which grow out of the conditions of underdevelopment" ( 23).

The DUT has produced its own 'growth' and 'stagnation' versions: Fernando Cardoso argues that " in specific situations it is possible to expect development and dependency" ( 24) ; while from another angle, Bill Warren ( 25) argues that imperialism itself was creating the conditions for rapid sustained development in the Third-World; while these newer formulations served the facile unity of dependence and stagnation, they unfortunately replaced it, especially in Warren's hands, with an equally facile unity of dependence and growth. But both the stagnationist and growth versions of DUT tend to ignore the necessarily contradictory nature of capitalist development at the national and international levels.

Emmanuel's economic reasoning and his political conclusions have been well disputed both from without the unequal exchange perspective ( 26) and from within that perspective ( 27). The crucial point to note is that Emmanuel's scheme displaces relations of exploitation between classes in a national arena and inserts at the centre of its analysis the problematic of the distribution of world surplus as between national units. Class struggle is transmogrified into struggle over distribution of world surplus among national units, into an effort to capture a greater, or at least, not a diminishing proportion of world surplus within one's national boundaries.

It has been argued that Amin's theory is deficient in many respects. The theory is logically inconsistent, but has tried to immunise itself from important criticisms. The effect of these immunities is to render the theory tautological. In addition, the theory produces political conclusions which are irresponsible \*

Amin's world-level theory contains within it an explicit rejection of other levels of analysis, such as the national or sub-national, on the grounds that his world-wide theory necessarily provides a better explanation of particular historical instances than would be generated by a study of those

\* Sheila Smith, 1980, 'The Ideas of Samir Amin ', Journal of Development Studies, Vol.I7, No.I, October, P.I9.

particular instances. In this way an analytical straightjacket is imposed on all historical experience, but since the analytical framework is ultimately derived by assertion, it requires a mighty act of faith to accept it \* . Since the analysis contains many errors of logic, inconsistencies, and internal contradictions, a strong case can be made for rejecting it. Even if these logical inconsistencies and contradictions could be resolved satisfactorily, a strong case can still be made for rejecting it, on the grounds that it precludes, by assertion, theoretically and politically important work at the level of national economies \*\* .

An argument which states that analyses of national economies are necessary is not a total rejection of world-level theorising. Instead it is an argument for reinstating into Marxist analysis the historical specificity of economies, institutions and agencies, whilst retaining from Marxism its emphasis on an historical approach, the setting of economic issues in their social and political context, and the analytical importance both of general forces associated with international capitalism, and the particular forms which the development of capitalist social relations have taken in different places and at different times. Such an approach would be superior to Amin's theory, since it merely provides the means of asking important questions. Amin's practical propositions indicate clearly the manner in which, in his thinking, the answers to important questions are provided in the abstract. For example, Amin's proposition that only a radical and complete break with the world capitalist system will provide the necessary conditions for genuine development, can only be described as dangerous arrogance!

In the World System perspective all events, processes, group identities class and state projects are explained by reference to the system as a whole. As Petras puts it, the key to understand world systems analysis is its direction of generalization :-

\*Sheila Smith, 'The Ideas of Samir Amin', P.I9, Opt. Cit.

\*\* Ibid. P. 20.

"Specific events within the world system are to be explained in terms of the demands of the system as a whole. Actors are acting not for their immediate concrete interests but because the system dictates that they act" (28).

Actions become reflexes of system imperatives, especially of the need for equilibrium in the distribution of world surplus amongst the states of the system. At the same time, class cleavages and political struggles and alliances within states become in Wallerstein's words, "efforts to alter or preserve a position within the world economy" (29) that is, to capture an undiminished or increased portion of the world surplus within state boundaries. Thus, class struggle becomes secondary, while the core bourgeoisie takes on the attributes of an omniscient and omnipotent planning apparatus.

World systems analysis, again, focuses on the distribution of world surplus through state power. It assumes that, because at any one time, the amount of surplus produced on the world scale is fixed, distribution of this surplus is a zero-sum game (30). But it moves from this proposition, to the notion that national 'development', which here means upward mobility through the tiers of the world system, necessarily involves capturing greater amounts of the world surplus. And since the overall amount is fixed, 'development', whether capitalist or socialist, involves upward mobility at the expense of other national units, particularly those of the periphery (31).

Finally, Theda Skocpol (32) points out that Wallerstein hoped to overcome the worst faults of Modernization Theories by breaking with their overemphasis on national states and their tendency toward a historical model building. Ironically, though, he himself ends up reproducing the old difficulties in new ways. Thus strong states and international political domination assume crucial roles in his theory though, just like the developmentalists, he reduces politics to economic conditions and to the expression of the will of the dominant groups in each arena.

DUT provide the most undermining challenge to the education and development hypothesis. DUT theorists are in agreement concerning their rejection of development theory derived from evolutionary, structural-functional and modernization perspectives. Likewise, they represent departures from the linear

models of social change, in that the current situation in most Third-World countries is not seen as an 'original state', soon to follow and immitate the paths of already developed societies, but the result of many centuries of decline, due to a process of dependency and underdevelopment. "Underdevelopment is no longer to be regarded as a residual and passive condition, but it is a phenomenon resulting from a particular historical process" (33).

Important in the DUT critique is the almost exclusive focus on societies with capitalist economies and on the world economic system rather than on particular nation-states considered independently of others. With respect to the latter, it is regarded as impossible to assess the role of education in development without an international perspective. The crucial unit of analysis is the world system made up of networks of relations between countries in which some countries are dominant while others are subordinate. Education, like manufactured commodities, is seen both in terms of domestic and international consumption. The important question is not, how does education contribute to social and economic development? but rather, what kind of education is appropriate for what kind of development, and in whose interest? (34).

In the context of the Third-World, the concern of the DUT is more complex: most societies in Africa, Latin America and South East Asia, have experienced colonial rule at some period of their past. Schooling in former colonies has been imported from Western industrial societies and has served the same dominant social group as did the colonial system as a whole. The Frankian "Lumpenproletariat" are local elites who serve overseas interest rather than the interest of their own people. Clearly from this perspective traditional education is not seen to serve the development interests of the Third-World countries, but rather contributes to the continuing process of underdevelopment. The rejection of the education-development hypothesis is not based on a general rejection of education, but rather on the particular form that education has taken as it has historically evolved in Western capitalist societies. The critique, then, is directed more fundamentally at the capitalist model of education, and the diffusion of this model to other societies subordinate to capitalist influence (35).

Martin Carnoy's, "Education as Cultural Imperialism", falls squarely in this category of critique of the capitalist form of education as developed in most of the Third World countries. He argues that schools in many developing countries are simply a form of neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism. They continue to serve the interests of the elite of the previous colonial powers of the 'core countries'. Carnoy's book suffers from the same theoretical inadequacies that I have raised against the DUT in general: the chain of domination between core and periphery is carried on to its extreme, and everything is reduced to the work of the dominant group, at the periphery, which serves the interest of the capitalist; class alliances, class struggle and class conflict hardly appears; even if they do, it is as economic derivatives; the role of the state is virtually nullified; among the alternatives of different models of development, de-linking from the capitalist economy and self-reliance remain the most favourable options; a model of development spearheaded by the elite or the national bourgeoisie, is simply out of question because of ~~their~~ contradictory position in the social structure. The crucial question, the national-international problematic, remains unresolved.

Ann Wickham's paper also suffers from the same kind of reductionism, since she employs the 'core' - 'periphery' concepts of the DUT; despite the fact that she emphasizes "the interplay of the national and the international", time and again, she hardly succeeds in showing the 'operative mechanisms' of this interplay; the international context seems to completely dominate the national context; one hardly notices any class conflict - perhaps vaguely in the Fine Gael and the Fianna Fail party level; perhaps the question to ask would be : Which class interest the political parties would be serving by adopting certain education policies in Ireland? and what would be the reaction of the other political parties, and other classes regarding those educational policies?

For me, the most important question is that, to what extent the Republic of Ireland is a country at the periphery?—in the semantic sense that the concept is used as regard to Third-World countries; the relationship between 'core' and 'periphery' as used in the DUT is clearly a relation of domination and subordination, and not a question of 'member state', as in the case of Ireland. It is only natural and obvious that Ireland, as a member of the EEC,

would be influenced by EEC educational and financial policies, because it forms part of the EEC strategy to 'standardize' relationships between member states. Johan Galtung (36) has made it clear that the EEC is a super-power in the making; moreover the EEC has different policies regarding member states and Third World countries: towards the former it is equality; whereas towards the Third World it is domination. The fact that Ireland voluntarily accepted the Marshall Aid Plan is obvious of the impact of the World Bank's policies, designed to perpetuate the American Hegemony in the West; but the question which arise is that, what would be the state of Irish education without those Aids? The role of the Irish state remains as problematic as does the 'inter-play of the national - international' relationship, despite the obvious external influence on Irish education. The politics of the Marshall Aid and the role of various external agencies, like the World Bank, the IMF has to be assessed in the wake of the New Imperialism of the USA; while the formation of the EEC has to be discussed as a move to counteract the American hegemony, to make Europe the centre of the Western world, and the re-organization and accumulation of capital as another stage of capitalism, the era of the multinationals.

Alan Pomfret's paper, is perhaps the most ambitious one: he wishes to explore historical school change in New England, Southern Ontario and Newfoundland; his model combines Collin's notion of cultural markets based on 'status conflict' of Weberian sociology and Wallerstein's, World Capitalist System; Pomfret's choice of three countries under study falls neatly in Wallerstein's 'core', 'semi-periphery' and 'periphery' categorisations; thus neatly pigeon-holed, the countries **represent** definite geographical, economic and political characteristics. Pomfret makes it clear that the cultural markets, according to Collins, is given, hence, there has not been any attempt to understand the emergence of this cultural market historically as a result of various 'status-conflict' struggles, between classes or groups; and a host of questions, like: **who creates** the market? why? in whose interest?, remain taken for granted assumptions.

While the first part of the equation the status-conflict provides the dynamism at the national level; the **second** part of the equation, the world-system remains the major problematic. As I have already pointed out in my extensive critique of the world-system, actions, the dynamics of the world market, class cleavages, class alliances, class conflicts and political struggles become reflexes of system imperatives; but what is crucial is that

the world system collapses, as Theda Skocpol pointed out because, by trying to avoid the mistakes of the modernization theorists who emphasized the nation-state primacy, Wallerstein ends up in reproducing very strong nation-states at the core whose omniscient and omnipotent classes dominate peripheral nation-states, reduces and eventually, reproduces the 'core-periphery' dichotomy. Development, in Wallerstein's cosmology, would mean an upward mobility of the peripheral country to the status of semi-peripheral and eventually to the core, as a result of the distribution and appropriation of world surplus; but this upward mobility is being successfully 'blocked' by strong nation-states at the core.

Alan Pomfret rightly observes that, "The data examined in this paper, drawn as they are from only three areas in the modern world-economy, do not allow us to make any firmly grounded generalization" (37). Taken for granted that there exist external influence in bringing about school change in various geographical areas in Wallerstein's world system, the question which arise is that, Which influence, predominates the one at the semi-periphery, or the one at the core? And how these external influences are inter-linked?

For me, the core, semi-periphery and periphery relationships remain problematic. In order to explain this, I will now turn to another variant of the Dependency-Imperialism model of Suzanne Bodenheimer, which I think provides the necessary conceptual tools to resolve the national-international problematic.

## 1.5 Suzanne Bodenheimer's: Dependency and Imperialism: The Roots of Latin American Underdevelopment (1)

### 1.5.1 The Gist of her argument

Bodenheimer argues that traditional explanation of the failure of United States aid to foster development in Latin America are inadequate. She suggests instead that it is necessary to use a dependency model based upon a recognition of the integral relationship between Latin America and the rest of an international system dominated by the developed states. She first discusses the model in terms of an 'infrastructure of dependency' within the underdeveloped states created and sustained by the international system and then maintains that only a Marxist theory of Imperialism provides an adequate complement to the model in terms of explaining the logic behind the expansion of capitalism in the dominant nations.

### 1.5.2 The Dependency Model

Bodenheimer draws a sharp contrast between dependency theories and 'conventional social science theories of development which place the onus on Latin-American societies to "pull themselves up by their bootstraps". Dependency is conceived as a 'conditioning situation', that is one which 'determines the limits and possibilities for human action and conduct' - in this case, for development in Latin America. She accepts the definition of dependency as:-

"A situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own economy is subjected ... an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others, and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economies".

She agrees with other dependency theorists, and stresses the point that the incorporation of the Latin-American countries into the world economy in a dependent position, where their autonomy is conditioned by the dominance of others; she adds that Latin America's role in the global structure has reflected

its performance of certain specific functions; these functions are those required and permitted by dominant capitalist economies.

She further clarifies the concrete meanings of the 'world market' and the 'international system'. She argues that by itself, the world market encompasses all flows of goods and services among nations outside the Communist block all capital transfers (including foreign aid and overseas investment) and all commodity exchanges. But the world market is the core of a broader 'international system'. This international system includes not only a network of economic (market) relations, but also the entire complex of political, military, social, and cultural international relations organized by and around that market. The international system is the static expression and outcome of a dynamic historical process: the transactions or global expansion of capitalism.

She argues that as a result of the integration, which has been a historical process, of Latin-American countries into the structure of dependency, any 'development' they have experienced, diverges markedly from the 'modernization' model of conventional theories of development; essentially, the 'development' which has occurred has been 'reflexive', dependent upon the evolution and demands of the capitalist countries. It has been heavily dependent on imported capital and technology, and constrained by the needs of world markets. Industrial countries such as the UK and USA, far from being limited in their development by the world market, have been able to use it as a weapon, given their control over supply and demand.

She agrees with A.G. Frank that Latin America has been subjected to a process of underdevelopment; BUT she also identifies a further feature of this process—that it has been uneven, with some countries or regimes benefitting more than others; this uneven distribution of rewards undoubtedly reduces the solidarity of Latin-American countries in their resistance to the imperialist powers.

This resistance is further weakened by what Bodenheimer describes as an infrastructure of dependency, which emerges in dependent countries, and encompasses institutions, social class and domestic social, economic and

political processes. Thus, she argues, there is an indirect, rather than direct, process of underdevelopment, caused by the infrastructure which is generated, reinforced and perpetuated by dependent industrialization and the growth of clientele social classes:-

- (1) Dependent Industrialization: although less developed countries, such as those in Latin America, may have industrial sectors, their most dynamic sectors are often dominated by foreign companies. Indeed, these companies often exercise monopoly control and are granted privileges to ensure their continued presence. They may bring capital and technology into the country, but they retain control of it and also 'export' capital in the form of repatriated profits. The activities of such industries may bias the economy of a country in an inappropriate direction, and may also generate unemployment through the use of high technology in circumstances where cheap labour could be utilized. The results may be disastrous: balance of payments deficits, gross inequalities and lack of capital accumulation.
  
- (2) The Growth of Clientele Social Classes: She argues that certain groups in the dependent society have a vested interest in the perpetuation of the system. In earlier, mercantile forms of imperialism, they functioned as a comprador bourgeoisie transacting the business of foreign trading interests; nowadays, increasingly they operate as a dependent industrial bourgeoisie which expand and thrive within the orbit of foreign capital. This process of clientelism extends to the apparatus of the state itself because the role of the state is precisely to provide the necessary 'social and political stability' in order to attract foreign private capital in order to 'develop' the country; thus, the state has the 'autonomy and constraint' characteristics. The ultimate disappointment of hopes that formal political independence could produce autonomy and a breaking of the ties of dependency. Control here is not by overt external intervention by the capitalist powers, but by the establishment of an enclave within the dependent society itself.

Bodenheimer argues that to break out of this system requires an overturning of the internal political order as a whole - a socialist transformation which goes far beyond any attempt to cultivate a 'national bourgeoisie' or state reformism or state developmentalism. Otherwise, all that will happen is the reinforcement of an unholy alliance between bureaucrats, military elites and industrialists on the one side, and MNCs linked to dominant capitalist countries on the other.

It would be obvious to the general reader that Bodenheimer's dependency model is quite different from other dependency models in that:-

- (i) She identifies a diversity of causes - instead a mono-causal, for the underdevelopment of Latin America.
- (ii) That underdevelopment is indirect rather than direct.
- (iii) She constructs a 'bridgehead' between the national and the international system to which I now turn.

### 1.5.3 A Marxist Theory of Imperialism

Bodenheimer explicitly links a Marxist interpretation of American capitalism with the structure and 'infrastructure' of dependency. In Marxist terms, Latin America's dependence on the USA is 'one aspect of American capitalism'. She identifies 'monopoly capitalism' as the contemporary phase of American Development, and as the driving force of American imperialism. This imperialism does not operate by formal colonization or intervention: these are to be seen as failures of imperialism to operate effectively. Following P. Baran and P. Sweezy, she describes the American Political Economy as:-

"Today, the typical unit in the capitalist world is not the small firm producing a negligible fraction of a homogenous output for an anonymous market, but a large-scale enterprise producing a significant share of the output of an industry or even several industries, and able to control its prices, the volume of its production, and the type and amounts of its investments. The typical economic unit in other words, has the attributes which were once thought to be possessed only by monopolies".

Today, she argues, the political-administrative monopoly conferred by formal colonialism is replaced by monopoly based on control of investment, technology and production. In this control, the essential element - the agent of modern imperialism is the MNC which concentrates and centralizes capital to an unprecedented degree, at the international level. At the same time, its operations are integrated at a multinational level, and distributed so that an 'international division of labour' emerges, with the unequal benefits and spin-offs which go to create uneven development and exploitation.

The upshot of these developments is the desire of corporations for stability and the preservation of their privileges in Latin-American countries becomes inextricably linked with the desire of the US Government to preserve a favourable international order. State and Capital forge a partnership-bolstered by clientele classes in the Latin American countries to exploit their dominant position and to insure against attempts to break away from the structure of dependence.

Bodenheimer cautions against any kind of 'economic reductionism' which may be read off from the Marxist theory of Imperialism:-

"It should be stressed that to accept a theory of economic imperialism as a general hypothesis does not imply the reduction of every specific political or military action by the state to pure economic motives; political factors are always important, and there are occasions (such as the Cuban missile crisis) when "security" considerations become determinative. This theory insists, however, that isolated military or political actions be understood in their overall context, which is the preservation of capitalism as an economic order".

Overt political and military actions, in the defence of capitalism as an economic order, are exemplified in the toppling of Allende; in the activities of the USA in the Indian Ocean, especially Diego Garcia - a dependency of Mauritius; and most recently, the invasion of Grenada - a Commonwealth country in Latin America. Bodenheimer concludes by saying that dependency and imperialism are one and the same process: the former is the view from 'below', while the latter is the view from 'above'.

I.6 Dependency, Imperialism and Underdevelopment: the application of Bodenheimer's Model in the Mauritian Context with special reference to the Development of Educational Institutions and their relationship to the Social Structure

Bodenheimer points out that her model is not a 'finished' paradigm, and its purpose is to suggest the importance of certain aspects of Latin Underdevelopment which have hitherto been ignored or distorted; and thus to reorient the analysis of dependency and underdevelopment by focusing on those neglected issues; her final remark is that the validity of her model will be judged on the basis of its utility for the analysis of concrete situations in Latin America.

It should be noted that although Bodenheimer's 'model' was published in 1971, in "Politics and Society"; it is only in 1981 that her model, for understanding dependency and imperialism, has been incorporated in the 'Perspectives on world Politics' (I). But so far, there are no existing studies, either in Latin America or elsewhere, which are based on her model.

As far as the study of educational development, within the dependency and imperialism framework, is concerned, Martin Carnoy's work remains outstanding; but it suffers from the mono-causal explanations inherent in the dependency theory itself and I believe that Bodenheimer's model offers a useful corrective and an alternative to Carnoy's "Education as Cultural Imperialism". Bodenheimer's model does not deal explicitly with education; but her theoretical framework provides the necessary conceptual tools for a discussion of the emergence and development of educational institutions and practices.

The choice of Latin America as a theoretical model for Africa in general, and Mauritius in particular, can be justified for the following reasons:- first, the Latin American countries were decolonized in the early nineteenth-century and as such they became a fertile ground for testing various theories of development and for the proliferation of new ones-like the theories of dependency; second, as the Third-World countries today have been facing the same development problems as the Latin American countries faced in the early

nineteenth century, their development experience would serve as a valuable lesson for the developing nations of the Third-World—especially the failure of many Latin American countries in realising an independent development and in sharing in the industrialization which took place in Europe and the USA; and finally, I will argue that both Latin America and Africa form part of the global structure of 'domination and dependence' as generated by capitalism at its various stages of development in history: it has been successfully proved that the development of monopoly capitalism in the USA has been responsible for the failure of independent industrialization among the Latin American countries, and for their dependency; similarly, the dependency induced by the Lomé and Yaoundé conventions—regarding the relationship between the ACP countries and the EEC—can be seen as a reflection of the dynamics of capitalism within the European Community. Indeed, in many ways the frameworks provided by Yaoundé and Lomé have been used as a vehicle for the perpetuation of precisely the same relationships which were formed during the colonial heyday.\*

I have already pointed out that the development of educational - institutions and practices in Mauritius can be most fruitfully understood in the national-international context; and that the national-international relationship has been historically and structurally determined; consequently, following Bodenheimer, and my examination of the various hypotheses which relate the national to the international context over educational issues, I will hypothesize that:-

\* Open University Course Book on World Politics, D233, Block V, P.II9, 1981. Open University Press Publication.

- (i) Mauritius is today, and has been since the eighteenth century, part of an international system dominated by the now-developed nations, and the underdevelopment of Mauritius is the outcome of a particular series of relationships to that international system.

It is this hypothesis in general, and the emergence and development of educational institutions and practices, and their relationship to the social structure in particular, which will be developed in the dependency-imperialism model.

- (ii) The fact that the international system—consisting not only a network of economic (market) relations, but also the entire complex of political, military, social and cultural international relations organized by and around that market, has historically changed depending upon:

- (a) the prevalent form of capitalism;
- (b) the needs of the dominant nations;
- (c) the degree of concentration of capital;
- (d) the degree of concentration internationally; and
- (e) characteristics of world trade;

and this change has ultimately led to a parallel change in the function fulfilled by Mauritius in the international system based on:

- (a) its strategic role in imperial conflicts;
- (b) as a supplier of agricultural products and a market for manufactured goods;
- (c) the degree of foreign control in the principal economic sectors; and
- (d) the nature of political ties to the dominant powers - colonial or nominal independence.

The following inferences can be drawn from the above:-

- (a) Britain and France were the dominant imperial powers in the eighteenth century; as a result of their rivalry for hegemonic position in the Indian Ocean, France colonised Mauritius in 1710 and it remained a French colony until 1810;
- (b) the needs and economic interests of French imperialism limited the development of Mauritius into fulfilling the function as a naval and military base;
- (c) as a result of this particular function within the international system, Mauritius became structurally closer to the French metropolis and the various legal, political, social and educational institutions reflected the needs and interests of the dominant classes of the centre and of the periphery.

Under British imperialism, from 1810-1968, the needs and economic interests of the dominant class of the British metropolis determined and limited the development of Mauritius into becoming a supplier of cane sugar, and later, as a potential market for manufactured goods when industrial capital displaced merchant capital. The development of educational institutions and practices under British imperialism also reflected the needs of industrial capital of the British dominant class in the British metropolis; and through the various legal, political social and educational institutions Mauritius was structurally and historically brought closer to the British metropolis.

- (iii) The international system has historically changed according to the needs and dynamics of capital which, in turn, has imposed definite limitations of the possibilities for the development of Mauritius; this does not imply that the international system causes underdevelopment directly; but it does so indirectly, by generating and reinforcing within Mauritius an infrastructure of dependency, which consists of: certain institutions, social classes\*, and processes (industrial structure, socioeconomic elites, urbanization etc.) It should be emphasized that these institutions, social classes and processes become part of the infrastructure of dependency only when they respond to the needs of the dominant nation(s) in the international system, rather than to national needs.

The infrastructre of dependency is a basic concept in the sense that it brings together the various participants - the legal, political and social classes - related to the emergence and development of educational **institutions** and practices in the Mauritian context; the developemnt of educational institu-tions and practices will not only reflect the needs of the dominant power(s), in the case of Mauritius, it will be French and British, in the international system, but also the interest and cultural needs of the dominant class within Mauritius. The fact that Mauritius has been a French and British colony makes political control over its social and educational institutions more direct; and the political control has been legitimised by the legal institutions which also serve the needs and interests of the dominant classes, both at the centre and at the periphery. The central issues around the development of educational institutions and practices in the Mauritian context, then, will be discussed and analysed in the dialectics of the national - international context as outlined in the three hypotheses; and the questions which will be addressed to, will be: What forces established the educational institutions in Mauritius? In whose interest will the educational institutions function? Who financed these institutions? Who decided what was to be taught in these institutions? To what extent the dominant power, French and British, legitimised these institutions in terms of their needs and interests? To what extent did these institutions respond to the national or international needs? What were the reactions of the other social classes and social groups?

The fact of dependency in Mauritius has been constant; but the forms have varied according to the specific characteristics of the international system at a particular historical moment; therefore, in order to emphasize the different impact of the French and British imperial powers on the various structures in general, and on the educational structure in particular, in Mauritius, I will divide this study in the following phases:

- (i) Chapter 2, Background Study: The development of educational institutions and practices under French imperialism, 1710-1810;
- (ii) Chapter 3, Background Study: The development of educational institutions and practices under British imperialism, 1810-1968;

- (iii) Chapter 4, The development of educational institutions and practices in post-independent Mauritius, 1968-1982.

I Will argue that the development of educational institutions and practices in post-independent Mauritius cannot be fully and adequately understood without a prior knowledge of the historical and structural development of these selfsame institutions and practices during the colonial history of Mauritius. As a result of the dialectic between the national and the international complex infrastructural patterns and forms of dependency were established which led to the emergence, of what I will call, a National Bourgeoisie (export-import mercantile elites, whose strength, interests and very existence were/are derived from their function in the world market) most important of all, I will demonstrate that their cultural needs led to the establishment and development of a particular form of education characterised by its exclusiveness (social distinction) and which was instrumental in the creation and maintenance of a power elite (social reproduction).

But the picture of a society is even more complex when we come to look at contemporary Mauritius. I will argue that there are two principal explanations for the perpetuation of the various infrastructural patterns and forms of dependency in post-independent Mauritius. These are:

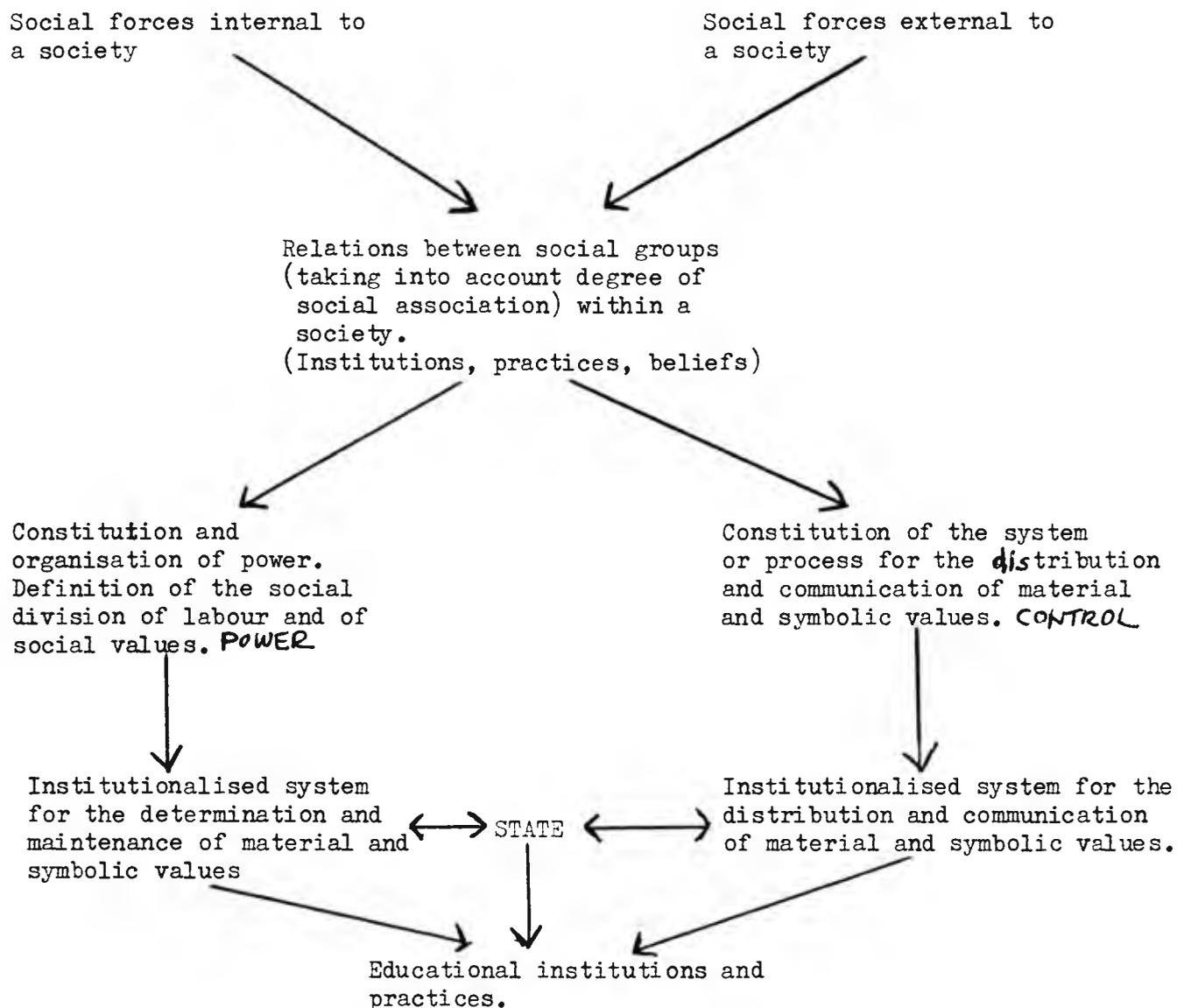
- (i) the creation and/or reinforcement of clientele social classes - classes which have a vested interest in the existing international system, and which carry out certain functions on behalf of foreign interests. In return they enjoy a privileged and increasingly dominant and hegemonic position in Mauritius, based largely on economic, political or military support from abroad. In this sense, the clientele classes today, come to play, in Mauritius, the role historically performed by the national bourgeoisie. The ideologies of these classes reflect their dual position as junior partners of metropolitan interests. They are mostly to be found in the dependent industrialised sector, the state bureaucracy, the middle class professions and among the intellectual elites.

The alliances and conflicts of these classes, with other domestic classes are shaped, to a considerable extent, by their previous and present alliances with foreign interests;

- (ii) The nature of state formation and its role in providing 'a stable climate' for the investment of private capital in order to stimulate development is also important. The insufficiency of physical capital, at the national level, will compel the power elite, controlling the apparatuses of the state, to have recourse to private capital both nationally and internationally. The fact that the private sector and the industrial enclave at the national level are largely controlled by foreign interests eventually forced the state into a client relationship with exogenous interests and influences. The state administration itself and the various official and quasi-official bodies and organisations which compose what we call the 'state' rely on the material and ideological support from abroad - chiefly Great Britain - to justify their social positions through the accumulation of what is regarded as 'useful knowledge'. Useful knowledge and the process of its accumulation is very close, I will argue, to the notion of cultural capital used by Pierre Bourdieu as well as the process of its accumulation (social reproduction). In order to legitimise its hegemonic position vis-a-vis other clientele classes and domestic classes, the power elite expands institutions allowing the accumulation of cultural capital which had been so crucial in its own rise to power, thereby creating the social possibilities for its own survival through an institutionalised exclusion of other social groups.

The fact that I have taken five pages to elaborate Bodenheimer's theory for the analysis of the development of educational institutions and practices in contemporary Mauritius proves the point, already made, that her theory of "Dependency and Imperialism" needs more than words to encapsulate its complexity and relevance; not because it has not been used before, but because the Mauritian social reality is also difficult and complex to be theorised; however, the schema attached next page, adequately reflects the dynamics and complexity of the national - international interplay.

## THE STRUCTURE OF SOCIAL REPRODUCTION



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Notes on Chapter I, Section I.6

1. See Michael Smith et al: Perspectives on World Politics, Open University set Book, 1981, Croom Helm.

\* Broadly defined, the concept of 'class' does not refer simply to income, occupational status, or interest groups, but also to class solidarity, a mode of life, and a structural position in relation to other classes in society, giving rise to a class consciousness, to class interests, and a sharp struggle with other classes.

PART II

BACKGROUND STUDY

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN MAURITIUS UNDER DIFFERENT FORMS AND  
FUNCTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, 1710-1968.

## CHAPTER 2

### Mauritius and the British and French Imperial Conflict in the Indian Ocean in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

#### 2.1 Introduction

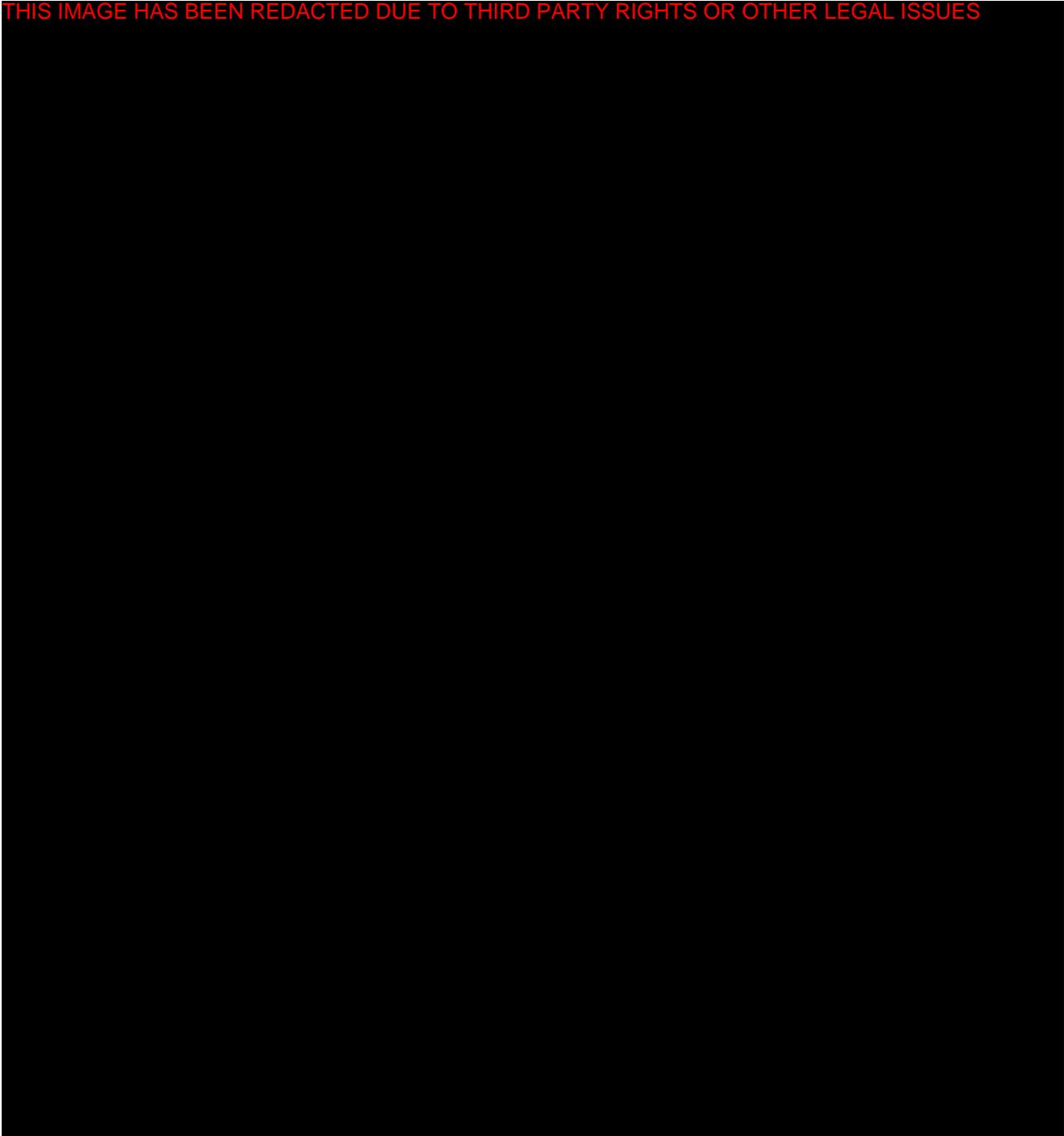
My purpose in this section, relying upon the adaptation I have made of the Bodenheimer model, is to explore the social reasons for the development of education institutions and practices current in contemporary Mauritius which are signaled by a strong insulation between production and education (social reproduction) in the first instance, a resulting strengthening in the education codes in the second and special in the case of Mauritius the development of what I will call "**sectoral** education fragmentation".

These themes I will develop in depth in chapters 2 and 3 of this study, but I have mentioned them here in order to contextualise my presentation of the social historical material to provide the setting for an exploration of educational institutions in more depth.

It is not my purpose in these two chapters to provide a detailed history of the Mauritian social structure, but to provide a sufficient characterisation of the development of social institutions and social needs to allow me to make the necessary relations between social structure (institutions, practices and beliefs) and educational institutions and practices.

For that reason, I will call the reader's attention to two specific aspects at the heart of my model: the internal and internalised forces leading to the specific establishment of class relations within a particular society and the external social forces which shape, and at times determine, the internal and internalised forces. I will argue that the latter category is of specific and indeed overriding importance in the case of Mauritius because each specific ethnic group as part of its relating to the society has relied historically and continues to rely upon support forces outside the society as part of its justification. This only reinforces the already tremendous forces from outside the society in defining educational institutions and practices.

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Source: The Indian Ocean: Resources and Development, P.220.

Map showing Mauritius as a strategic point in relation to other Imperial Powers.

Firstly, as a result of what Magdoff and Sweezy identify as competitive imperialism, despite the fact that Mauritius was not of any immediate strategic or economic value it has been subject to a wave of interventions and/or annexations from the principal colonialist powers: Holland, France and Britain. \* In particular, under the French and subsequently under the British, Mauritius has developed a specific set of social formations greatly different in kind from those of Africa and Asia. Its population far from homogenous or the result of settler policies is one of waves of immigrants willingly or unwillingly arriving over the last two centuries as a result of these conflicts and later economic policies.

Peripheral to my main concern with the development of educational institutions and practices in Mauritius under specific historical conditions, I will also explore the nature of power and control within the dominant social group and the extent to which the separation of power and control leads to new educational needs. This will become apparent when I will discuss the emergence of educational institutions and practices under French rule, and more strikingly so under British rule, when the power and control of the French dominant class would be undermined.

The General Reader, however, should be cautioned on two points: first, he would soon become aware of the paucity of educational materials in the section dealing with "Mauritius and the International System under French Imperialism"; this paucity of educational materials is due largely to the economic and trading preoccupations of the French imperial power in the international system and also to the trading and agricultural role assigned to Mauritius during that time; consequently, the 'get - rich-quick' philosophy was so predominant that the French settlers in general and the emerging plantation class in particular had little else to think about. Those who were interested in educating their children usually sent them to the French metropolis. Second, as I would be dealing with different social groups while discussing the development of a **sectorally** fragmented educational system in Mauritius under different forms and functions of the international system, I will list them here for the Reader's interest and will emphasize their importance as each group or groups assume a dominant role in the social system; these groups are:-

\* See Appendix I for more details.

- (a) the French settlers;
- (b) the Free coloured people;
- (c) the slaves; and finally the Indentured labourers from India.

Under French Imperialism, Mauritius had already a three-tier system comprising of:-

- (i) a plantation class,
- (ii) a middle stratum of Free coloured people and
- (iii) a large labour force of slaves.

2.2 Mauritius and the International system in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Brief Note on Imperialism

The geographical location of Mauritius\* has been the main reason for its integration in various imperial schemes by various imperial powers: Mauritius is situated in the South-West of the Indian Ocean, 500 miles to the East of the Malagassy Republic; 1,250 miles away from the closest point in South-Africa. It is roughly oval in shape, about 30 miles long and 29 miles wide; and is 20 degrees South of the Equator(1).

Houbert(2) points out that profit brought the first immigrants to Mauritius and has dominated life ever since. Originally there was little or no money to be made out of an unhabited small island, entirely lacking in natural resources, but it soon became part of a bigger scheme, whereby successive European imperial powers - Holland, ~~France~~ and finally Great Britain - used Mauritius first as a watering place, and later as a trading and military base en route to India.

Certain characteristics of eighteenth and early nineteenth century imperialism, often overlooked, have to be emphasized: Magdoff(3) points out that a certain amount of confusion arises from restricting the definition of imperialism solely to the relation between rich and poor nations. This relation has, of course, been a crucial feature of expansionism throughout the ages. According to Magdoff, what is essentially new, however, about imperialism of the capitalist period, and especially that of the past hundred years, is the prevalence of tension and conflict among a number of leading powers. Rich and powerful as these advanced capitalist nations may appear to be, none of them has ever been omnipotent, and they are all repeatedly subject to many threats and setbacks arising from internal as well as external contradictions. Because each of them suffers from disadvantages and weaknesses, they are all, whatever their position in the hierarchy of the imperialist network, constantly under challenge. At the same time, they are all striving to improve their relative positions vis-a-vis their rivals, to reach a higher rung on the ladder of international trade, investment, and finance. In such a competitive environment, the stronger nations seek to influence and control weaker ones, not only for direct exploitation, but to use them as

resources in the inter - imperialist power struggle (4). It is these aspects of imperialism - especially the power conflict at the various levels of the hierarchy of nations, the struggle for hegemony in the international systems of exchange, and the role of the periphery in the inter-power struggles at the core - which have shaped and determined the function of Mauritius in the international system.

Sweezy (5) refers to another aspect of imperialism, known as "protective and anticipatory annexations", which is crucial in understanding the various territorial annexations, despite their low economic returns: he points out that the question of gain or loss is not important: what is important is not the loss or gain compared to the pre-existing situation, but rather the loss or gain compared to the situations which would have prevailed had a rival succeeded in stepping in ahead; this principle of protective annexation is closely related in some ways to the urge of annexing territories, which, though of little or no present value, nevertheless may become valuable in the future. Thus, when Great Britain conquered Mauritius in 1810, her design as an imperial power was to put an end to the French hegemony in the Indian Ocean, since Mauritius was the military base from where France operated and Great Britain kept Mauritius as a colony until 1968, despite the fact that Mauritius was not of any economic or strategic value to her at that time; Mauritius was simply annexed to keep the French out of the imperial scene in the Indian Ocean.

The various imperial powers - Dutch, French and British - have all left their legacy in Mauritius, especially the French and the British; but the Dutch - attempted settlement was unsuccessful. As a result of being integrated into the international system, first under the French, and second under the British, Mauritius has fulfilled different functions under different forms of international system which has resulted in the development within Mauritius of a particular kind of social formation, particular social structure and institutions - legal, **political**, religious and educational - particular to the needs of these functions; and changes occurred within Mauritius, both as a result of these functions and various protests against these functions. Thus, the evolution of Mauritius as a particular kind of social formation greatly differs from other kinds of social formation in Africa or Asia. Mauritius is the creation of imperial powers; the economy, society, polity and the very

flora and fauna of the island are all the direct result of its colonial history. The majority of the present-day inhabitants are descendants of those who willingly or unwillingly arrived and stayed during the last two centuries; consequently, Mauritius is not a 'settler colony' in the same sense as Australia; nor is it a replica of the European 'mother country' beyond the seas, but rather a dissociated and fragmented social formation left behind by the wreck of the imperial conflicts(6).

In the subsequent chapters of this study, my primary object is to focus on the functions of Mauritius in the different forms of the international system and to emphasize their direct and indirect impact within the colony and on its social structure and various social institutions, especially the development of educational institutions and practices; this will obviously involve telescoping four centuries of history in four chapters, and to emphasize the salient facts at the expense of illuminating details.

The background study will be organised and discussed as follows:-

- (i) The French settlement in Chapter 2; and the British conquest and administration in Chapter 3.

### 2.3 Mauritius and French Imperialism in the Indian Ocean, 1710-1810

#### Introduction

The attempted Dutch settlement in Mauritius failed because the other Dutch settlements in the Indian Ocean were far apart, and Mauritius was too costly to be maintained by the Dutch East India Company; this eventually meant that no European nation was strong enough to become mistress of the Indian Ocean (1). It was only around the middle of the eighteenth century that the British influence was strongly felt.

During the eighteenth century, Asia underwent two fundamental changes: one was the break-up of its political structures; and the second was a 'maritime-revolution' which had the effect of transferring the control of its sea-borne trade from Asian to European hands (2).

From 1641 to 1815, there were practically no changes in the conditions of commerce in the Indian Ocean. Merchant vessels too remained unchanged. The demands of naval warfare caused the distinction to be made between battleships and frigates but as far as the merchant vessels were concerned, the shipbuilding industry was still in its infancy at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was only when steam navigation began that this industry really entered a new phase.

The island of Bourbon, now Réunion, was the only French settlement of any importance to the French East India Company in the Indian Ocean; and it is from this unpromising settlement that the Far East empire was contemplated, and French rule over the neighbouring island, established. (3)

Once the trials and tribulations of the early stages of settlement were over, Mauritius would eventually eclipse the Bourbon island in importance, and as a military and naval base; so much so, that Pitt (4), as early as 1761, observed that: "As long as the French hold the L'Ile de France, the British will never be masters of India". Thus, conflict and power-struggle between the French and the British imperial powers were inevitable as both powers wanted to impose their hegemony in the Indian Ocean.

The fact that Mauritius would perform certain definite functions under French imperialism implies that the internal and internalised forces leading to the specific establishment of economic structure, class formation, class relationship and the various social institutions would be shaped, and at times determined, by the economic and cultural needs of the dominant classes of the French metropolis and of the Mauritian periphery; the economic activities within the colony, reflecting the needs of the mercantile class of the French metropolis, had always swung between agriculture—the cultivation of cash crops like coffee and indigo and commerce, which would result in the generating of a mercantile class which I will call a 'national bourgeoisie'

The most striking feature of the French administration of Mauritius had been the total absence of any educational provision in the colony: when educational provision was made, it was in the last years of the eighteenth century under the impact of the French Revolution, when Mauritius was virtually independent of French control. It was not in the interest of the national bourgeoisie to establish educational institutions in the island because they always sent their children to be educated in the French metropolis and it was not regarded as necessary to the other inhabitants of the island.

The administration of Mauritius, under French imperialism, falls distinctively into four periods, and they will be discussed in the same order; these are:-

- (i) 1720-1767: Administration under French East India Company.
- (ii) 1767-1790: Administration under the French Crown.
- (iii) 1790-1803: Administration by Colonial Assembly.
- (iv) 1803-1810: Administration by Colonial Assembly.\*

#### 2.4 Mauritius under French East India Company's Administration.1720-1767

By the official approval of the French 'Ministre de la Marine', the French East India Company took possession of Mauritius, and one of the captains planted a French flag to show that it was a French colony (5).

\* See Appendices 3 & 4 for different types of Government under French Imperial Rule.

The French re-named it 'Ile de France'. The Company brought in French colonist from the neighbouring island of Bourbon, which had been occupied by France since 1654. The settlers were given slaves and tracts of land on the understanding that they would clear and plant them. The early years of French occupation were fraught with difficulties. There were revolts, food shortages and quarrels among the administrators; but Port-Louis was chosen as the capital of the island and plans were laid for making a naval base there (6).

In 1735, the French East India Company named Mahé de Labourdonais Governor of both Bourbon and Mauritius. He made Mauritius his headquarters and set about improving the port. He trained artisans and built forts, barracks, stores and ships. He brought Indians from the French colony of Pondicherry in South India who worked as artisans, messengers and domestics, but the main reliance for labour was on African slaves.

Under Labourdonais, the plantation system became well established in the island a pattern which has persisted to the present day. Mauritius has never really successfully managed to feed herself (7). Planters favoured cash crops over food crops; consequently, sugar cane, cotton and indigo became cash crops of importance. Later, under Pierre Poivre, many spices were introduced from the East Indies; but cotton, coffee, indigo and cloves were badly damaged by cyclones which frequently struck the island; as a result more and more planters turned to sugar. Manioc was introduced from Brazil and became the staple diet of the slaves.

Under Labourdonais, Mauritius was increasingly turned into a naval base from where various expeditions were sent to India to counteract British offensives. These various naval excursions strained all resources of the island; the paper money issued by the Company for use in the island depreciated and currency speculation became rife (8). British mastery of the Indian Ocean meant that very few ships reached Mauritius. As a result of fighting too many wars, the Company found itself in financial and political difficulties; hence, it became bankrupt by 1767, and Mauritius, as one of its assets, was sold to the French King for 7,625,348 livres (9).

#### 2.4.1 Economic and social structure

The economic activities in Mauritius at that time were concentrated mostly on cash crops: coffee, indigo, cotton, ~~spices~~ and sugar cane production and cultivation was on the increase; these economic activities required a lot of hands in the fields; the population census in 1767 showed that there were 3,167 whites, 587 free coloured persons and 15,027 slaves.

The white population could be divided into: -

- (i) Plantation owners,
- (ii) Merchants, and
- (ii) various kinds of craftsmen, ~~technicians~~ and lower level employees of the Company (10).

But there are reasons to assume that there were more merchants than plantation owners:-

"the inhabitants of Mauritius are not interested in farming; all they think of is making their fortune as fast as they can by any means they think permissible ... their one aim is to enrich themselves and bring their money back with them to France" (11).

The division created between agriculture and commerce is in no way surprising because it was soon apparent to various plantation owners that there was more money and fortune by preying on British merchant ships than in growing coffee.

The minority of Free coloured\* people consisted of sailors, fortune seekers and infantry men; while most of the slaves were obviously in the various plantation fields; thus, there emerges a rigid social stratification based on property, colour, status, rank and craftsmanship. The plantation owners and merchants occupy the top rung of the social ladder, followed by the class of technicians and various craftsmen, then come the free - coloured people, and right at the bottom are the slaves.

#### 2.4.2 The Failure of the Company's Administration in Mauritius

As far as educational provision in the colony was concerned, the Company did intend to establish schools: it did appeal to the clergy for help in order to ensure that the French citizens had every facility to maintain the official Catholic faith; a treaty was signed with the Order of St. Lazarre in Paris, and the Church representatives were enjoined to represent the official church as well as to provide educational services for the children of the settlers. The Company offered a building and part of the salary of the teachers; the parents were to bear the cost of the expenses of running the school through fees and by supplying food for both teachers and scholars. But this project never materialised (12). The rich parents sent their children to France for a proper education.

The Company's policy in Mauritius, as in the other islands of the Mascarene, was based on economic exploitation: because of its trade monopoly, the Company was the colonists' sole supplier, and the sole customer for their goods. Therefore, it abused its position by making the colonists pay heavily for the goods it brought them, and by purchasing their produce at ridiculously low prices (13).

The get-rich-quick attitude was so dominant in the colony that it gave rise to economic exploitation, political domination and social inequalities: the Company was exploiting the planters, who, in turn, exploited the technicians, craftsmen and slaves. The Governors\*, on the other hand, were busy preparing various expeditions against the British in the Indian Ocean; consequently, there were few people in the colony who were willing to address themselves to the social problems of the time.

\* See Appendix 5 for a list of French Governors.

## 2.5 Government for the King of France, 1767-1790

Mauritius became a crown colony of the French King in 1767. As such, it enjoyed the status of a French province situated overseas. Legally the citizens of the colony were entitled to the same rights as the citizens of France (1).

The Royal administration ushered a new order in Mauritius: -

- (a) There were two administrators instead of one: a 'gouverneur' who had charge of the soldiers, and an 'intendant' who had charge of the finances of the colony;
- (b) The old Superior Council, which till 1767 was made up of six employees of the Company, ceased to exist; six leading men, from the wealthiest and most influential section of the white population, formed a new council which did not govern, but administered justice and acted later as a Court of Appeal;
- (c) other bodies advised the - administrators about concessions of land (tribunal terrier), and about fortifying the island (conseil de fortification); and
- (d) The island was divided into eight districts, a ninth one was established in 1787 - this division into nine districts has been maintained to this day; each district was under the control of a district commandant; and the district became in actual practice a unit in the police administration. (2).

Through the 'conseil de commune', the people of each district were called upon to contribute towards the cost of certain works of public utility, but there was no real system of local self-government.

This system of divided authority led to many disputes. Nevertheless, the colony prospered under the Royal Government. More colonists came: many were - Frenchmen from India who had left after the British conquest; the others were mostly ex-soldiers and sailors who periodically caused disturbances in Port-Louis. More slaves were also imported. Trade and commerce flourished, and Port-Louis became a free port in 1770. There was a general improvement

in public services. The King's military engineer, Bernardin de Saint Pierre, published his novel - 'Paul et Virginie', in Paris in 1789, which made Mauritius popular in France.

The War of American Independence (1778-83) brought British and French imperial powers in conflict again because the latter was openly supporting the rebellion against the British Crown; Mauritius was again used as a military and naval base from which to attack British ships in the Indian Ocean.

#### 2.5.1 The Economic Structure: Commerce v/s Agriculture

The colonists welcomed the new royal administration: Port-Louis was declared a free port in 1770; consequently, many ships sailing near, or round Africa, called in at the capital. Pushed by the profit motive, and the 'get-rich-quick' spirit, the planters left their fields in the care of overseers and managers, and started investing in ships, goods and other articles of luxury; consequently, various basic commodities like maize, wheat, rice, grapes and oats gradually disappeared from the plantation fields; even sugar cane, tea, coffee and pepper were grown in small quantities to meet the local needs. Many old employees of the company began to trade for themselves and thought themselves ruined if they did not sell things at twice the price they had paid for them (3).

Trade and commerce expanded: Mauritian ship owners ventured as far as China, and in years of peace, between Great Britain and France, they traded with British outposts in India, with Dutch colonies at the Cape and Java, and even with the far-distant Spanish colonies of the Philippines (4). As the population in Mauritius grew, trade and commerce grew in the same proportion.

#### 2.5.2 The Social Structure

The fact that the economy of Mauritius, at that time, swung towards commerce, at the expense of agriculture, does not mean that there were two competing groups among the colonists, far from it: both were powerful and influential groups, and both groups shared a common interest: profit-making. The poor whites (petit blancs) continued to depend on the rich planters and merchants (grand blancs)

for their survival - they were employed as overseers, managers, engineers and technicians on the various plantations and merchant ships; the free coloured people were in diverse occupations, mostly artisans; while the majority of the slaves were confined to the various menial occupations in the plantations.

The land tenure, population distribution and social services reflect the power structure within the social structure: the most fertile land were owned by the planters and the rich merchants, while the new colonists had to content themselves with the rocky and hilly land of the south; since the planters and - merchants were members of the New Council and the Commandant of each district, the best roads, fresh water supplies, and best houses were to be found in the north and north-west districts of the colony; the other people of the island were sparsely distributed in the other poor districts (5). The planters and merchants were gradually becoming the locus of power in the colony; while social and economic inequality were increasing.

### 2.5.3 The Coterie of Savants and the Illiterate Masses

The economic prosperity and the various legal, political and social changes, under the Ancien Regime, left the majority of the Mauritian population untouched: the economic prosperity enriched the planters and the merchants who continued to live sumptuously (6); but there were no provisions for the ex-soldiers and the unemployed who stayed in the various inns and taverns of the capital; the various communes\* made no educational provisions; nor did the Catholic church. Toussaint (7) points out:

"On doit aussi déplorer le manque d'établissements d'enseignement convenables, ce qui obligeait les colons aisés à expédier leur fils faire leurs études en France."

On the other hand, Toussaint (8) points out that the foundation of various 'free-mason' societies brought together the elite of the island; and 'conseiller' Chazal's ardent quest for the philosopher's stone was an event in itself. The scientific researches conducted by 'intendant' Poivre was continued by others: Cere, Cossigny and Hubert; geographers and meteorologists flocked around the administrators; and the scientists even succeeded in sending an aerostatic balloon up in 1784 - the first of its kind to be launched in the southern hemisphere (9). It follows from the above that intellectual and scientific pursuits were the monopoly of the rich and the powerful, not to be extended to the poor and the powerless.

## 2.6 Mauritius and the French Revolution, 1790-1803

The news of the French Revolution was brought to Port Louis in March 1790 by a ship arriving from Bordeaux. The colonists at first welcomed the news, for it seemed to give them the opportunity of getting rid of the authoritarian government of the Crown.

The French Revolution made a great impact in Mauritius. There was agitation by the colonists for more representation in the Government. A Colonial Assembly was formed, and a Governor who opposed the Assembly was assassinated. Streets in Port Louis were re-named after revolutionary leaders (1); the new Republican Calendar was adopted, and some church lands and buildings were confiscated. But the revolutionary fervour evaporated in 1794 when a law was passed in ~~France~~ <sup>France</sup> emancipating all slaves without compensation; the colonists rejected this law because the slaves revolutions in Haiti and West Indies were still fresh in their mind. Officials from France were sent to enforce emancipation but were expelled from the colony. Between 1794 and 1803, Mauritius became virtually independent in that the colonists did not obey those French laws which they found incompatible to their economic interests. British and French imperial powers were at war again; Mauritius was again used as a military and naval base, providing man, sailors, and to some extent ships.

### 2.6.1 Administrative Changes

When new elections were held in the colony, 51 members were elected to form the Assembly. All free citizens had the right to vote but only Frenchmen were elected to office. In addition to the leaders of the Revolution, members of the defunct Superior Council were re-elected. Two members of the business class, resident in France, accompanied the two elected members of the Assembly in Paris (2)

The Assembly was divided into 'corps administratif' and a 'directoire' or executive council; these two administrative bodies were called 'administration interieure' ; while the governor, the 'intendant' and other officials from abroad were called 'administration exterieure'; municipalities were set up in each district and new tribunal courts set up (3). This new constitution tended to move towards a moderate form of local government; but Napoleon sent his general, Decaen to re-take possession of the island, and the old order of metropole control was again established.

## 2.6.2 The New Assembly and Education

The Colonial Assembly recognized the need for the moral and political education of Mauritian citizens; but the problem it had to face was that, what type of education would best suit the diverse aspirations and needs of its diverse population. Therefore, it appealed to private citizens to prepare a plan for a National College, as well as an appropriate programme of studies which would be acceptable to the new government (4).

The plan which met with the approval of the Assembly was presented by citizen Michelet, a person who did not belong to any religious order. Even though he proposed to run a secular institution, his school plan was based on the model of the traditional colleges of the Ancient Regime (5). The National College was designed to cater for the education of diverse socio-economic groups of the island. Its curriculum consisted of a wide range of subjects, from Latin, Rhetoric and Mythology to Mathematics, Drawing and Hydrology (6). However, the National College had a short life: after a year, it ran into financial difficulties, and the College was closed.

Another college was planned by a gentleman called Moreau; as many coloured parents applied to send their children there, Moreau found himself in a difficult situation; he failed to admit those children and requested the Assembly that they opened a separate school for the coloured children. After a year, Moreau's college also had to close its doors (7).

Prithipaul points out that the children of the plantation class and the merchants did not have to attend the colleges of Michelet or Moreau because their education was well looked after by a priest, citizen Bellon who was running a school for his rich clients without a hitch (8).

However well-intentioned the Assembly might have been, as regard to the moral and educational needs of the children, yet, it failed to provide a basic education to the poor and the needy.

## 2.7 Mauritius under Republican Rule, 1803-1810

In 1803, General Charles Decaen was sent by Napoleon to take over the government of the island. He dissolved the Colonial Assembly and re-asserted the power of the Governor. Decaen recast the laws of the island. Only persons of pure French blood were equal and free. Slavery and slave trade were allowed to continue, and the 'Code Napoleon' was introduced. Schools were established; and many taxes were introduced; yet, in general, the island had to fend for itself. The British blockade of France permitted only few ships to reach the island, and the growing strength of the British Navy in the Indian Ocean made it difficult for privateers to operate, or foreign ships to use Port Louis (1).

### 2.7.1 The Economy: Predominance of Agriculture

The outbreak of the Seven Years War between the British and French imperial powers in the Indian Ocean meant that Mauritius was again used as a military and naval base; but the fact the British Navy successfully blockaded the French-Ports and increased their number of ships in the Indian Ocean put an end to all commercial activities; consequently, many planters of Mauritius had to return to their neglected fields and the British Navigation Laws, after the war, would ensure that they would never leave their fields again.

### 2.7.2 Social Structure

The fact that there was no conflict of interest between the planters and the merchants does not mean that there was no competition; in fact the latter were always manoeuvring to have the upper hand in the various colonial assemblies, and in power and influence they always preceded the planters. But the British blockade changed all that: the planters, by returning to the fields at a time when trade and commerce were declining, became once more the most powerful and most influential group in Mauritian society to this present day.

On the other hand, the free-coloured people had enjoyed a fair amount of equality vis-a-vis the white population, but the Napoleonic Codes made them legally 'unequal' again; the pyramidal shape of the emerging social structure in the last years of the Republican Administration will remain virtually unchanged to this present day. (2)

### 2.7.3 The Republican Government and the Lycée Colonial

During the Revolutionary Administration, various educational institutions were established by private citizens; all, but one, were forced to close because of financial crises, and that one was run by a priest for the education of the rich children from the merchant and plantation class; that school was flourishing by 1803. Decaen improved it, and on 7th of December, 1806 laid the foundation stone of ~~this~~new building. (3).

This College, the Lycée Colonial, was not a mere grammar school, for teaching Greek, Latin, French, and Mathematics; but also a military and naval school teaching swimming, horse-riding, and military exercises. By the end of 1808, Decaen was able to report to the Minister of Marine in France that thirty ex-pupils were serving on warships, and twenty-nine on corsairs and merchant vessels; three had already been killed in action. The school then contained nearly three hundred pupils (4).

Decaen also supported a similar school for girls, but this experiment ended in 1809, because Crés-pin, like the Emperor himself, did not favour the education for girls in schools. Decaen's regime also set up two primary schools for the free coloured boys who were not permitted to attend the Lycée Colonial.

One can infer from the above that educational activities, in the colony, were confined to the higher socio-economic group who were educated in the elitist tradition of Grammar Schools; and a differentiated system of schooling was introduced for the free coloured boys, but not girls; while the children of the slaves received no education at all.

To what extent this emerging pattern of differentiated education changed under British Administration will be the subject of the next chapter.

#### 2.7.4 Summary and Conclusion

As a French colony, Mauritius has increasingly functioned as a military and naval base in the French imperial design in the Indian Ocean; thus, it had been closely linked with the ambition and aspiration of the French merchant capital, whose interests had been adequately represented by the plantation class in Mauritius which has resulted in the establishment of a social structure similar to that of the French metropolis; internal changes – political, legal, and institutional, have been a reflection of the various changes within the French metropolis itself; even the educational institutions which had been established in the last years of the Republican Administration reflect the educational needs of the plantation class, its moeurs, culture and aspirations. The fact that sea-warfare occupied a central role in the imperial design had its own impact in Mauritian society and social life: the planters turned into merchants, and profit became the ultimate motive; even the curriculum of the Lycée Colonial reflected the needs of the French metropolis; Agriculture suffered, and foodstuffs had to be imported – this is the root of the Mauritian dependency within the French imperial framework.

Notes on Chapter 2, Section 2.2

\* In order to avoid any confusion in the text, I will use 'Mauritius'- the present name, throughout, although the Dutch called it 'Maurice', and the French 'Ile de France'.

1. Burton Benedict: Problems of a Plural Society, P.9, Pall Mall Press, 1965.
2. Jean Houbert: Mauritius: Independence and Dependence, in Journal of Modern African Studies, 19, 1, 1981, Pp.75-105.
3. Harry Magdoff: Imperialism, From the Colonial Age to the Present, P.9, Monthly Review Press, 1978.
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6. A. Toussaint: Histoire des Iles Mascareignes, Opt. Cit. P.104.
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- \* See Page 58, Para 2, Line 13.
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## CHAPTER 3

### BACKGROUND STUDY

#### Mauritius and British Imperialism, 1810-1968

##### 3.1 Introduction

As early as 1761, Pitt (1) observed that: "As long as the French hold Mauritius, the British will never be masters of India"; but the British did not want to become masters of India only, but also mistress of the Indian Ocean. The various naval skirmishes between French and British imperial powers culminated in the Napoleonic Wars: Mauritius, the naval and military stronghold of the French, was successfully conquered; France was defeated; British hegemony prevailed; the Indian Ocean became a British lake and Mauritius became a British colony in 1810, and it remained one until 1968. By the Treaty of Paris of 1814, which was confirmed by the Treaties of Vienna of 1815, Britain undertook to return Reunion and other small islands to France, but Mauritius was retained 'in full right and sovereignty' (2); Toussaint calls it 'passive imperialism'; but Sweezy's 'protective and anticipatory imperialism' is more to the point (3).

Great Britain was the unchallenged dominant power in the international system from 1815 to 1870; her naval superiority was unquestioned; she ruled the waves of the Indian Ocean; controlled trade and commerce; and emerged as the first industrial nation as a result of industrial capital displacing merchant capital and a policy of 'laissez-faire' after 1840 (4). The impact of these changes would be felt in the various British colonies in general, and in Mauritius in particular. Besides, the rise of industrial capital, its needs and logic, necessitated the transformation of the old mercantilistic structures and the creation of new ones: it is in this context that one must understand the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the Navigation Acts in the late 1840's; the repeal of the Navigation Acts acknowledged the new reality: the primacy of Britain's navy and merchant shipping; the repeal of the Corn Laws (which had protected - agricultural interests) signalled the maturation of the Industrial Revolution. Thus, in the light of Britain's

manufacturing supremacy, trade restraints would have been detrimental to the need for ever-expanding world markets and sources of inexpensive raw materials and food (5). The 'laissez-faire' policy and the technical progress led to a broadening of the concept of 'empire'; it was found that the commercial and financial advantages of formal empire could often be derived by informal means: the development of a worldwide trade network, the growth of overseas banking, the export of capital to less advanced regions, the leading position of London's money markets all under the shield of a powerful and mobile navy led to Great Britain's economic prominence and influence, both within its colonies and in many parts of the world (6).

The various changes within the British metropolis had their own brand of impact in Mauritius, which, in 1810, entered into a new phase of its history under British rule.\* Since mercantilism was predominant in the British metropolis until the 1840's, Mauritius had to bear the brunt of mercantilistic administrative policies for the first thirty years. The appointed governor was an agent of the British East India Company. The Report of the Commission of Eastern Enquiry, appointed by the Colonial Office in 1822 to study the prospects of the colony, recommended various changes of the French legal structure and impositions of the Navigation Acts and Trading Laws in Mauritius. The planters were given full support to develop the sugar cane industries. More slaves were brought in and more land was allotted to cane plantations. The legal, political and economic structures were all transformed to respond to the needs of the dominant class in the British metropolis. Consequently, Mauritius became well integrated into the world economy. In the international division of labour which followed, the island fulfilled the function of a supplier of sugar cane to the British metropolis and has remained a net importer of manufactured goods to the present day.

Mauritius was transformed under British rule: slavery was abolished in 1835, and as the majority of the freed slaves refused to work in the cane fields, indentured labourers were brought in from India and China in order to replace them. As a result of the mass exodus of indentured labourers, the social structure of Mauritius was transformed. The plantation class became the national bourgeoisie, the free-coloured people constituted the middle class of professionals, technicians, engineers and foremen in the sugar industry, the

\* See Appendix 6 showing periods of British Rule in Mauritius until 1947.

ex-slaves turned into artisans, carpenters, masons and fishermen; whereas the newly-arrived indentured labourers from the sub-continent constituted the field labourers. With the arrivals of the Indians and the British administrators and civil servants, Anglicanism and a variety of other religions were firmly introduced. All these transformations and changes had great implication for the development of education.

Under British rule, particular emphasis was laid on the development of educational institutions and practices. I have already pointed out that the educational provision, under the Republican rule of French imperialism, was restricted to the children of the plantation class only; under British rule, that only institution, the Lycée Colonial, was transformed into the Royal College, where the children of the British administrators and the French plantation class were to be educated (7). Those laws, which hindered the opening of schools by private citizens, were swept aside. As more Anglican clergy arrived, the task of proselytizing and educating the poor children of the colony proceeded apace; the first primary schools, for boys and girls, were opened (8).

During the 158 years of British rule in Mauritius, external influences, internal class struggles and class alliances, political, economic, religious and social factors, have all had their impact upon the development of educational institutions and practices.

It is an enormous task to condense 158 years of history, in all its diversity and complexity, in a single chapter; therefore, in order to capture the dynamics of educational development and practices diachronically, to trace the semantic change of the concept of education, to assess the impact of the educational provisions on the social structure, and the impact of the latter upon educational institutions and practices, I have decided to construct a Typology of Schools, by dividing the 158 years of British rule into various sub-sections which will be representative of specific historical moments of political **development** in general, and of the development of educational institutions and practices in particular. These sub-divisions are as follows:-

- (i) 1810-1840: Mauritius and the Mercantilistic Charter.
- (ii) 1840-1870: The rise of industrial capital in the British metropolis, and the Anglicisation of Mauritius.
- (iii) 1870-1947: Towards centralization of educational institutions and practices in Mauritius. The rise of Monopoly Capital internationally.
- (iv) 1947-1967: Mauritius endowed with a new and more democratic Constitution, based on a literacy franchise; introduction of Ministerial System; move towards self-government.

The period following British rule will be dealt with separately in Chapter 4.

3.2. The Mercantilistic Charter: (1810-1840): The Works and Recommendations of the Commission of Eastern Enquiry in Mauritius

After 1815, the island of Mauritius presented administrators with several problems, as did two other newly acquired countries of the Indian Ocean: Ceylon and the Cape. The Colonial Office, which was responsible for Mauritius, appointed a Royal Commission in 1822, called the Commission of Eastern Enquiry and headed by Major Colebrooke, and Messrs Blair and Bigg, to visit the three territories and make recommendations for the future administration of Mauritius. The Commissioners spent two years in Mauritius from October 1826 to June 1828. (1)

I will argue that the recommendations of the Commission of Eastern Enquiry basically reflect the needs of the merchant capital of the British metropolis and the transformation of the legal, political, religious and educational institutions laid the underlying structure of dependency, has helped to legitimise those needs and have helped to clear the way for the economic

and cultural penetration and domination of merchant capital - this has been exemplified by the fact that 'The Acte de Capitulation', Article 8, clearly stipulated that:- "The inhabitants shall preserve their religions, laws and customs" (2) has been ignored by the Commission; and in the early years of British rule, all the French inhabitants were called upon to swear allegiance to King George III of England; and were given two years to decide whether to quit the colony and return to France with their private possessions, or become British subjects: many chose to return to France, while others went to settle in Bourbon island, returned to France after the Treaties of Vienna (3); thus, a new social order, based on consensus and common interest between the international and the national rather than conflict and conflict of interest, was established.

The Commission of Eastern Enquiry produced some thirty-seven volumes of materials regarding various aspects of colonial problems in Mauritius; and in the subsequent sub-sections, it will be my intention to show how the various recommendations reflect the needs and interests of the mercantile class of the British metropolis; while so doing, I will observe the Public Record's Office classification of these Reports:-

- (i) C.O.167/117-146: Reports of the Commissioners of Enquiry.
- (ii) C.O.167/126 : Slave Trade
- (iii) C.O.167/120-122: Laws and Courts of Justice
- (iv) C.O.167/123 : Finance and Establishments.
- (v) C.O.167/142 : Slavery Ameloration.
- (vi) C.O.167/143 : Conditions of Free People of Colour.
- (vii) C.O.167/144 : Trade and Navigation.

The Secretary of State (4) made it clear to the Governor\* as to the exact nature of the Commission:-

"They were not sent for the purpose of redressing of all grievances which individuals may be disposed to proffer against established authorities, but their enquiries are directed to be only so far retrospective, as such retrospective enquiry may be presumed to be necessary for the purpose of effecting future improvement".

\* See Appendix I5 showing complete list of British Governors in Mauritius from 1810 to 1968.

### 3.2.1 On the Question of Slave Trade

The French planters of Mauritius were increasing their sugar export to London at a time when the British planters of West Indies and other British vested interests in sugar were controlling sugar output and prices of sugar on the London Market, by limiting the supply of fresh slaves. These British vested interests joined the bandwagon of the Anti-Slavery Society and demanded the abolition of slavery in Mauritius, through their strong lobby in Parliament and this demand was also supported by the free-traders.

The Commissioners accepted that the slave trade could carry on until 1824, despite the fact that it was made illegal by an Act of Parliament in 1807 throughout the British Empire (5), and that the Registry of slaves was responsible for the **continuance** of the traffic (6). They also pointed out that the increase in sugar production in Mauritius was not due to an increase in slave labour, but rather to the improvement in the infrastructure of the colony and to the cheap food supplies imported from Madagascar and India (7). In order to ensure an ample supply of cheap food for the slave population, the Commissioners recommended that all duties on dried fish and cocoa nut oil, brought from settlements East of the Cape should be abolished (8). To safeguard the interests of the slaves, they recommended the immediate appointment of a Protector of Slaves (9). (Mr Thomas was appointed to that office a month later).

The Commissioners also suggested that the introduction of Chinese or other free labour ought to be employed, and thus lessen the employment of slaves. The fact that slavery was not abolished until 1835 in Mauritius allowed the British merchants and slave traders, who controlled half of the transatlantic slave trade by the end of the eighteenth century, ample time to make their fortune.

### 3.2.2 Laws, Courts of Justice and Establishments

The legal system in Mauritius was in a chaotic state: the various sources of these laws caused much concern and immense contradiction. To the pre-revolutionary laws, and the changes made by the Directory, the Reform of the Consulate and the Empire had been added. The modifications introduced by the British conquest increased the already complex legal structure. The laws

were coded in French, but it was the English translation which was registered in the Courts and to which reference were made. Thus, wherever and whenever the Mauritian legal system was in doubt, it always had recourse to Roman or Civil law, but rarely to English Law (10). Various changes were recommended in the 'Code Civil', relating to marriages, family relationships, the laws of succession, wills and property; the 'Code du Commerce' was modified as trade increased and brought to conform with English Trade laws. Many harsh laws, falling under the 'Code Penal' were recommended for repeal; and the criminal Laws of Mauritius were to be repealed and replaced by English Criminal Laws, with whatever modifications (11).

Many reforms were also proposed for the Courts of Justice: the number of 'superior judges' was reduced to three: the right to appeal in civil suits to the Privy Council was restricted to cases over £1,000; the Appeal Court and the 'Tribunal of Première Instance' were to be abolished, and a Supreme Court established to try both Civil and Criminal cases, this Court was to be presided over by the Chief Judge and two Puisne Judges; eight 'Juges de Paix' were to be nominated for life, by the Governor; and that "in-all the Courts, the introduction of the English Language should not be delayed" (12); the Trial by Jury was also recommended, and the Juror ought to be a 'respectable person', with a knowledge of the English Language.

The transformation of the legal system brought Mauritius within the direct jurisdiction and political control of the British metropolis; and as many British merchants, businessmen, sugar-brokers and capitalists started arriving, the changes in the legal structure made commercial transactions easier. The London Times (13) reported that many British capitalists and sugar-brokers were robbed and swindled by the French planters in Mauritius, because the legal proceedings were so lengthy, costly and time-consuming, that they had lost all hope of recovering their money. I will, therefore, argue that since the legal structure responded to the needs and interests of the merchant classes of both the centre and the periphery, it became part of the infrastructure of dependency and required the mastery of the English Language, hence of schooling.

### 3.2.3 Finance and Establishments

The finances of Mauritius were also in a chaotic state. The accounts presented for inspection at the Colonial Office revealed negligence, carelessness and a sense of irresponsibility on the part of the officials. What was worse, the accounts always showed a deficit; and since the capture of Mauritius by the British, until 1825, the accounts showed a deficit of over £1,000,000 (14). The method of collecting taxes was archaic and the whole financial situation was to be reviewed.

The chief source of internal revenues was from direct taxes: on fixed property, on slaves, from customs duties, transfers and licenses, shops, coffee houses, bazaars, fisheries, itinerant vendors, carriages and transactions from the Registrar's Office. The external revenue came from Customs Duties on exports and imports. There was a general tax of 6 percent ad valorem on all goods imported in British ships and additional 6 percent on all goods imported from places within the limits of the East India Company's charter if in British ships, but 8 percent if imported in foreign ships.

The Commissioners recommended that: the various taxes on slaves were to be amalgamated, and that 10s. a year to be paid on town slaves, and 7s.6d on those in the country; no taxes were to be levied on children up to twelve years of age; tax on country properties was to be reduced to 5 percent; tolls were to be introduced for the upkeep of roads; there was to be one tax on stores; no taxes were to be levied on bazaars and fisheries; while a Stamp Duty for all receipts over two pounds was to be introduced; to curb the excessive drunkenness among the poor of the colony, the Commissioners recommended licenses of £20. a year for distilleries, and an excise duty of 6d. a gallon was to be imposed on all spirits distilled; these recommendations, according to the Commissioners, would help turn the colony's deficit into a surplus (15).

The fact that the finances of the colony were in a precarious state, considerably affected the development of educational institutions and practices, so much so, that, in 1836,\* the education sector was thrown open to private investors.

\* See Appendix 47, Educational Ordinance 10th of August, 1836 for more details.

### 3.2.4 Slavery Amelioration

The Slave Amelioration Ordinance was a sequel to the Report on Slave Trade: as the Mauritian French planters increased their sugar export to the London Market, the British sugar vested interests in West Indies, and the free-traders joined the Anti-Slavery Society's bandwagon and demanded the abolition of slavery, without compensation, in Mauritius because they claimed that:

- (a) More slaves were brought in to increase sugar production;
- (b) That these slaves were inhumanly treated and that the colonial government had done little to alleviate their sufferings, and the question was taken up in the House of Commons in 1829 (16).

The Report denied these allegations: it asserted that slaves in Mauritius were treated the same way as those in West Indies; and that they were subjected to Napoleon's 'Code Noir', which was mostly humane, except where branding and mutilation were concerned—these were repealed; and the manumission of slaves was recommended and encouraged; consequently, the Anti-Slavery Society and other vested interests had no case against the French planters (17).

The Ordinance recommended that: no fresh grants of land were to be made available if slaves were to be employed, separate Assistant Protectors were to be appointed; slaves were to be baptised and instructed in the Christian Religion; Sundays were to be declared days of rest; the use of whips was prohibited; only switches were to be used, and the beating of female slaves was forbidden; plantation owners, employing more than 28 slaves, were asked to keep Record Books, showing the hours worked and the punishments inflicted; the right of a slave to demand his manumission was declared, should he be able to purchase it(18).

The fact that the Ordinance recommended that 'the slaves were to be baptised and instructed in the Christian Religion' paved the way for the increased participation of the clergy, both Anglicans and Catholics, in the education sector — a participation which will generate more tension and conflict and, consequently, hamper the development of educational institutions and practices in the colony.

### 3.2.5 Conditions of Free People of Colour

The Free People of Colour were so classed because they happened to have a black ancestor. At the time of the Commission of Enquiry, they numbered 16,244 against 8,193 whites. They owned slaves as the whites, belonged to the professional class and professed the same Catholic religion; spoke the same language; and shared the same cultural values; but they were greatly discriminated against by the French dominant class. Their children were refused admission in the Royal College, the most prestigious school in the colony which has dominated the educational system ever since. They were not invited to attend the levees of the Governor and they were subjected to heavier sentences than whites for many crimes. The injustices to which they were subjected were an inheritance of the French Regime. These restrictions had been removed by the Directory, but re-imposed and strictly enforced by General Decaen. Twice they sent petitions to the English government, but nothing had been done owing to counter-representations on the part of the planters and merchants (19). As a result of the Commissioners' observations, the Secretary of State ordered the Governor to grant equality of status to the Free People of Colour:-

"Whose source of degradation is augmented if they are told that the accident of their birth or tinge of their skin are deemed perpetual obstacles to granting them the same privileges as whites". (20).

The decision of the Secretary of State to abolish all the prejudicial laws against the free people of colour should be interpreted in the overall context of creating a 'stable climate, devoid of conflict' for the acceptance of the new imperial order; the free people of colour showed their gratitude by giving their whole hearted support to the new order, thereby strengthening their struggle against the national bourgeoisie - the mercantile elites of the colony.

### 3.2.6 Trade and Navigation

Trade in the colony was mostly regulated by the Order in Council of 16th December, 1826:-

"No trade allowed with countries having colonial possession which did not grant like privileges of trade to British ships and which not having colonial possessions did not place British commerce on the footing of the most favoured nation".

All exports were free of regulation, but only certain articles could be imported in foreign vessels. The French community of the colony had developed an extensive import trade with France. It preferred to pay a higher price for inferior French goods to the lower priced, better quality, English goods. The Commissioners pointed out the potentialities of Mauritius as a market for British trade, and emphasized that there ought to be a strict enforcement of the duties prescribed by the Acts on **foreign** goods. Evidence also showed that French goods entered the colony duty free, and that there existed illicit trade between the colony and the nearby French island, Reunion (21).

Mauritius was gradually losing its strategic position in the Indian Ocean; and its role as an entrepot for Asiatic commodities had also been declining since the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The cultivation of coffee and spices had also declined; but the cultivation of sugar cane was encouraged, both by the governor, who was an agent of the Company, and with the arrival of British capitalists and sugar-brokers. As early as 1809, the Royal Commission was critical of the colony's excessive dependence on sugar, and warned against its disastrous consequences (22).

The Commissioners recommended: the admission, duty free, of salt beef from Madagascar to assist in the development of the colony by providing cheap food for the working class; to counter the growing imports of French wines, it was suggested that the wines from the Cape, the new British base, should also be allowed in, free of duty; to promote the colony's trade and to assist its financial development, it was proposed that a chamber of commerce be established and a charter granted for the establishment of a bank (23).

To assist in the spread of Christianity among the lower classes and slaves, the appointment of four Roman Catholic priests from England was recommended. It was also decided that the churches, built from local taxes, should be used by both Catholics and Protestants. The churches were also to be used as schools during the week. The need for the appointment of English Schoolmasters was emphasized and it was pointed out that there was a great scope for missionary work among the slave population. It was proposed to abolish Press Censorship in order to facilitate the "introduction of British thoughts and feelings and contribute to the diffusion of the English Language" (24).

These various recommendations did not only reflect the economic and cultural needs of the mercantile class in the British metropolis, but also dictate the particular role which Mauritius had to play under British administration in the international system. The establishment of a new social order, legitimised by the new political, legal, social and economic structure responding to the mercantile needs of the British metropolis put an end to the rising hopes of the commercial community in the colony and forced it back to agriculture—the cultivation of sugar cane, which resulted in the emergence and ascendancy of a plantation class whose economic and cultural needs also responded to the international, rather than national, needs. I have called this class, 'the national bourgeoisie', and will observe the same definition throughout the text.

### 3.3 Mercantilism and the Development of Educational Institutions and Practices in Mauritius, 1810-1840

#### Introduction

I will argue that the emergence and development of educational institutions and ,~~practices~~ from their very inception, had been restrained by the powerful national bourgeoisie through their control of the various social institutions; and that under British rule, these restraints had been removed as a result of economic and political necessities. I will also argue, in this section of the study, that external forces-political, religious and economic-have helped to shape, and, to a large extent, determine the nature

and quality of educational institutions and practices; and that the internal class configurations—its alliances and conflicts—have helped to perpetuate them.

The most striking characteristic of the emerging educational system of this period, had been the rise of secondary education prior to primary education. It is my intention to discuss them in the order of their development and also to focus on the nature and cause of class conflict between the plantation class and the free coloured people over access to education in the Royal College.

### 3.3.1 The Development of Secondary Education, 1810–1840

Ramdoyal points out that, "for a long time the history of Secondary Education in Mauritius has been mainly concerned with the history of the Royal College" (25). I will examine its origin and social role in some detail.

Prior to the year 1800, the French Government of Mauritius allowed education to be conducted by private individuals, without any control; but a Resolution of the 14th May in that year determined that, "public instruction should be put under the superintendence of a Commission, composed of five members", who were also to take the direction of a school then set up, and which was named "Ecole Centrale". This was the origin of the Royal College (26).

Under the government of General Decaen, changes were made in the management of this school during the first three years of its existence. Its establishment was confirmed by a decree of the 28th of October, 1803; and its superintendence, and also that of Public Instruction, entrusted to a "bureau d'administration generale". Decaen also changed the name from "Ecole Centrale" to that of "Lycée des Iles de France et Bourbon".

For some months, after the capture of the island by the English in 1810, the Lycée was used as a military hospital, but soon afterwards was restored to its original use.

On the 27th of January 1813, Sir Robert Farquhar, an agent of the Company, became the first English Governor in Mauritius. He announced by a Proclamation that the Home Government had confirmed the establishment of the Colonial College as a public seminary and that the Prince Regent had been graciously pleased to take it under his especial protection and to authorise its being called "The Royal College" (27).

Until the 1820s, the Royal College functioned as a French Lycée; and changes were ushered in gradually. Structurally, the College consisted of a 'preparatory school', consisting of five classes, and functioned as a primary school proper; while the College proper was divided into a classical and a modern side, with four classes in each section; the College course, therefore, spread over nine years. The College was run along the line of the Public and Grammar Schools of England; and its Curriculum aptly reflected those elitist values and the following subjects were taught: English, Latin, Greek, Rhetoric, Botany, Chemistry, Mathematics, Geography, Literature, Navigation (28) and other arts which are characteristic of the leisured class - Music, Painting and probably Dancing. As it was a Boarding School, it was strengthened by the Public School rituals: prize giving, assemblies, sports and games. The Report of the Board of Education is emphatic on the fact that only the children of the national bourgeoisie and those of the British Administrators were to be educated there (29). According to the same Report, it was promulgated that the two most distinguished scholars of the College were to be annually sent to England, at the expense of the Government, to finish their studies at one of the Universities.

The Governor created the precedence of selecting and sponsoring the best scholars from the College to new administrative posts which were being created in the colonial state machinery: the scholar who performed best in English was appointed to join the staff of the College; three more scholars were selected for military training by the **Commander** of the Troops, and others were made clerks in the clerical sector of the administration (30).

From its early years of foundation, the Royal College has functioned as a social agency for selecting, socializing, evaluating and channelling the children of the administrative class and those of the national bourgeoisie - and after 1832, the children of the free people of colour - into administrative and Civil Service posts of the occupational structure. It had no systemic

link with the developing plantation economy because its practices were geared to the reproduction of the cultural values and needs of the dominant class, both of the centre and of the periphery. It also reproduced the social and economic inequalities within the colony.

I will argue that the roots of the Mauritian educational dependency on the English metropolis lay in the fact that, from its early establishment and its expansion after 1836- when all the laws restricting the opening of schools were swept aside- the educational institutions and practices have continuously served the international rather than the national interests in terms of an alternative form of development to solve internal social problems.

The monopolization of the Royal College by the administrative class and the national bourgeoisie did not go unchallenge by the new emerging social class - the free coloured people.

It will become apparent in the subsequent sections of this study that the Royal College has acted as the main agency of social and cultural reproduction in Mauritius; and I intend to use Bourdieu's theory of social and cultural reproduction in order to better understand the dynamics of this process; consequently, I will devote the next section of this study to the introduction of Bourdieu's main concepts- as they will be used in this study- and in outlining his theory of social and cultural reproduction.

### 3.3.2 An Introduction to Bourdieu's Theory of Social and Cultural Reproduction.

There is a general consensus among the English-speaking practitioners and students of the Sociology of Education about the esoteric style and complex nature of Bourdieu's work which is mainly concerned with the French educational system and its particular characteristics. Perhaps it is his major insular concern which has denied Bourdieu the status and prestige as a major theorist of sociology of education among English-speaking academics and students alike; but as a few English translations of his French articles find their way in Educational Readers, and with the translation by Richard Nice's of Bourdieu and Passeron's 'magnum opus', 'La Réproduction', this serious lacuna has been filled.

Bourdieu's few articles , translated in English, do throw considerable light on certain aspects of his sociology of education; but I intend to use only those aspects from the 'Reproduction' which will be relevant to my study. I will be presenting Bourdieu's work under the following headings: (a) A Theory of Class Reproduction; (b) The Habitus and the Educational System; (c) Pedagogic Action and Legitimacy.

A Theory of Class Reproduction: the study is not confined to an examination of social class and social selection as such, but studies the dynamic relationship between 'pedagogic action'- defined as education in the broadest sense, encompassing more than the process of formal education- and the reproduction of class groups. The theory rests on the premise which Bourdieu and Passeron regard as the basic principle of the theory of sociological knowledge, that: " every power which manages to impose meanings and to impose them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations". Bourdieu and Passeron's thesis draws most heavily on the fundamental tenet of Marxist theory that the effectiveness of domination in social relations is based upon the misrecognition of those relations by society as power relations.\*

Where education is concerned, they argue, society is divided into dominant and dominated groups by means of the 'pedagogic action' of the elite group which imposes its 'cultural arbitrary'-defined as the selection of cultural categories and meanings specific to each social class- as the legitimate definition of educational culture. This, in contrast to a culture which is the conscious choice or natural outgrowth of the whole society. Thus, they argue that all pedagogic action is objectively 'symbolic violence'- defined as the imposition of specific meanings, categories and concepts in thought and communication- in so far as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power. \*\*

As a result of the 'symbolic violence' of the 'cultural arbitrary' it is argued, the 'pedagogic action' itself is the cause of the failure of many non-elite children since they lack the 'cultural capital'- defined as the linguistic and social competences, and such qualities as style, manners, know-how as well as aspirations and perception of the objective chances of success- which the children of the elite share with their teachers. As in Marx's notion of economic capital, those who have it invest it either consciously or unconsciously in the education system, where it enables them

\* Tricia Broadfoot , 'Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture' in Comparative Education, Vol. 14 No.1, March 1978, P.76.

\*\* Ibid. P.76.

to gain the ultimate rewards of that system and thus to perpetuate their membership of the elite. By the same token, those who do not possess this cultural capital must strive a great deal harder to gain it in order to succeed in the system. \*

The Habitus and the Educational System: For an effective inculcation of a 'cultural arbitrary'- a long-term acceptance of the legitimacy of elite values- it is necessary, the authors argue, to produce a habitus- defined as habits of thought, perceptions, dispositions and manners. This is achieved by what they term 'pedagogic work', which is the long term, underlying rationale for pedagogic action or, as it were, the ethos of the educational system- a concept which is central to their whole theory of reproduction, but which has been vaguely, if not pedantically, defined in the text; for example on page 10, they write that:

" in traditionally defining the system of education as the sum total of the institutions or customary mechanisms ensuring the transmission from one generation to another of the culture inherited from the past, the classical theories tend to sever cultural reproduction from its function of social reproduction, that is to ignore the specific effect of symbolic relations in the reproduction of power relations".

The authors criticise functionalist theories for tending to conceal the different relationships between the various classes and the educational systems. Yet at the same time, the system must be accepted as legitimate by the whole of society, so that the teacher has authority by virtue of his office. This institutionalising of education both relieves the teacher of having continuously to win his authority, and also constrains him to act in the interests of the dominant 'cultural arbitrary' as determined by the elite.

To maintain such a system, they argue, the educational system must necessarily have a monopoly of the production of agents appointed to reproduce and it must also have the right to determine what constitutes educational achievement.\*\*

Pedagogic Action and Legitimacy: Bourdieu and Passeron liken the education system's monopoly of 'symbolic violence'- its right to determine what is legitimate knowledge- to the state's monopoly of the legitimate use of physical violence since both are essential to the social order. Thus they see 'pedagogic action' as lying between the two poles of pure force and pure

\* Tricia Broadfoot, 'Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture', in Comparative Education, Opt. Cit. P.77.

\*\* Ibid. P.77.

reason, direct constraint being required to the extent that the content of the action does not seem to be logical or reasonable to the receivers and, therefore, legitimate. However, since 'pedagogic action' typically inculcates the 'cultural arbitrary' of the dominant group which delegates to it its 'pedagogic authority', its legitimacy is rarely questioned.

It is a fact that since the laws of the market—in this case the job market—fix the economic and symbolic value of the cultural capital of the various 'cultural arbitraries' produced by different 'pedagogic action' and the products of that action, namely the 'educated' individuals, there is a very powerful pressure towards the reproduction of the 'cultural arbitrary' having the highest educational capital value and thus to maintaining a system in which the elite will find it easiest to perpetuate itself. \*

### 3.3.3 Cultural Capital and Class Conflict: The Struggle of the Coloured People

Before 1829, the free coloured people, numbering 18,019, were according to the Codes of Napoleon, free but not equal. They were greatly discriminated against by the national bourgeoisie despite the fact that, like them, the free coloured owned slaves, spoke the same language and professed the same religion, yet they were not considered as being the equals of the national bourgeoisie. Their children were not admitted to the Royal College. They were excluded from the mainstream cultural activities of the island and they could not join the professions until 1829.

Under British rule, the free coloured people renewed their efforts to put an end to the racial discriminations of which they were heir to. They organised themselves into a powerful political pressure group and sent two petitions to the English government. The matter was taken up by the Commissioners of Eastern Enquiry who were recommended to the Secretary of State the abolition of these prejudicial laws affecting the free coloured people.

\* Tricia Broadfoot, 'Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture' in Comparative Education, Opt. Cit.P.78.

Their struggle for justice and equality led to the abolition of the colour bar in 1829. The coloured people were at once free and theoretically equal to the national bourgeoisie but they lacked the mode of life, the cultural niceties and the general air of refinements which have made the national bourgeoisie a class to be aped and to model oneself upon, if one were to be accepted in the cultural life of the colony. In short, the coloured people lacked cultural capital\* to buttress their newly acquired legal status. Consequently, in their search for cultural capital, they carried on their struggle against the national bourgeoisie, until 1832 when finally, their children were admitted in the Royal College - the only institution responsible for the transmission and reproduction of bourgeois culture in the colony and for channelling the successful scholars to administrative posts.

I will argue that, in so far as the free and equal, coloured people were truly aware of their needs and interests and continued struggling for achieving them, they constituted a class in themselves and for themselves; and as such, they have played, and continue to play, a vital role in the political development of the colony.

### 3.3.4 The Development of Primary Education in Mauritius 1810-1840

It should be pointed at the very outset that in the historical development of educational institutions and practices in Mauritius, the emergence and - development of primary educational institutions and practices have been a late phenomenon. Not only were they late, but prior to the British conquest of the island, they were virtually non-existent (32). When these institutions and practices did finally appear in Mauritius, it was as a result of religious forces external to the Mauritian social structure, and they were primarily designed to meet the educational needs\* of children of the lower classes.

The reason for the existence of this anomalous situation is due to the fact that the Royal College incorporated, in its structural design, a - 'preparatory school' which functioned as a primary school. As the Royal College catered for the educational needs of the children of the administrative class and of the national bourgeoisie, there was no need for establishing primary schools for the children of the lower classes.

The Commissioners of Eastern Enquiry (33) have been quite emphatic regarding the religious and educational needs of the children of the slaves and of the lower classes in Mauritius. They explicitly recommended the appointment of four Roman Catholic priests from England to fulfill these functions. They also pointed out that there was a great scope for missionary work among the slave population of the colony (34). I will argue that it is in this context of international religious interests of proselytisation and civilizing mission of the church, aided and abetted by the various forms of capital in the international system that one should interpret the increasing impact of the religious institutions on the development of educational institutions and practices, both secondary and primary, in Mauritius.

It was only after the taking of the island by England that the first Primary Schools for the education of the lower classes of Mauritian society were established. This was in 1815, when Rev. Jean Lebrun, a clergyman belonging to the London Missionary Society, started several free Primary Schools in Port-Louis and in the country districts (35) for children of the slaves.

When Sir Robert Farquhar - first English Governor - was called to England in 1820, he represented the necessity of educating the children of the slaves. Consequently, the Government appointed Mr. Jenkins, a native of Africa, who had been well educated in Scotland. He was selected to the post not only because of his educational qualifications, but also because "the circumstances of his birth was likely to render him more acceptable to the parents of the children, many of whom would be from his own country" (36). It was opened in the Western suburb of Port-Louis on the 3rd of January, 1823, and placed under the superintendence of the Civil Chaplain. It was followed by a Western Female Juvenile School in 1829; a Western Infant School in 1837, and an Eastern Male and Female Juvenile School in 1838.

In 1838, in order to help bringing the children of the liberated slaves under the influence of education, the Trustees of Lady Mico's Charity confided to Rev. Jean Lebrun the task of establishing popular schools. By 1842, ten of these schools were in operation; but in the same year, these schools were taken over by the Government, and their entire support defrayed out of the Public Treasury (37).

These early missionary schools, whether Methodist, Anglican or Catholic, mainly functioned as agencies of Anglicisation and proselytisation among the children of the slaves and free coloured people; the little education they imparted consisted in moral and religious education, reading and counting. These children were indoctrinated in accepting their 'station' in the colony, and observing the moral and economic order prevalent in the Mauritian society; Ramdoyal (38) quotes the Blackwood Magazine, the organ of the High Church Party, as saying:-

"The only education which could be fitly and safely given to the poor is a religious education, which renders them patient, humble and moral, and relieves the hardship of their present lot by the prospect of bright eternity".

The success of the missionary schools of Jean Lebrun, a dissenting minister, and his social works among the slaves and the free coloured population, roused the envy and hostility of the Anglicans, Catholics and the Governor alike. They could not bear the fact that the ex-slaves and the free coloured people were becoming converts of a dissenting minister whose popularity was soaring while the supporters of the Anglican and Catholic sects were decreasing. Religious zeal, fuelled by religious envy for the success of Jean Lebrun, brought about the unholy alliance-comprising of the Governor, the Anglicans, and the Catholics - in order to put an end to the mounting success of the dissenting minister. This unholy alliance resulted in, and took the form of, the Educational Ordinance of 1835\* which brought all existing educational institutions and practices under Government's control. The action engineered by the Governor and the Heads of the Established religions against the dissenter, Jean Lebrun, signals the preponderating role to be played by religious agencies in the development of educational institutions and practices in Mauritius, and heralds the beginning of religious tensions and religious conflicts which were to bedevil the historical development of Mauritius to the present day.

The Education Ordinance of 1835 marks a new beginning in the development of educational institutions and practices in the colony. Inter alia, it states that:-

\* See Appendix 47, Educational Ordinance No.18 of 1835 for more details.

- (a) schooling was placed under the protection of the government;
- (b) the superintendence of these schools was to be done by the Committee of Public Instruction.

Most importantly, the Heads of the Catholic and Anglican churches were to be among the thirteen members constituting the Committee of Public Instruction. While the remaining 14 Articles are devoted to the running, financing and administration of the Royal College.

The 1836 Education Ordinance is another landmark in the development of education in Mauritius. Economic necessities and political exigencies compelled the Secretary of State to abolish all obsolete laws which hindered the citizens of Mauritius from establishing educational institutions in the colony.

The 1839 Education Ordinance deals, almost exclusively, with the welfare of the Royal College. Of the 14 Articles constituting this Ordinance, Article 7 is most revealing as to the choice of scholars for the Royal College:-

"The 30 scholars\* shall be named by the Governor, and in preference chosen among such families of the colony who from their services or particular situation may have merited a like distinction".

I will argue that since the children of the free coloured were admitted in the Royal College only in 1832, most of the scholars admitted to the College would have been the children of the administrative class and those of the national bourgeoisie.

#### 3.4 The Development of the Plantation Economy and Social Change in Mauritius, 1810-1840

Throughout this chapter, I have consistently argued, and exemplified, that forces external to the Mauritian social structure and reflecting the economic needs and cultural interest of the mercantile class of the English metropolis, have shaped, and to a great extent, determined the internal and internalised

\* See Appendix 9 for a list of English Scholarship winners from 1840-1846. And also Appendix 47, Ordinance No.6, 1839 for more details about English Scholarships, notably Article 7.

social structure in Mauritius. On page 85 I also argued that the organisation of primary education was also in part due to what I called the pressures of international capital. Now I will argue that this is best exemplified in the emergence and **development** of the plantation economy and the various changes which have helped and, at times, threatened its development. It will also become apparent, in the ensuing discussion in this section, that the national bourgeoisie, far from being constrained by the needs and exigencies of the external factors, has a certain measure of autonomy in bargaining when its economic interest have been threatened - e.g. when slavery was abolished in 1835.

### 3.4.1 The Development of the Economy

The various recommendations of the Commission of Eastern Enquiry\* especially those dealing with Trade and Navigation, Finance and Establishments, had forced the trading community of the colony back to agriculture. As the first Governor was an agent of the British East India Company, it is not surprising that he encouraged the French community of the island to grow more sugar cane and less foodstuffs; consequently, as sugar cane cultivation and production increased, the economic interests of the French community became increasingly tied to this cash-crop economy, which resulted in their becoming part of the national bourgeoisie of the colony, since they shared the same economic interests with the mercantile class of the English metropolis.

The British conquest of 1810 brought peace, new capital, and enterprising newcomers to Mauritius. Several of these, encouraged by Governor Farquhar, favoured growing more sugar-cane (39). Trees, bushes, coffee-plants were cut down to make room for sugar-cane. In 1810, there were about ten thousand acres of sugar-cane; in 1830, there were fifty thousand. Even by 1825, though only 40 square miles of the island (25,000 acres) were under sugar-cane, and only 17,000 slaves were working in the sugar fields, yet five times as much sugar was being exported as in 1812. After 1826, as more Mauritian sugar went to England, twice as many slaves were soon working in the sugar fields, and twice as much sugar was being grown; as sugar export increased, and as the duties on Mauritian sugar was reduced in 1826, the national bourgeoisie had enough money to spend lavishly on country houses and to buy more slaves: the 1823 crop brought £400,000; and the 1827 crop brought £1,500,000 to the national bourgeoisie (40).

The national bourgeoisie could not have realised such an enormous profit from the plantation economy without first transforming the primitive sucrose-extraction techniques: prior to 1822, various techniques for the extraction of sucrose were tried; first was the 'frangourinier', consisting of a wooden table and a heavy wooden roller; then came the three-roller vertical mills worked by water, wind, or animals, or sometimes by slaves. The rollers were erected upright in a strong framework of wood. In 1819, Charles Telfair, an Irish doctor, built a model sugar factory at Bel Ombre and there introduced the first horizontal roller mill. But in 1822, steam was first used to drive the rollers. This steam-driven mill belonged to Adrien D'Epinay, famous planter, lawyer cum politician (41). Before the end of 1823, six other steam-driven mills had been brought to Mauritius. By the 1860s, all water mills had been replaced by steam mills.

In so far as the plantation economy, based on the ~~exploitation~~ of slave labour, became the dominant feature of the Mauritian social **structure**, I will argue that this gave rise to a highly rigid and highly stratified social structure and which reflected the social and economic inequalities prevailing in the colony. The plantation was not only the unit of production, but also the social unit around which social life revolved. As the mode of production was strongly classified and strongly framed (42), the resulting social relations of production very much reflected the internal power structure and social organizations within the colony. Social relations were dominated by the master-slave, propertied and propertyless, white-black, white-coloured coloured-black relationships.

I will argue that in so far as the plantation economy responded to the economic needs of the mercantile class of the English metropolis and to the interests of the national bourgeoisie within the colony, it became part of the infrastructure of dependency from this early time.

In 1835, the abolition of slavery threatened the existence of the plantation economy, and with it, the economic and cultural dominance of the national bourgeoisie; this will be the subject of the next section of this study.

### 3.4.2 The Abolition of Slavery and its Consequences

Slavery was abolished in Mauritius in 1835 as a result of various kinds of pressures external to the Mauritian social structure. As the national bourgeoisie increased its sugar exports to the London market, the British sugar vested interests in the West Indies, and the free-traders, as I pointed out earlier, joined the Anti-Slavery Society's bandwagon and demanded the abolition of slavery, without compensation, in Mauritius because they claimed that:

- (a) more slaves were brought in to increase production, and
- (b) that these slaves were inhumanly treated and that the colonial government had done little to alleviate their sufferings (43).

Magdoff (44) points out that, in the English metropolis, the battle between pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces was fought in an environment in which free-trade interests and the rising of industrial capital were challenging established mercantilist practices and the West Indies sugar economy was in a secular decline; and Mauritius was chosen as a test-case for the abolition of slavery without compensation because:-

"it was an easy target, a colony inhabited by former enemies of England, foreigners who had few friends in the English Parliament to defend them; once slaves in Mauritius had been freed without indemnity, then it might be easier to set free, without indemnity, slaves in other colonies such as the West Indies, whose leading inhabitants had many friends in Parliament" (45).

Twice the Anti-Slavery Society attempted to abolish slavery in Mauritius. The first attempt was in 1830, and the other in 1835. The national bourgeoisie counter moved was to first attempt by organizing itself into a party called the 'Comité Colonial' and despatching their leader, Adrien D'Epinay, to defend their case in London. The Secretary of State made several concessions to D'Epinay. He not only guaranteed that slave-owners would be compensated for the loss of property, but he also agreed that:-

- (a) a Council of Government, including inhabitants who would advise the Governor how to govern the colony;
- (b) freedom of the press; and
- (c) Mauritians to be eligible to all government posts, if they merited them.

On his return to Mauritius, D'Epinay founded the first Mauritian newspaper, 'Le Cerneen' to defend the rights of the national bourgeoisie; true to their spirit of conflict and opposition to the national bourgeoisie, the free coloured people founded 'La Balance' to defend their rights (46).

D'Epinay's second mission was, however, a failure. He was not allowed to see the Secretary of State; but he was allowed to intervene during the fateful debate was in progress. Slavery was to be abolished in Mauritius but the slave-owners were to be compensated - £2,000,000. He failed to convince the Secretary of State to grant a Colonial Assembly to Mauritius. (47).

Slavery was abolished throughout the British Empire on the 1st of February, 1835; but the 70,000 ex-slaves were hardly free. A system of 'apprenticeship' was introduced whereby all ex-slaves over the age of six years to be trained and provided with wages (48). The national bourgeoisie in Mauritius had resisted the abolition of slavery more fiercely than those of any other colony; moreover, it completely controlled the judiciary so that ex-slaves had little recourse to the courts for their rights (49). Vagrancy laws were established to force apprentices to remain on estates and apprentices were flogged by order of the courts for infractions of the law. Only one quarter of **their** time was allowed off to work for wages. Even so many managed to save to purchase their freedom (50).

The Apprentice System became so notorious that it was finally abolished by law on 31st March, 1839. This was followed by a mass desertion of the ex-slaves from field labour. In 1840, there were perhaps 20,000 blacks still on the estates of Mauritius. By 1844, the number had dropped to 3,725, and by 1851 there were practically none. The blacks fled to the towns and to remote uncultivated areas. They became market gardeners, charcoal burners, small traders, artisans and fishermen (51). Since then up to now, the freed slaves have spurned to work as labourers in the sugar fields, not only because of the inhuman treatment meted out to them but also because of the social stigma attached to such employment.

The abolition of slavery virtually transformed the social structure of Mauritius. It brought to an end a century-old of social relationships and social practices which characterised a mercantilistic world view and economic activities in which trade in human beings was as legitimate as trade in commodities and where pure brute force formed the basis of economic exploitation and surplus extraction. It also brought to the fore the resilience, autonomy and adaptability of the national bourgeoisie in the face of an economic crisis which threatened to end their hegemony in the colony, thereby forcing it to have recourse to more subtle modes of social control and coercion. It also forced the national bourgeoisie to look elsewhere - particularly to India - for its source of cheap labour. On the whole, the abolition of slavery had a more salutary effect upon the internal and internalised structures and class configurations: the national bourgeoisie came out better off. It received £2,000,000 pounds for its freed slaves, and part of this money was ploughed in again in the plantation economy and for importing indentured labourers from India. The freed slaves emerged as a new social group of artisans whose class location would very much depend upon their religious affiliation and political aspiration in the class conflict between the national bourgeoisie and the free coloured people. While the majority of the Indian indentured labourers would constitute the new social group working as labourers in the sugar-cane fields (subject of the next section of this study) the only problem which the abolition of slavery created was that, with the exception of the rudimentary educational provision provided by the 'Lady Mico's Trust Fund', neither the colonial administration nor the national bourgeoisie expressed any concern for the 70,000 ex-slaves (52). The only help and solace which they received were through the works of few missionaries, most notably Jean Lebrun and Père Laval and for many years, the freed slaves were allowed to waste their freedom as they pleased - a fact which added to the already existing social problems in the colony.

#### 3.4.3 Summary and Conclusion

The first thirty years of British rule in Mauritius demonstrate the extent to which economic, political and religious forces external to the Mauritian social structure have helped to shape, and to a great extent, determine the internal and internalised social forces, social institutions and practices, and even the class configuration of the colony.

The first thirty years of British rule in Mauritius have also witnessed the virtual transformation of the existing social structure and the creation of a new social order destined to serve the economic, political and cultural needs of the mercantile class of the English metropolis and buttressed by the internal creation of a national bourgeoisie whose autonomy and dominance in the colony reflect its common economic and cultural interests with the mercantile class of the English metropolis.

The transformation and development of secondary educational institutions and practices in the colony have been mostly due to forces external to the Mauritian social structure; and the fact that these institutions and practices have been strongly framed and classified, thereby emphasizing cultural rather than social reproduction, have resulted in completely insulating education from production. In so far as these educational institutions and practices responded to the international rather than the national needs, they become the root of the Mauritian educational dependency upon the English metropolis. The same argument applies to the emergence and development of primary education in Mauritius. In so far as these institutions emerged as a result of religious forces external to the colony and the needs of production in the light of the abolition of slavery; and since they responded to the proselytising needs of the English metropolis I will argue that they too became part of the infrastructural educational dependency.

The extent to which a plantation economy emerged and developed in Mauritius, in this period; and the extent to which this plantation economy responded to the economic needs of the mercantile class of the English metropolis and of the economic interests of the national bourgeoisie, I will argue that the plantation economy formed the basis of the Mauritian economic dependence upon the English metropolis. It is from this early period of the Mauritian history the educational and economic dependence of Mauritius on the English metropolis started.

The Anglicisation of Mauritius, 1840-1870

3.5 Introduction

Throughout this study I will be constantly and continuously emphasizing the interplay of the national and the international protagonists (social forces), specifically concretised in the interplay of the English metropolis and the Mauritian periphery. From this premise I will argue that the phenomenon of 'Anglicisation' at the Mauritian periphery, cannot be separated and isolated from the crucial changes which took place in the English metropolis at that time.

The changes which took place in the English metropolis in the 1840s marked the beginning of a new social order: the rise of industrial capital, reinforced by the 'second phase' (1) of the industrial revolution, obviously meant the destruction of the last vestiges of mercantilism symbolised in the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts were repealed; free-trade and 'laissez-faire' became the shibboleths of the new industrial class whose needs were no longer the luxury goods, like spices, sugar and coffee, but rather large amount of food required to feed the large reserve of industrial workers; and also the need for new markets was felt as the English industries were producing more industrial goods than the English people could consume; the transformation of the English social structure and the social relations in the English metropolis required a simultaneous transformation of relationship between the former and the Mauritian periphery - a new set of relationships which would increasingly reflect the needs and interest of the new industrial class. I suggest that it is in this context that one should interpret the abolition of slavery in Mauritius and the phenomenon of Anglicisation.

In this section of the study, I will, therefore, focus on the impact of the Anglicisation process on the educational institutions and practices and their consequences; and will also deal with the development of the plantation economy as a result of the introduction of indentured labourers and its impact on the social structure of Mauritius and the impact of the deepening religious conflict in the expansion of educational institutions and practices.

### 3.5.1 Anglicisation: Origin, Policy and Philosophy

First of all, it should be pointed out that the policy or indeed phenomenon of Anglicisation' incorporation through language and culture into the British sphere, cannot be restricted to Mauritius alone. In fact many British colonies underwent this process at some time of their history. The most notable examples being the Indian and what was to become the countries of the African mainland. As a process, Anglicisation had always meant, "the diffusion of English language and culture in the diverse British colonies" (2). But the means for such a diffusion has varied according to the specific historical needs of each colony. Its success or failure has very much depended upon the attitude and receptiveness of the people concerned. Throughout the history of these colonies, Anglicisation has become a subject of great controversy.

#### The principles of Anglicisation

Whilst it is not part of my brief to discuss the evolution of British philosophy during the 18th and 19th centuries and how it lent itself readily to justifying and furthering the British imperial design through the transmission of British culture, I must nonetheless point out that some of the underlying principles of what was to become the philosophy of empiricism are important for our purposes.

Ideas which had matured during the 17th and 18th centuries regarding the progressive perfectibility of human kind began to appear and were taken up by Godwin, Bentham, Mill etc. and moulded into a coherent philosophy. (3). Their ideas were grounded in the epistemology of both Hobbes and Locke leading to the idea of tabula rasa, that individuals were solely the product of those influences brought to bear upon them (4). Whilst in Britain these ideas could be used as Edward Thompson has pointed out (5) to forward relatively progressive ideas inside Britain; outside Britain they could be used to justify the destruction of cultures and their replacement by the "successful" British version.

When we combine the strong belief in the national culture emerging from the immense industrial and commercial growth, with the "Age of Improvement", and the significant political victories over a "decadent and

chaotic" France, we find the stirrings of a strong nationalism readily converted into a bellicose imperialism. Indeed, by conversion and the necessity of making **converts**, buttressed the conveyance of British ideas to the more "backward" areas of the world. Expressions of pride in Britain's form of government were often heard. Such sentiments provided a fitting preamble to Macaulay's homage to England's genius. Nor were these **feelings** confined to one class. Among the working class there was 'a rhetoric of liberty' and 'patriotic self-congratulation' (6). Increasingly dominant, however, was the middle-class ethic which stressed 'the moral conception of work' and the related values of sobriety and thrift as universal values. And symbolic of the rising greatness of Britain was the spread of the English Language. One writer in the Quarterly Review, asserting that there was 'no tongue superior to it', took pride in the fact that on the continent, it was becoming a necessary part of a well-rounded education. An awakening interest in philology was another indication of the importance attached to language(7). Britain, besides being a political and commercial power, was also a cultural exemplar and leader.

#### Anglicisation as Policy:

Anglicisation, the deliberate pursuit of measures leading to the imposition and diffusion of British thought feelings, and culture, was becoming a common word among colonial administrators in the early nineteenth century. In 1826, Wilmot Horton (Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, 1821-1827) stated in the House of Commons that one objective of policy at the Cape was to 'anglicise the **colony**'; and the aim of Anglicisation was to transform the primitive Afrikaner into something resembling the enterprising and liberal bourgeois Englishman of the time.(8).

In Mauritius, Anglicisation emerged as a policy with the various recommendations of the Commission of Eastern Enquiry (9) (the same Commission which sat at the Cape). The Commissioners specifically recommended "the introduction of British thoughts and feelings", and "contribute to the diffusion of the English language". (10).

### Typology of Anglicisation:

Sturgis (11) provides the following useful typology of Anglicisation in his discussion of Anglicisation at the Cape:-

- (a) Direct Anglicisation refers to those political, legal and administrative changes which were meant to have immediate effect;
- (b) Indirect Anglicisation describes policies, mainly in the spheres of immigration, education and religion which were intended to mature over a longer period of time;
- (c) Natural Anglicisation refers to the attitude of those who regarded the eventual hegemony of the English language and customs as inevitable.

Sturgis also mentions the Church as being a potential anglicising agency.

The adaptation of the typology in the Mauritian context requires some clarifications and explanations. It is apparent from the various legal, political, financial and commercial recommendations of the Commission of Eastern Enquiry (12) in Mauritius—recommendations which were meant to have an immediate effect in the colony—one can definitely assert that Mauritius underwent a process of direct Anglicisation in the late 1820s; and the phenomenon of Anglicisation, to be discussed in this section of the study, should be categorised as indirect Anglicisation since it specifically deals with policies related to education and religion intended to mature over a longer period of time; as a category, natural Anglicisation would, perhaps, most suitably be attributed to the attitude of the Governors who administered Mauritius between 1840–1870, and for whom the eventual hegemony of the English language and customs were inevitable.

#### 3.5.2 Indirect Anglicisation of the Royal College and the Expansion of Secondary Schools: the Importance of more English Cultural Capital, 1840–1870

The process of indirect Anglicisation of Mauritius started under Sir William Gomm, the then Governor of the colony and it began in the strongholds of the national bourgeoisie, namely:-

- (a) the Royal College\*, and
- (b) the law courts.

In 1840 the Royal College, which until then had been like a French 'Lycée', with a French 'proviseur' at its head and a mainly French-Mauritian staff, was given an English Rector, Mr. Daes (13), and was organised as an English College, French being superceded almost entirely by English.

Some of the English Staff introduced were first-rate men, including towards 1861 - Besant, Meldrum and Guthrie, who all became famous and honoured among scientists and authors even in England. Unfortunately, the then Rector, Mr. Redl, an Austrian and supposedly a martinet, was unfitted to cope with talented subordinates. Only under his successor, Mr. Bruce, did the College revive (14). During the same period (1842-1849), English language ousted French in the law courts of Mauritius.

The expansion of secondary education was boosted by the Education Ordinance of 1836 (15), by the Anglicisation of the Royal College which resulted in the alienation of the national bourgeoisie and by the decline of the Royal College, as a result of the lowering in standard of academic performance and administrative problems under the Rectorship of Redl. The national bourgeoisie was particularly displeased with the integration of the coloured children into the Royal College, and the indirect Anglicisation of the College provided them with the opportunity of starting new schools for the education of their children. Private investors were quick to read the educational needs of the time, and they acted accordingly.

All these factors contributed to the boom of educational institutions and practices which swept all over the capital; some of these private institutions had such prestigious names as 'The Colonial Academy', 'The French and English Academy' and the 'Mauritius Academy'. These schools had a total enrolment of 450 scholars and a teaching staff of 38. Since most of them were modelled on the Royal College in terms of organization and educational transmission, most of them had a 'preparatory school' attached to the main College, and all of them offered a watered-down version of the mainstream culture imparted by the Royal College to its scholars (16). Inter-school

\* See appendix 7 (i) & (ii) showing course of study pursued by different classes of the Royal College in 1844.

competitions, in order to attract a larger clientele, was rife. The Royal College was viewed as the main competitor, and the sooner it was out of business, the better it was for the private investors. Ramdoyal (17) comments on the prevailing state of affairs:-

"In the past competition between the Royal College and the Private Schools had seriously injured the cause of education. The masters of private schools were naturally led to hold out the inducement of cheapness and therefore the quality of education could only be of an inferior kind".

The organisational and administrative crises at the Royal College occasioned the Educational Ordinances of the 19th August 1857, and 27th July 1860 (18); the latter resulted in the establishment of a Council of Education, comprising of a College Committee for the Royal College and the Schools Committee for the Primary Schools. \*

In 1868, Sir Charles Bruce, a staunch supporter of 'educational free-tradism', was appointed Rector of the Royal College, and he seized this opportunity of putting his philosophy of 'educational free-tradism' into practice (19). To begin with, he was highly critical of the monopolised 'cultural reproduction' taking place within the College and the amount of failures which resulted thereof:-

"The object of the Royal College has been to furnish secondary or middle-class instruction. Its only well-defined goal being the Matriculation Examination of the University of London, since 1865. In that year, out of 341 pupils, only 6 passed the Matriculation Examination; in 1866, of 247 pupils 3 passed; in 1867, of 164 pupils 3 passed; and in 1868, no examination was held on account of an epidemic fever".

Bruce was not also much impressed by the fact that in 1866, two pupils passed the first B.A. Examination; he commented that:-

"from these figures it is evident that the advantages of superior education had not made themselves felt in Mauritius". (20)

\* See Appendix 47 for relevant Educational Ordinances, most notably the 1857 Ordinance.

Bruce's plan, based on his philosophy of 'educational free-tradism' was aimed at extending the various facilities, enjoyed by the Royal College, to the other secondary schools of the colony. Thus, he proposed that only the Royal College was to impart higher education to the scholars of the colony, while its junior classes would be gradually phased out. The Private Schools, which would be associated to the Royal College, would in turn perform that function. Thus, all the ~~Associated~~ Schools would act as feeders to the Royal College and prepare scholars for entry to the College only after they had successfully passed an annual examination based on the programmes of study of the Royal College Junior School.\*

Bruce's plan was given a fair trial, but eventually failed to materialise. At the outset, four large private schools were **associated** with the Royal College, but gradually that relationship became more tenuous, and the managers of these colleges found out that because the examination system was too much emphasized, their pupils could not meet the academic excellence required by the Royal College whose resources and trained staff could not be matched. (21)

The indirect Anglicisation of the Royal College, based on the introduction of more "cultural capital" from the English metropolis was aimed at consolidating the British position already achieved by the process of direct Anglicisation, as recommended by the Commissioners of Eastern Enquiry; in so far as the other Secondary Schools in the colony were closely modelled on the Royal College, and in so far as the latter was based on "cultural reproduction" and served needs and interest of the English metropolis, I will argue that the indirect Anglicisation of the Royal College brought the Mauritian periphery closer to the English metropolis and helped to deepen the Mauritian ~~educational~~ dependency on Great Britain. The fact that an agency external to the Mauritian social structure—the London University—controlled and determined the nature and quality of educational transmission in the Secondary Schools of the colony, contributed to the perpetuation of the infrastructural dependency of education.

\* See Appendix 8 (i) & (ii) showing Public Examination conducted at the Royal-College in 1843.

3.5.2.1 Indirect Anglicisation, Religious ~~Conflict~~ and the Development of Sectorally Fragmented Educational Institutions and Practices, 1840-1870

In this second section of 'indirect Anglicisation', I intend to assess the impact of religious forces external to the Mauritian social structure, on the development of what I have called '**sectorally** fragmented' educational institutions and practices, and their long term effects in the colony.

The Commissioners of Eastern Enquiry (22) were explicit in their recommendation that "There is a great scope for missionary work among the slave population and among the lower classes of the colony". This neglect of the slave population and the lower classes of the colony is understandable since the established Roman Catholic Church—the oldest established church in the colony—catered for the moral and religious needs of the national bourgeoisie only. Under British rule, the Churches of England and Scotland were established (23) thereby putting an end to the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church. In such a climate of religious competition and proselytisation, religious conflict was bound to occur; and the Revd. Jean Lebrun felt its full impact.

Jean Lebrun, the dissenting minister of the London Missionary Society, and later Jacques Désiré Laval, a French Catholic priest, were the only clergy working among the slave population and the free coloured people of the colony. Lebrun started the first primary schools for these poor children, and after the abolition of slavery, he was entrusted with the Lady Mico schools— institutions designed by Lady Mico's Trust fund for the education of the children of the ex-slaves. While Laval's work among the ex-slaves has made him a martyr in the cause of the poor; the success of the missionary work of Lebrun was the main cause of his downfall. The established Catholics, Protestants, the national bourgeoisie and the then Governor—all hated him alike for his success and popularity. Ramdoyal (24) quotes the leader of the national bourgeoisie, P. D'Epinay, as saying:-

"We have no objection to the introduction of ministers and teachers of the Established Church; no, we are ready to hold them by the hand as our brothers, but as for the Dissenting Sectarians, teachers and missionaries we reject them, and will never sanction their introduction into the colony".

Lebrun made a passionate plea in defence of his missionary work among the poor of the colony:-

"Why this preference to the Established Clergy? because they do nothing, so they are accounted most exceeding men; but let them stir up themselves like christians and ~~zealous protestants~~, who not to be shamed by the cross?" (25)

But his cry of agony fell on deaf ears: in 1842, it was announced that the Parliamentary grant then made to the Mico schools would cease and the schools would be taken over by the State.

The success of Lebrun's missionary work stirred the Catholics to action—a fact which resulted in an unprecedented revival of the Catholic faith in the colony. It should be pointed out, here, that the Catholic church, under British administration, was just tolerated; and in 1840, when the indirect process of Anglicisation begun, it became under heavy attack, both from the colonial administration and from the Anglican Church whose clergymen were very busy converting the dissatisfied free coloured people to Protestantism with a promise of everlasting peace in heaven and a secure job in the Civil Service on earth. Ramdoyal quotes Governor Gordon:-

"The Roman Catholic Church, instead of being recognised as the prevailing religion of the country, was treated as a tolerated sect to be repressed and checked. The Government Schools, if not made, at least became engines of proselytism; and converts to protestantism obtained a favour which those who adhered to their religion looked for in vain. In connection with this it is worth remarking that almost all the natives of the island who hold any considerable office under Government, are protestant members of Catholic families" (26).

At this stage, the religious conflict between Anglicanism and Catholicism brought the national bourgeoisie into direct confrontation with the representatives of the new social order. To overcome this religious crisis, it had to seek religious help external to the Mauritian social structure. The arrival of Dr. Collier, the Vicar Apostolic of the Catholic Church, in the colony, injected new blood and fresh hope among the Catholic clergy; and after 1854, they made education their prime aim of missionary work.

Dr. Collier made several trips to Europe in the hope of enlisting the help of religious bodies and to recruit suitable members for his staff. His tireless efforts were finally rewarded. On the 8th September, 1845, he returned from Ireland, accompanied by eight Loreto nuns, after having persuaded the Loreto Institute of Dublin to help him further the education of the female youth in the colony (27). In 1852, Dr. Collier founded a Catholic High School in Port Louis, which, in spite of the assistance of Jesuits brought from Reunion, had to close down a few years later. In 1859, on the invitation of Dr. Collier, the "Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes" from the neighbouring island of Reunion opened another school in Port Louis which became quite well-known in the colony (28). It should be added that these schools catered for the education of a rich clientele in the colony.

I will argue that the religious conflict, between Catholicism and Anglicanism, gave rise to the development of 'sectorally fragmented' educational institutions and practices; and the introduction of the Grant-in-Aid system in 1856, and that of Payment by Results in 1866 have only helped in legitimising and perpetuating these sectorally fragmented educational institutions and practices.

The colonial government continued to bear the entire cost of Primary Education until 1856, when the Grant-in-Aid system was first introduced. By Ordinance No.6 of that year (29), the Governor in Executive Council was empowered to authorise the payment, out of the Public Treasury, of a sum not exceeding 75 livres towards the support of any school maintained for the elementary instruction of children belonging to the poorer classes, provided that a like sum, voluntarily contributed, be applied to the same object and that the amount of grants allowed by Government should not exceed 3,000 livres.

The same Ordinance provided for the inspection of schools thus assisted by an officer appointed for that purpose by the Governor, and who was bound to submit to the Governor, before the month of April of each year, a report on each school and on the progress made by it during the preceding year.

Under the operation of this law, that is from the 1st of July 1856, to the end of 1875, private schools received grants varying from 24 livres to 75 livres, based on the value of the school buildings or on the amount of subscriptions realised (30). The pupils were not submitted, like those in the Government Schools, to the grade system examination. Notwithstanding the defective system of examination, private initiative had caused Grants-in-Aid to be secured for forty-two schools belonging to several Christian denominations: twenty-nine belonging to Roman Catholic; eleven to Church of England; and two to Methodist Schools. The Roman Catholic institutions insisted on having separate inspectors for their schools, and since they were not subjected to the same system of graded examinations, these denominational schools became increasingly a system of education in their own right, with distinct norms and values. But this request was rejected by the Governor: education in the colony remained firmly under the state control. As a result of the introduction of the Grant-in-Aid system in the colony, Primary Schools, until 1902, were divided into Government and Grant-in-Aid Schools.

The introduction of Payment by Results is another example where forces external to the Mauritian social ~~structure~~ could shape, and to a great extent, determine the outcome of educational institutions and practices in the colony. The introduction of Payment by Results in Mauritius in 1866 (31) did not take into account the differentiated educational system of the colony, let alone the needs of the colony. It had the same distorting effects in Mauritius, as it had, on its introduction in England, by the Revised Code of 1862: namely that the whole system of primary education became geared to the overemphasized system of graded examinations, and only helped in making the educational system in the colony serve needs and interests external to the Mauritian social structure. Besides, the introduction of Payment by Results served in bringing the Mauritian educational system closer to the educational system of the English metropolis.

In this section, the discussion relating to the 'indirect Anglicisation' of Mauritius, based on the contributory factor of religion, especially Anglicanism, has emphasized the following issues:-

First, it has been evident from the recommendations of the Commission of Eastern Enquiry that the Anglican Church was called upon to play a crucial role in the overall British colonial policy in Mauritius; the fact that it received the official approval and financial backing of the colonial administration meant that the Anglican Church was soon to emerge as a powerful force and a gateway to Civil Service appointments as a result of proselytisation activities among the catholic communities; in so doing, the Anglican Church collaborated in legitimising the new social order.

Second, the 'indirect Anglicisation' of Mauritius, based on religious factors, is a clear example of the extent to which religious factors, external to the Mauritian social structure, can affect and influence the internal and internalised religious forces and helped in generating religious conflicts which would ultimately help in undermining the religious hegemony of the national bourgeoisie.

Third, the various religious conflicts and competitions within Mauritius had a direct repercussion on the development of "sectorally fragmented" educational institutions and practices. Indeed the primary aim of the various religious sects, operating in Mauritius, has always been to keep control over the sectorally fragmented educational institutions and practices. In so doing, they were mainly helping the colonial administration to provide educational facilities to thousands of the poor children, which, in fact the latter was in great difficulty to provide since it was mostly concentrating its efforts on the Royal College which catered for the education of a rich clientele.

### 3.5.3 The Uneven Development of the Plantation Economy (1840-1870)

Barnwell and Toussaint point out that "the history of Mauritius under the British is chiefly a history of the sugar industry" (32). In the 1840s, the Mauritian plantation economy was on the verge of a major transformation which was to be brought about by the following external factors:-

- (i) the introduction of industrial capital,
- (ii) the development of the forces of production,
- (iii) the development of the infrastructure of the colony and its link with the outside world,
- (iv) the introduction of a new labour force in the form of the indentured labourers from India, and
- (v) their impact on the social structure of Mauritius.

I intend to discuss the contributory effects of these factors on the plantation economy in the same order as I have outlined them above.

#### 3.5.3.1 The Introduction of Industrial Capital in Mauritius

The national bourgeoisie had dreaded the consequences of the abolition of slavery. It meant the demise of the plantation economy. But eventually, the abolition of slavery turned out to be more of a boon than a bane for the national bourgeoisie. With the financial compensation it received, the national bourgeoisie set about developing and expanding their sugar estates. More capital became available as the number of British sugar brokers, British capitalists and financial speculators increased in the colony; and the process of capital transfers were made easier as industrial capital superceded merchant capital in the English metropolis. H.C. Brookfield (33) points out that most of the planters in Mauritius obtained their capital, under mortgage, from sugar brokers and financial speculators, and that the period 1815-1860 marks the expansion, organisation and development of the plantation economy on modern lines. But not all speculators and ~~brokers~~ were able to capitalise from this development. In 1848, the Times pointed out that a great number of English capitalists were swindled by Mauritian planters (34). But on the whole, it should be acknowledged that the introduction of industrial capital played a decisive role in the uneven development of the plantation economy. H.C. Brookfield (35) points out that in 1827, there were 160 sugar mills in Mauritius. These factories peaked to 258 in 1860, and then were reduced to 66 in 1908; as all other capitalist enterprises, the plantation economy in Mauritius reflected the 'boom-bust' cycle which characterised the international economic order of the period. The years 1840-1870 definitely marked a period of virtual peace, economic prosperity and overall dominance of Great Britain in the international system and their effects were reflected in the economic development and modernisation of her colonies in general, and in Mauritius in particular, where the same period represented a new peak in economic development.

### 3.5.3.2 The Establishment of Financial and Commercial Institutions to Help the Plantation Economy

The Commission of Eastern Enquiry (36) had recommended the foundation of a Chamber of Commerce and the formation of a bank to help out in the organisation and financial problems of the sugar industry; this recommendation was strictly adhered to, and in 1850 the national bourgeoisie founded the Chamber of Commerce. This was followed by the subsequent formation of a Chamber of Agriculture in 1853: here the national bourgeoisie met, exchanged ideas, and made plans to improve and organise the sugar industry. These ideas and plans were put before the colonial government which sometimes carried them out. The national bourgeoisie had three aims: -

- (i) to plant more fields of sugar cane and to grow more sugar canes in each field;
- (ii) to get more sugar out of each cane; and
- (iii) to get as much money in return for their canes as possible.

The financial needs of the sugar industry was partially met when in 1832, Adrien D'Epinau, the lawyer-planter, established the 'Banque de Maurice', but which had to be liquidated in 1848 as a result of the financial crisis in London. The presence of a more competitive capital was felt in Mauritius when in 1838 the Mauritius Commercial Bank, backed by English capitalists, opened its doors. The Mauritius Commercial Bank obviously helped in making capital more accessible to planters and merchants of the colony; besides helping to regulate its financial transactions (37).

### 3.5.3.3. The Development of the Forces of Production

The advances made in the field of science and technology during the 19th century could not but have their impact on the Mauritian plantation economy. Its partial modernisation reflected the immediate needs of the development and expansion of the plantation economy. In the first place, the introduction of steam crushing machinery and other mechanical devices enabled the national bourgeoisie to obtain a higher yield of sucrose from the sugar cane. (38)

The modernisation of the plantation economy and the development of the forces of production were restricted to the sugar mills only; the modernisation of the sugar cane harvesting could not be effected because of the geographical ~~unsuitability of~~ the land conditions in Mauritius because it is too hilly and too rocky. Consequently, a large labour force is still needed to harvest the sugar canes. It should be pointed out that in the Mauritian context, the development of the forces of production did not act as fetter on the production process since the labour in the sugar cane fields were not modernised; nor did the development of the forces of production did bring any radical change in the relations of production. Despite the abolition of slavery, the plantation class continued to maintain the master-slave relationship as far as the new indentured labourers were concerned; but the development of the forces of production did help in bringing about a clear distinction in the division of labour between those wielding technical skills in the sugar cane factories and those engaged in daily routine and repetitive works in the fields. In the former case, most of the workers involved in any kind of factory activities would have been white, coloured and ~~black-~~all Catholics. In the latter case, all of the field workers except for the foremen, were of Asiatic origin - this composition of the labour force in the Mauritian plantation economy has remained unchanged to this day.

The development of the forces of production constituted the roots of an industrial base, linked to the various activities of the plantation economy - like heavy industry, repairs, shipping and railway transport. This industrial base expanded with the expansion of the economy, thereby creating the uneven development of this economy at the expense of other economic activities in the colony.

#### 3.5.3.4 The Development of the Infrastructure of the Colony and its link with the Outside World

The modernisation of the plantation economy was carried on simultaneously with the development of the infrastructure of the colony. It should be pointed, at the outset, that this was done for the better exploitation of the economic resources of the colony - an exploitation which would not only enrich the national bourgeoisie, but more so the industrial class of the English metropolis.

Communications in the island were greatly improved by the construction of railways to replace draught animals. This improvement was especially marked in Mauritius, where the physical geography made it possible to lay down fairly extensive railway network. In 1856, the Chamber of Agriculture drew up a scheme for two railway lines: one, called the Northern line, ran from Port-Louis across Plaines-Wilhems to Mahebourg. After long discussions, the construction work was started at the beginning of 1862 (39). The Northern Line was completed in May 1864, and opened for the traffic the same month; the Central Line was longer and had stiffer gradients, and was not opened until the 1st of October 1865 (40).

Sea communciations were revolutionized by the coming of the steamship. Until the beginning of the 19th century, it was a three-months voyage to the colony from Europe or America, sometimes longer. About 1840, the vorage was shortened by the use of particularly fast sailing-ships, the clippers; but in the end the clippers and all other sailing-ships were rendered obsolete by the coming of steam; for steamships could be larger as well as faster. The clippers enabled sail to hold its own till about 1885 (41), but after that date, sailing-ships disappeared from the ocean shipping lanes, though sail continued to be in use in these waters for local inter-island traffic.

Finally, the opening of the Suez Canal and the laying of submarine telegraph cables brought about far-reaching changes in communications in the closing years of the century. In 1869, the Eastern Telegraph Company was laying the first cable in the Indian Ocean, linking Asia and Europe(42); and from then on, the Company proposed to include Mauritius in its network. The operation was so expensive that it was not carried out until 1893. In 1901, a second cable was laid from Natal to Australia via Mauritius, and in 1906 the island was linked with Reunion and Madagascar.

The development of the infrastructure of the colony had both immediate and ultimate consequences. The most immediate consequences were economic: the colony was 'opened-up' for the expansion and development of the plantation economy through the help of technological forces external to the Mauritian social structure. The ultimate consequence of this infrastructural development was that it helped to create new urban and rural areas in the

colony: the former was to be gradually settled by the white and coloured population, while the latter areas were solely inhabited by the labouring communities of the plantation economy. The urban-rural dichotomy was to have serious implications for the development of educational institutions and practices in the colony: as the rich plantation class, comprising the national bourgeoisie, started migrating from the capital to the newly created urban\* areas, they gradually established the best schools for their children in these areas because they were dissatisfied with the existing educational policy of the colonial administration, most specifically the Anglicisation of the Royal College. The pattern of educational development with an urban bias, as established during these years, has persistently continued to this day-- a fact which will be expatiated upon in Part III of this study.

### 3.5.3.5 A New System of Slavery : The Arrival of the Indentured Labourers and the Development of the Plantation Economy.

In the development of the plantation economy, field labourers were as important as capital and technology because , as we have seen, the harvesting of sugarcane in Mauritius is still not yet mechanised. Consequently, when slavery was abolished in Mauritius in 1835 and the ex-slaves refused to continue working in the sugar cane fields, the plantation owners faced a labour crisis. Once again, it was forces external to the Mauritian social structure which came to the rescue of the plantation owners. The Coolie Trade, as the trade in indentured labour was known at that time,(43) was in the hands of English negotiators, and it was Mr.Arbutnot, the most notable English negotiator, who provided the first contingency of indentured labourers from Madras(44) which was later expanded to other Indian Ports.

In this section, I will focus on the following issues:-

- (a) the arrival of the indentured labourers in Mauritius;
- (b) their social conditions;and
- (c) their impact on the Mauritian economy and society.

The abolition of slavery and the emancipation of the slaves gave rise to social, economic and political problems; but the most pressing one for the

\* See Appendix II for a location of the chief townships in Mauritius.

plantation owners was economic. They were left with a shortage of labour in the sugar cane fields at a time when the plantation economy was being modernised and expanded. As we have seen, thousands of the freed slaves refused to work in the sugar cane fields for their old masters; or work for a wage after emancipation because of the ill-treatment meted out to them when they used to be slaves. Consequently, they developed a strong abhorrence for any kind of manual labour in the sugar cane fields.

Barnwell and Toussaint(45) point out that the plantation owners had already, many years before, considered importing field labourers who would work more steadily than the slaves, would accept lower wages, and would thus enable the planters to enrich themselves more quickly. As few field labourers could be obtained from China and various parts of Africa, Mauritian planters turned to India, which was increasingly being controlled by the British and through whom it was possible for the new British colony of Mauritius to obtain the labourers it required. Barnwell and Toussaint(46) also observe that India was somewhat overpopulated, and the poorest Indians frequently suffered from famine. Many were also oppressed by their wealthier countrymen, who regarded many of them as 'untouchables' and treated them harshly. It was easy, therefore, to persuade them that they would be better off if they went to work in the fields of Mauritius: and they came in thousands. Later they went even further away from India than Mauritius to work in other British colonies where labourers were required(47).

It was generally agreed that there were fundamental differences between the forms and practices of slavery and those of the indentured system. Benedict explains:-

"Yet the conditions of indenture were not the same as slavery. The Indians were not chattels. They were engaged under contract, though the conditions of the contract were often violated. They were entitled to a wage, though wages were often many months in arrears or eaten up by the double cut system. They had some protection under law, though the laws were manipulated to deny them their rights and the magistrates were often creatures of the planters". (48)

Benedict further observes that the indentured Indian **labourers** were shipped to Mauritius from the ports of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. According to him, some 60 percent embarked from Calcutta; 33 percent from Madras and 7 percent from Bombay during the 70 years of migration (49). The Indians embarking from Calcutta came mostly from the present-day states of Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, and West-Bengal; but some were also **called** from the destitutes of Calcutta. The earliest were Dhangars or Hill Coolies from Chota Nagpur. According to Tinker (50) they were tribal peoples, Santals, Oroans and Mundas, outside the Hindu caste system. Later villagers from a great variety of castes were recruited. Muslims were also engaged. Efforts were made to recruit gangs of labourers from the same village under a sirdar (headman) who knew and was known by his men.

The sirdars were the lynchpin of the whole indenture system. They became agents of communication between recruiters and migrants and later in Mauritius between planters and their labourers. This fostered the preservation of Indian languages and cultural traits in a way which had not occurred among Africans. Most of the recruits from Northern India spoke a dialect of Hindi, especially Bhojpuri which is still spoken in Mauritius to-day.

Emigrants embarking from Madras came from both Tamil and Telegu speaking areas. Most seem to have come from the untouchable castes, (51) chiefly from the districts of Tanjore and Trinchinpoly. Those embarking from Bombay were probably Marathi-speakers and came chiefly from the Deccan and Concan districts. B. Benedict (52) observes that according to a small random sample of 1392 arriving immigrants which he took from the immigration records in Port-Louis, listed 289 places of origin. Thus, he points out, there was a great diversity of origin of immigrants, not only from three major areas of the sub-continent but also within each area. Yet, some Indians did engage in groups and later families and, in contrast to the Africans, there were common cultural traits which all shared to some degree such as religion and an understanding of the caste system.

The caste system, as prevalent in Mauritius, has always been a determining factor in the social, cultural, economic and political life of the Indian community in Mauritius. According to B. Benedict (53), it was often asserted, in the 1950's, by non-Indians in Mauritius that Indian immigrants all came from the lowest castes and indeed, as early as 1840 the Governor of Mauritius wrote,

'these people from India have been the outpouring of the lowest caste of population of each presidency who are deplorably disorderly and dissolute'; Burton disagrees with this statement. He points out that this was not the case, at least for the immigrants from Northern India. An analysis of 1200 emigrants from northern Bihar in 1883 showed 264 Muslims, 231 high caste Hindus, 434 from the clean castes and only 277 from the lowest castes. Of the 7695 Hindus embarking from Calcutta in that same year, 26 per cent were high caste, 32 per cent were from the agricultural castes, 6 per cent were from artisan castes and 36 per cent were from the lowest castes. This range of castes is important not because it meant that caste was preserved in Mauritius in its original form, it was not, but because it did provide the bases for the continuation of both Hindu and Muslim ritual and endogamy, which have been altered over time.

According to B. Benedict, the first immigrants to Mauritius were mostly male. Between 1834 and 1842 only a little over 1 per cent were women (54). He further adds that disorders frequently broke out on estates over competition for women, and gradually more women were imported. Between 1853 and 1865 a bounty was paid out of government funds to planters importing married immigrants with their wives, and between 1857 and 1884 the percentage of female to male immigrants arriving in Mauritius ranged between 40 per cent and 53 per cent.

Although a British colony, the legal system of Mauritius was predominantly French; and these French laws did not recognise the Indian marriages contracted in India, unless the parties swore to their union before the Protector of Immigrants. Benedict (55) observes that the non-recognition of Indian Marriage had legal and social effects extending into the 1950's. On the other hand, those who declared their marriages before the Protector were handed certificates of which there are 32,000 duplicates in the Mauritius Archives. Thus, there was immigration by families even by three-generation families on a scale which was greater than was the case for African slaves. Though in early years of immigration there were reports of widespread concubinage (56), marriage according to Indian rites soon became the norm.

B. Benedict points out that European males do not seem to have taken Indian mistresses, though casual sexual relations with Indian women were reported in the estate camps (57). This was probably due to the more balanced sex ratio among whites and the availability of black women. A contributing factor was the acceptance of concubinage arrangements by Creoles and their

rejection by Indians. An Indian woman who lived with a non-Indian was condemned and avoided by other Indians. Whereas concubinage arrangements bore little stigma for a Creole woman whether her paramour were a Creole or a European. Creoles and whites by this time also shared a common language, religion and many cultural traits.

The Indian immigrants were subjected to the same colour-bar system and strict government control as the ex-slaves had been. They were housed in the former slave lines where they lived in thatched houses, often under conditions of extreme overcrowding. They took their orders from sirdars who would speak to them in their own language. Their social and cultural life were centred on 'baitkas' - these were associations to settle disputes and help with life crises in the colony (58). These baitkas served to insulate the Indian community from a hostile society from which they could rarely obtain justice. Religious ceremonies were also performed in these baitkas - a fact which helped the Hindus to preserve their religious customs and their identity. The Muslims, on the other hand, also engaged in similar activities for the preservation of their cultural heritage and their identity:- they formed similar associations called 'Jamat'

These associations also acted as seats of learning for the children of the immigrants. They imparted a vernacular education to meet the cultural needs of these children (59). Temples and Mosques soon made their appearance alongside the Churches, and Hindu and Muslim festivals were celebrated on an island-wide basis (60). In sum, considerable social distance was maintained between Indians and other ethnic groups in Mauritian society.

B. Benedict observes that various forms of control - economic, physical and legal - were exerted upon the Indian labourers on their arrival in Mauritius (61). First, they were treated like slaves by the planters of Mauritius who had so recently lost their African slaves. Second, Indians were subjected to indignations like being beaten up and forbidden to wear shoes. Third, they could receive no justice from the magistrates who were for the most part the agents of the planters. Fourth, laws were passed which were specifically designed to keep the Indians bound to the estates on which they worked. Fifth, in 1847 a 'double cut' law was passed which provided that no month in which an engaged

labourer was absent for more than six days should be reckoned as part of his service. Sixth, immigrants were defined as 'old' - having completed one term of indenture - or 'new' - still under first indenture. Seventh, all immigrants had to carry tickets and were subject to arrest as vagrants if found without them or if found in a district of the island in which they were not employed. Eighth, in 1867 the pass system was introduced for old immigrants as well in an effort to compel them to re-engage. Ninth, this was coupled with drastic police control and mass arrests. According to B. Benedict, in one year, over 12,000 coolies were imprisoned for desertion or illegal absence out of an Indian population of about 250,000, while from 9,000 to 10,000 more were convicted and punished for the technical offence of 'vagrancy' (62).

Repeated exposés of the condition of the Indian labourers in Mauritius and condemnation of the system in India and Britain led to a re-appraisal of the entire system and the introduction of new laws to curb the cruelty of the plantation class in Mauritius. The British colonial government of Mauritius passed several important laws to alleviate their sufferings. One law was passed in 1838 (63); the British Government in London said it was a very bad law because it gave the Indian labourers no power against their Mauritian employers; nevertheless, the law was not changed for many years. In 1851 another important law was passed (64). Labourers were no longer forced to save money to pay their passage back to India. Two results followed: more Indian labourers remained in Mauritius, and planters saved money they would otherwise have spent in bringing new labourers to Mauritius. The law of 1867 was equally ineffective in protecting the labourers. Although there was a Protector of Immigrants in the colony, a Commission of Enquiry revealed that he was corrupt and that he was in the pay of the white planters. But matters came to a head in 1870. A few of the more vocal labourers, headed by a progressive German planter, Adolf Von-Plevitz, asked for the immediate redress of the grievances of the labourers. Governor Gordon promised an enquiry, but the former were not satisfied; while the white planters asked the Governor to expel Plevitz from the colony because he was a German, and because of the Franco-German war which had begun in 1870 (65).

The replacement of the ex-slaves by the indentured labourers did bring some radical changes in the Mauritian social structure and in the social relations of production in the plantation economy.

First, by 1870 the Indian immigrants had already outnumbered the rest of the population in the colony.

Second, the indentured labourers did contribute in the economic growth of the plantation economy: "there was thus increased sugar prosperity between 1845 and 1860, followed by forty steady years, so steady, however, as to become almost stagnant towards 1890" (66).

Third, the indentured labourers were no longer willing to put up with the repressive measures and oppressive actions of the plantation class, helped by other agents of social control, like the police and the magistrates. This labour force wanted to be free and mobile against all the wishes of the plantation class, and no amount of social control from the latter would prevent them from doing so. Obviously, it meant that the scene was set for further conflict between capital and labour.

Fourth, as a result of increasing militancy among the labour force, the master-slave relationships were undergoing radical change: a docile labour force, although much desired for, was awakening to the ideas of rights and freedom.

Finally, as managers, the plantation owners could not adequately cope with this explosive situation. Consequently, they started employing more foremen — mostly coloured people — to control the Indian sirdars and the labourers. Through their sheer number, the indentured labourers were threatening the existing social order and the extent to which they would succeed or fail would be assessed in the next section of this study.

#### 3.5.4 Summary and Conclusion

In this section (1840–1870), I have argued that Mauritius was completely transformed under British rule, and that this transformation of the Mauritian periphery could not be understood without taking account of the various changes which were taking place in the English metropolis. I have also argued that social forces external to the Mauritian social structure have had a decisive impact on the internal and internalised structures and processes and had even

helped in generating a certain amount of conflict in the religious field - a conflict which has remained a national legacy ever since.

The most important issues, in this section, has been the phenomenon of 'Anglicisation'; and in discussing the Anglicisation of Mauritius, I have closely followed the categorisation of Sturgis whose study of the Anglicisation of the Cape of Good Hope in the early nineteenth century has been most instructive to me; following Sturgis, I have categorised the phenomenon of Anglicisation as:-

- (a) Direct-policies designed to have immediate effects;
- (b) Indirect-policies designed to have long term effects; and
- (c) Natural - the eventual acceptance of anglicisation, through the English language and culture, as something - inevitable.

According to this categorisation, the Anglicisation of the Royal College - designed to have long term effects - has been described as Indirect Anglicisation. The logical consequence of this indirect Anglicisation has been that the secondary education in Mauritius has been designed to meet international (in this case British) standards rather than national needs. In the same context I have also pointed out that the Church has acted as an Anglicisation agency in Mauritius, and that it has directly contributed in the development of a 'sectorally fragmented' system of primary and secondary education in Mauritius.

In this section, I have also pointed out that the plantation economy had reached its peak - in terms of economic growth and expansion; and that this economic growth and development had been mostly due to factors external to the Mauritian social structure; namely industrial capital, technological knowledge and Indian cheap labour; the development of the infrastructure of the colony has mostly served in 'opening-up' the country for a better exploitation of its natural resources which would eventually profit the capitalist industrialist of the English metropolis and the national bourgeoisie. Eventually, this 'opening-up' process would create new urban and rural areas in its wake: divisions which would have serious implications for the development of educational institutions and practices.

3.6 Mauritius and the International System, 1870-1947Introduction

In this study, I have constantly emphasized the interplay of the national and the international; and in this section I am re-emphasizing this interplay by re-drawing the reader's attention to the two specific aspects at the heart of my model. Namely: that the internal and internalised forces leading to the specific establishment of class relations within a particular social formation and the external social forces which shape and at times determine the internal and the internalised forces. Since I have already argued that the latter category is of specific and indeed overriding importance in the case of Mauritius, I will start first by examining the various changes which occurred in the international system of this period; second, I will argue that, as a consequence of these changes, the international system developed new needs which were met by the help of a powerful military and naval force; and third, the function of Mauritius within this new international system, and its impact, most specifically, on the economic structure of the colony.

Whereas when we discuss the development of educational institutions and practices, I have so far demonstrated, that they did not owe the great changes they experienced directly to changes in the mode of production but more to the needs of cultural assimilation and cultural differentiation. In the Indian communities the schooling within the communities themselves were a form of maintaining the culture. Within the national bourgeoisie the educational institutions were seen as a way to equip their children with a culture that would allow them social advancement. But both these examples were responses to changes in the cultural field and not directly attributable to changes in the mode of production.

Bernstein discusses the fact that traditionally there is a strong classification between education and production because in his view, education is a means to create those social dispositions necessary to maintain social order and that these are communicated through the insulations (the classification) itself. In the case of Mauritius I will adopt his notion to argue that this insulation between education and production was extremely important in developing those patterns of behaviour required to maintain colonisation and subsequently social positioning. I will not directly deal with the

application of this model to my data in this section, largely because I am still in the process of presenting the data. But given the wealth of information and the fact that until this time it has not been rigorously analysed it is necessary that I call the reader's attention to this important problem now. (1) Consequently, in this section, I will argue that this insulation between education and production will be maintained; and that the predominance achieved by the colonial administration in the field of education as a result of the Anglicisation of Mauritius, and the undermining of the power and control of the national bourgeoisie will be consolidated, followed by the further expansion of the elitist educational system centred on the Royal College. I will also argue that there will be a further expansion of the **sectorally** fragmented' educational institutions and practices as the indentured labourers clamour **for** the education of their children.

It should be pointed out that in this section, considerable space will be devoted to the struggle of the indentured labourers towards a national unity, and the impact of this struggle on the social structure of Mauritius.

### 3.6.1 The New Imperialism - The Rise of Monopoly Capital

According to **writers** like Hobsbawm, 1870 marks the beginning of a new era in the international system of this period: the most notable characteristic of this new phase was the reemergence of colonial rivalries as new colonial powers appeared on the scene. This rivalry was occupied with the increasing challenge to the hegemony of British Imperialism as the new colonial powers became industrialised as a result of the 'second industrial revolution'. These new industrialised nations developed new needs: raw materials, food for their urban populations, and new markets for their industrialised products. Economic rivalries led to a fresh 'scramble for colonies' and eventually to two world wars.

Relying on its economic pre-eminence in manufacturing, trade, and international finance as well as on its undisputed mastery of the seas during most of the nineteenth century, Great Britain could afford to relax in the search for new colonies, while concentrating on consolidation of the empire in hand and on building up an informal empire (2). But the challenge of new empire-builders, backed up by increasing naval power, put a new priority on Britain's desire to extend its colonial empire. On the other hand, the more

that potential colonial space shrank, the greater became the urge of lesser powers to remedy disparity in size of empires by redivision of the colonial world.

The intensification for the 'scramble of colonies' reflected much more than a new wave of overseas activities by traditional colonial powers, including Russia. The new imperialism was distinguished particularly by the emergence of additional nations seeking slices of the colonial territories: Germany, the United States, Belgium, Italy and for the first time, a non-European power, Japan (3). Indeed, this very multiplication of colonial powers, occurring in a relatively short period, accelerated the tempo of colonial growth. Unoccupied space that could potentially be colonised was limited. Therefore, the more nations there were seeking additional colonies at about the same time, the greater was the premium on speed. Thus, the rivalry among the colonizing nations reached new heights, which in turn strengthened the motivation for preclusive occupation of territory and for attempts to control territory useful for the military defense of existing empires against rivals.

Magdoff (4) points out that the annexations during this new phase of imperial growth differed significantly from the expansionism earlier in the nineteenth century: while the latter was substantial in magnitude, it was primarily devoted to the consolidation of claimed territory (by penetration of continental interiors and more effective rule over indigenous populations) and only secondarily to new acquisitions. On the other hand, the new imperialism witnessed a burst of activity in carving up as yet independent areas: taking over almost all of Africa, a good part of Asia, and many Pacific Islands. By 1914, as a consequence of this new expansion and conquest on top of that of preceding centuries, the colonial powers, their colonies, and their former colonies extended over approximately 85 percent of the earth's surface. Economic and political control by leading powers reached almost the entire globe, for in addition to colonial rule, other means of domination were exercised in the form of spheres of influence, special commercial treaties, and the subordination that lenders often impose on debtor nations.(5)

The hegemony of British imperialism could now be successfully challenged because the rise of new industrialised nations and a wave of new militarism specially in the transformation of sea-power. The rise of new industrialised nations were able and willing to challenge Great Britain's lead in industry finance, and world trade. In the mid-nineteenth century Britain's economy outdistanced by far its potential rivals. But, by the last quarter of that century, Britain was confronted by restless competitors seeking a greater share of world trade and finance; the Industrial Revolution had gained a strong foothold in these nations, which were spurred on to increasing industrialization with the spread of railroad lines and the maturation of integrated national markets. (6). Moreover, the major technological innovations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries improved the competitive potential of the newer industrial nations. The late starters were all starting out more or less from the same base to exploit the second Industrial Revolution. This new industrialism, notably featuring mass produced steel, electric power and oil as sources of energy, industrial chemistry, and the internal combustion engine, spread over Western Europe, the United States, and eventually to Japan (7).

The complex of social, political, and economic changes that accompanied the new industrialism and the vastly expanded and integrated world commerce also provided a setting for intensified commercial rivalry, the rebuilding of high tariff walls, and a revival of militarism. Of special importance militarily was the race in naval construction, which was propelled by the successful introduction and steady improvement of radically new warships that were steam driven, armor-plated, and equipped with weapons able to penetrate the new armor. (8). The new militarism and the intensification of colonial rivalry signaled the end of the relatively peaceful conditions of the mid-nineteenth century. The conflict over the partition of Africa, the Boer War, the Sino-Japanese War, the Spanish-American war, and the Russo-Japanese war were among the indications that the new imperialism had opened a new era in the various stages of capitalism.

### 3.6.2 Monopoly Capital: New Needs and the International Division of Labour

To operate efficiently, monopoly capital needed new structures and new ~~organizational procedures~~ the new industries required heavy capital investment in large-scale units. Accordingly, they encouraged the development of capital markets and banking institutions that were large and flexible enough to finance the new enterprises.

The larger capital markets and industrial enterprises, in turn, helped push forward the geographic scale of operations of the industrialised nations: more capital could now be mobilized for foreign loans and ~~investment~~ and the bigger businesses had the resources for the worldwide search for, and development of, the raw materials essential to the success and security of their investments. (9)

Not only did the new industrialism generate a voracious appetite for raw materials, but food for the swelling urban populations was now also sought in the far ~~corners~~ of the world (10). Advances in ship construction (steamships using steel hulls, twin screws, and compound engines) made possible the inexpensive movement of bulk raw materials and food over long ocean distances. Under the pressures and opportunities of the later decades of the nineteenth century, more and more of the world was drawn upon as primary producers for the industrialized nations. Self-contained economic regions dissolved into a world economy, involving an international division of labour whereby the leading industrial nations made and sold manufactured products and the rest of the world supplied them with raw materials and food (11).

### 3.6.3 Mauritius, The New Imperialism and the International Division of Labour

As a British colony, with an important strategic position in the Indian Ocean, Mauritius became indirectly involved in the international system as the imperial rivalries gathered momentum and the quest for new markets increased. Mauritius performed a dual function in this international system ridden with imperial conflicts. First, the role of Mauritius, as a strategic military and

naval position was revived every time the interests of Great Britain was in jeopardy in the Indian Ocean or in the vicinity: in 1857, when the Indian Mutiny occurred, most of the garrison went to India, and a local garrison was quickly established to defend the island (12). In 1879, similarly, many went to South Africa to fight in the Zulu War, and in 1899 to fight in the Boer War, in 1914 most of the thousand British soldiers garrisoned in Mauritius were sent to Europe when the war began. Mauritians went to fight in Europe as volunteers for England and France; and 1,700 workmen went from Mauritius to work with the British armies in Mesopotamia against the Turks, who were allies of the Germans. Many Mauritians were killed in battle, their names being later recorded on the War Memorial in front of the Royal College at Curepipe. Of Mauritians who served in the war, probably the most noteworthy was Henry Coutanceau, who was born in Mauritius in 1858 and became a general in the French army. (13). During World War II, the colonial government collected and sent to London money to help buy aeroplanes and other machines and necessities of war. Several thousand workmen volunteered to go abroad as artisans, pioneers, transport drivers and engineers. They served in Abyssinia, Libya, Egypt, Palestine and other countries of the Near East, fighting against German and Italian armies. In 1943 some of them, having by that time travelled several thousand miles, helped to invade Italy. Other Mauritian volunteers went to South Africa and to England to serve as pilots, wireless operators and ground staff in the Royal Air Force; (14) many of these went to Canada, where they were able to train without being interrupted by enemy aeroplanes as in England. In 1939, the Mauritius garrison numbered only two hundred soldiers from England. But a local volunteer force had been raised in 1935 and trained to defend the island against any attack. Later more and more local soldiers were trained, some of whom were volunteers, and others conscripted (15). At the end of 1943 most of these soldiers, now called the 'Mauritius Regiment' were sent to Madagascar; instead of them, there came to Mauritius African troops with European officers from British colonies in East Africa.

After 1869, the Suez Canal having been built, Mauritius was no longer on the main sea route to India. But in 1940, when Italy joined Germany against Great Britain and the Empire, it became safer for ships to avoid going through the Mediterranean Sea and Suez Canal, and to go round the Cape of Good Hope as in the before the Suez. When Japan came into the war it became necessary to send ships to the Far East, and many warships called at Mauritius, the most convenient halting place between the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon. After the Japanese captured the British naval base of Singapore, Mauritius became once more a necessary base for the navy and air force. (16)

The second function of Mauritius, in this era of new imperialism and the beginning of this new international division of labour, was not as important as its first functions as outlined above. Its role as a major exporter of cane sugar and a net importer of various manufactured products and foodstuffs, as planned from its colonial days, was further strengthened under this new international division of labour; the only difference was that Mauritius continued to export a product to the English metropolis whose market value was gradually declining as a result of increase in production of beet sugar in Europe (17), and at a time when the needs of the international system, have been able to determine and take precedence over, events and processes at the national level; and this overriding importance of the international over the national has been no where more apparent than in the field of educational development and in the stagnation and decline of the plantation economy (18).

#### 3.6.4 Growth, Organization and Administration of Secondary Education in Mauritius, 1870-1947

In this period, Secondary Education developed certain characteristics reflecting the gradual transformation of the Mauritian society: the creation of the urban areas, as a result of the 'opening-up' of the colony, provided the rich plantation owners and the merchants with the opportunity of migrating from congested and unhealthy areas of the capital to the healthier areas of the central plateau where they set up new secondary schools. This period was also a time for the consolidation of the new position achieved by the colonial administration as a direct result of the 'indirect' Anglicisation of the Royal College between 1840-1870 this obviously meant a better organizational procedure, more efficient administration and a stricter control of secondary institutions and practices as the power and control of the plantation class over educational institutions and practices were gradually undermined. But the Royal College as usual, dominated the field of secondary education in the colony.

Owing to certain difficulties which had arisen between the Rector of the Royal College and the Education Committee, it became necessary, in 1860, to amend Ordinance 25 of 1857, and accordingly Ordinance 38 of 1860\* was enacted by which the Education Committee was replaced by a Council of Education of twenty-two members, with two Standing Committees, called respectively the College Committee, with jurisdiction to attend to matters relating to the Royal

\* See Appendix 47 , Ordinance No.38,1860 for more details.

College, and the Schools Committee, having powers to deal with matters concerning the Primary Schools, whether supported or aided by the Government. The powers vested in the College Committee in regard to the Royal College had reference to the framing of all rules and regulations for the institution; the Rector was entrusted with preserving the discipline of the college (19).

By Ordinance No.33 of 1899\* the Council of Education has been abolished, and replaced by a Director of Public Instruction with two Committees one for Superior Instruction, made up of twelve members, two of whom were ex-officio members, one elected by the Managers of Associated Schools, one elected by the Managers of Girls' Schools, and the remaining eight chosen by the Governor; the other Committee was for Primary Schools (20), and also composed of twelve members, one of whom was an ex-officio member, two were nominated by the Managers of the Protestant Aided Schools, and the remaining eight nominated by the Governor. Except for the Director of Public Instruction, who was the chairman of both Committees, and for the Rector of the Royal College, who were the only ex-officio members, all the other nominations were renewable every year (21).

The Committee of Superior Instruction had power to make regulations dealing with:-

- (a) the administration and management of the Royal College;
- (b) the association of schools with the Royal College, and the payment of result grants-in-aid thereto;
- (c) a system of instruction in technical, agricultural and commercial education, and the programme and schedule of studies therein;
- (d) the higher education for girls, and the programme and schedule of studies thereof, and the payment of result grant-in-aids;
- (e) the award and tenure of scholarships and exhibitions;
- (f) the fixing every year of the curriculum of studies for the Royal College and other Government educational institutions;
- (g) the determining of the expulsion and rustication of the Royal College pupils (22).

\* See Appendix 47, Ordinance No.33 of 1899 for more details.

Ordinance No.33 of 1899 was put into force in August, 1900, when the Director of Public Instruction entered upon his new duties (23). Certain details of the reorganisation of the actual educational system were still under consideration.

In Mauritius, Secondary Education was provided:-

- (i) by the Royal College and its two schools;
- (ii) by a system of private schools in association with the Royal College; and
- (iii) by a special scheme for the Higher Education of Girls (24).

The Royal College provided for the youth of the colony a superior course of classical and general education, and prepared them for Matriculation and Degree Examinations in the Universities of the Mother Country as well as for the Senior and Junior Cambridge Local Examinations. It also provided instruction for students in special subjects. It comprehended schools of Classics, Mathematics, Natural Sciences and Modern Languages. The study of English and of French, and of English and French History was obligatory from the highest to the lowest classes throughout the institution.

The institution included two divisions: first, the upper or College proper division, containing a classical and a modern side, in each of which there were four classes; second, the school division, which included five classes. The college course, therefore, spread over nine years. The study of Latin began when a boy had entered upon his third year's course, and that of Greek and of Science when he had begun his fifth year's course. Each boy at the Royal College received twenty-five hours tuition a week. The teaching staff consisted of the Rector and of forty-five teachers. (25).

On the modern side, the subjects taught in the ~~highest~~ forms were, besides English and French literature, Algebra to Simple and Quadratic Equations and Progressions, Euclid, Plane Trigonometry, Conic Sections, Chemistry, Physics, Statics and Dynamics.

On the classical side, the subjects read in the highest forms were, besides English and French Literature, Latin and Greek Authors and Classical History and Literature, Algebra to Simple and Quadratic Equations, co-ordinate Geometry, Conic Sections, and Plane Trigonometry (26).

There were fifteen scholarships and thirteen exhibitions which were competed for annually. Two of the scholarships (27) were tenable for four years, so as to enable the successful candidates to complete their education in the United Kingdom or in any other country in which the Secretary of State for the Colonies might, for special reasons, allow candidates to reside. Two of the conditions of candidature for the English scholarships were, that every candidate on the Classical side should have passed the London Matriculation Examination, and every candidate on the Modern side the Senior Cambridge Local Examination in certain specified subjects, and that they ought not to have been above twenty years of age on the 30th of June preceding the examinations which took place in the month of December (28). The other scholarships were of the annual value of Rs.100 to Rs.250 (29) and were tenable for two or four years at the Royal College. The scholarships and exhibitions entitled their holders to free tuition. There were also twenty presentation scholarship and six presentation exhibitions, and other cases of gratuitous instruction. All the scholarships were paid out of the Public Treasury. There are in Mauritius no scholarships or bursaries founded by private individuals (30).

Promotion of pupils from one class to another depended upon examinations conducted partly in England and partly in the colony. The examiners in England sent out examination papers which were handed over the sub-examiners in Mauritius, and at the close of the examinations the papers of the candidates were sent to the examiners. It was only the work of the four lowest forms of the College School that was examined in the colony; the work of all the others was examined in England.

In December 1901 there were on the books of Royal College and of its two schools 386 pupils, 210 at the College proper, 77 at the Royal College School, and 99 at Curepipe School. In 1900 the total amount of expenditure on the institution was Rs.136,606.25 cents. (31).

#### 3.6.4.1 Secondary Schools in Association with the Royal College

In 1869 the Council of Education adopted a scheme whereby boys' private adventure schools (those schools which catered for the poorer classes) were admitted into association with the Royal College on condition that they should submit their pupils to an annual examination, to be held at the Royal College in the month of December, on the programme of studies of the corresponding classes of the Royal College School. The object in view when this scheme was originally adopted was to cut away the College School as soon as the private adventure schools had proved their efficiency to become reliable nurseries for the College; and to limit the imparting of secondary instruction to the Royal College (32). At first, four large private schools co-operated with the College authorities in carrying out the scheme, but after a few years they gradually fell off, and only one continued in association with the Royal College, until circumstances led to a modification of the original plan. Large centres of population having been formed in the higher parts of the colony along the railway line, owing to the unhealthiness of Port-Louis, the educational authorities, in order to secure uniformity of method and a fair standard of instruction in the boys' schools which had been established in those several centres and in other parts of the colony, caused the colonial Government to sanction that a Grant-in-Aid be paid to all schools in association with the Royal College (33). As a further means of encouragement, one scholarship of the annual value of Rs.120. with free tuition at the Royal College, tenable for two years, and one exhibition entitling the holder to free tuition at the Royal College for two years, were competed for in December of each year by pupils belonging to the associated schools.

In 1901, there were twenty-five schools in association with the Royal College (34); twenty-one of these presented 525 candidates for the prescribed examinations. The passes, so far as they were known, numbered 153. In 1900 the amount of the grant-in-aid paid to Associated School Managers was Rs.7,000.

Ordinance No.20 of 1902,\* known as 'The Education (Amendment) Ordinance, 1902' repealed Articles 25 to 29 of Ordinance No.33 of 1899, and replaced, inter-alia, by the following:-

\* See Appendix 47, Ordinance No.20 of 1902 for more details.

- (a) The Governor could award every year according to the results of an examination designated in the "A" Code, to each of two pupils of the Royal College, who shall be called Laureates, a Scholarship, of the annual value, free of income tax, either of £250. tenable for four years, or of £200. tenable for five years. (35)

Ordinance No.28 of 1904,\* known as 'The Education (Amendment) Ordinance, 1904' repealed Article 25(4) of Ordinance 1902 and replaced by the following paragraph: "Laureates, studying for the Medical Profession, shall be required to undergo a course of instruction of three months instead of the previous two at either the London or the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, whichever the Laureate may prefer, and to pass an examination, to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the State, at the conclusion of such a course. The tuition fees in respect of such course shall be paid by the colony".

An Education Ordinance passed on the 6th of November, known as 'The Education Amendment (English Scholarships) 1906', repealed the Articles 25,26,27,28 and 29 of 1904. This Amendment Ordinance reiterated and confirmed all the privileges enjoyed by the Laureates of the Royal College; and whereas in the past the Governor awarded scholarship based on an examination designated in the A Code, which in the 1906 Education Amendment was replaced by Education Code.

The Education Ordinance No.35 of 1913, more officially known as 'The Education (Amendment) Ordinance, 1913, was important in several ways in the future organization of secondary education by the fact that it amended the Ordinance of 1899. The two previous Committees have been **replaced** by a single Committee of Public Instruction consisting of eleven members. The Director of Public Instruction (Chairman) and the Rector of the Royal College were members ex-officio. The representatives were chosen by the secondary aided schools, two by the Roman Catholic primary aided schools, and one by the Protestant aided schools; four members were chosen by the Governor. The Committee was formed anew every year in the month of December for the coming year. The powers of that Committee were not so extensive as those of the Committees of Superior and Primary Instruction (36). A school may be closed or the grant

\* See Appendix 47, Ordinance No.28 of 1904 for more details; also see Appendix 47 for subsequent Educational Ordinances.

withdrawn without its consent. It did not have to frame annually the programmes of study for the Royal College and secondary schools, as was done by the Committee of Secondary Instruction. These programmes were to be prepared, under the rules of the Education Code, by the officers of the Education Department.

The main function of the Committee of Public Instruction was to prepare a Code of Regulations, to be called the Education Code, dealing generally with the subjects dealt with in Code A and Code B prepared under the law of 1899. The Committee had been chiefly occupied in the preparation of this Code since its formation under the law of 1913. One section of this new Code, that containing the regulations for grant-in-aid secondary schools had already been put into force (37).

The fact that the Committee of Public Instruction was not powerful enough to deal with the administration both the secondary schools and the sectorally fragmented primary schools necessitated the introduction of the Education Ordinance No.19 of 1919, officially known as 'The Education Consolidation Ordinance of 1919. In this Ordinance, "Royal College" includes every Department or Branch of the Institution called the Royal College; "Rector" means the Rector of the Royal College; and 'Superintendent' means the superintendent of Government and Aided Primary Schools, of Aided Secondary Schools, and of all Training, Industrial and Technical Schools. The Ordinance of 1919 introduced a dual system of administration and control through the recommendation of two committees :

- (a) The Royal College Committee, and
- (b) Schools' Committee;

besides being directly responsible to the Government for the administration of the Royal College, the Rector and other six members appointed by the Governor formed the Royal College Committee of which the Rector was the Chairman. The Committee had limited powers (38): "it was not to be an administrative and executive body but a purely consultative and deliberative body". (39). The Royal College remained the model for all other secondary institutions, whether associated or non-associated to follow and it conserved its monopoly of granting 'English Scholarships' to its best students. The Head of the Schools' Department was to be called the Superintendent of Schools, and he was to have the superintendence and direction of Government and Aided Primary Schools, of

Aided Secondary Schools and of all Training, Industrial and Technical schools; (40); and he had to make a report on the state of every educational establishment except the Royal College, before the month of April of each year and present it to the Governor (41); the Superintendent was also to be the Chairman of the Schools' Committee composed of nine members (42); the Schools' Committee was empowered, inter-alia, to make regulations which was to be called the 'Education Code' dealing with different administrative items (43).

The Education Ordinance No.42 of 1934 (44) an Ordinance which was passed "to amend and consolidate the law on Education", did in fact reinforced the idea of two Departments:-

- (a) the Royal College Department, headed, administered and - supervised by the Rector who was directly responsible to the Governor; and
- (b) the School Department, headed by the Superintendent who had control and direction of the Government and Aided Primary Schools, of Aided Secondary Schools and of all Educational institutions other than the Royal College.

The 1934 Education Ordinance further brought into direct control the various "owners" and "managers" of the Aided primary and secondary schools (45).

In 1939, preliminary steps were taken for a general survey of the educational system of the colony and, on the advice of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, it was decided to create the post of Director of Education as an essential preliminary for any programme of reform, Mr W.E.F. Ward, then on the staff of the Prince of Wales College, Achimota, Gold Coast, was selected to fill the new post. Soon after his arrival, new legislation was passed and special provision was introduced to make the Director of Education responsible for the re-organization of the educational system in the colony (46). Within a year of his arrival, Mr Ward submitted a comprehensive report on education in Mauritius and his recommendations were examined by a select committee of all the unofficial members of the legislature. After much discussion covering the whole field of education, the Director's recommendations were accepted and approved by the select committee, but not without first

generating bitter controversy over banning Oriental languages from the Primary Schools (47). This is the context which produced the Education Ordinance of 1941.

The Education Ordinance No.30 of 1941,\* officially known as 'the Department of Education (Constitution) Ordinance, 1941, created a Department of Education headed by the Director of Education who would have control of the educational system of the colony and who would be responsible for the general progress and development of such system and in particular he would ensure:-

- (a) the effective direction, development and co-ordination of all educational activities in the colony;
- (b) the proper supply and training for teachers;
- (c) that future educational developments should be designed to secure: first, the health and physical training of students; second, practical and theoretical training and instruction in agricultural and technical subjects; and third, education on practical lines of all classes of the community;
- (d) the more effective teaching of English and the spread of the English language in the colony; and
- (e) that adequate measures were adopted for the education of girls and their training in subjects of practical value (48).

The Director of Education was also to have the general superintendence and direction of the Royal College and Royal College School (49), two Assistant Directors of Education were also appointed (50); one of them was to be entrusted with the administration of the Royal College division; he was to be called the Rector, and the executive officer responsible to the Director for carrying out within the Royal College division the provisions of any enactment applicable thereto (51); the second Assistant Director of Education was entrusted with the administration of the Schools division; he was to be the executive officer responsible to the Director for carrying out within the Schools division the provisions of any enactment applicable thereto; The Royal College Committee and the Schools' Committee were both abolished (52) and replaced by a single Committee known as the 'Education Committee' whose Chairman was the Director

\* See Appendix 47, Ordinance No.30 of 1941 for more details and clarification.

of education and other seven members appointed by the Governor, who was empowered "to appoint such officers, clerks and servants as may be necessary to staff the Department of Education" (53).

The belated 1941 Education Ordinance was the first step taken by an agent-Advisory Committee on Education in the colonies—outside the Mauritian social structure to bring a sense of cohesion and order, by the establishment of the Department of Education, in the sectorally fragmented educational 'system' of the colony. I will argue that the educational system was gradually reformed, at that particular time, because the whole international system was undergoing a radical change, and that in Great Britain, the whole question to British Overseas possessions was being reviewed in general, and British Colonial Policy in particular was being re-assessed, and 1938 marked a turning point (54); and as far as British Educational Policy was concerned, Watson (55) quotes Carnoy's observation that "there was no general re-thinking of education in the British Colonial Office between 1847 and 1925". In fact most of the books published by the apologists of British Imperialism regarding British Educational Policy date from the 1920s (56). Thus, in this context of international transformation and re-valuation of British Educational Policies in the colonies in general, and Mauritius in particular, the belated 1941 Education Ordinance was an incomplete document to be further amended by the 1944 Education Ordinance.

In 1943 Mr C.W.M. Cox, the Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, visited the colony to examine progress and the Government and members of the Council of Government had a further opportunity of obtaining expert advice and of discussing with him and the Director some of the more controversial issues which the Ward's Report had given rise to - a Report which had been described as 'The Educational Charter of Mauritius' to be enshrined in the 1944 Education Ordinance (57).

The Education Ordinance No.12 of 1944,\* officially known as an 'Ordinance

\* See Appendix 47, Ordinance No.12 of 1944 for the various Articles and their impact on educational administration.

to consolidate and amend the law relating to Education' marks a turning point in the development, organization and control of educational institutions and practices in the colony: it re-affirms the enactments of the 1941 Education Ordinance and expands on the other issues raised by the select committee; thus, its various Acts can be classified into four parts:

(a) The first part consists of the various 'definitions' of the different kinds of institutions which would be covered by the Ordinance, and the official persons, and authorities to be involved (58);

(b) The Ordinance legitimises the establishment of a Department of Education to be headed by the Director of Education who was to have the general control of the educational system of the colony and the other educational objectives (59) set forth by the Department of Education and discussed in the Education Committee whose Chairman would be the Director of Education; the new Education Committee differed from the previous ones in that the clause insists on having a woman member among the group of seven (60), the 1941 Education Ordinance helped to create a 'dual control' of the educational system in Mauritius by empowering the two Assistant Directors to be in charge of the 'College Committee' and the 'Schools Committee' respectively; but in the 1944 Education Ordinance, these powers were transferred to the Director of Education (61), thereby moving towards more centralization of the educational administration;

(c) All Government and aided primary schools were placed under the responsibility of the 'education authority' which was to be directly answerable to the Director of Education for the good administration of all its schools; the managers responsible for the running of the aided primary schools were responsible to the Education Authority which had the power to appoint or dismiss any manager whose administration was found to be unsatisfactory by the Education Authority (62);

(d) The last part of this Ordinance deals almost exclusively with teachers - teachers of government schools; of aided primary schools and of secondary schools. The Director of Education was to keep a 'register' of all the teachers, which was to be conveniently published in the 'Gazette' of the colony; all teachers were to be registered, whether qualified or unqualified (63); and that all teachers were to be paid according to the regulations laid down by the Department; teachers who retired had their names struck off the register.

The Ward Report and the 1944 Education Ordinance helped to organize, administer and centralize the emerging educational system of the colony, the administrative machinery could not, at first, function properly because the war put a brake on the plans for the reform of the educational system; new staff for implementing development schemes could not be appointed and some of the senior members of the existing staff were released for active service or seconded to special security employment in the colony. But the war period, during which there was an inevitable suspension of active development was wisely used for the stock-taking and planning which were to prove so crucial for the development of the **sectorally** fragmented educational institutions in the colony in the post-war era (64); especially after the arrival of the new Director, Mr Oppen, in the colony in March, 1946.

#### 3.6.4.2 The Higher Education for Girls in the Colony

As usual, forces external to the Mauritian social structure have definitely influenced the establishment, development and management of educational institutions and practices in Mauritius, and this will be obvious in the case of the higher education for girls, as in other examples relating the development and outcome of educational institutions.

Dr. Collier, the Vicar Apostolic of the Catholic Church in Mauritius, in his zeal to counteract the spread of Anglicanism in Mauritius, went to Ireland to ask for help; his efforts were rewarded when the Loreto nuns decided to come to Mauritius; in 1845, they founded primary schools for the girls in the colony and in 1847, they set up their first high school for girls in Port-Louis; this was followed in 1870 by their second high school in Curepipe (65).

In 1882, Lady Barker, the wife of governor Broome, desirous of introducing some properly-organised system of education for girls in the colony, formed a committee of ladies (66), and by the efforts of that Committee the action of Government was secured and the College Committee of the Council of Education entrusted with the formulating of a scheme to carry out the object which Lady Barker's Committee had in view.

The scheme propounded by the College Committee was, and has since been, a system of voluntary examinations by which the privilege of a free examination on impartial standards has been offered to all girls who follow the course of studies laid down by the Committee (67). That course was intended to spread over seven years, and embraced English, French, Arithmetic, Geography, English and French History, and English and French Literature, as obligatory subjects; and Music, Drawing, Religious Knowledge, Latin, Algebra, Euclid, Physical Geography and Needlework, as optional subjects (68). No girl was qualified for a pass unless she obtained at least one-third of the marks allowed for each obligatory subject and one-half of the total marks in all the obligatory subjects of the particular Standard taken. To obtain honours in any Standard a candidate ought to pass in the Standard and - ought to also obtain altogether three-quarters of the total marks obtainable in the obligatory subjects. In computing the marks for this purpose, those obtained in each of a certain number of optional subjects (the number being different in the different standards) would be counted, provided the candidate has obtained at least one-third of the marks in that subject (69). Gold, silver and bronze medals, with money prizes, were awarded to the girls who stood highest on the result lists in the several standards. Book prizes were given for proficiency to the best candidate in each optional and obligatory subject provided she had obtained at least 50 per cent of the marks in that subject.

Grant-in-aid was paid to the managers of schools which came under this scheme. During the last few years Mauritian girls had presented themselves for the Cambridge Local Examinations. In 1899 six girls passed the examination for juniors, and in 1900 one senior and two juniors obtained certificates.

In 1901 there were 30 girls' schools working under this scheme. The examinations were, however, open to all the girls in the colony, except those attending the Government and Aided Primary Schools. Two hundred and ninety-nine candidates were presented for examination, 45 of whom obtained 'honour' certificates, and 101 pass certificates (70). To meet the several items of expenditure which the scheme necessitated, a yearly sum of Rs 5,000 was paid out of the Public Treasury.

This scheme for secondary and higher education for girls in the colony was soon incorporated into the Grant-in-aid system; and according to the Education - (Amendment)-Ordinance No 35 of 1913 (71), one member of the Grant-in-Aid Girls' Secondary Schools was appointed to sit in the newly established 'Committee of Public Instruction'. Subsequent Education Ordinances have always referred to the Grant-in-Aid Girls' Secondary Schools and one member from this group had always been appointed on the Education Committee. The 1944 Education Ordinance was revolutionary in the sense that a woman was first appointed on the new Education Committee of seven members, perhaps with the aim of proposing new educational needs for the education of the girls of the colony (72) being given the fact that their education had always lagged behind that of the boys; and like the secondary education for the boys, the girls' education also responded to the English cultural needs rather than national ones.

#### 3.6.4.3 The Gradual Development of Technical, Agricultural, and Industrial Education in Mauritius. 1810 - 1947

Early attempts, by the British Colonial Government, to set up industrial and agricultural institutions to respond to the national needs failed because I will argue that the Government, willingly or unwillingly, created a social climate which contributed to this failure - a highly differentiated and antagonistic - social climate comprising of the following factors:

(a) a social division of labour based on racial lines: From the outset of its history, Mauritius developed a racialist social formation - a social formation based on the master-slave-relationship; a situation of domination and subordination where the white man owned the slaves and used them as a chattel or beasts of burden to create surplus value for the benefit of the former. The slave and later the black man always performed the menial and dirty jobs of the society. After the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of the slaves, the indentured labour system replaced the slave system and economic, political and cultural power remained in the hands of the white man. Consequently, the powerless and dominated groups - whether coloured ex-slaves or Indian labourers, abhorring the social stigma attached to them - as persons or groups - had always aspired to ape the white man, thereby developing a deep hatred for any kind of manual labour which might remind them of their past history - a history of shame, of inhumanity and of powerlessness;

(b) The fact that the emerging national bourgeoisie and the British Colonial administrators monopolized the Royal College - the only institution in the colony for the transmission, propagation and cultural reproduction of the values of the mother country - for the cultural socialization of their children (73) and also the fact that these successful children were rewarded, for their cultural accomplishments, by being absorbed in the administrative machineries of the colony, forced the other underprivileged groups to seek the same route to social mobility. Consequently, Mauritian society has, since then, always prized and rewarded mental labour and degraded manual labour. Therefore, it is not surprising that when in 1847 (74) the colonial - Government attempted to establish "schools of industry, where agricultural or horticultural occupations would form part of primary schools" (75), the free-coloured people of Mauritius interpreted the Government's action as a conspiracy to keep them down to the fields and, thereby, decrease their access to the Royal College to which their children were admitted in 1832 as a result of severe struggle against the national bourgeoisie of the colony.

The Mauritius Education Committee (76) points out that :-

"It is a notorious fact, and one susceptible of an obvious mode of explanation, that the class of ex-apprentices in this colony, entertain a strong prejudice against any sort of occupation connected, in their minds, with their former mode of existence, - the least semblance of compulsory labour being sufficient to excite the most unequivocal symptoms of repugnance. Hence the violent outcry and opposition raised by most parents, whenever any teacher has attempted to initiate their children into some of the simplest, easiest, and most trivial elements of gardening operations".

The report further adds that the attempts of other teachers in other Primary Schools to teach their pupils how to cultivate a little plot of ground enclosed by the school walls, or other similar intentions resulted in most of the parents keeping their children away from the school (77). The Report concludes by observing that any further attempts to introduce any agricultural, vocational or technical subjects in the schools would eventually result in their being closed down.

The coloured and the ex-slaves parents were not the only people who mistrusted the Government's policy for introducing technical or vocational subjects in

the Government's Primary Schools, but the rich parents also - those who were sending their children to attend the Roman Catholic Aided Schools - disapproved the introduction of these subjects in these schools; Ramdoyal (78) points out that the 1882 Report on the Roman Catholic Aided Schools is revealing as to the Roman Catholic Authority's attitude towards technical and agricultural subjects; inter - alia, the Report points out that:-

(a) "Children receive at the schools no industrial education. In a few Sister's schools, only, orphan or poor girls, kept as boarders, are trained to washing, ironing, and other occupations of the same kind. But, in most cases, it is feared that the parents of the girls would consider it an insult, if they were offered to have their daughters brought up in the same manner".

(b) ..... The parents have unanimously answered that this ( the introduction of manual work) would lead to the immediate desertion of the school.

(c) It would be desirable, however, that this lamentable prejudice of the lower classes, that manual labour is incompatible with instruction should not always be entertained, and that industrial or agricultural education should be considered as the best means of eradicating it from a population where it can produce but moral and material decay (79).

The general tendency, as reflected in the social and economic climate of the time, was towards the rejection of any form of technical or agricultural education to be introduced in the primary schools. Therefore, it is not surprising to note that :- "technical and industrial schools, in the proper sense of the term, do not exist in the colony" (80). The only approach to technical instruction consisted in the yearly appointment by the Education Department of eight apprentices at the Government Plaine Lauzun Railway Workshops and of two at the Botanical Gardens, Curepipe. The selection of these ten apprentices was dependent upon a competitive examination held in December each year, conducted by the Inspector of Schools. The subjects of examination were English, French, Reading, Dictation and Arithmetic (81). Successful candidates ought to obtain at least one-third of the total marks in each subject. The regulations for both classes of scholarships - were revised in 1902 and the

number of the engineering scholarships was increased from five to eight (82).

For the apprenticeships at the Railway Workshops, candidates ought to be not more than sixteen years of age on the first of next January following the examination, and of a sound constitution; the apprenticeship lasted six years during which period they were paid (83). The yearly increase in the wages depended upon the apprentice's diligence and good conduct. Inefficient apprentices might be discharged, and irregular ones were punished by stoppage of pay. In case of illness certified by a medical attendant, half-pay was allowed for absences not exceeding six days in a month (84); full pay was allowed if the illness was caused by some injury received whilst at work.

An apprentice was required for the first three years of his apprenticeship to do manual work for about six hours a day and received, for about two hours a day, theoretical instruction in subjects connected with his work, including - Arithmetic, Mensuration, Geometry, Algebra, Geometrical Drawing and Metallurgy. For the last three years of the apprenticeship, an apprentice was required to work for about eight hours a day, and his work consisted partly of manual and partly of theoretical work (85).

Candidates for the apprenticeships at the Botanical Gardens, Curepipe, ought not be more than seventeen years of age on the first of next January following the examination, and of sound constitution. The apprenticeship lasted for four years (86) and entitled the holder to an annual wage (87). Apprentices worked for eight hours a day. They were taught the handling of gardening implements, how to prepare the soil, potting, grafting, pruning, laying out grounds, and the principles of Agriculture, Botany and Forestry. The more advanced apprentices were also instructed in the collection and pressing of botanical specimens, and dissecting and drawing flowers. The conditions as to increase and stoppage of pay were the same as in the case of the engineering apprentices (88).

From time to time, solitary voices were heard criticising the elitist educational system and attempts were made, at administrative level, to bring in some technical and agricultural elements into the primary school curriculum

and to establish technical schools; Ramdoyal (89) points out that in 1917, a Technical School was created for pupils belonging to primary schools in Port-Louis. The school was first intended to give elementary instruction in wood-work to a certain number of boys selected from among the pupils of the primary schools of Port-Louis, each boy receiving instruction for four hours a week. Boys who did well in these elementary classes were selected to follow a full course at the Technical School at their own request. They then spent half their time at manual work and half at school work, following a course arranged with special reference to their future occupations. In the same year successful attempts culminated in endowing 17 Government and 9 Primary Aided Schools with school gardens. These gardens were under the direct responsibility of the Department of Agriculture and were regularly visited by the Chief Agricultural Officer and his assistant, who gave the necessary advice and assistance to the teachers and provided them with seeds, plants, manure, tools and fencing material at the expense of the Schools Department. Despite these efforts, school gardens have never been viewed by parents of different classes as an ideal site for their initiation of their children to manual labour.

Ramdoyal further points out that in 1929 a farm school was founded which lasted until 1931 (90). This school prepared subordinates for the Agricultural and Forestry Departments, and it was intended also that it should train boys for subordinate posts on sugar estates. Before its closure, the farm school was producing four or five subordinates for the Agriculture and Forestry Departments (91).

I will argue that technical and agricultural education, and their introduction in the primary schools of the colony, failed to create an impact, either on the parents or on administrators, because education - which reflected the cultural needs of the British metropolis and its translation to fill the cultural and social needs of the elite in Mauritius was unequally transmitted in the colony and the outcome of this cultural transmission was very much determined by educational institutions like the London and Cambridge Universities, external to the Mauritian social structure; these external educational institutions have determined the content of the curriculum and the legitimisation

of what counted as 'valid knowledge' - knowledge was, and still is, associated with thinkers, who were better rewarded socially and financially, rather than with doers, workers, who were scorned at and ill-rewarded; the contradiction between the mental and the manual division of labour, and the upholding of the former over the latter, have eventually led to the abhorrence and total rejection of the latter in Mauritius.

#### 3.6.4.4 Further Development of the Sectorally Fragmented Primary Schools in Mauritius, 1870 - 1947

Primary education, in the colony, continued to be dispensed by Government Schools and other Aided Schools run by the different religious agencies. Religious forces external to the Mauritian social structure had played a preponderant role in the development of a sectorally fragmented primary education system which was gradually to be organised and centralised without any loss of its divisive characteristic.

Despite the fact that primary education, as we have seen, was a late - developer in the colony, it was quickly geared to the whole, but newly emerging, educational system. The introduction of a competitive examination system, to be held at the end of the sixth year; and the introduction of the Primary School Scholarships linked the primary educational system to the secondary one, in the sense that the former represented the first rung of the educational ladder. Consequently, just like the distorted development of the secondary education, primary education was also centred on cramming and passing examination - thus the whole emerging educational system, from a very early stage, was responding to the cultural needs and interests other than the national ones.

The most unusual characteristic of primary education in Mauritius is that, even today, it is free but not compulsory. The question of making elementary education compulsory in the colony was taken up in the year 1855 and considered at great length (92). But in the end it was dropped, owing to the fact that Indian immigrants were not apprised of such conditions before coming to the colony and to other difficulties connected with the education of the children of the Indians; representations had also been made by the

Indian Government.

In 1882, the question was again considered (93); but the fact the denominational schools were not subject to a conscience clause was felt to be a serious difficulty; and no progress was made. But numerous facilities and rewards were offered to those who were to avail themselves of it. Practically, there were primary schools within reach of all the children of the colony and within easy reach of nearly all. No school fees were charged in any Government or State-aided primary school; and the free school books that were given and the scholarships offered for tenure at higher schools were all inducements to attend school (94).

That was the last time the question of compulsory elementary education was mentioned in Mauritius, and it never arose again; but there were other educational changes which accompanied the development of the sectorally fragmented primary-education in Mauritius, and it is time to evaluate them now.

During the period under study (1870 - 1947), the first Code of Regulations framed in virtue of Ordinance No 28 of 1875, was promulgated on the first of January, 1876. Under that Code the Grant-in-Aid consisted of:-

- (a) A part of the teacher's salaries;
- (b) A part of the cost of maintenance of the buildings and furniture;
- (c) Result grants on successes in examinations;
- (d) Capitation grants on attendance;
- (e) Building grants towards the cost of school buildings and furniture.

The programme included English and French, but the marks for reading and writing were reckoned together (95).

These Regulations were eventually revised and a new Code was put into force on the 1st of July, 1877. It enacted that the examinations ought to be conducted in one language, the choice of which was left to the manager. It also stipulated that a fourth-class teacher's certificate could be obtained by passing the examination in one language (96); for certificates of a higher class, candidates could take up English and an Indian dialect, English and

French, or French and an Indian dialect.

There was a modification of the nature of the grant-in-aid. Independently of the payment of the head teacher's salary, provision was made for the payment of an additional teacher at the rate of Rs 300. a year\* . . . The manager had the power of distributing the result grant among the salaried teachers. The building grant was abolished, and the maintenance grant reduced to the fifth of the rent valuation of the building. The Grant-in-Aid was to be withdrawn if the school building and furniture were not to the satisfaction of the Schools Committee; if the number of pupils present during 200 half-days at least in the year fell below 30 per cent of the pupils on roll to pass in standards at the annual examination, and if the average attendance of pupils during the preceding school year fell below twenty.

A third Code, brought into force on the 1st of June 1882, laid down that the examination should be held exclusively in English (97), and that the knowledge of English and of another language was necessary in order to secure a teacher's certificate. This Code admitted of the employment in schools of nuns or of lay helpers, holders of certificates of employment; but they were not allowed to share in the capitation and result grants. From the 1st of May 1882, no non-certificated teacher could draw a salary paid by the State.

The Codes of 1883 and 1885 dealt exclusively with the education and examination of teachers (98). The sixth Code was promulgated in 1890. It did away with all restrictions as to distance between schools, with the payment of school fees, and a limit of age fixed for each standard. Managers were empowered to establish schools on the half-time system, and to create Agricultural or industrial Schools (99). The salaries of teachers were paid entirely by Government at the end of each month. Honorary certificates of competency of four different grades, and based on length of service, were granted to old uncertificated teachers. The privilege of holding a certificate of employment, equivalent to a fourth-class teacher's certificate, was restricted to females. The English and French Languages were rendered obligatory subjects throughout all the standards, as well as in the examinations for

teachers' certificates of competency. Optional subjects were introduced into the syllabus for schools, and an additional grant paid for passing in such subjects. The grant-in-aid could be entirely withdrawn from a school when the school building and furniture were not in accordance with the conditions prescribed by law (100). The result grant could be withdrawn if, during two successive years, less than 35 per cent of the number of pupils in average attendance during the two quarters preceding the examinations had passed the annual examinations. The fixed salary of the teacher might be withdrawn if, during the preceding civil year, the average attendance of pupils had been less than twenty. This Code further laid down the principle that the annual sum voted by the Legislature for Grant-in-Aid Schools could not be exceeded (101). This was done by paying the result grant 'pro-rata' if the balance available after payment of the total salaries and maintenance grant was insufficient.

The introduction of the Education Ordinance of 1899 has been crucial for the development, organization and centralisation of both, the secondary and primary education in Mauritius as a Department of Public Instruction was set up (102). In 1899 this new Education Ordinance was passed abolishing the Council of Education and constituting the Department of Public Instruction as it now exists. The post of Superintendent of Schools was abolished and that of Director of Public Instruction created. Two Education Committees were set up: the Committee of Superior Instruction whose chief duties were to prepare regulations dealing with the administration of the Royal College and other secondary schools (103). The Committee of Primary Instruction consisted of the Director of Public Instruction, who was also Chairman of the Committee; two members nominated by the managers of the Roman Catholic Aided Primary Schools; one member nominated by the manager of the Protestant Aided Primary Schools and eight members chosen by the Governor. The chief duties of the Committee of Primary Instruction were to prepare regulations dealing with primary education. It had also to recommend on all questions concerning the establishment or closing of primary Government and grant-in-aid schools.

The Ordinance of 1899 placed Government and Grant-in-Aid teachers on pre-

cisely the same footing (104), as regarding emoluments; and provided that the whole of the emoluments of teachers in aided schools ought to be paid by Government in the shape of fixed salaries and result grants. It also laid down as a condition for the payment of grants to an aided school that no fee ought to be paid for instruction received; it also stipulated that no two schools could exist and function within a radius of two kilometres of each other; and finally it contained a conscience clause for aided schools, but not for Government schools.

Prior to the introduction of the Education Code of 1902, the work of Primary Education in Mauritius was carried out by two classes of schools, styled respectively as Government and Grant-in-Aid Schools; and the former was divided into four categories:-

- (i) The First Grade Schools, Division I., the teachers of which drew a fixed salary of Rs 2,000 a year - in the case of males; and of Rs 1,000 in that of females.
- (ii) The First Grade Schools, Division II., in which teachers drew a fixed salary plus a Result payment of Rs 5 per pupil passing in standards (105).
- (iii) The Second Grade Schools, in which the Elementary subjects were generally taught up to Standard IV., and the average attendance of pupils ranged between twenty and forty. These schools were originally started to meet the educational needs of remote and sparsely-populated parts.
- (iv) The Second Grade (Half-time) Government Schools were under the same conditions as to teaching and average attendance as the last-mentioned class of schools, and were established principally for the education of children belonging to the Indian population, and employed part of the day on the estates (106).

During 1901 there were seventy-five Government Schools in operation; three of these were closed during the year, leaving on the 31st of December 1901, seventy-two - ten belonging to the First Grade, First Division; thirty-six to the First Grade, Second Division; twenty-one to the Second Grade

(Full-time), and five to the Second Grade (Half-time) (107). The average number of pupils on roll in 1901 in the several classes of Government Schools was 9,352, with an average attendance of 5,584.

During the same period, there were ninety-nine Grant-in-Aid schools - all of them were denominational - in operation; five of these were closed during the year and a new one was added to the grant list, leaving on the 31st of December 1901, ninety-four divided as follows: sixty-five Roman Catholic, twenty-six Church of England, two Presbyterian, and one Mahomedan. The average number of pupils on roll was 9,668 and the average attendances was 6,374 (108).

The inspection of Primary Schools, Government and Aided, was carried out by two Inspectors of Schools, one sub-Inspector, and a Government teacher specially appointed to assist the Inspectors. They were all appointed by the Governor. The pupils of each school were every year presented to the Inspector for examination; but the examination was limited to the pupils in Standards I - VI; notice of the examination ought to be given, at least, one month previously. The obligatory elementary subjects were English and French - consisting of reading, writing and conversation and Arithmetic. In reading, the child ought to satisfy the Inspector that he has mastered the meaning of the English or French text. In writing, the test in the lower standards was an English or a French dictation exercise, and in the upper ones composition: a simple description of objects or events, a letter, or the reproduction of a narrative previously read aloud. The course of study in Arithmetic embraced the four simple rules, numeration, notation, short problems on the first four rules, bazaar and shop accounts in rupees and cents, bills or invoices, vulgar and decimal fractions, problems involving the metric measures of length, weight, and capacity, greatest common measures, least common multiple, and problems on square and cubic measurements (109).

The examination results in 1901, for Government and State-aided Schools, were as discouraging as the average pupils' attendance of the same year: 10,545 pupils were presented for examination in the Government and State-aided Schools and - 7,191 of these passed; however, a detailed scrutiny of

the result would reveal that it reflected the varying degree of commitments by various religious organizations to the expansion of primary education in the colony (110) - the greater the commitment the better the result. The average attendances were also higher in the State-aided Schools than in Government Schools: the obvious answers to this sad state of affairs were that primary education was free but not compulsory in the colony; second, the employment of child labour was still a common practice in the estates, consequently, the average attendance would be lower during crop season than during intercrop season (111).

The development and expansion of the **sectorally** fragmented primary schools, during this phase of study, generated two types of conflict: first, the sheer increase in the number of **sectorally** fragmented primary schools posed a threat to the existing Government primary schools because the managers of the former argued that their denominational schools were producing better results at examinations, while the Government schools were producing more failures. Consequently, animosity soon developed between Government and Grant-in-Aid schools over status; besides, it should be pointed out that although these Aided schools were maintained at the cost of the state, yet the state exercised no control over them, for, as the Inspector of schools pointed out, "these institutions are now kept up solely for denominational ends, and their growing importance has caused considerable alarm and anxiety throughout the colony" (112). The second type of conflict reflected the struggle for ideological dominance within the Grant-in-Aid schools, where the Roman Catholic Clergies' commitment to primary education was unparalleled; the managers of the Roman Catholic Schools, helped by the foundation of the "Union-Catholique" in 1870, attacked the kind of religious instruction provided in Government schools, and applied to the Secretary of State for the separate administration of their schools; besides, the Roman Catholic Clergies were exerting considerable pressure on parents to withdraw their children from Government schools in favour of Grant-in-Aid or other schools conducted under the more immediate and exclusive supervision of Catholic priests (113). The immediate consequence of these conflicts was that the Secretary of State upheld the supremacy of the Education Department

in matters concerning primary education - whether Government or Grant-in-Aid - in the colony.

The Grant-in-Aid schools were threatening of becoming a system within a system and a law unto themselves, while the status-gap which separated the Government schools from the Aided ones was gradually increasing, so much so that the internal religious conflicts and the competition for achieving academic excellence among the sectorally fragmented primary schools were hampering the emergence of a coherent primary educational system.

In order to defuse the tension created by the mounting competition and conflicts among the sectorally fragmented primary schools, the Education Department, through the Education Ordinance No 33 of 1899 (114) instituted the Primary school Scholarships and exhibitions for boys and girls of the colony. The institution of the Primary school scholarships and Exhibitions served a dual purpose. First, these Scholarships and Exhibitions distracted the attention of the managers of the primary schools from their petty quarrels and differences and helped to focus their attention on academic excellence in order to get the most coveted prize: a scholarship to the Royal College. Second, these Scholarships and Exhibitions acted as a bridge between the Primary and Secondary education in the colony; the primary schools were no longer an end in themselves, but rather they were a means to an end - to secondary and further education.

These Scholarships and Exhibitions were open to the boys of both Government and Grant-in-Aid primary schools. The subjects of examination included English and French (115). Reading, conversation, recitation, grammar, dictation and composition; Arithmetic; Geography of Europe and Mauritius, with maps, elementary physical geography; History: that of England to the close of the Norman conquest; and that of France to the death of Saint Louis; Algebra: to simple equations with problems involving the same (116); Euclid: to end of Book I, with easy deductions; Drawing and Practical Geometry.

There may be awarded yearly six scholarships of Rs 100. per annum,

tenable for four years, together with free tuition at the Royal College until the end of the year in which the scholarship holder was twenty years old; and six Exhibitions entitling the holders to free tuition at the Royal College until the end of the year in which they were twenty years old (117).

These twelve yearly rewards were open to all pupils who had attended a Primary Government or Aided School from the beginning of the second year preceding the year in which the examination took place. The examination was held in the month of December (118). Candidates ought not be over fifteen years and not under twelve years old on the first day of July in the year in which the examination was to be held; and successful candidates ought to score at least 30 per cent of the maximum - marks in each subject, and three-fifths of the total obtainable marks (119).

Primary School Scholarships for girls were instituted in 1895 in order to enable them to pursue a higher course of studies than that which were available in Primary Schools. The Scholarships were four in number, being each of the value of Rs 244. per annum, tenable for three years, with free grant of books and free railway travelling, whenever the girls' parents were too poor to pay for the same. The successful candidates ought to pursue their studies at a girls' school recognised as one preparing for the examinations under the scheme for the Higher Education of Girls in the colony (120). Candidates ought to have passed the Fifth Standard, be under fourteen years of age on the 31st of August of the year in which they competed, and had attended a Primary Government or Aided School for at least three years immediately preceding the 1st of August of the year in which the examination was held. The examination was held in the month of August. The subjects of the examination were the obligatory subjects of the Fifth Standard of Instruction in a Primary School, and the optional subjects, English, French and Geography; successful candidates ought to score at least one third of the maximum marks in each subject, and two-thirds of the total marks obtainable in all the subjects (121).

With a view to encouraging needlework among girls attending the Primary

Schools for needlework scholarships, each of the annual value of Rs 100, tenable for three years, had long been instituted by the Government. The rules governing these scholarships were revised in 1892. The competition was under the control of a ladies' committee appointed by the Governor, and comprised the usual shirt-sleeve test, to include: a seam made by running, back-stitching and felling, hemming, gathering, stitching, button-hole, the gusset, eyelet-hole and loop, and a knowledge of herring-bone stitching and of repairing old linen and stockings. Candidates ought to be between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. The four yearly successful candidates were duly apprenticed to some persons accepted by the committee, and their daily attendance was registered. The members of the ladies' committee from time to time called at the shops or establishments in which apprentices were trained in order to ascertain their progress and conduct (122).

The institution of the Primary School Scholarships had both immediate and ultimate consequences for the development, expansion, organization and administration of the sectorally, fragmented and newly emerging educational system:-

- (a) They served as a link between the Primary and Secondary education of the colony and provided a coherence to the newly emerging educational system which was lacking before;
- (b) The Primary School Scholarships functioned as the only gateway to the Royal College - the only elitist institution in the colony catering for the cultural needs of the children of the British Administrators and those of the national bourgeoisie, and to a lesser extent to the children of the coloured people who demanded to have access to the cultural norms and values;
- (c) As a result of the introduction of the Primary School Scholarships, primary education in the colony became examination oriented and competition, among the sectorally fragmented schools and Government owned ones, to secure scholarships for their schools, became rife: in fact, in 1901, 10,545 pupils competed for 10 scholarships and 6 exhibitions; (123);
- (d) The competition for the Primary School Scholarships took

place on the most unequal terms: first, in terms of gender and number, the boys were most favoured since they could compete for 6 Scholarships and 6 Exhibitions, while the girls could compete only for 4 Scholarships; second, the competition favoured the Roman Catholic and Anglican aided schools which were better staffed, had better resources and catered for the education of the children of the British Administrative class and those of the national bourgeoisie;

(e) As the Primary Education became increasingly examination-centred, cramming, rote-learning and mechanical exercises dominated the process of primary schooling and in this process, formation of the children was sacrificed at the altar of information; besides, their intellectual growth and creative faculties were also simultaneously atrophied;

(f) The introduction of the Primary School Scholarships, the examination fever which dominated primary schooling and the compulsion to produce scholars - all these factors pressurised the primary school teachers to produce results; but the teachers had a better incentive to produce good results, and that was the introduction of "Payment by Results" system (124) introduced in 1866 and extended to the Aided Schools in 1876; the introduction of "Payment by Results" - itself a metropolitan practice - is another example which demonstrates the impact of political forces external to the Mauritian social structure, on the primary school structure, its role in distorting educational practices and determining the outcome of school processes;

(g) and finally, from a very tender age, the primary school pupils were exposed to the British and French Imperial cultures-through the imposition of the English and French languages as obligatory subjects in primary schools - and socialized into the cultural norms and values of the international system which instil in these pupils a distorted vision of social reality and help them to grow up with a false consciousness of their own reality and a delusion of grandeur which will dog their steps from the cradle to the grave; in short, primary education in the colony - very much similar to the secondary education - was responding to the cultural needs of the British metropolis, of the national bourgeoisie and of those status-seekers, the children of

the free coloured people, who were gradually replacing the children of the national bourgeoisie as the new elite in the colony; the newly emerging educational system had/has never responded to the national needs.

The Education Ordinance No 33 of 1899 was the corner-stone of the newly-emerging educational system in the colony, and as the educational system expanded the problem of educational growth and administration necessitated various amendments to it; and the most important changes in the Education Ordinance of 1899 was brought about by the Education Ordinance No 35 of 1913: inter alia, it helped to establish a Committee of Public Instruction (125) composed of The Director, who was also the Chairman of the said committee, the Rector and nine other Members (126) appointed by the Governor; the Committee of Public Instruction was not to be an administrative and executive body, but a purely consultative and deliberative body; but it was empowered to make regulations, which were to be called "Education Code" dealing with, inter alia, the administration of Government Primary Schools, the conditions of payment of grants-in-aid to Primary Schools for boys and girls, the education and salary of teachers, and the administration and management of the Royal College (127). It was also the duty of the Committee to advise upon all questions connected with the education of youth in the colony which were referred to it by the Governor or the Director (128). According to the Education Ordinance No 35 of 1913, the Governor in Executive Council, after consulting the Committee, might at any time establish a Government School or might close one already in existence (129).

The Education Ordinance No 19 of 1919, known as the "The Education - Consolidation Ordinance", brought further administrative changes to the newly emerging educational system; it established two Committees:

- (a) Royal College Committee and (130).
- (b) A Schools' Committee - the function of this Committee will be expatiated upon here as it immediately dealt with the problems of the ~~sectorally~~ fragmented primary schools. The Schools' Committee was to be chaired by the - Superintendent (131) and consisted of nine members - five were chosen from the Managers of the ~~sectorally~~ fragmented schools,

and four were appointed by the Governor himself (132). The Schools' Committee was empowered to make regulations which were to be called the "Education Code" and dealt with the different aspects of organisational and administrative day to day problems of the Government, Aided Primary Schools and Aided Secondary Schools, BUT not the Royal College (133) ♦ Schools which catered for the primary instruction of the children in the colony were hereafter classified as Government Schools - maintained entirely from the public funds of the colony - and Grant-in-aid Schools, if established by local managers and aided from the public funds of the colony (134).

The Education Ordinance No 42 of 1934, otherwise known as "an Ordinance to amend and consolidate the law on Education", brought further clarifications between the Royal College and the other **sectorally** fragmented institutions, both primary and secondary, of the colony; the Ordinance, moreover, consolidated the distinction already made by the Education Ordinance No 19 of 1919, between the administration of the Royal College, by the Royal College Committee, and of the other educational institutions by the Schools' Committee. This dual system of administration is legitimised in the 1934 Education Ordinance, and the continuation of a Royal College Department and a Schools' Department are emphasized and their various functions, powers and limitations detailed. As far as the Government and Aided Schools - both primary and secondary - are concerned, the Superintendent continued to act as the Head of the Schools' Department, and continued his superintendence over the Government and Aided Primary Schools, Aided Secondary Schools and all Educational institutions other than the Royal College (135). So far, religious teaching was not given the official sanction in the Government schools, but it formed part of the **sectorally** fragmented institutions (136).

But even before the Education Ordinance No 42 of 1934 was contemplated, the officer responsible for Primary Schools division of the Education Department found out in 1932 that the dual system of administration and control of the newly emerging educational system was not functioning properly and

that he called attention to the many serious defects in the local primary school system and the question was subsequently submitted to the Secretary of State for the colonies for consideration (137). According to the Officer, the shortcoming of teaching in the primary schools was its atmosphere of bookishness and the over-emphasis on examination which made "cramming" inevitable; the old-fashioned classical curriculum with its academic bias, the absence of practical work of any kind and the concentration of all efforts on the gaining of scholarships made the teaching in the primary schools unsuitable for the needs of the community that ought to be educated for life as well as for living (138); the Officer also found out that the primary school in the colony had failed to achieve its main purpose: the provision of education for all instead of instruction for a privileged few (139).

In 1939, preliminary steps were taken for a general survey of the educational system of the colony and, on the advice of the Advisory Committee on Education in the colonies - an agency external to the Mauritian social structure - it was decided to create the post of Director of Education as an essential preliminary for any programme of reform, and Mr. W.E.F. Ward (140) was selected to fill the new post.

Within a year of his arrival, Mr Ward submitted a comprehensive report on education in Mauritius and his recommendations were examined by a select - committee of all the unofficial members of the legislature. After much discussion covering the whole field of education, specially the question of Indian dialect, the Director's recommendations were accepted and approved by the select committee; the Ward Report has been constantly referred to as the 'educational charter' of the colony (141); thus, the Education Ordinance No 30 of 1941, also known as "the Department of Education (Constitution) Ordinance", finally established a Department of Education, headed by the Director of Education whose function was to control the educational system of the colony and who was responsible for the general progress and development of such a system. The Director of Education was also to have the general superintendence and direction of the Royal College and Royal

College School. The staff of all Government educational institutions were to form part of the Department of Education and the Staff of the state-aided educational institutions of the colony in existence at the coming into force of this Ordinance, or created thereafter, were subject to the control of the Director of Education (142). The 1941 Education Ordinance also made provision for the institution of an Education Committee which would be chaired by the Director of Education and seven members appointed by the Governor (143); two Assistant Directors of Education were also appointed. One of them was entrusted with the administration of the Royal College division; he was to be addressed as the Rector and was the executive officer responsible to the Director for carrying out within the Royal College division the provisions of any enactment applicable thereto, subject to such directions as might be given to him by the Director of Education. The other Assistant was entrusted with the administration of the Schools division (144); he was to be the executive officer responsible to the Director for carrying out within the Schools division the provisions of any enactment applicable thereto, subject to such directions as might be given to him by the Director.

In 1943 Mr C.W.M. Cox, the Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, visited the colony to examine progress and the Government and members of the Council of Government had a further opportunity of obtaining expert advice and of discussing with him and the Director some of the controversial issues surrounding the expansion, administration and control of the ~~sectorally~~ fragmented educational institutions and practices, thereby paving the way for the 1944 Education Ordinance.

The Education Ordinance No 12 of 1944 confirmed, consolidated and, to some extent, amended the 1941 Education Ordinance: inter alia,

- (a) it confirmed the establishment of a Department of Education to be Headed by the Director of Education (145);
- (b) that Department comprised of all the educational institutions, including the Royal College and the Royal College School of the colony (146);
- (c) the existence of the Education Committee, to be headed by the Director of Education and seven members (147), was confirmed (148);

(d) all the powers vested in and exercised by the Rector of the Royal College or the Superintendent of Schools were transferred to and exercised by the Director of Education (149);

(e) as far as Government Schools were concerned, the Governor could, at any time, establish a Government school or close one already in existence; every Aided Primary School was put under the control of a manager (150) who was to be responsible to the educational authority for the good administration of the school; all Government schools and all aided primary schools were open to pupils of any race or religion and religious instructions were available to those who were willing, through parental consent, to have them (151).

By 1945, specially through the implementation of the 1944 Education Ordinance, the newly emerging educational system in the colony had assumed a certain degree of coherence, had been hierarchically structured, had been duly centralized but continued to preserve and perpetuate its sectorally fragmented characteristic, as a result of which only certain section of the Mauritian population has always enjoyed the privileges of schooling.

The next sub-section of this study deals with the education of the children of the indentured labourers - an underprivileged section of the Mauritian population - and the further expansion of the sectorally fragmented educational institutions and practices - a fact which has been - confirmed by the 1944 Education Ordinance (152):-

"For Roman Catholic, Church of England, Hindu, or Moslem aided schools, the appropriate educational authority shall be the Roman Catholic, Church of England, Hindu, or Moslem educational authority respectively".

#### 3.6.4.5 Proselytisation V/S Cultural Resistance: The Education of the children of the Indentured Labourers, and the further Expansion of the Sectorally Fragmented Primary Educational Institutions and Practices in the Colony, 1870 - 1947.

Provision for the education of the Indian children, or lack of it, had been a sensitive issue for colonial administrators - an issue which

had generated more contradiction and confusion because, I will argue, of the contradictory legal status of the indentured labourers; and second, internal changes within the Mauritian social structure which led to a blurring of the class boundaries, various shifts in class and group allegiances, and the flaring up of religious conflict, as a result of proselytisation works carried out by Catholics and Anglicans among the Indian and Muslim population of the colony.

By 1870, the most manifest internal change was in the population structure of the colony\*. In 1861 there were nearly four times as many Indians in Mauritius as there had been in 1846; out of a population of 150,000 in 1846, 50,000 were Indians. But in 1861, only fifteen years later, they numbered 200,000 out of 300,000 (153); besides their sheer number, a section of the Indian community - mostly the sirdars - further alarmed their Catholic and Protestant counterparts by their rapid economic progress: by 1907, the Indians owned one-third of the land planted in cane and produced over one-fifth of the island's cane (154), and even before the indenture system ended, an Indian peasant class had begun to crystallize - a peasant class which will be the fountainhead of the future Indian elite to challenge the hegemony of the French national bourgeoisie. Besides land, a section of the Indian immigrants also began to acquire money. Nicholas Pike reported that in 1869 Indians had deposited £69,032 in the savings bank; in 1868, £17,158 was remitted to India on behalf of the immigrants, and additional sums were repatriated through merchants or taken in cash by returnees (155). In addition to land and money, the Indians were also acquiring a third commodity: education. The growing peasant class viewed education as the key to a job in town - a step up from working on the estates - so children walked or rode trains for hours as most of the schools were situated in the urban areas - to reach schools where they were taught in English and French. By 1924, of the 397 students at the prestigious Royal College, 160 were Indians (156).

The rise of the Indian peasant class did not go unnoticed. Both the Government and the Franco-Mauritians watched the economic rise and ambition

\* See Appendix I3 for a Population Chart in Mauritius from 1735-1944.

of these peasant proprietors with concern. Franco-Mauritians occasionally expressed fear that the Indians would gain too much control, thereby undermining their economic and political control in the colony. According to Henri LeClezio:-

"The poor Indian has become the owner of lands of the colony; the poor Indians are carters and traders. They are those unfortunate people that are sent from India to Mauritius. When they come here, I should not say they are civilized - they are brutes, most of them. They come to this colony in a state of - uncivilization. When they have spent a certain number of years in the colony they acquire our civilization, they become landowners, they become traders, they become everything" (157).

The Indian peasantry was despised; but the whole Indian community was feared, hated and treated like slaves and criminals:-

"In 1869 alone, over 23,900 Indians were arrested for vagrancy, and between 1867 and 1872 Indians paid over £20,000 to the treasury for violating pass laws. For the police and many Mauritians, arresting Indians became a game. Vagrant hunts were a favourite Saturday pastime. Lunch was provided by the Government, and teams competed to see how many immigrants they could arrest. In an average hunt, 500 men would be arrested, and of these about 275 would be condemned to a period of hard labour" (158).

The Indian labourers were in Mauritius on a five-year contract at the end of which some, eventually, returned to India, while thousands of others chose to renew their contract, and others still chose to settle permanently in Mauritius. The sheer number of the Indian labourers and settlers transformed Mauritius into a predominantly Asiatic society and the populations of European and African descent felt obviously threatened by a group of people with various languages and diverse cultures and idolatrous religious practices. The Indians were not hated because they were a hoard of barbarous and strange people, but rather, I will argue, because they threatened the existence of the present social order based on the political, economic, cultural and social domination of the national bourgeoisie whose various needs and interests coincided with the needs and interests of the dominant class in the British metropolis. Consequently, the national bourgeoisie was compelled to seek the alliance of other groups and class to counteract this threat: relationship between the plantation-owners, the free-coloured people, the police and the magistrates became more intimate; while the Catholics and the Anglicans buried their petty differences (159) and worked

together to proselytize the 'aliens'. Thus, various agents and agencies of social control were at work to keep the Indian labourers in check: the "Codes, Constables and Courts" were quite successful in this task, while the more subtle works of proselytization and schooling were less successful. My intention in this section, therefore, is twofold: first, I want to assess the role of education as an agent of social-control (160), especially where the education of the Indian children was concerned; second, I want to evaluate the impact on, and reaction to, the works of proselytization conducted among the Indian community by the Catholics and Anglicans alike.

I have already pointed out that, in Mauritius, a **sectorally** fragmented educational system had gradually evolved, and the outcome and practices of which was determined by forces external to the Mauritian social structure. I have also added that the manifest (161) function of this **sectorally** fragmented educational system has been to socialize the children of the national bourgeoisie and those of the administrative class into the cultural values reflecting the needs and interests of the international system and those of the national elite; and I will argue that the latent (162) functions of these educational institutions have been to socially control, monitor and reward those students who had successfully internalized those rules and cultural values transmitted by these institutions, by 'placing' them in lucrative administrative posts in the civil service; while those who failed in this internalization process had a dim future in store for them. In short, the fragmented educational system in Mauritius - for that matter all educational institutions - has been acting as an successful agency of social control to socialize, monitor, reward, discipline and punish the individual whose history and biography have been considerably shaped and determined by the educational system (163).

The education of the Indian children represents a special case because of the special legal status of the Indian labourers. They were on a five-year contract to work as labourers in the sugar-cane fields of the colony and because of their temporary stay in the colony, the colonial Government

did not think fit to make any educational provision for these children, nor were the parents interested in educating their children formally, since they had their own educational set-up. These children were more usefully engaged in helping their parents to secure a better wage and bring more 'rations' at home (164) and neither the time-table nor the contents of formal education were perceived as relevant to their needs. As the Indian exodus swamped over the colony, and as alcoholism, vagrancy and crime became more rampant, Governor Higginson drew the attention of the Council to the value of education as the "best prevention of crime and the surest guarantee of social order" (165).

The colonial administration recognized the need to educate the children of Indian labourers, but the problem was more complex than the administration realized: in what language were these children to be taught? Was the Indian community to be assimilated into the Mauritian social structure or was it to be treated as 'separate and unequal'? (166). Those who presided over the destiny of the indentured labourers decided that they ought to be treated as 'separate and unequal':-

"The Court of Directors of the East India Company, although in favour of compulsory education, denied the right of the colony to force a system of education upon Indian children from which their mother-tongue was excluded. Lord Stanley, as Secretary of State for India, in deference to the opinions of the Court of Directors, decided to render the attendance of the Indian-children at school optional, instead of compulsory" (167).

Prior to 1902, the few schools which catered for the education of the Indian children were supported by the Indian themselves who paid fees ranging from 1sh to 2shs 6p per mensem (168); the Commission of Inquiry into the treatment of Immigrants found out that in only one case did the estate in any way contribute towards the support of the school. The Commissioners further observed that the schools for the Indian children "were tolerated rather than encouraged by the proprietors" (169). The same Commission also found that out of the 30 denominational schools only four were for the Indian Community, and that out of the 40,000 Indian children, only about 1,000 children were receiving any education and that the girls' attendance was

quite negligible.

Most of the Indian labourers were still dissatisfied with the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry into the treatment of Immigrants but could not find redress to their grievances. Sir Arthur Phayre, the then British Governor, was very sympathetic to the Indian cause and he believed that something should be done (170). In 1876, he urged the Education Committee to set up a number of vernacular schools of a simple type for estate children. The Education Committee accepted this scheme on an experimental basis, and four schools were started in Grand-Port; after Phayre's departure, the development of the vernacular schools became questionable: in 1880 a Special Committee was constituted to assess the progress of these schools. The Committee's opinion was that the experiment would be of no advantage, and that "it would be better for the Indians themselves that English should be taught in Government Indian Schools" (171). At the beginning of 1882, these Indian Vernacular Schools were handed over to the Schools Department and renamed Anglo-Vernacular Schools since the English language formed part of the curriculum; but even these schools - set up in special catchment areas - failed to lure the Indian children to attend.

Eventually, the Code of 1902 made provision for the establishment of half-time schools (172) for Indian children. The subjects taught in such schools were to be the obligatory subjects for the standards in Primary Schools as far as Standard IV, provided that an Indian dialect may be substituted for French or English (173). The teachers in such schools ought to be able to speak and write an Indian dialect. Result grants were to be paid for pupils in these schools who had made 130 complete attendances of three hours each on separate days and who satisfied the Inspector at the annual examination. Such schools ought to have two complete sessions during the day, in each of which three whole hours were devoted to secular instruction; the instruction given at the morning session being independent of that in the afternoon, so as to allow pupils attending one session a day to receive a consecutive course of instruction (174).

The schools catering for the education of the Indian children fell under

the aegis of the Grant-in-Aid system, and as such, despite their **sectoral** characteristic, became under the superintendence of the Director of Education in 1944; the 1944 Education Ordinance (175) emphasizes the **sectoral** fragmentation of all denominational schools:-

"For Roman Catholic, Church of England, Hindu, or Moslem aided schools, the appropriate educational authority shall be the Roman Catholic, Church of England, Hindu (176), or Moslem educational authority respectively".

Given the fact that the majority of the Indian community was insensible to the beneficial effects of education at that time, and also the fact that the colonial administration did not make adequate provision for the education of their children and insisted on treating the Indian community as '**separate and unequal**' one can obviously conclude that, as far as the Indian community was concerned, education has failed to act as a powerful agent of social control. It is only with the introduction of a new Constitution in 1947, that education would assume a crucial role among the population of the Indian community. Prior to this constitutional event, the Indian community was shaken up from its torpor and stirred to action by the following events: first, the proselytization activities of the Catholics and Anglicans among the Indian community; and second, the visit of M.K.Gandhi (177) to Mauritius in 1901.

The Indians in Mauritius were not only '**separate and unequal**', but they were also viewed as 'a vast mass of heathenism' (178), with strange religion and culture which marked them out as alien, by the colonial administrators and other Europeans; Revd. Beaton's remark, in 1859, aptly sums up the European's position:-

"Unless a strenuous effort be made by the Protestant Church at home to send missionaries to instruct them in the simple truths of the gospel, like the coloured population of Mauritius at the time of emancipation, they will fall into the hands of the Church of Rome...

The Protestant Church at home, in concentrating all their efforts upon the heathen in India, have overlooked the claims of the same class in Mauritius" (179).

The missionary works conducted by both Catholics and Protestants among the Indian community met with little success. These attempts at conversion

only helped to alienate the Indians still further from the civilized Europeans and caused an upsurge of communal feelings among them - feelings which have been responsible for further Indian cultural revival, thereby increasing further their ' **separate** and unequal' status.

M.K. Gandhi's contribution towards the Indian cultural revival in Mauritius consisted mainly in the 'consciousness-raising' of the Indians: during his three-week stay, he visited various parts of the island and spoke frequently at meetings to Indians in both Gujarati and English. He emphasized the important part the Indians had played in the economic growth of the island, and he stressed that they ought to take more interest in the political life of Mauritius. He also admonished them not to neglect the education of their children (180). After M.K. Gandhi's departure, both Hindus and Moslems opened schools for the education of their children.

M.K. Gandhi's exhortations to the Indian community were put into practice by a group of Indian élite who went to study Sanskrit and other religious books in India. A few of them were very much influenced by the Gandhian philosophy, while the others adhered strictly to the writings of Tagore or the teachings of Shri Aurobindo (181). These intellectuals campaigned for the right of the non-Christians (182) to occupy key-posts in the Department of Education, and asked for more financial help for the schools opened by the Hindus (183). The most immediate consequence of this campaign was that both Catholics and Protestants ceased their missionary works among the Indian community. To help propagate the Indian culture throughout the colony, these intellectuals helped to establish some 300 schools and train more than 800 teachers who were to teach Hindi, Tamil, Telegou and Gujarati. The colonial administration tried to check this Indian culture revival, but to no avail; and after 1940, these oriental languages had become a daily feature of the primary school curriculum (184).

At first, the Indian community was ' **separate** and unequal', but by 1940 it was still ' **separate**' but was trying to achieve a fair measure of 'equality' vis-a-vis the other European communities. Numerically, it re-

presented the majority of the population of the colony and it had already developed an Indian peasantry and an Indian bourgeoisie which were posing a threat to the legitimacy of the national bourgeoisie – the Franco-Mauritians (185). It had successfully resisted the onslaught of the missionary zeal of both Catholics and Protestants, and had counter-attacked its opponents by launching its own cultural revival, thereby developing a distinct national identity. Its various struggles against the colonial administration and the plantation owners of the colony have helped to develop a sense of political awareness in the Indian community and the formation of the Mauritius Labour Party (186) brought class politics and class struggle in the open. With the introduction of the new constitution in 1947, based on a simple literacy franchise, the Indian community would feel the full impact of further development of sectorally fragmented educational institution. From then onwards as I will argue education was to remain the most important commodity to be possessed.

3.6.5. The Growth of the Sectorally Fragmented Educational Institutions and Practices and the Development of Teachers' Education. (1870-1947).

The growth, expansion and centralization of the sectorally fragmented educational institutions and practices created an increasing need for qualified teachers, who were obviously in short supply. To meet this demand for teachers, both unqualified and qualified, the colonial administration resorted to makeshift measures, especially in the Government schools where a 'monitorial system' was established. Consequently, my intention, in this section, will not be to discuss the development of teachers' education only but also to focus on

- (a) the attitude to the 'teaching' profession at that time;
- (b) the monitorial system, and the monitors as agents of social control, engaged in creating a disciplined and docile student force;
- (c) the creation of studentships as a measure for training teachers, especially for Grant-in-Aid schools;
- (d) Teachers' examinations for certificates of competency;
- (e) the unequal distribution of educational resources which resulted

in reinforcing the social and economic inequalities already existing in Mauritian society;

(f) the teacher's role as determined by 'the Payment by Results' scheme and by the Syllabi set by external agencies—the London University;

(g) and finally, the foundation of the Teachers' Training College.

Teaching, as we understand it today, has been an activity closely related to the various religious orders in 19th century Mauritius. The Royal College was opened by the Catholic priests for the education of the rich Catholic children of the colony; then came the Anglicans, and the Dissenters and the Irish Catholics; teaching, as part of a duty exercised by the various religious orders, appeared then more as a vocation, a calling - not a profession - involving various sacrifices, little or no remuneration and a great satisfaction of having completed one's obligation towards one's community or having spread the words of the Gospel to the 'aliens' and the 'infidels' (187). In this sense, very few Mauritians were attracted to teaching at that time, not because it called for special talents but because, "the teacher's position is both toilsome and isolated, and who is neither - adequately paid for his services, nor sufficiently encouraged; we cannot find many men willing to devote their time conscientiously, to a most laborious and ungrateful profession, when their remuneration barely suffices for the common decencies of life, and their social position is a nullity" (188).

To meet the immediate demand for teachers in the Government primary schools, the Code of 1902 (189) made provision for the employment of monitors (190) who were required to pass the monitors' examination. Monitors were not to be less than thirteen years of age. In Government Schools, the Headteacher was bound, either before or after school hours, to devote not less than four hours a week to teaching and training the monitors. The Headteacher received a payment of Rs 20. for each monitor who passed the monitor's examination (191). The Headteacher could also employ Sixth Standard pupils who worked as volunteers; these volunteers were not paid, but

they assisted in the teaching for a limited time during school hours and received one hour's instruction per day from the Headteacher, before or after school hours (192). Both, the Monitorial and the Volunteer, systems were of little pedagogical value in the classroom; the monitor and the volunteer were 'trained' into transmitting some hard facts to their students accompanied by strict discipline and control - in fact, their task was to ensure that they produced an orderly and docile class of students; these two systems were convenient for the colonial administration because they were cheap (193).

Most of the best schools, run by religious authorities, fell under the aegis of the Grant-in-Aid system, and a different provision was made for their recruitment of teachers. The Government had approved certain regulations passed by the council of Education in 1892, by which fifteen yearly studentships had been created, the holders of which received Rs 12 a month from the Government, for two years, so as to qualify themselves for the teachers' examinations at certain schools chosen for the purpose by the Heads of the several Christian churches. A further sum of Rs 5. a month was paid, per student, to the Headteachers of the schools at which the training took place (194). The number of students to which each class of denominational schools was entitled was based on the average attendance of pupils during the preceding year (195).

The classification of teachers into different categories of 'classes' reflected the needs of the **sectorally** fragmented educational institutions and practices: under the Code of 1902, teachers' certificates of competency of the second (196) and third classes were obtained by passing in August of each year the examinations required by law. For a second class certificate it was necessary to have taught in a Government or Aided Primary School or schools for five years and to have received satisfactory reports (197). Similarly for a third class certificate it was necessary to have taught for three years. The syllabus included English and French Reading and Conversation, English and French Grammar, English and French Orthography and Composition, English and French Translation, Arithmetic, Geography, English

and French History, Drawing, Practical Geometry, and school-Management, with Algebra and Euclid for males and needlework for females (198). The fourth class certificates formerly granted to teachers had been abolished by the Code of 1902, but the then holders of such certificates were regarded as certificated and were paid at the rate of which they were paid before the present Code came into force. These examinations were conducted by members of the Royal College teaching staff.

The various 'classes' of teachers, monitors and volunteers were unequally distributed among the **sectorally** fragmented educational institutions: the best teachers—always a minority (199)—were allocated to the religious institutions in the urban areas, while the monitors and volunteers were allocated to the Government Schools, found mostly in the rural areas; for example in 1901, the Government Schools had 62 male and 13 female Headteachers, 78 Assistant teachers and 118 monitors; while the Aided Schools had 96 Headteachers, 101 Assistants BUT no-monitors (200); this unequal distribution of human resources seriously affected the outcome of schooling and school performance of the pupils; in this sense, the unequal distribution of educational resources tended to reproduce the social and economic inequalities prevalent in the colony; besides, the wage-structure (201) of the various 'classes' of teachers reflected the hierarchy of the social structure in which a minority — the national bourgeoisie — was better rewarded than the majority; the **sectorally** fragmented educational institutions and practices continued to reproduce a handful of elites and masses of docile failures.

It is very difficult to allocate a definite role to the Mauritian teacher, prior to 1900, because the emerging **sectorally** fragmented educational system was serving different needs and interests in the colony and the teacher had to adapt his role to suit these needs and interests. At a time when the establishment of schools and teaching were the monopoly of the religious orders and at a time when most of the schools were acting as proselytizing agencies, the teachers' role was centred mostly on providing moral and religious instructions to their pupils and acting as proselytizing agents; but with the introduction of the monitorial and volunteer systems, and also the fact that the whole educational system was geared towards passing examinations,

the teacher's role became more diffuse: the monitors and volunteers spent most of their time inculcating a sense of order and discipline in their pupils and ensuring a strict control of their various activities. But the certificated teachers who were allocated to the best schools devoted most of their time in 'cramming' educational facts into the head of their pupils because by the 'payment by result' system, the more pupils passed their examination, the better it was financially for the teacher; while the teachers posted in rural schools spent most of their time trying to emulate their colleagues in the urban schools - in a word, competition for obtaining better results became the shibboleth of the Mauritian educational system.

From the time of the opening of the first Government Primary School in 1823 to the time a Department of Education was established in 1944, the emerging and **sectorally** fragmented educational system had been beset by many problems both of internal and external nature - and the major problem to hamper its growth had been the lack of adequate facilities for the training of teachers. The Government had to have recourse to makeshift arrangements - like the monitorial and the volunteer systems - to meet the increasing demand for teachers in the Government and Grant-in-Aid school. Tentative attempts were made to start a Government Training School for the training of elementary teachers for boys in 1902 and it was hoped that another Training school for the training of women teachers would be established (202). But the internal financial situation of the colony had prevented this type of projects to be materialised. For example, the Financial Commissioners who had been called in to investigate the financial situation of the colony in 1931, recommended that the Training College, the Technical and the Trade Schools ought to be closed (203). In the 1930s, there was a growing concern over the poor results, and 'textbookish' nature of teaching in Government Primary Schools; concern was also expressed over the poor facilities and lack of qualified teachers; to remedy these deficiencies, the Ward Report (204) recommended the establishment of a Training College as an item of priority on the agenda of educational reforms in the colony. Despite the heavy demands made by War on the various resources in the colony, a good start was made to establish a Teachers Training College in a temporary premise.

The Government of Nigeria seconded, as Principal, one of its senior Education Officers and a nucleus of staff was gradually built up; and by the 1950s, the Teachers' Training College was in full operation. But the training of secondary school teachers was neglected until 1973 (205).

### 3.6.6. The Decline of the Plantation Economy and the Creation of the Mauritius Sugar Industry Research Institute

By 1860, the Mauritian plantation economy had reached its peak: there were 258 sugar-cane factories in operation and the plantation owners were happy (206). But by 1870 with the rise of the monopoly capital and the changes in the needs of the international system - more food and raw materials were required - sugar was no longer to be king; this extreme dependence on the export of a single commodity could endanger the prosperity of the colony:-

"This excessive concentration of its resources upon one industry exposes it to serious difficulties and even dangers. It makes the colony entirely dependent upon the world price of sugar, over which it has no control; it prevents any chance of depression in one local industry being balanced by the prosperity of others, and it causes the finances of the Government to be almost entirely dependent upon a single fluctuating and uncertain factor.... when the sugar industry is depressed, the whole community, with very few exceptions, suffers" (207).

In this section, therefore, my intention is: first, to assess the causes and consequences of the decline of the Mauritian plantation economy; and second, to argue that the national bourgeoisie, when in need of technical education to serve the ailing economy, founded the Mauritius Sugar Industry Research Institute to serve its needs and interests.

Toussaint (208) points out that there were many causes responsible for the decline of the Mauritian plantation economy: first, there were natural causes, like the climatic conditions and diseases and various types of destructive insects which were brought in the colony by merchandise ships. In the late 1860s and early 1870s, three devastating cyclones swept over the colony with catastrophic results, both for the inhabitants and for the plantation economy: the first cyclone in 1868 reduced the sugar cane production

by 33,9%; the second one in 1874 reduced production by 30,3% and the third one in 1879 reduced production by 28,8% (209). Then, as a natural consequence of extensive deforestation of lands, a scorching drought virtually reduced the sugar cane plantations to yellowish aridity; but the worse was still to come. In the 1850s, planters discovered that a 'cryptogamique' disease was destroying their fields (210); consequently they imported a new variety of cane from Java and with it came another 'cane-killer' - an insect called 'borer'; insects like 'le borer' and 'le phytalus' were so destructive that they could bring most of the planters on the verge of an economic ruin (211).

The next cause attributed to the decline of the plantation economy had been the apathetic nature of the national bourgeoisie itself. Toussaint observes that the national bourgeoisie had always been resistant to change (212) and to keep pace with modern technology; and I will argue that the national bourgeoisie had always resisted change in the colony because it had not been in its interests to bring, either reforms, or drastic changes in the colony. In fact, it had been the preserver of 'status quo', and it had only reacted when its needs, interests and privileges had been threatened. For example, the national bourgeoisie thought of mechanising the plantation economy only when the immigration of Indian labourers came to an end in 1909 (213). But the crucial example to support my argument is that despite the **fact that** Mauritius had been a plantation colony for more than a century, it was only in 1913 that the national bourgeoisie decide to establish a Department of Agriculture, which lodged the 'Station Agronomique', founded in 1893 and entirely funded by the plantation class. Most of the teaching and research associated with sugar cane was conducted by the School of Agriculture, which in 1930 had assumed the status of a College (214); the idea of the 'Station Agronomique' petered out and in 1927, a Mauritius Sugar Conference recommended the creation of a new research station which was duly established in 1930; the national bourgeoisie was dissatisfied with the working of the Sugar Cane Research Station and on the recommendation of the 1947-8 Mauritius Economic Commission, set up a new **institution** - the Mauritius Sugar Industry Research Institute, to be entirely funded by the national bourgeoisie. It is obvious then, that when the economic interests of the national

bourgeoisie has been threatened, it was ready to harness the benefits of the modern technology to serve the needs of the ailing plantation economy; consequently, I will argue that the appropriate knowledge can bring about economic growth. The national bourgeoisie proved that it could be done in the past, but the question which arose was: could it do it in the future?.

The major cause bringing about the decline of the Mauritian plantation economy had been the change in the needs-pattern of the international system in the 1870s. By 1865, beet sugar was increasingly called upon to replace cane sugar, a process which had been started as early as the blockade of France during the Napoleonic wars. West Germany and other European countries were quick to follow the example of France. Due to special subsidy to farmers in Europe, the production of beet sugar rose from 950,000 tons in 1873 to 2,010,000 in 1883 - this production was more than the total sugar cane production of the entire British Colonies put together (215). One must also add that the industrialised countries were more in need of foodstuffs for its army of workers and raw materials for the increasing number of factories (216) consequently, sugar, as a costly commodity, was no longer in great demand; and if it was, its price was very low(217). One must also consider the fact that the opening of the Suez Canal greatly decreased the importance of Mauritius as an entrepot in the Indian Ocean. It is only during the inter-war years that the price of Mauritian sugar would go up again (218); prior to the War, India became the principal market for Mauritian sugar.

The consequences following the decline of the Mauritian plantation economy had been manifold: after 1880, the sugar price began a secular decline. Indebtedness mounted, and numerous estates began to be sold in small lots mainly to Indian cultivators who, only a few years before, had been indentured labourers. The number of factories fell from a peak of 258 about 1860 to only 104 in 1892 and 66 in 1908 (219). The sale of estates, called 'morcellement' proceeded most rapidly between 1880 and 1900. It was checked in 1902 by the effects of an outbreak of a disease called 'surra', which wiped out a large part of the draught livestock and encouraged the rapid establishment of cane railway systems. The effect of these

was to reduce costs of long haulage from field to mill, and to encourage consolidation of estates as an alternative to 'morcellement'. There was a final burst of 'morcellement' between 1910 and 1914, in a period of very low land values. By 1914 about half the cane land was in the hands of small proprietors, but since that time the trend has been toward re-aggregation into larger units (220).

3.6.7. The Foundation of the Mauritius Labour Party: The Emergence of Class Struggle, Class Politics and Class Consciousness among the Indentured Labourers.

Prior to the formation of the Mauritius Labour Party in 1936, class (221) struggle and class politics were activities strictly related to the elite of the free coloured population who, as a class in itself and for itself, had struggled against the plantation class over access for equal education for their children, over equality of opportunity in the occupational structure—specially the professions, and over political participation in the colony; despite the fact that the free coloured population obtained certain concessions from the plantation class, it could not get a firm grip over political control at the national level where political power was equated to property; but in the 1920s and 1930s the coloured intellectuals, specially Raoul Rivet and Edgar Laurent, were at the hub of the Mauritian Municipal politics (222). While these struggles were being conducted, the majority of the Creoles and the Indian labourers were excluded from these activities – the coloured elite disdained the touch of the working class Creoles, while the Indian labourers were waiting for a leader to champion their cause; in short, a working class— in the sense of a political group – was as yet to be constituted in the colony.

As early as the 1870s, the Indian labourers experienced the full impact of the repressive measures of the plantation economy, and they were powerless in their helplessness. Their cause was taken up, as I mentioned earlier, by a German planter, Adolf von Plevitz (223), who drew up a petition, signed by the Indian labourers, and sent it to the Governor (224); the immediate

consequences of sending the petition were that von Plevitz was villified and beaten up and a Royal Commission, consisting of two English lawyers, Frere and Williamson, was appointed in 1872 to look into the Indian problem (225). The Commission was a lengthy and time consuming process: it took three years to publish its Report and another four years before part of its recommendations was implemented; the new Labour Law of 1878 was not set aside until 1922 (226).

In 1901 M.K. Gandhi, as I mentioned above, returning to India from South Africa, spent three weeks in Mauritius. During his short stay he visited many of his friends, and still found time to address his fellow countrymen in open gatherings. His message to the Indians in Mauritius was no different from the one he gave to the Indians in South Africa, namely: that they ought to unite; that they ought to educate their children and that they ought to take a more active part in the political affairs of the colony. To help his fellow countrymen achieve these objectives, he asked another Indian fellow-lawyer, Manilal Maganlall Doctor, to come to Mauritius and teach the Indian immigrants about the traditions and heritage of their homeland for the latter believed that non-Indians would not respect Indians until the Indians themselves respected and understood their own background (227). He founded a newspaper, the 'Hindustani' in which he called upon the Indians—both Hindus and Muslims — to unite and in which he enumerated the abuses on the estates and outlined needed reforms (228). Unlike the small Indo-Mauritian elite, which had been conspicuously silent on the subject, Manilal spoke for the labourers, and when he left Mauritius in 1911, he had already instilled confidence in the Indian people and in their community — a confidence which helped to open the door to Indian participation in the social, economic, and political life of the island; his departure left the Indians with a cause, but as yet, without a local leader to support it. The Mauritian class configuration was being moulded and modified by forces external to the Mauritian social structure.

By the 1920s, a few Indians, encouraged by the formation of the Indian — National Congress, began to move into politics, starting newspaper in French

and English and standing for election (229). Following the 1921 election, two Indo-Mauritians were nominated to the Council of Government; and in 1926 two others, Rajcoomar Gujadhur and Dunpath Lallah, were elected to the Council of Government. These two elected Indians could not claim to champion the cause of the Indian-labourers. Both were large landowners, both employed and exploited immigrants and had more in common with their Franco-Mauritian and coloured elite than with the cane cutters (230).

Events came to a head in the 1930s. First, a new breed of foreign-trained and nationalist Indian politicians appeared on the political scene, and the most notable among them were Rampersad Neerunjun, a young lawyer, and Dr. Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, who was to be Mauritius's first prime minister. This new breed of Indian elite was poised to celebrate the centenary of the Indian immigration to Mauritius in 1935. It assembled under the aegis of the Indian Cultural Association, and by 1940 founded a newspaper called 'Advance' which was filled with philosophical and literary criticism. Its editors refrained from attacking the colonial administration and were reluctant to defend the rights of the labourers (231); second, the economic depression of the 1930s had a devastating effect upon the Mauritian plantation economy. A Commission (232) was appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to study the financial problem of Mauritius; inter-alia, the Commissioners recommended the abolition of 303 government posts, the reduction of the civil servants' salaries by 10 per cent and the introduction of a graduated property tax. The Mauritian planters and businessmen were furious. They sent their delegation to meet the Secretary of the State, but the labourers were wondering where their next meal would come from. As the economic depression prolonged its devastating course in the 1930s, the demands and the various petitions of the labourers, for a better standard of living, were rejected and the repressive measures against labourers strictly enforced: the sirdar system, the middlemen and the cane dealers, and the protector of immigrants - all continued to exploit the labourers whose attempts to organize themselves into 'associations' or 'unions' were declared illegal (233) contrary to the Charter of the International Labour-Organization; finally, the labourers'

frustrations and anger resulted into strikes and riots. The 1937 riot was the worst one to have occurred in Mauritius: estate-owners and policemen, all armed with gun, confronted the labourers armed with sticks and sugarcane; the outcome of this confrontation was that four labourers were killed and ten were wounded (234). The acting Governor appointed a Commission of Enquiry to study the causes and consequences of the riot; the findings of the Commission, known as the Hooper Report, were finally published in 1938, and somewhat surprisingly, the Commissioners found most of the small planters' and labourers' complaints justified, and came up with recommendations to remove those glaring inequities in the existing system (235). Trade-unionism was finally given the blessing of the colonial administration and various cultural and social organizations were formed to serve the interests of the labourers. In short, the way was paved for the introduction of a new constitution after World War II.

It should be pointed out that although the 1937 riot did not assume the proportion of a Haitian revolt of the slaves or the revolt in the Martinique; yet, I will argue that it is a landmark in Mauritian history because it so aptly exemplifies the fact that:

- (a) Forces external to the Mauritian social structure—fall in the prices of sugar in the world market — can still determine events and processes at the national level;
- (b) That the external economic factor acted as a catalyst in the formation of a working class under the leadership of a Creole, Dr. Maurice Curé whose activities among the labourers of the estates culminated in the foundation of the Mauritius Labour Party in 1936. It is the first time in Mauritian history that the formation of the Labour Party helped to galvanize the labourers of the different ethnic community into a 'proletariat', and this was eventually achieved in 1937 when divisions in Mauritius were based primarily on class rather than ethnic community, and so was the violence (236). But from the very outset the activities of the Labour Party and those of its leader were condemned by the colonial administration and by the 1940s, the nationalist Indian elites were making inroads into the trade union

movements and into the Labour Party itself. Dr. Maurice Curé was aware of this danger and he cautioned his colleagues accordingly:-

"The workers, Creole or Indians, are all basically the same colour, with the same interests united under the same banner. Today the leader of the Labour Party is a Creole; to-morrow it will be an Indian. That is right, but the workers are to beware of the Indian intellectuals who one day would try to found a party ostensibly for the labourers but in reality for themselves" (237).

Dr. Curé's warning was prophetic indeed: the events which took place in Mauritius, after World War II, showed that Dr. Curé had rightly gauged the political ambition of the Indian intellectuals; from then onwards, class politics will decline and sectarianism and ethnic interests will dominate political life in Mauritius.

### 3.6.8. Summary and Conclusion

The virtual peace under which British Imperialism flourished after the Treaty of Paris in 1814 came to an end in 1870, which marks the beginning of a new era in the international system: an era dominated by competition and conflict between the old imperial power, Great Britain, and the other newly industrializing countries like the USA, Germany, Italy and Japan; the late industrializing countries wanted a larger share of the world trade and finance, and to obtain it, they did make use of their respective naval powers to support their imperialistic tendencies - a fact which resulted into two World Wars. As a result of the second industrial revolution, the new industrialized centres developed new needs, like raw materials, foodstuffs for their army of workers and new markets for their manufactured products; these new needs and demands, in turn, helped to establish a new international division of labour which operated at the detriment of the countries producing foodstuffs and cash crops. The economic depression and the various imperialistic onslaught signalled the decline of the British Empire - a decline which became a fact after the second World War.

The decline of the British Empire directly affected the events and

social processes in the British colonies in general – depending upon what part they were called upon to play in the British Imperial design. Mauritius functioned as a cash-crop exporter and a net importer of manufactured goods, foodstuffs and other necessities; the fall in world prices of sugar coupled with the increase in beet-sugar production in Europe contributed in the stagnation and gradual decline of the Mauritian plantation economy.

First, the economic dominance of the national bourgeoisie was threatened. Their power and control over the plantation economy weakened as they appealed for financial help to the colonial administration. Many smaller sugar estates were out of business and, as a result of 'parcellisation' of lands, a peasant class of Indian Landowners gradually emerged.

Second, the worst hit by the decline of the plantation economy were the labourers who were exploited by their own people and by the plantation owners; until the formation of the Mauritius Labour Party by a Mauritian Creole in 1936, the cause of the labourers had been championed by 'foreign leaders', and resulted in the Riots of 1937. However, it should be pointed out that the Mauritius Labour Party was genuinely a working-class party, (since the interests of the workers came first) conducting a class struggle aimed at embettering the lot of the working-class people. As the Indian intellectuals became more active in trade-unionism and politics, they were soon to dominate policy-making within the Labour Party and eventually, after the second World War II, assume leadership and led the country to Independence. It is significant to point out that forces external to the Mauritian social structure had been of overriding importance in determining the decline and fall of the Mauritian plantation economy and in the 'conscientisation process' of the labourers of the colony.

I have also pointed out that in the development of the **sectorally** fragmented educational institutions and practices in the colony, external forces have been crucial in shaping, and at times determining, the process and outcome of schooling:

Secondary Education was still dominated by the Royal College and other

sectarian elitist institutions which catered for the education of the rich children of the colony; what was taught was still strongly framed and strongly classified and was still strongly insulated from the mode of production.

As the plantation economy declined, there were attempts to set up technical and vocational schools which were completely ignored by the rich parents and rejected by the poor.

The English Scholarship was still the coveted prize and the outcome of secondary schooling was still determined by the elitist syllabus of the London University.

But the colonial administration was determined to bring a sense of order, coherence and organization in the whole educational system. Thus, internal pressures from parents for more schooling, the religious rivalry between Catholicism and Anglicanism in the field of education led to the proselytization of the Indian children and their reaction against proselytization led to the further expansion of the already **sectorally** -fragmented Primary Schools which were boosted up through the Grant-in-Aid and Payment by Result Systems; the Primary Schools were attached to the Secondary Schools through a system of 'Junior Scholarships' for boys and girls. The Primary Schools also became examination oriented, and the whole educational system—which was endowed with a Department of Education through the 1944 Education Ordinance - was **responding** to the needs and interests of the international system, rather than those of the national **ones**.

3.7. Mauritius and the International System in the Post-War Era, 1947 - 1967

Throughout this study, I have constantly emphasized the interplay of the national and the international as concretised in the centre-periphery relationship between British Imperialism and the colony of Mauritius. Here I would like to recall the reader's attention to two specific aspects at the heart of my model, viz:

- (a) The internal and internalised forces leading to the specific establishment of class relations within Mauritius;
- (b) The external social forces which shape and at times determine the internal and internalised social forces; and I have argued that, in the case of Mauritius, the latter has been of overriding importance as events in post-war Mauritius would reveal.

In 1947, Mauritius was endowed with a new Constitution based on a 'literacy' franchise; this new Constitution had two important characteristics:

- (a) It was democratic, and
- (b) The fact that it was based on the principle that anybody in the colony could vote provided he/she could read or write any language or Indian dialect used in the colony. The introduction of this new Constitution had a tremendous impact upon the political development of the colony. Political parties soon emerged representing various vested and class interests. In this antagonistic atmosphere of class and increasing communal politics, the future trend of Mauritian politics was set; and the fact that, by then, the Indian population already constituted the majority in the island, and their political allegiance would very much determine the quality of the political party which would rule the country after independence. As the 'literacy' criterion was to be the basis of political development in post-war Mauritius, the slogan of the Labour Party became 'education for all' which led to the further development of the sectorally fragmented primary

schools, to the introduction of the Ministerial System in 1957, and ultimately to Independence in 1968.

But I will argue that the political development of the colony would have been impossible without the post-war transformation of the international system and the various political and economic re-alignments (1) of the 'old' colonial powers and the emergence of the USA as the new Imperial power. In fact, I will argue that changes within the international system determined, to a great extent, changes within Mauritius. Therefore, it is crucial to enumerate and assess the various changes which took place in the post-war international system. I intend to do this by first enumerating the general characteristics of these changes and their impact on the international system, and second to discuss the change of relationship and in attitude between the centre, Great Britain, and the British colonial possessions in particular.

Magdoff (2) points out that this is the period when the imperialist system begins to decline: the rise of socialism, the inspiration this had given to the colonial world, and the acceleration of national liberation struggles underline the trend of a shrinking imperialist system.

Within the international system, the distinguishing feature of this period is the challenge by the United States to the financial hegemony of Britain: with the growth of both U.S and Japanese naval power, Britain rapidly lost her dominant position on the seas, especially in the Pacific. This change also increased United States influence in Canada and Australia (3). The wartime weakening of the British economy (4) along with the strengthening of the United States financial position as a major supplier of the Allies allowed the United States soon to become the leading capital market, to expand its international banking and overseas investment, and to compete with Great Britain for the world's oil reserves (5). Long before the war, the United States had already begun to advance its sphere of influence in Latin America, most markedly in Central America, where, by military intervention and occupation countries like Cuba, Haiti and Nicaragua

had become U.S protectorates, and the post-war era saw this ~~American~~ imperialism extended to other parts of the world, both the war-torn Europe, and the emerging countries of the Third-World. The American hegemony had become a recognizable and acceptable fact in the post-war era; and it is a moot point whether the formation of the EEC or the rise of Japan, as an economic force, successfully challenged this hegemony (6).

According to Magdoff, the basic features of this period, as they matured after World War II, are conditioned by the struggles for national liberation - not merely the process of formal political decolonization, but, more importantly, the tendency towards social revolution in the periphery as the path to real national independence (7). He further adds that the challenge to the centres of imperialism became one of developing and strengthening the methods of keeping the former colonial world within the network of imperialism for control of raw materials and for all available trade and investment opportunities. The forces unleashed by decolonization brought the issue of economic development to the fore. And it soon became clear that if the metropolitan centres were to keep their informal empires, they would have to control and influence the attempts at economic development in the colonial world (8). He points out that this has been facilitated by the method of decolonization itself, whereby the main economic and financial components of dependency have been maintained intact. To this have been added the various so-called foreign-aid programmes (9), and the controls supervised by such organizations as the World Bank, the International-Monetary Fund, and the European Economic Community. All of this, has been, of course backed up by direct and indirect interference by the United States and other powers in the politics and class conflicts of the ex-colonies aimed at strengthening those sections of the ruling class which have been most sympathetic and reliable, and providing them with needed military assistance and military alliances. Further, the United States, relying on a chain of military bases around the globe, built up a highly mobile air force and navy as instruments of power ready to be used on a moment's notice (10).

The full impact of these changes - institutional, economic, political

and ideological - in the international system would be felt as countries in the Third-World become gradually independent, and as the Government of these countries approach the various institutions and agencies of development for financial help in order to 'develop' their countries, viz. catch-up with the industrialized countries.

In this section, my intention is to focus on the following:-

- (a) Constitutional development in Mauritius;
- (b) Education for political development;
- (c) Further development of the sectorally fragmented educational institutions and practices in Mauritius and
- (d) The recovery of the Mauritian plantation economy.

### 3.7.1. Constitutional Development in Mauritius, 1810 - 1967

Constitutional development in Mauritius has a chequered history, and while discussing this chequered history I will argue that:

- (a) Prior to the first World War, Constitutional development took place as a direct result of the efforts of the national bourgeoisie to safeguard its economic and political interests during the new colonial administration;
- (b) Constitutional changes in the post-war years were mainly due to a change in British colonial policy as a result of the decline of Great Britain in the international system.

The British conquest of Mauritius in 1810 put an end to the regime of General-Decaen, and to the 1791 constitution suspended by Napoleon (11); Farquhar, the first British Governor, appointed Chanvallon as the General Administrator of the colony, and John Shaw as Judiciary assessor; the use of the French language in the Law Courts was retained; the Court of Appeal lost its power, and all appeals, in future, were to be made direct to the Governor. The French community had to accept these changes without any grumble (12).

From the early years of British colonial administration, the plantation

owners and Mauritian merchants wished to have a greater say in running the affairs of the colony, and eventually in 1816, after the great fire, the - opportunity presented itself: the Governor consulted a few well-known planters as to the best way of administering the colony, and the latter opted for "des conseils de commune" which were eventually established, and their role was to advise the Governor on subjects which the latter submitted to them (13). However, due to misunderstanding between the Governor and the planters, the former suspended the Council in 14th of February, 1820.

Tinker points out that the political philosophy of the British Empire was to move from centralised control by London towards 'responsible government', that is self-government, later defined as 'Dominion Status' (14); and the Mauritian planters and merchants, through their Comité Colonial, demanded self-rule which was, according to British colonial policy, the privilege of the white settlers - a fact which made the British Empire a 'white man's club' (15). Since Mauritius had a mixed population, self-government was ruled out; however, Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State for the colonies, ordered the Governor in Mauritius to call a new Council, the members of which could study all the questions dealing with public interests; but the Governor had the veto to suspend the members and dissolve the Council; such a Council was established in Mauritius on the 9th of February, 1825. Through the efforts of Adrien d'Epinay, the leader of the plantation class, this Council was further reformed to include: freedom of the press and the admission of the French planters in the administrative posts in the colony. Lord Goderich instructed the Governor to appoint members for this new Legislative-Assembly - which was the first of its kind under British colonial administration; it was established on the 20th of July, 1831. The legislative power remained in the hands of the Governor, and served the interests of a handful of planters (16). This Legislative Council remained in force until 1882.

The Constitution of 1825 was reformed as a result of the struggle of the Mauritian plantation and merchant class over the abolition of slavery issue: they were pricked to action; they sent their leader, Adrien d'Epinay,

to present their case to the Secretary of State in London and, eventually, wrested out important concessions in their favour. A similar situation arose in 1882, when the British Governor, Sir Napier Broome, presented a bill aimed at expropriating, without compensation (17), forest lands belonging to certain Mauritian planters. Every time the economic interests of the planters have been threatened, they have reacted immediately by pressing for Constitutional Reforms to embarrass the colonial administration: this time their leader was a Lawyer, William Newton who later became Sir William Newton (18). Under Sir John Pope Hennessy, the 'reformist' movement gathered momentum, and eventually the Secretary of State acceded to their demands. On the 6th of October 1883, a new committee was founded under the presidency of Lois Raoul to study the basis of a new constitution. A new Electoral Commission was constituted, and after its Report was discussed in the Council of 2nd of June 1885, a new Constitution saw the day on the 16th of September, 1885 (19). This new Council comprised of eight officials, nine other members chosen by the Governor and ten members elected by the various districts of the island. Thus, the official and semi-official members outnumbered the elected members, an arrangement which many Mauritians did not consider at all satisfactory; but it lasted more than sixty years (20).

The revision of the Constitution in 1885 gave rise to Party politics because the introduction of the elective system; and the first political parties were those of the 'Oligarques' - consisting of the Mauritian planters- and those of the 'démocrates' which represented the interests of the coloured people. But most of the candidates in those elections were the French planters, merchants, lawyers and doctors. Elections were held once every five years and the 'Oligarques' dominated Mauritian politics from 1885 to 1941. The formation of the Labour Party in 1936, and the rise of the Indian intellectuals on the political scene completely altered the political configuration in the colony (21).

Constitutional reform became once more the burning political question in the 1940s, and this time, it was Sir Donald Mackenzie-Kennedy, the new British Governor, who tackled the question. On the recommendation of the

Governor, the Secretary of State, A. Creech Jones, accepted to endow Mauritius with a new constitution in 1947 - a constitution based on a 'literacy' franchise. I will argue that, despite the efforts of the Labour Party and the other changes taking place at the national level, constitutional reform would not have been possible without the radical changes which took place in the international system at that time. That is the decline of the British Empire after the two World Wars led to a change in colonial policy regarding British colonies overseas - a fact pointed out in some detail by Keith Watson:-

"British colonial policy changed therefore over a period of time. From a belief in trusteeship and moral responsibility in the - nineteenth century policy progressed towards a sense of obligation to subject peoples and to the eventual recognition that the colonial purpose was to modernise societies and to hand over power to the local peoples" (22).

This evolution of British colonial policy over time was given further credibility by the coming to power of the Labour Party in the British metropolis after the second World War - a Party which was unflinching in its commitment of granting self-rule to most of the countries of the Third World.

After July 1953, the Mauritius Labour Party again pressed for constitutional reform, and the general election which followed, it made universal suffrage and self-rule the main planks of its electoral platform. But it was stubbornly against proportional representation. After the elections of 1959, 'communalism' rather (23) than class became the overriding force in national politics. It should be also pointed out that the Mauritius Labour Party had a strong lobby among the Labour M.P.s of the British metropolis which facilitated the process of negotiation for the Independence of Mauritius. All the Mauritian Political Parties, representing various class, communal and economic interests attended a Constitutional Conference in London on the 7th of July 1961, and the way was paved for the Independence of Mauritius in March 1968 (24).

### 3.7.2 Education for Political Development: The Mackenzie-Kennedy Constitution of 1947 •

In reviewing Constitutional Reform in Mauritius at that time, the main concern of the British Governor, Sir Donald Mackenzie-Kennedy, was:-

"How to bring the diverse elements of this heterogenous population into the proper channels of political development without at the same time running the risk of political domination of the colony by representatives of an ignorant and illiterate, forming a particularly attractive hunting ground for unscrupulous and subversive demagogues" (25)

The fear and concern of the Governor were also shared by the Franco-Mauritian planters who knew that a radical change in the franchise would undermine their control of the political structure. They also feared that the Indians, with no experience in government, would promote irrational economic policies. But even more than economic crisis, they felt threatened by the challenge to two centuries of Franco-Mauritian hegemony (26); while the Creole elites feared that "given the Indian nationalistic tendencies which have become apparent, universal suffrage might open the door to external interference in the affairs of the colony" (27).

The provisions made in the new constitution regarding the Indian population of the colony clearly justified the fears of the Franco-Mauritian planters and the Creole elites: it provided for nineteen elected members from five multimember constituencies, twelve nominated members, and three official members (28). Men and women over twenty-one able to prove they could write simple sentences in any one of the languages used on the island would be permitted to vote. On December 19th, 1947, King George VI signed the Order in Council putting the new constitution into effect. Although universal suffrage had not been granted to the Indians, but property requirements had been dropped and formal schooling was not required. Most important of all was the fact that only elected members, not nominated or official, would constitute the majority in the new Legislative Council.

Registration for the 1948 election began in earnest; but it soon became apparent that the new candidates, all relatively inexperienced,

were not aware of the determining influence registration could have on the election, even before the election took place; consequently, many voters were never registered; despite this shortcoming, the number of registered voters totalled 71,806 (29) whereas before 1948, less than 12,000 people were qualified to vote in the national election; most of the new voters were Indians.

The task of preparing the Indian community to meet the voting requirements fell upon the shoulders of Basdeo Bissondoyal, who was not himself a candidate. B. Bissondoyal was a Hindu missionary who studied religion and philosophy at Calcutta University. On his return to Mauritius, he soon became the 'leader' to fill the political void left by the departure of Manilal Doctor; he taught the Indo-Mauritians to read and write so that they could have a better understanding of their religion and culture; he founded schools for Indian language and culture, holding evening sessions for the workers, and afternoon sessions for the children, most of whom were attending government schools in the mornings (30). Besides, he also held special meetings for the women, who had been ignored by the Indian intellectual and by the Labour Party. Bissondoyal's cultural revival was centred in the South of the colony where he opened many schools, trained over eight hundred teachers and supplied them with reading materials. Prior to the 1948 elections, Bissondoyal believed that within two months he could teach illiterate labourers and their wives to read and write well enough to satisfy the registration Officer (31). Thus, he and his teachers prepared thousands of voters. While learning to read, write and vote, the Indian labourers gained self-confidence and self-awareness.

The new constitution forced a complete realignment in Mauritian politics. Franco-Mauritians could no longer control the new Legislative Council as they had the Council of Government. They also realized the fact that they had lost political control but adhered to economic control in the colony, and from then onwards, they withdrew into their community to look for means other than election of maintaining their influence. And the Creole elite, represented by Laurent and Rivet, allied themselves with the Franco-Mauritians to resist the onslaught of the Indian hegemony (32).

3.7.3. The Politics of Educational Expansion and Centralization: Further Development of the **Sectorally** Fragmented Educational Institutions and Practices •

Since the beginning of the twentieth century non-formal (33) education has been called upon to play a crucial role, especially, among the adult Indian population of the colony: first, there was M.K. Gandhi's exhortations to the Indian community about the importance of educating their children in 1901. Second, there was Manilal Doctor's 'political consciousness-raising' among the Indian community until his departure in 1911. Third, there was Basdeo Bissondoyal's Indian cultural revival. Fourth, there was Ken Baker's use of education for the establishment of trade-unionism in Mauritius (34). Fifth, there was another revival of literacy campaign, prior to the 1948 election, by B. Bissondoyal; and finally, there was the Mauritius Labour Party's commitment to 'compulsory education' in its manifesto (35). As a result of the benefits accruing from the class struggle against the national bourgeoisie of the colony - a struggle in which non-formal education has played a preponderating role - the working class has increasingly come to regard "education, not as a privilege, but as a right " (36) for their children. Therefore, I will argue that educational expansion, in this section, has been mostly the result of the political commitment of the Mauritius Labour Party to educational development programmes and also to the awareness of the working class as to the economic, social and political importance of having their children educated.

The 1953 general election led to a landslide victory of the Mauritius Labour Party and consequently, to another round of Constitutional Reform, which eventually resulted into the establishment of the Ministerial System in 1957. Thus, according to the Education Act of 28th December, 1957 (37), the emerging education system in the colony was endowed with a Minister of Education who "shall have control of the educational system of Mauritius and shall be responsible for the general progress and development of such system" (38). To make the Ministerial System more effective, an Advisory Board on Education was established, consisting of a Chairman appointed by

the Minister, and any number of members ranging between 10 and 15 (39). Besides, the various Education Authorities were made directly responsible to the Minister " for the good administration of the aided primary schools under their control" (40); thus, the **sectorally** fragmented educational institutions and practices were brought under the control of a - central authority - the Ministry of Education.

In this section, I intend to discuss the expansion of the **sectorally** fragmented educational institutions and practices in the following order:-

- (a) Primary Education;
- (b) Secondary Education;
- (c) Technical Education and
- (d) Teachers' Education.

Primary Education: According to the Meade Report (41), there were 189 primary schools in the colony in the 1960s; 113 of them were "government" schools, and the remaining 76 were "aided" schools, owned and administered by four educational "Authorities" which acted as central boards of management responsible for the administration of the schools belonging to their respective denominations or lay groups—whether Roman Catholics, Church of England, Hindu and Muslim. There were in addition 370 unaided, fee-charging, schools attended by nearly 19,000 pupils (42). The total enrollment in the government schools was 60,500 and in the aided schools, 47,000 (43). Mauritian children started their primary educational career at the age of five, and after studying in six standards, where promotion is automatic, they compete with 107,000 other children to get a Primary School Leaving Certificate, and if their parents could afford private tuition, they could compete for the Junior Scholarship - the gateway to free secondary education in one of the prestigious government colleges. The Colonial Government's commitment to universal primary education is reflected in a Report prepared by the Secretariat of the United Nations General Assembly (44) which, inter alia, stipulates that due to an average population increase of nearly 3 percent for the period 1954-1968, the Colonial Government had to provide 144,000 children with primary schooling by 1966, and had to prepare 400 additional teachers

each year, between 1960-1966 to meet this demand. Meade (45) points out that the Government's premature preoccupation with primary education, coupled with the massive intakes of pupils led to the production of more illiteracy rather than creating a literate and intelligent population because the colony lacked teachers, buildings, educational resources which, in turn, resulted in poor teaching and obviously to poor examination results.

Secondary Education: Meade (46) points out that secondary education was almost entirely academic in character and was provided for 4,000 pupils in three government and eight aided schools. For 14,700 pupils in 58 private schools; due to the creation of new urban-residential areas mostly inhabited by white Franco-Mauritians and coloured people, most of the best-staffed, and high-status secondary schools have always been located in these areas serving a rich clientele; while the poorly-staffed and status-less secondary schools have been mostly located in rural areas serving an underprivileged and resourceless clientele with obviously devastating examination results\*- a fact pointed out by the Meade Report:-

"In so far as examination results are a measure of school efficiency, the table of results (47) in the Cambridge School Certificate Examination for 1959 is very revealing, especially for the Provisional "B" status schools which are regarded among the best of private secondary schools. It is worth noting that the percentage of passes achieved by Mauritian candidates is lower than the corresponding figure for any country whose schools take the Cambridge Overseas Examinations"(48).

Secondary education continued to be strongly framed and strongly classified, tightly insulated from production, and continued transmitting cultural norms and values which reflected the needs and interests of the dominant class in the British metropolis and those of the national bourgeoisie. Access to this dominant culture was restricted by social, economic, political and cultural factors. Meade (49) observes that the private secondary schools were the main problem facing the colonial government because their expansion reflected the "determination of Mauritian parents to get the best education they can for their children". The outcome of secondary schooling continued to be determined by external agencies - the Cambridge and London Boards of Examination; while the English Scholarships (50) remain its goal to this day.

\* See Appendix I4 for Cambridge School Certificate Results in Government and Better-Class Secondary Schools in 1959.

According to Meade, "it would be a very good thing for Mauritian education if there were no such thing as English Scholarships, and if there were neither glamour nor profit to lure children on throughout their school careers like BLINKERED DONKEYS (51) seeing only the dangling carrot" (52). Even before the 1960s, the dangling carrot has always been there, but the only difference is that the number of BLINKERED DONKEYS has, ever since, increased.

Technical Education: The development of the sectorally fragmented educational institutions and practices in Mauritius had been accompanied by a complete absence of technical education; Meade (53) observes that:-

"Not only does the island suffer from a lack of trained personnel, but public opinion as a whole is unaware of the importance of technical training and remains obsessed with the academic schooling which has been the pattern for so long and which can only lead for most young people to clerical occupation or to unemployment".

The importance of technical education, for an agricultural colony like Mauritius, has been emphasized by various technical experts and technical advisers attached to the Secretary of State; the matter cropped up again when in 1955, Dr. Harlow, then Assistant Technical Adviser to the Secretary of State, visited the colony; his report contained recommendations which were accepted in general and which led to specific proposals for the establishment of a technical institute and a trade training centre, but through delays and other 'official reasons', the scheme never got off the ground (54). In 1960, Mr. J.C. Jones succeeded Dr. Harlow and eventually visited Mauritius where the colonial government, through its Technical Education Advisory Board and supported by Mr. Jones's advice, renewed its commitment to the establishment of a Technical Institute and a Trade Training Centre.

The colonial government could easily set up a Technical Institute and a Trade Training Centre but it would face considerable difficulty in building up the prestige of this new form of education and in getting Mauritian parents to regard admission to these schools as no less worthwhile than admission to one of the existing secondary schools, especially in an agricultural colony where mental labour has been more greatly prized and disproportionately rewarded than manual labour which has been disdained and poorly paid.

Teacher Training: The Teachers' Training College at Beau-Bassin became operative after a third attempt at its establishment in 1942. It was the only channel open to those seeking a permanent teaching post in the Government and other aided schools (55). The normal course was of two years' duration, and this has had to be supplemented by short courses of six months' duration to meet the demand for new teachers. In 1957, there were 492 students in training, including 227 long course (56), 253 short course (57) and 12 teachers following a year's in-service training in handicrafts (58). The Government's commitment to universal primary education led to a demand for more schooling, a pressure for more school places, and obviously to a demand for more school buildings and trained teachers - a luxury which the colonial government could not afford in the 1960s (59). The Department of Education faced those problems by adopting various makeshift measures: first, the training-college course was reduced from two years to one; second, many young men and women, after following a 'short course' were employed as teachers; third, a lack of school buildings led to the introduction of a 'double shift' and 'single shift' systems (60) - all these makeshift measures had an adverse effect upon the process of primary schooling. They gave rise to poor staffing and obviously to poor teaching and to poor examination results.

3.7.4. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act: The Recovery of the Mauritian Plantation Economy

Being part of the international economic order, the Mauritian plantation economy could not escape the boom-bust cycle. Thus, the short economic boom of the 1920s led to the long and biting economic depression of the 1930s; and as usual, the plantation owners and other businessmen turned to the British metropolis to bail them out. This became possible because during World War II, there was a radical change in Britain's colonial office policy as a result of the various colonial Commissions and colonial Reports. The most influential being the Moyne Commission Report (61). Consequently in 1940, Parliament approved the Colonial Development and Welfare Act which made it possible for large quantities of funds to be made available for the British colonies in general and to Mauritius in particular (62).

The period 1947-1967 has been characterised by a rapid pace of political (63), social and economic development in the colony of Mauritius: a Central Development and Welfare Committee was established in March, 1945, and a ten-year plan was elaborated, covering the period between 1st of July 1946 and 30th of June, 1955 (64). The emphasis was laid on social development and the creation of social overheads: one of the first priorities was to eradicate malaria, and from 1949 to 1952 large sums of money were spent on an intensive campaign to get rid of the malaria mosquito (65). Among the most important public works carried out were the construction of new irrigation reservoirs, the opening of new roads to replace the railways, and the replanning of the harbour installations at Port-Louis. This harbour development was badly needed, for Port-Louis harbour in its pre-war state could not cope with modern demands (66). It should be pointed out that Great Britain made maximum use of the strategic position of Mauritius during the Second World War.

The main effort of the agricultural programme was concentrated upon the diversification of the plantation economy. The development of secondary crops and industries, especially tea (67). The declining plantation economy forced the plantation owners to separate all sugar cane research from the College of Agriculture and transfer it to a new research centre called the

"Mauritius Sugar Industry Research Institute". The various aspects of research conducted in the field of sugar technology only helped to maintain the primacy and expansion of the plantation economy.

After 1955, the financing of the development works was ensured by a special programme called Capital Expenditure Programme and between 1955-1960, its works were concentrated upon:

- (a) Installation of a drainage system in the urban areas;
- (b) Road constructions;
- (c) Modernization of the harbour
- (d) Expansion and development of the Plaisance Airport (68).

On the expiry of the Capital Expenditure Programme, an economic mission, headed by Professor Meade of the Cambridge University, visited Mauritius in March - April 1960 (69) , inter alia, it recommended diversification of the plantation economy and more technical education to be introduced. The Meade Report did nothing but only add to the already existing mountain of Reports, Commissions and Enquiries which had studied the Mauritian problems between 1921 and 1960.

### 3.7.5. Summary and Conclusion

This section of the study, like all the previous ones, shows, more than anything else, the dynamics and interplay of the national-international perspective: a change in the British colonial policy during World War II, coupled with her decline as the Imperial power in the international system, her concern with the social reconstruction of Europe and of England and the eventual rise of the U.S.A as the new Imperial power - all these external factors influenced, and at times, determined events and processes in the Mauritian periphery.

Political development has been the main event in the Mauritian periphery during this period. The Secretary of State's decision to endow Mauritius with a new constitution in 1947 was quite consonant with changes in British colonial policy, but one must not disregard the impact of social unrests, labour troubles and the demands for change and constitutional reforms by the Mauritius Labour Party which had a strong lobby in the British Parliament comprising of British Labour Party members and Fabian socialists, for example Barbara Castle and Anthony Greenwood.

As the new Constitution was based on a 'literacy' franchise, there was a sudden upsurge of non-formal education to meet the Electoral Register's requirements; while the Mauritius Labour Party, on the other hand, made "education for all" and "more constitutional reforms", the two major planks of its electoral campaign. These vote-catching slogans caught the imagination of the masses of Labour Party supporters who gave their entire support to the Mauritius Labour Party controlled mostly by the new Indian elite. The success of the Mauritius Labour Party drove the national bourgeoisie from active politics, and they kept their influence alive by financing 'Le Parti Mauricien' - a party which fought for their economic and political interests but without their direct involvement.

Social and economic development dovetailed into political development. Mauritius benefitted financially from the ten-year development plan, and

later various 'experts' visited the island and recommended various reforms touching upon various aspects of Mauritian life. A Ministerial System was introduced in 1957, followed by another round of 'constitutional talk' in London in 1961. There was a period of autonomy, marred by racial riots and violence; and after the 1961 General Election, Mauritius became independent in 1968.

As far as the development of the **sectorally** fragmented educational institutions and practices are concerned, I have argued that the dynamics, and interplay, of the national-international perspective - consisting of external social, political, economic and religious, factors, sometimes interacting and very often determining, its development at the Mauritian periphery, and acting upon and influencing the events and internalized social processes. Consequently, I have maintained that events, political change, class conflict and economic development in the British metropolis had directly influenced and determined events, social processes and class configuration in the Mauritian periphery. Besides, I have also argued that:

- (a) The development of the **sectorally** fragmented educational institutions and practices has been tightly insulated from production;
- (b) That the newly-emerging educational institutions have been transmitting norms and values reflecting the cultural needs and interests of the dominant class of the British metropolis and those of the national bourgeoisie;
- (c) That the educational institutions have been serving the international needs and interests rather than the national ones .

I intend to extend these arguments in the next, but final, chapter of this study. I also intend to put forward a cause or explanation for the expansion of the **sectorally** fragmented educational institutions and practices in colonial and post-independent-Mauritius.

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6. Ibid.
7. Imperial Education Conference Papers, P.4, 1915, H.M.S.O Publication.
8. Board of Education Papers, P.207, 1915, H.M.S.O Publication.

Notes on Chapter 3, Section 3.2

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4. C.O. 168/6 Secretary of State to Governor. 21.3.1823.
- \* See Appendix for a list of British Governors.
5. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.132.
6. C.O. 168/117. Commissioners to the Secretary of State. 22.11.1826.
7. C.O. 167/126. Report on Slave Trade.
8. C.O. 167/142. Slavery Amelioration.
9. C.O. 168/11. Secretary of State to Governor. 11.4.1837.
10. C.O. 167/120-122: Reports on Laws and Courts of Justice.
11. Ibid.
12. C.O. 167/120-122: Report on Laws and Courts of Justice.
13. "Why has so much English Capital been Swallowed up in Mauritius?", The Times, Simmonds & Co. Colonial Publication, London 1848.
14. C.O. 167/123: Report on Finance and Establishments.
15. C.O. 167/123: Report on Finance and Establishments.
- \* See Educational Ordinances in the Appendix.

16. C.O. 167/142: Preface to Report on Slave Amelioration Order in Council.
  17. C.O. 167/142: Report on Slave Amelioration in Council.
  18. Ibid.
  19. C.O. 167/143: Report on Free People of Colour.
  20. C.O. 168/14: Secretary of State to Governor. 29.12.1830.
  21. C.O. 167/144: Report on Trade and Navigation.
  22. Report of Mauritius Royal Commission. 1909, P.8.
  23. C.O. 167/144: Report on Trade and Navigation.
  24. C.O. 167/123: Report on Finance and Establishments.
  25. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, P.31, Printed by Imprimerie Commerciale, port-Louis, 1977.
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  28. D. Prithipaul: A Comparative Analysis of French & British Colonial Policies of Education in Mauritius, P.88, Opt. Cit.
  29. Board of Education Papers, Opt. Cit. P.202.
  30. D. Prithipaul: A Comparative Analysis of French & British Colonial Policies of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.88.
- \* Broadly defined, the concept of 'class' does not refer simply to income, occupational status, or interest groups, but also to class solidarity, a mode of life, and a structural position in relation to other classes in society, giving rise to a class consciousness, to class interests, and a sharp struggle with other classes. This definition of social class will be adhered to throughout the text.

31. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.33.

\* For more details regarding the free people of colour and the Commission of Eastern Enquiry, see Section 3.2.5 of this study.

\* As defined by Bourdieu, 'Cultural Capital' means: "linguistic and social competences, and such qualities as style, manners, know-how as well as aspirations and perception of the objective chances of success".

32. Board of Education Papers on the Educational Systems in Mauritius, Opt Cit. P.207.

33. C.O. 167/123: Report on finance and Establishments.

34. Ibid.

\* These religious schools provided elementary education and religious instructions for the children of the slaves.

35. Board of Education Papers on the Educational Systems in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.207.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid. P.208.

38. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.49.

\* See Appendix for Educational Ordinances.

\* See Sections 3.2 - 3.2.6 of this study for the various recommendations of the Commission.

39. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.137.

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41. Ibid. P.139.
42. Basil Bernstein: Class, Codes and Control Vol. 3: Towards a Theory of Educational Transmission, P.175, RKP, 1977.
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5. See Edward Thompson's: The Making of the English Working Class, Penguin Books, 1979 Edition.
6. J. Sturgis: Anglicisation at the Cape of Good Hope in the early 19th century in The Diaspora of the British, Opt. Cit. P.212.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid. P.210.
9. See Sections 3.2 - 3.2.6 of this study for more details regarding the recommendations of the Commission of Eastern Enquiry in Mauritius.
10. C.O. 167/123: Report on Finance and Establishments.
11. J. Sturgis: Anglicisation at the Cape of Good Hope in the early 19th century, in The Diaspora of the British, Opt. Cit. P.210.
12. For examples of Direct Anglicisation, see Sections 3.2 - 3.2.6 of this study.
13. D. Prithipaul: A Comparative Analysis of French & British Colonial Policies of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.104.

14. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.172.
15. This Ordinance swept aside all obsolete laws which prevented Mauritian citizens from setting up schools in the colony.
16. D. Prithipaul: A Comparative Analysis of French & British Colonial Policies of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.125.
17. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit.P99.
18. See Appendix for Educational Ordinances.
19. Sir Charles Bruce: Organization of Secondary and Superior Education in Mauritius, P.12, Edward Stanford, 1870.
20. Sir Charles Bruce: Organization of Secondary and Superior Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.13.
21. S. Juggernauth: Educational Policy and Colonial Ideology in Mauritius: The Development of an Underdevelop System of Educational Institutions and Practices, 1815-1968, P.44, M.A Thesis, University of London Institute of Education, 1981.
22. C.O. 167/123: Report on Finance and Establishments.
23. All the Three Churches were subsidised by the colonial state. The Royal Commission Report of 1909 give the following figures: Roman Catholic Church: Rs 111,570; Church of England: Rs 34,538; and Church of Scotland: Rs 6,583.
24. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.61.
25. Ibid. P.61.
26. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.73.

27. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.67.
28. Ibid. P.69.
29. Imperial Education Conference Papers: Educational Systems of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.6.
30. Board of Education Papers on the Educational System in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.208.
31. Ibid. P.209.
32. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.164.
33. H.C. Brookfield in Economic Geography, P.28, 35, 1, 1959. See also B.M. Howell's Ph.D Thesis: Mauritius: A Study of a Sugar Colony, 1832-1849. London University 1950.
34. "Why has so much English Capital been swallowed up in Mauritius?" The London Times, Simmonds & Co. Colonial Publication, London, 1848.
35. H.C. Brookfield, in Economic Geography, Opt. Cit. P.28.
36. C.O. 167/144: Report on Trade and Navigation.
37. Dr. A. Toussaint: Histoire des Iles Mascareignes, Opt. Cit. P.201.
38. Dr. A. Toussaint: A History of Mauritius, English Translation by Ward, Opt. Cit. P.74.
39. Dr. A. Toussaint: A History of Mauritius, English Translation by Ward, Opt. Cit. P.74.
40. Dr. A. Toussaint: A History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.74.
41. Ibid. P.75.

42. Ibid.
43. Dr. A. Toussaint: Histoires Des Iles Mascareignes, Opt. Cit. P.211.
44. Ibid.
45. Barnwell & Toussaint: A History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.157.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid. P.157-158.
48. Burton Benedict: Slavery and Indenture in Mauritius and Seychelles in J.L. Watson's (Editor): Asian & African Systems of Slavery, P.150, Basil Blackwell, 1980.
49. Ibid.
50. Hugh Tinker: A New System of Slavery, P.48, O.U.P 1974.
51. Hugh Tinker: A New System of Slavery, Opt. Cit. P.54.
52. Burton Benedict in J.L. Watson's (Editor): Asian & African Systems of Slavery, Opt. Cit. P.151.
53. Burton Benedict, Ibid. Pp.151-152.
54. Burton Benedict in J.L. Watson's (Editor): Asian & African Systems of Slavery, Opt. Cit. P.152.
55. Ibid.
56. Hugh Tinker: A New System of Slavery, Opt. Cit. P.202.
57. Burton Benedict, Ibid.

58. Burton Benedict: Problems of a Plural Society, Pall Mall Press, 1965, P.24.
59. Burton Benedict in J.L.Watson's (Editor), Opt. Cit. P.152.
60. Burton Benedict in J.L. Watson's (Editor), Opt. Cit. P.149.
61. The education of the children of the indentured labourers to be dealt with in the next section of this study.
62. Burton Benedict in J.L. Watson's (Editor), Opt. Cit. P.150.
63. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.161.
64. Ibid.
65. This struggle will be dealt with in the next section of this study.
66. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.163.

Notes on Chapter 3, Section 3.6

1. To be fully dealt with in Part III of this study.
2. Harry Magdoff: Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present, Opt. Cit. P.36.
3. Ibid. P.35. See also E.J. Hobsbawn's: Industry and Empire, Opt. Cit. Chapters 6 & 7.
4. Harry Magdoff: Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present, Opt. Cit. P.34.
5. Ibid. P.35.
6. Harry Magdoff: Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present, Opt. Cit. P.36.
7. Ibid. P.37.
8. Ibid. P.38.
9. Harry Magdoff: Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present, Opt. Cit. P.37.
10. Ibid.
11. See E.J. Hobsbawn's: Industry and Empire, Opt. Cit. Chapters 6 & 7.
12. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.213.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid. P232.
15. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.233.

16. Ibid. P.234.
17. A. North-Coombs: The Evolution of Sugar-cane Culture in Mauritius, P.43, Port-Louis, 1937.
18. The stagnation and the decline of the Mauritian plantation economy will be dealt with in a separate sub-section.
19. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.202.
20. Ibid. P.203.
21. Ibid.
22. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.204.
23. The following Ordinances were repealed on the passing of the 1899 Education Ordinance: No.38 of 1860; No.28 of 1875; No.35 of 1875; No.16 of 1876, article 4; No.15 of 1892; No.37 of 1897; No.42 of 1897-98.
24. Ibid.
25. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.204.
26. Ibid.
27. Known as the English Scholarships, and each was of an annual value of £200.
28. Ibid. P.205.
29. The standard coin of Mauritius is the Indian Rupee (1s.4d at that time) with its sub-divisions.

30. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.205.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.206.
34. Ibid.
35. See Ordinance No.20 of 1902 in Appendix for more details.
36. Imperial Education Conference Papers: the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.11.
37. Imperial Education Conference Papers: the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.12.
38. See Para. 6 of the 1919 Education Ordinance attached in the Appendix.
39. Ibid, Section 2, Para. 6.
40. See Para. 15, Section 1 of Education Ordinance, 1919.
41. Ibid. Section 2.
42. Ibid. Para. 16.
43. Ibid. Para. 18, Sections 1-9.
44. The passing of the Education Ordinance No.42 of 1934 resulted in the repeal of the following Educational Ordinances: (i) No.19 of 1919; (ii) No.7 of 1920; (iii) No.29 of 1924; (iv) No.22 of 1925; (v) No.5 of 1926; (vi) No.33 of 1927; and (vii) No.19 of 1928.

45. See Paragraphs 16 & 17 of Education Ordinance No.42 of 1934.
46. Annual Report on Mauritius, P.70, 1946.
47. Ibid.
48. The Department of Education (Constitution) Ordinance, No.30, 1941, Para.2.
49. The Department of Education (Constitution) Ordinance, Opt. Cit. Para.3.
50. Ibid. Para. 4.
51. Ibid. Para. 5.
52. Ibid. Para. 6, Section 5.
53. Ibid. Para. 4.
54. Keith Watson (Editor): Education in the Third-World, P.9, Croom Helm Publication, 1982. British Colonial Policy changed therefore over a period of time; from a belief in trusteeship and moral responsibility in the nineteenth century policy progressed towards a sense of obligation to subject peoples and to the eventual recognition that the colonial purpose was to modernise societies and to hand over power to the local peoples.
55. Keith Watson (Editor): Education in the Third World, Opt. Cit. P.11.
56. See Lord Lugard: Education in Tropical Africa, in Edinburgh Review, Vol.C. July, 1925; A. Mayhew: Education in the Colonial Empire, Longmans. 1938; and finally, H.S. Scott: Educational Policy in the British Colonial Empire, Yearbook of Education, Pp.411-438, London, Evans, 1937.
57. Annual Report on Mauritius, P.71, 1946.
58. See Para. 2 of Education Ordinance 1944.

59. See Para. 3, Section 1 of 1944 Education Ordinance.
60. 1944 Education Ordinance, Para. 5, Section 1.
61. Ibid. Para. 6.
62. Ibid. Para. 13, Section 2.
63. Ibid. Para. 18, Sections 1-7.
64. Annual Report on Mauritius, P.72, 1946.
65. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.178.
66. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.206.
67. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.206.
68. Ibid.
69. Ibid. P.207.
70. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.207.
71. See Education Ordinance No.35 of 1913, Para. 7, Section b.
72. See Education Ordinance No.12 of 1944, Para. 3, Section 1.
73. Points (a) and (b) are resumes of grounds already covered in previous sections of this lengthy study.
74. Third Report of the Mauritius Education Committee of 1847.

75. Ibid. P.20.
76. Ibid. P.21.
77. Actually 1700 pupils were kept away from the Government Primary Schools;  
Ibid.
78. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.219.
79. Ibid. P.146.
80. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit.  
P.219.
81. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit.  
P.219.
82. Ibid.
83. The rates of daily wages were as follows: R0.40 in the first year; R0.50  
in the second; R0.60 in the third; R0.70 in the fourth, R0.85 in the fifth;  
and RI. in the sixth.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit.  
P.219.
87. The annual wage was Rs. 48.00 for the first year; Rs. 60.00 for the second,  
Rs. 75.00 for the third, and Rs. 100.00 for the fourth.
88. Ibid.
89. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.148.

90. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.148.
91. Ibid.
92. Imperial Education Conference Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.6.
93. Ibid.
94. Imperial Education Conference Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.6.
95. Ibid. P.7.
96. Either English, French or an Indian dialect.  
  
\* See Imperial Education Conference Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.7.
97. Board of Education Papers on the Education System in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.209.
98. The development of teachers' education was closely related to the growth of primary education to be dealt with in a separate sub-section.
99. Ibid. P.210.
100. Board of Education Papers on the Education System in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.210.
101. Ibid.
102. See Education Ordinance of 1899 attached in the Appendix.
103. See preceding sub-sections on the Secondary Education in Mauritius.

104. Imperial Education Conference Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.10.
105. Board of Education Papers on the Education System in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.211.
106. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.211.
107. Ibid. P.212.
108. Ibid. P.212.
109. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.213.
110. Detailed result of Primary Schools in 1901:
- |                          |                 |        |             |        |
|--------------------------|-----------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| Government Schools       | : No. examined: | 5,648, | No. Passed: | 3,683. |
| Roman Catholic Aided     | : -----:        | 3,656, | -----:      | 2,630. |
| Church of England Aided: | -----:          | 1,027, | -----:      | 749.   |
| Presbyterian Aided       | : -----:        | 124,   | -----:      | 67.    |
| Mahomedan Aided          | : -----:        | 90,    | -----:      | 62.    |
111. The impact of the crop season on school attendance will be dealt with in a subsequent sub-section dealing with the education of the Indian children.
112. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.76.
113. Ibid. P.75.
114. Education Ordinance No.33 of 1899, Code B, Clause 157.
115. Clause 167 of the Education Ordinance No.33 of 1899 clearly stipulates that: "candidates will first be examined in English and French; if they pass in each of these subjects they will then be examined in the other subjects, but not otherwise".

116. Ibid. Clause 166.
117. Education Ordinance No.33 of 1899, Code B, Clauses 157, 163.
118. Ibid. Clause 158.
119. Ibid. Clause 162.
120. Ibid. Clause 181.
121. Education Ordinance No.33 of 1899, Code B, Clause 180.
122. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt.  
Cit. P.219.
123. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt.  
Cit. P.213.
124. According to the Education Code of 1902, the Payment by Results for that year was as follows:  
For a pass in obligatory subjects (English and French):  
Std I ----- Rs. 5.  
Std II ----- Rs. 6.  
Std III ----- Rs. 8.  
Std IV ----- Rs.10.  
Std V ----- Rs.12.  
Std VI ----- Rs.15.
- For a pass in each optional subject:  
Std III ----- Rs.3.  
Std IV ----- Rs.3.  
Std V ----- Rs.4.  
Std VI ----- Rs.4.
125. See Para. 2 of Education Ordinance No.35 of 1913 attached in the Appendix.

126. The following members were appointed by the Governor in the month of December in every year: One member from the Managers of Grant-in-Aid Boys' Secondary Schools; one member from the Managers of Grant-in-Aid Girls' Secondary Schools; two members from the Managers of Roman Catholic Grant-in-Aid Primary Schools; one member from the Managers of the Protestant Grant-in-Aid Primary Schools; and four members chosen by the Governor himself.
127. Education Ordinance No.35 of 1913, Para. 4.
128. Ibid. Para. 5, Section 13.
129. Ibid. Para. 6, Section 17.
130. For more details on the Royal College Committee, see sub-section 3.6.4.1 of this study.
131. According to Section 1, Para. 2 of the Education Ordinance No.19 of 1919, Superintendent means "the Superintendent of Government and Aided Primary Schools, of Aided Secondary Schools and of all Training, Industrial and Technical Schools".
132. Education Ordinance No.19 of 1919, Section III, Para. 16.
133. Ibid. Section III, Para. 18.
134. Education Ordinance No.19 of 1919, Para. 22, Section I.
135. Education Ordinance No.42 of 1934, Para. 13, Section I.
136. Ibid. Para. 18.
137. Annual Report: Mauritius, P.70, 1946.
138. Ibid.
139. Ibid.

140. For the various responsibilities of the Director of Education in the colony, see sub-section 3.6.4.1 of this study.
141. Annual Report: Mauritius, P.71, 1946.
142. Education Ordinance No.30 of 1941, Para. 3, Section 2.
143. Ibid. Para. 6, Section I.
144. According to the Education Ordinance No.30 of 1941, "Schools division" means all primary schools, whether Government or aided, all aided secondary schools, and all other educational institutions not included in the Royal College division, which might be maintained or subsidised out of public funds.
145. Education Ordinance No.12 of 1944, Para. 3, Section I.
146. Ibid. Para. 3, Section 2.
147. Para. 5, Section I of the Ordinance emphasizes the fact that one of the seven members forming the Education Committee ought to be a woman.
148. Ibid. Para. 5, Section I.
149. Ibid. Para. 6.
150. According to the Education Ordinance No.12 of 1944, "Manager" means a person responsible for administering one primary or secondary school.
151. Ibid. Para. 15.
152. Education Ordinance No.12 of 1944, Para. 13, Section 3.
153. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.158.
154. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius: The Politics of Decolonization, P.41, Indiana University Press, 1982.

155. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius: The Politics of Decolonization, Opt. Cit. P.42.
156. K.M. Singh: Report on his Deputation to Mauritius, Pp.8 & 9, Delhi 1925.
157. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.43.
158. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius: The Politics of Decolonization, Opt. Cit. P.38.
159. R.D Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.89.
160. By Social Control, I mean any social mechanism by which individuals are compelled to abide by the rules of society or a particular segment of society; in other words Social Control is the means by which society keeps people 'in line'.
161. See Robert Merton's: Social Theory and Social Structure, P.19, N.Y. Free Press, 1974.
162. Ibid.
163. See also Brian Davies's: Social Control and Education, Chapters 2 & 5, 1976, Methuen.
164. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.86.
165. Ibid. P.82.
166. Hugh Tinker: Separate and Unequal: India and the Indians in the British Commonwealth, 1920-1950, C. Hurst & Co. London. 1976.
167. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.84.
168. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.85.
169. Ibid.

170. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.183.
171. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.87.
172. These could be Government Schools or Grant-in-Aid.
173. Board of Education papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.214.
174. Ibid. P.215.
175. Education Ordinance No.12 of 1944, Para. 13, Section 3.
176. It should be pointed out that both Hindus and Muslims came from India.
177. M.K. Gandhi, the famous Indian Lawyer and the future Mahatma, spent three weeks in Mauritius, on his way home from South Africa, in 1901.
178. Gordon: "Mauritius, Records of Private and Public Life".
179. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.90.
180. Dr. A.R. Mannick: Mauritius: The Development of a Plural Society, P.51, Spokesman Press, 1979.
181. J.P & J. Durand: L'ile Maurice et ses Populations, P.125, Editions Complex, 1978.
182. That is Hindus and Muslims.
183. J.P & J. Durand: L'ile Maurice et ses Populations, Opt. Cit. P.126.
184. Ibid. P.127.
185. J.P & J. Durand: L'ile Maurice et ses Populations, Opt. Cit. P.131.

186. To be dealt separately in this section of the study.
187. Nicholas Hans: Comparative Education, Chapters 6, 7 & 8, RKP, 1980 Edition.
188. Report of a Special Committee of Council on Education, 1855.
189. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.216.
190. For more details on the Monitorial System, see Appendix B, Code B, Paras. 7-19 of the Education Ordinance No.33 of 1899.
191. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.216.
192. Ibid.
193. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.154.
194. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.216.
195. These students ought to be over sixteen years of age but under twenty-one on the 1st of December of the year in which they were presented for examination.
196. A First Class Certificate could be obtained by examination, but by efficient work of the holder of a Second-Class certificate as the Headteacher of a school, after five good annual reports from the Head of the Education Department.
197. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.216.
198. Ibid.

199. Only 2 candidates, out of 29 passed the 2nd class certificate in 1901.  
 ----- 9 -----, --- -- 49 ----- --- 3rd -----  
 ----- 20 -----, --- -- 134 ----- --- 4th -----
200. Board of Education Papers on the System of Education in Mauritius, Opt.  
 Cit. P.217.
201. Under the Code of 1902, the wage structure of the teachers was as follows:
- | <u>Men</u>                               | <u>Women</u>      |
|--|-------------------|
| 1st Class certificate, Rs.80. per month; | Rs.60. per month. |
| 2nd -----, Rs.40. --- -----;             | Rs.30. --- -----. |
| 3rd -----, Rs.30. --- -----;             | Rs.25. --- -----. |
| Certified Monitors , Rs.20. --- -----;   |                   |
| 6th Standard Rs.12. --- -----;           |                   |
| 5th ----- Rs. 8. --- -----.              |                   |
202. Colonial Annual Report for Mauritius, No.412, 1902.
203. Report on the Financial Situation of Mauritius, Chapter V, 1931.
204. The 1941 Ward Report on Education in Mauritius.
205. Colonial Annual Report: Mauritius, P.71, 1946.
206. H.C. Brookfield: Problems of Monoculture and Diversification in a Sugar  
 Island: Mauritius, P.28, Economic Geography, 35, 1, January 1959.
207. Report of Mauritius Royal Commission. P.8, 1909.
208. A. Toussaint: Histoire des Iles Mascareignes, P.245, Editions Berger-  
 Levrault, 1972.
209. A. Toussaint: Histoire des Iles Mascareignes, Opt. Cit. P.245.
210. Ibid. P.246.

211. Sauzier: La Chambre D'Agriculture de L'ile Maurice, 1835-1953, P.131, 1953, Port-Louis.
212. A. Toussaint: Histoire des Iles Mascareignes, Opt. Cit. P.247.
213. A. North-Coombs: The Evolution of Sugar-cane Culture in Mauritius, P.82, 1937, Port-Louis.
214. R.D. Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.160.
215. A. Toussaint: Histoire des Iles Mascareignes, Opt. Cit. P.248.
216. D.K. Forbes: The Geography of Underdevelopment, P.11, Croom Helm Publication, 1984.
217. H.C. Brookfield: Problems of Monoculture and Diversification in a Sugar Island: Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.28.
218. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.205.
219. H.C. Brookfield: Opt. Cit. P.28.
220. Ibid.
221. Broadly defined, the concept of 'class' does not refer simply to income, occupational status, or interest groups, but also to class solidarity, a mode of life, and a structural position in relation to other classes in society, giving rise to a class consciousness, to class interests, and a sharp struggle with other classes.
222. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.52.
223. Dr. A.R. Mannick: Mauritius: The Development of a Plural Society, Opt. Cit. P.48.

224. Arthur Hamilton Gordon was Governor at that time, and he believed that Mauritius was like an 'Augean Stable' which needed cleaning up.
225. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.183.
226. Ibid.
227. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.46.
228. Ibid. P.47.
229. Ibid. P.48.
230. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.48.
231. Ibid. P.50.
232. Financial Situation of Mauritius: Report of a Commission Appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Cmd.4034 Pp.189, 190, 208, London, 1932.
233. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.56.
234. Ibid. P.65.
235. Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Unrest on Sugar Estates in Mauritius, 1937, Mauritius Publication 1938.
236. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.54.
237. Ibid. P.77.

Notes on Chapter 3, Section 3.7

1. Harry Magdoff: Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present, Opt. Cit. P.68.
2. Harry Magdoff: Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present, opt. Cit. P.109.
3. Ibid. P.65.
4. See also E.J. Hobsbawn's Industry and Empire, Opt. Cit. Chapter 9.
5. Ibid. P.65.
6. See Johan Galtung's book, "The European Community: A Superpower in the making", on this subject. Allen & Unwin Publication, 1981 Edition.
7. Harry Magdoff: Imperialism: From the Colonial Age to the Present, Opt. Cit. P.110.
8. See Tobor Mende's, "From Aid to Recolonization" on this subject, Edition Seuil, 1979.
9. See W.M. Scammell's Study, "The International Economy Since 1945" Macmillan Press, 1980.
10. K.T.Fann & Donald C.Hodges (Editors): Readings in U.S Imperialism, Chapter 8, Sargent Publication, 1971.
11. D. Napal: Les Constitutions de L'ile Maurice, P.7, Printed in Mauritius, 1962.
12. D. Napal: Les Constitutions de L'ile Maurice, Opt. Cit. P.7.
13. Ibid.

14. Hugh Tinker: Race, Conflict and the International Order, P.28, Macmillan 1977.
15. Tinker argues that 'Dominion Status' was achieved by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Irish Free State and even Rhodesia because they were white settler colonies who were treated differently from other colonial formations; and when it was the turn of India to achieve self-rule, the British Government changed the rules by introducing a halfway house measure called 'dyarchy'.
16. D. Napal: Les Constitutions de L'ile Maurice, Opt. Cit. P.10.
17. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.191.
18. D. Napal: Les Constitutions de L'ile Maurice, Opt. Cit. P.11.
19. Ibid. P.11.
20. Barnwell & Toussaint: A Short History of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.192.
21. D. Napal: Les Constitutions de L'ile Maurice, Opt. Cit. P.16.
22. Keith Watson: Education in the Third World, Opt. Cit. P.9.
23. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.89.
24. D. Napal: Les Constitutions de L'Ile Maurice, Opt. Cit. P.17.
25. Correspondence with the Secretary of State for the Colonies: Mackenzie to Creech Jones, 21st of April 1947, P.1.
26. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.98.
27. Memorandum by Franco-Mauritian planters and Creole Elites to the Governor.
28. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.100.

29. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.104.
30. Ibid. P.87.
31. Ibid. P.105.
32. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.101.
33. Philip H. Coombs et al define non-formal education as "any organized educational activity outside the established formal system- whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity - that is intended to serve identifiable learning clientele and learning objectives", in the New Paths to Learning, P.11, ICED 1973.
34. Ken Baker: Trade Unionism in Mauritius, Port-Louis, 1946.
35. Mauritius Labour Party Minutes, 15th of May, 1948.
36. Burton Benedict: Education Without Opportunity in Mauritius, P.318. Paper delivered at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies on 20th of February, 1958.
37. The Education Act of 28th December, 1957, is divided into five parts which deal with the various facets of the Mauritian educational system.
38. Ibid. Part II, Para. 3, Section 1.
39. Ibid. Part II, Para. 5, Section 1.
40. Ibid. Part II, Para. 6, Section 1.
41. J.E. Meade et al: The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius, P.202, Methuen Publication, 1961.
42. Mauritius: Colonial & Annual Report, P.60. H.M.S.O 1957.

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45. J.E. Meade et al: The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.207.
46. Ibid. P.203.
47. See table of results attached in the Appendix.
48. J.E. Meade et al: The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.216.
49. J.E. Meade et al: The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.216.
50. At the time of Meade's Report, there were four scholarships for boys, and two for girls.
51. Emphasis mine.
52. J.E. Meade et al: The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.219.
53. Ibid. P.223.
54. Ibid.
55. Mauritius: Colonial & Annual Report, P.61. H.M.S.O Publication, 1957.
56. In fact, there were 158 men and 60 women.

57. Consisted of 192 men and 61 women.
58. Mauritius: Colonial & Annual Report, Opt. Cit. P.61.
59. J.E. Meade et al: The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.207.
60. In 1959, there were 394 classes on 'double shift' which meant that the children in those classes have had half a day's schooling, and that 190 teachers have had to work with one batch of children in the mornings and another batch in the afternoons.
- By 'single shift' it meant that only one session of class took place either in the morning or in the afternoon.
61. Report of the Royal Commission to the West Indies, 1938, known as the 'Moyné Report'.
62. E.J. Hobsbawm: Industry and Empire, Opt. Cit. Chapters 11 & 12.
63. See Section 3.7.1 of this study for Constitutional and Political development.
64. A. Toussaint: Histoire des Iles Mascareignes, Opt. Cit. P.301.
65. A. Toussaint: History of Mauritius, English Translation by W.E.F. Ward, Opt. Cit. P.89.
66. See L.W. Thornton White: A Master Plan for Port-Louis, Mauritius: A Report. Cape Town.
67. A. Toussaint: History of Mauritius, English Translation, Opt. Cit. P.90.
68. A. Toussaint: Histoire des Iles Mascareignes, Opt. Cit. P.302.
69. See J.E. Meade et al: The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius, Opt. Cit.

PART III

EDUCATION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN POST-INDEPENDENT MAURITIUS IN AN  
INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE, 1968- 1982.

## CHAPTER 4

### Education and National Development in Post-Independent in an International Perspective, 1968 -1982

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter is the crucial section of this study, and is important in several ways: it deals with a new beginning in the history of Mauritius under the rule of the Mauritius Labour Party which came to power in 1968 and stayed in office until June, 1982. It also deals with a Mauritius that became constitutionally independent of Great Britain. Formally, the newly sovereign state was endowed with the accoutrements of a modern state: a democratic system of government, a Legislative Assembly, a Prime Minister, a Leader of Opposition, a bevy of state organisations down to a national flag. Mauritius became a member of the British Commonwealth with the Queen of Great Britain as the Head of the Mauritian State. The general air of euphoria which accompanied the independence celebrations throughout the colony, instilled the mass of Labour Party supporters with hope and confidence of a bright future. Independence for these people meant change - a change for the better to be brought about through their control of the state.

More seriously, was Mauritius really independent? Did the new Mauritian Government have complete autonomy in making decisions which would affect the lives of Mauritians? At that time, these questions were not raised because of the assumption that control over the state apparatus meant power. For this reason my first aim in this section is to examine closely the structure of the state and the political party which controlled the apparatuses of the state for the following fourteen years.

Second, I will explore the relationship between educational institutions and the state.

Third, I will examine in greater depth the various statements and allusions I have made concerning the complex relations between education, production and cultural reproduction, made in the previous sections of this study.

Fourth, I hope to be able to demonstrate more clearly the theory underlying this study largely derived from Bodenheimer, in which an independent state, and not a colonial administration, plays the central role.

Throughout the previous chapter, I have repeatedly emphasized the interplay between the national and the international; and while analysing the dynamics of this interplay, I have shown that, in the case of Mauritius, forces external to the Mauritian social structure have played a determining role in shaping and moulding the internal social structure. It is crucial, to this study, then, to locate the changes which took place in the international system when Mauritius became independent in 1968\* and relate them to internal changes in order to provide an adequate background to understand the post-independent development of educational policy.

\* See Appendix I6 showing Basic Indicators in Post-Independent Mauritius.

#### 4.2. Modern Imperialism: The Rise of the Multinational Corporations in the International System

Marcus describes the rise of the Multinational Corporations, based on European and American capital, as the third stage of Imperialism – a modern imperialism heavily dominated by an American hegemony (1); writing about the subject, Radice (2) argues that the term 'multinational Corporation' creates a certain amount of confusion in the reader's mind because it carries the connotation of 'more than one nationality', that is why he has used the term 'international firm' partly because it is more accessible, and partly because it emphasizes the movement of capital across and between 'nations' in the world economy. It is the latter term which I will use in this section and in further references to the multinational corporations; Magdoff and Sweezy (3) adopt the same line of argument in their 'Notes on Multinational Corporation'.

Following Baran and Sweezy, Bodenheimer depicts the chief characteristics of the international firms (4):-

She points out that today, the typical economic unit has the attributes which were once thought to be possessed only by monopolies, which are :-

- (a) Increasing concentration of capital and resources under the control of fewer units, through the traditional firms: horizontal integration (increasing concentration of control over the production of a commodity or class of commodities) and vertical integration (increasing concentration of control over all phases of the production process, from the supply of raw materials to the marketing and distribution of the commodity to consumers;
- (b) A growing tendency toward conglomeration or diversification – that

is, the control by a smaller number of corporations over production in various different and often unrelated sectors, thus augmenting the firm's strength and simultaneously minimising the risks of production or marketing, in any one sector;

(c) Increasing "internationalization" of the operation (not the ownership or control) of capital;

(d) The progressive shift from rivalry among the capitalist powers toward closer integration of the capitalist world, and inability of the secondary capitalist powers thus far to offer a serious challenge to American hegemony - this is a debatable point to be discussed later.

The above characteristics of modern imperialism give rise to certain generally shared interests, and conflicts, of the international firms with respect to their overseas operations (5).

First, there arises a need to control all aspects of the production process, including the sources of supply and processing of raw materials, as well as the markets or outlets for commodities.

Second, as the scale, monopolistic concentration, conglomeration and internationalization of private capital increase, the dependence upon immediate profit returns from overseas investments is reduced. The emphasis shifts toward long-range planning, maximum security and avoidance of risk, and preservation of a favourable climate (ideological, political, social as well as economic) for the perpetuation of corporate operations and for long-range profits (6).

Third, modern imperialism encourages partial development in order to create a potentially stable climate for investment and trade.

Fourth, its failure to achieve real income re-distribution or expansion of the domestic market in the peripheral countries, there is an interest in regional integration of markets (7).

Fifth, the nature of private corporate operations overseas is such that they require protection by the imperialist state; that is why Bodenheimer argues that the process of imperialism should not be studied only at its point of impact, but also at its point of origin.

With the formation of the EEC as a new customs union of mostly ex-colonial powers (8), and the move, by its founders, to make the EEC the locus of economic, financial and political power in Europe, together with the economic rise of Japan have generated a debate among the Marxist theoreticians of imperialism (9) centering on whether the American hegemony is challengeable or not. Whilst Rowthorn argues with Mandel (10) that the American hegemony is challengeable; I tend to agree with Magdoff, Sweezy and Jalée (11) that imperialism is presenting a united front regarding the Third World. This will become apparent when I will discuss the 'transactions' of Mauritius with the EEC\* and other development agencies - the World Bank etc.; and also the military cooperation between Great Britain and U.S.A over carving 'sphere of influence' in the Indian Ocean for the defense of the capitalist economic order - a last minute conspiracy concocted by Great Britain when Mauritius was on the threshold of becoming independent. This will be the subject of the next section of this study.

\*See Appendix I7 for Map showing the relationship of Mauritius to the EEC and the ACP States.

4.3. The Politics of Decolonization: National State Formation and the Diego-Garcia Affair in an International Perspective,

Regarding the nature of state formation in the Third World, Goulbourne (1) observes that:-

"The variety of state forms that exist then, in the Third World—military, authoritarian, liberal and social-democratic etc - continue to present considerable theoretical problems for those who wish to construct a general theory of the state in these formations".

Writing on the same subject, Smith (2) acknowledges the variety of state forms that exist in the Third World today and a lack of general theoretical formulations that may lead towards an explanation as to the causes of their various forms; consequently, his theoretical formulations emphasize political developments in the Third World, the rise of an intelligentsia which would take over the post-colonial state apparatuses, and the colonial and imperial background of these different state formations. But the problem with Smith's theoretical formulations of state formations in the Third World, based exclusively on the rise of an intelligentsia, later turned bureaucrats, is that it completely ignores the impact of the external dimension on the internal and internalised social structures, and the various aspects of conflicts or alliances which would arise thereof; according to him, the intelligentsia "inherits" (3) the leading bureaucratic and political positions in the post-colonial state apparatus - a statement which needs further explanation.

In the absence of a general theory of state formation in the Third World, Alavi (4) makes a plea for more comparative case-studies of state formation in post-colonial societies to be conducted so that one can understand the rise of different forms of state formation in different post-colonial countries; his example is followed by Saul (5) and Hein and Stenzel (6). The problem with these various case-studies is that the dynamics of state formation in post-

colonial situations, the conflicts and alliances of vested interests and the role of the intelligentsia are discussed in the national parameter, while the international context is scarcely touched upon or seldom emphasized.

Bodenheimer argues (7) that the "relative autonomy" of the post-colonial state, in the Third World is illusory because:-

"When the primary function of the state is to stimulate private enterprise, when the private sector is largely controlled by foreign interests, and when the state bureaucracy itself relies on material and ideological support from abroad-as in the case of Brazil" (8).

She further adds that the Imperial state, the U.S in the Twentieth century, and the Spanish, Portuguese and the British in the past, has influenced, sometimes directly and most often covertly, state formation in Latin America in the sense that it (the Imperial state) has aided and abetted the rise of certain class of people who share the norms and values of the dominant class in the metropolis and who will defend their interests in the periphery.

This is the context in which I intend to discuss state formation in post-independent Mauritius and I wish to show to what extent the British Imperial State had directly influenced state formation by aiding and abetting the rise of an Indian elite, who, through the Mauritius Labour Party, had material and ideological support from the British Labour Party and the Fabian Society from the British metropolis. I will also argue that the British Imperial State "handed over" the colonial state apparatus to the Mauritius Labour Party whose Indian leader, Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, the first Mauritian Prime Minister - today knighted and Governor General of Mauritius - agreed to the terms of Sir Harold Wilson, then Labour Prime Minister, of selling Diego Garcia - a dependency of Mauritius - to the British for £3 million so that the latter could establish a base in the Indian Ocean and defend its sphere of influence. This was in fact confirmed by Anthony Greenwood, then Colonial Secretary, in the House of Commons on May 27th, 1965 (9). Since the strategic importance

of the Indian Ocean determined whether Mauritius was to be granted Independence or not, I will argue that it is vital to understand its importance in the geopolitics of the international system in the post-War era:- always an important crossroads of world-trade routes, the Indian Ocean today assumes an even greater importance because of the dependence of the developed world on petroleum and its need for routes through the Indian Ocean (10). Both the U.S and the U.S.S.R have maintained a naval presence in the Indian Ocean since 1968. In 1973, France ceded its bases in Madagascar to that country, but it continues to maintain a base on Reunion island. An arrangement by the French with the Comoros, negotiated in 1979, guarantees that archipelago's defence. Reddy (11) points out that the Americans are firmly based in Diego Garcia where the American base is fully equipped with the latest weaponry, advanced telecommunication centres and enough supplies to last them for six weeks in the eventuality of a war in the Indian Ocean. At a time when India, Pakistan and South Africa have all joined the nuclear club, there is no doubt that conflict and rivalry will eventually result in confrontation as these powers will try to claim the rich mineral and biotic resources of the Indian Ocean (12).

The question which arose, then, during the Constitutional talk in London, between the Mauritian delegation comprising of members of the 'Independence Party' - led by S.Ramgoolam, and the 'Parti Mauricien' led by G.Duval - defending the interests of the plantation owners and businessmen - and the British Labour Party led by Harold Wilson was that, what would happen to the British base in Mauritius after independence? The 'Parti Mauricien' presented no solution to the problem of 'sphere of influence' of the British Government as they wanted 'association' with Great Britain, believing that the latter would soon join the EEC and the sugar interests of the Mauritian planters would be safeguarded; on the other hand, the 'Independence Party' provided a 'transactional' solution to the British problem. The former wanted Mauritius to be independent at all costs and was directing its political campaigns towards that end, while the latter was only too happy to grant it as it was

part of the new British colonial policy to grant independence to these emerging Third World countries. But the only problem was the fate of the British base in Mauritius: a most secretive (13) deal was struck between the British Government and the leader of the Independence Party. The latter sold the island of Diego Garcia to the former for £3 million; and the former granted independence to Mauritius. Thus, the 'Independence Party' got what it wanted, and Great Britain got a new site for its base (14). Why did the leader of the 'Independence Party' sell Diego Garcia to the British Government? This question lead us directly to the rise of a new power elite which derives its ideological and material support from abroad and which has already assumed the role of protecting and responding to the needs and interests of the British metropolis rather than to the national ones - this is defined by Bodenheimer as a 'clientele class'; how would this clientele class use the post-colonial state? What would be its reaction towards other similar clientele classes, domestic classes and other power groups? What would be the priority in the development strategy of this clientele class? These are some of the issues to be tackled in the next section of this study.

#### 4.4. Characteristics of the Mauritian State and National Development in Post-Independent Mauritius •

I have argued in the preceding section that the British Imperial state has directly and indirectly influenced state formation in post-independent Mauritius by doing a deal with the 'Independence Party' - a coalition party formed by the 'Mauritius Labour Party' and two other minor parties, 'Independent Forward Bloc' and 'Muslim Action Committee' whose leader S. Ramgoolam agreed to the terms imposed by the Imperial State. Houbert (1) goes even further on this subject and he adds that:-

"The kith and kin of the Indians, although largely 'creolised', have retained enough 'Indianness' to make it possible for them to be mobilised politically on an ethnic basis. Rich Indian planters, civil servants, and the sugar proletariat could be rallied together to provide a large electoral base for the 'moderate' Indian leaders of the Mauritius Labour Party who were being groomed by the Colonial Office to take over at independence".

The Mauritius Labour Party enjoyed a wide political support because of its incipient nationalism and also because its electoral candidates represented every ethnic community of the island; but in reality, the M.L.P represented the interests of the Indian planters, rising Indian elites and professionals, and the new middle class of businessmen, merchants and professionals of other ethnic communities. Houbert (2) points out that it was not in the interests of this new middle class to bring any drastic changes in the social, economic and educational structure of the country. By handing over the colonial state apparatus to this new middle class, the British Imperial State has established a 'bridgehead' through which it could influence and dominate events at the Mauritian periphery. This new middle class, which controls the post-colonial state apparatus, by responding to the international, rather than the national needs, has assumed the status of a 'clientele class', and the Mauritian state has, obviously, assumed a subservient rather than a dominant role on the international scene. On the national front, the state

becomes a site of conflict, rather than consensus, as other rival political parties, other domestic classes, social classes and other vested interest groups representing different castes vie with each other to control the state apparatus (3).

In order to keep its political boat afloat, this clientele class, consisting of the elected members of the Mauritius Labour Party controlling the apparatus of the state, adopted the following strategies regarding the other social groups and its commitment to national development:

First, it adopted a conciliatory policy towards the national bourgeoisie, who control the economic power of the island because both shared common economic interests (4) and both clientele classes desired to maintain and defend the old social order (5).

Second, during its fourteen years in office, it deliberately cultivated a new breed of pliant intellectuals and subservient civil servants who were willing to carry out its policies - this was done through the allocation of various kinds of scholarships, and new jobs for the 'old boys'.

Third, criticism and opposition to its government were severely dealt with by:

(a) Pro-government intellectuals defending its policies in its paper, 'Advance Newspaper';

(b) By coercive means: government jobs were offered to critics; and

(c) By naked repression: the 'Movement Militant Mauricien' felt the naked fury of the repressive state apparatus (6) imprisonment, beating by police and the 'mobile force' during its campaign against the government of this clientele class.

Fourth, its commitment to national development on the electoral platform forced this clientele class to adopt a policy of 'gradual social reforms' towards the masses of its supporters; and finally, its commitment to economic and social development compelled this clientele class, because of lack of national capital, to open the doors of the national state to foreign capital in order to instigate development, thereby further endangering the autonomy of the state.

Mauritius joined the race for economic and social development in the Second Development Decade at a time when the 1974 World Bank's Education Sector Policy Paper was emphasizing the external efficiency of the school system, i.e the way its output contributed to the formation of skills needed by the economy (7). The economic and social development plans, policies and strategies of the Mauritian government has been carefully outlined and spelled-out in two Five-Year Development Plans: 1971-1975; 1975-1980; and in one Two-Year Development Plan: 1980-1982, covering the actual period under study. However, it should be pointed out that 'Development Plans' are not a novelty in themselves for they had their antecedents in the various Colonial Development Plans (8). In the case of Mauritius, could their contents be new, especially regarding the further development of the ~~sectorally~~ fragmented educational institutions and practices and their contribution to the economic and social development of the country?.

I intend to answer this question by assessing the Government's policy on education as spelled-out in the three Development Plans mentioned above. But first, I intend to acquaint the Reader with the population, economic and educational structures as they exist in post-independent Mauritius by giving an exact description of each in the same enumerated order.

#### 4.5. The Population Structure of Mauritius: The Plural Society.

We must pay special attention to the particularity of Mauritius as a social formation: the needs, economic interests and imperial rivalries between France and Great Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, transformed this uninhabited island in the Indian Ocean into an - overpopulated social formation comprising of Franco-Mauritians, English, Creoles, Indo-Mauritians and Chinese - a social formation which Benedict (1) calls 'plural', J.J.P Durand (2) calls a 'nation' and which I will describe as 'fragmented social formation' because I believe that Mauritius has neither social cohesion nor nationhood. It is a place where every ethnic group is vying with each other to monopolise and control the scarce resources and social services of the island. It is a place where each ethnic group has one foot in Mauritius and the other in its country of origin. The Franco-Mauritians and the Creoles look towards France and South Africa for their ideological and material support. The Hindus towards India. The Muslims towards Pakistan and now shifting this allegiance towards the rich Arab World, especially Libya; and the Chinese, obviously towards China (3). The different ethnic groups came to Mauritius under different phases of capital expansion and since their arrival on the island till this present day, they have continuously lived and adapted their life-style to the needs, logic and expansion of capital; as Houbert (4) points out, "profit brought the first immigrants to Mauritius and has dominated life ever since".

#### 4.5.1 The Malthusian Ghost in Mauritius: Overpopulation and Population Distribution.

Mannick (1) points out that "the ghost of Malthus still haunts the island" a fact which has been confirmed by the Titmus Report (2), and most recently by study conducted by UNESCO in July 1981 (3) according to which Mauritius is the third, after Hongkong and Bangladesh, most densely populated country in the World: 444 inhabitants per square kilometre; the population trend of the country tends to point towards an increase in inhabitants per square kilometre. According to the Central Statistical Office, there were 950,365 inhabitants\*in Mauritius at the end of 1981 (4); according to the same source, this population consisted of more women than men: 485,093 women for 465,272 men; and after considering the 'post-war baby-boom', this population is remarkably young: 49,8% of the Mauritian population are under 21 and 42 % are under 18 (5).

For administrative purposes, Mauritius was divided into nine districts under the French rule, and this division has been maintained to the present day. Situated in the central plateau of the island, the district of Plaines Wilhems remains the most populated district of the island: at the end of June 1980 there were 285,000 inhabitants a figure which represents 29% of the total population of the island and 9 times more populated than the least populated district, that of Riviere Noire; there are two other districts which have more than 100,000 inhabitants; these are Port-Louis - 146,000; and Flacq - 104,000 (6).

Mauritius has a sugar-cane plantation economy and as most of the sugar mills are located in the rural areas, it is only logical that the majority of the Mauritian population resides in the rural areas. More than 57% of Mauritians live outside the towns and this percentage will increase gradually as the birth-rate in the villages is higher than in the town whose percentage of population has decreased from 43,7% in the 70s to 43% in the 80s (7).

\* See Appendices I8 and I9 for total population(I960-I98I), and population growth(I972-I980).

There are 120 villages in Mauritius, and only 9 of them have more than 10,000 inhabitants.

The 'opening-up' of the island in the 1850s and 1860s for the further exploitation of its land resources led to the creation of urban areas which showed a definite pattern in population movement from the overpopulated, disease-ridden and dirty capital - Port-Louis. Today, there are five towns: Port-Louis, the capital, remains, as before, the most populated one, with 146,000 inhabitants whose number is swelled up by the thousands of city workers; Beau-Bassin - Rose-Hill with 90,000 inhabitants; Curepipe with 57,000; Quatre-Bornes with 59,000 and Vacoas-Phoenix with 55,000 inhabitants.

The next section of this study will emphasize the movement and settlement of the various ethnic groups.

#### 4.5.2. The Fragmented Social Formation: The Communities.

The different communities arrived, while others were brought in Mauritius, under different stages of capital expansion to answer to the needs and economic interests of the imperial power dominant in certain regions – the case of France in the Indian Ocean in the eighteenth century, or dominant in the international system – the case of Great Britain after the Napoleonic Wars; first France and then Great Britain occupied and governed Mauritius. Both imperial powers left their colonial legacies – legacies of conflicting ideologies, of domination and subordination, of unequal distribution of economic and social resources, and the belief of a white master race. The social relationships between the various ethnic communities reflected the tension between the owners of the means of production, on the one hand, and the owners of labour on the other; the social relationships also reflected the economic and cultural hegemony of the national bourgeoisie, and after independence, the latter forged an alliance with the coloured class to fight the threat posed by the Hindu Hegemony from the pulpit, through the press and television. Thus the description of each ethnic group in terms of origin, occupation, religion and the extent to which it has access, or is debarred from, the economic and social resources of the island, will be emphasized. I will describe each ethnic group according to the order in which they arrived in Mauritius.

##### (a) The Franco-Mauritians •

Descendants of the French 'colons', the Franco-Mauritians have inherited, preserved and perpetuated their hegemony in independent Mauritius. First, they deliberately kept their number as low as possible – 10,000; second except for 50,000 acres of land, they own and control all the land and almost all the sugar factories of the island. They are also the proprietors of the biggest commercial firms and the biggest bank, as well as co-owners with the government of the Central Electricity Board of the island; third, nearly all

of them are employed in, and in control of, the key sectors of the Mauritian economy (8); the phenomenon of impoverishment does not exist among them (9), a well known fact which exists among their counterparts in the Reunion island and among those in the Antilles because the non-proprietors hold remunerative jobs in the sugar estates (10); fourth, those who cannot find jobs in Mauritius are sent to South Africa for further training and employment, either in the banks or in the higher echelons of the mining industry. This is possible because there are the same number of Franco-Mauritians settled in South Africa today as those who live in Mauritius. Consequently, it is hardly surprising if they derive their ideological and material support from France and South Africa. Fifth, they are all Catholics, endogamous, send their children to exclusively white schools and later to France and South Africa for higher studies, and remain a 'closed' community in terms of their extravagant lifestyle, social activities cultural dominance and are holding their ground in the face of strong political challenge in order to keep their economic and cultural predominance. Besides being the predominant language of the radio, television and the national press, French remains the most widely spoken and widely understood language\* in Mauritius (11).

(b) The British.

Britons did not settle in great numbers in Mauritius (12) and when they did decide to settle, they were more attracted to Australia and New Zealand. Thus, the few Britons who stayed in Mauritius are mostly businessmen, while others still occupy 'advisory' posts in the state-apparatus; most of them are Anglicans (13). Although the English language is the official language as well as the language of public instruction, it is currently spoken by 0.3% of Mauritians (14) and understood by the educated only. The English programmes on the national radio and television remain educational programmes. There are no daily newspaper in English with the exception of one or two weeklies and with the closure of the British-Council, the formal educational system remains the only channel for the diffusion of the English

\* See Appendix 20 for table showing population of Mauritius by Language and sex.

language and culture in Mauritius.

(c) The Creoles •

The Creoles are the most diverse in character than any other ethnic group. The 1972 census used an umbrella concept—that of General Population – to cover both the Creoles and the Franco-Mauritians (15). But it should be pointed out that the Creoles and the Franco-Mauritians, although have cultural and religious affinities, cannot be lumped together as one category of people because they have different histories, different biographies and different destinations. Therefore, I have decided to break this umbrella concept of 'General Population' into its separate parts:

- (i) The Franco-Mauritians proper – a group which I have already described;
- (ii) The coloured ethnic group of mixed European-African/Indian descent. This ethnic group represents a long tradition of class struggle against their elders and betters – the Franco-Mauritians – who have been their models for centuries. They are Catholics, and have linguistic and cultural affinities with the latter. Because of their mixed-blood, they have been debarred from the sugar-industry. But the upper class have been able to find employment in that industry in diverse positions. Lack of capital has driven them away from commerce (16) but numerically, they are dominant in the professions, in politics, and in the media. Geographically, they are located in the townships of Quatre-Bornes and Rose-Hill where they have exclusive religious, cultural and political organizations, and they derive their ideological and material support from France.
- (iii) The ethnic group of African origin whose descendants gained their freedom when slavery was abolished. These Creoles of African origin are the second largest community in Mauritius (17). Since the

abolition of slavery, they have come to abhor any kind of agricultural work, and today they represent the vast pool of workers comprising of artisans, dockers, stevedores and fishermen. Those who are educated are remuneratively well employed in the civil service or the police force. Because they profess the same Catholic religion as their former colonial masters, their wives have been able to find ready employment as 'domestics' in the latter's houses; geographically, they are almost evenly distributed over the island: the fishermen around the coastal areas; the artisans in the sugar estates and those in the civil-service in the towns; lack of contact with their country of origin and the colonial situation have forced them to adopt the language, culture and religion of the old colonial master (18), but very often their tribal instincts burst through the thin veneer of their European culture and manifest themselves in their frenzy 'sega-dancing' and their colourful patois-creole - a language spoken by 40% of the Mauritian population and understood by most of them. They derive their ideological and material support from the powerful upper class group of the colonial community.

(d) The Chinese•

According to the 1972 census, there were 24,084 Sino-Mauritians; 12,849 males and 11,235 females (19); and the 1962 census showed that most of them were born either in China or Hongkong (20). They have always been in commerce ranging from the small village-shop to the biggest import-export commercial concerns in the Capital - Port-Louis. Their increasing economic power is reflected in the 'Chamber of Chinese Commerce', and as such, they do pose a threat to the other clientele groups of the island, namely: the British and Franco-Mauritians and the rich Muslim traders. Most of them are, however, Catholics. But those who have escaped the proselytizing zeal of the Catholic Missionaries have remained Budhists and Confucians (21). Geographically, most of them are located in the City of Port-Louis while others

are scattered in the towns and villages depending upon the extent of their commercial concern. They derive their ideological and material support from mainland China.

(e) The Indo-Mauritians.

Since their arrival in Mauritius as indentured labourers, the Indo-Mauritians have been mostly engaged in the agricultural field: as labourers on the sugar estates, as agricultural workers and small planters. The economic rise of the Indians has given birth to a small, but powerful, urban bourgeoisie who has common economic interests with the Franco-Mauritian planters and businessmen; to a western-educated Indian elite who are in the forefront of Mauritian politics; to a peasant class and finally to a labouring class (22). The Indo-Mauritians are broadly divided into: (i) Hindus and (ii) Muslims.

(i) Very broadly, the Hindus can be divided doctrinally into 'Sanatan' or orthodox, and 'Arya Samaj', or reformist. There is also another group of reformist who call themselves 'Kabir Panthis' (23). The Hindus can be further sub-divided into broadly four castes and into several linguistic and cultural groups depending upon the region of origin:-

The Hindus originating from the North of India speak 'hindustani' - a language written in the 'devanagri' alphabet, called 'hindi'. During the hindu festivals, they congregate in their temples and at village level, they congregate in 'baitkas' - multi-functional institutions created at village level to keep the community together and act as the main agency for the reproduction of the hindu culture; they are the most numerous of the Indo-Mauritians.

The Tamils speak tamil and originate from Madras. Although less numerous than the Hindus from the North, their presence is felt throughout the island by their spectacular religious and cultural activities. They meet

in their temples for their festivals and in other social institutions. They have more converts to Catholicism among them than any other Indo-Mauritian ethnic group and there is a strong tendency among the younger generation to deny their Indian origin (24).

The Telegous and the Marathis are still less numerous and originate from the south of the Indian continent. They speak telegou and marathi respectively, and like the other Indo-Mauritian ethnic groups, they do meet in social institutions to celebrate their religious and cultural festivals.

The Gujeratis speak gujerati and originate from the gujerati-speaking areas of West India and Bombay. Most of them are predominantly Muslim, and unlike the other Indian ethnic groups, they have been constantly in touch with India through trade - most of them are dealers in grains, particularly rice and cloth. Today nearly all trade in these commodities is in their hands; they do congregate and do inter-marry (25).

(ii) The Muslims: as a minority ethnic group, they are perhaps the most cohesive social group where religion and culture are concerned. They are also broadly divided into orthodox and reformist groups and further subdivided into five distinct groups: Sunnee, Surtee, Khajani, Culkattea and Ahmadia. They all speak 'Ourdu', that is hindustani transcribed into Arabic alphabet. They meet in mosques for prayers and ensure the reproduction of their language and culture in various 'madrassas' at village and local level (26).

I have already pointed out that the Hindus, depending upon their place of origin and linguistic group, derive their ideological and material support from India; while the Muslims derive their ideological and material support, first from Pakistan, but now they are turning towards the Arab world, especially towards Lybia for external support.

#### 4.6. Description of the Economic Structure.

No other country in the world is so dependent on the export of a single product as is Mauritius (1). Sugar and its by-products account for 99 per cent of exports and 70 percent of the export earnings. Sugar pervades many aspects of Mauritian life. Economically it divides the year into a crop season from August to December and an intercrop season of the remaining seven months. During the crop season there is plentiful employment and relatively high wages. The intercrop season is a period of lower wages and little employment. In the 1970s, it was estimated that the sugar industry employed 70,000 people\* during the crop season and some 60,000 during the intercrop season (2); it is worth pointing out that after the sugar industry, the largest employer in Mauritius is the Government which employs about 20,000 people and offers a variety of employment in the state and para-statal bodies; it is the chief avenue for upward social mobility.

Today sugar cane covers 93,9% of the cultivated land in Mauritius and 21 sugar factories produce all the sugar. The small planters and 'metayers' bring their crops to their 'factory area', (Mauritius is divided into 21\*\* factory areas). Only four of these factories produce white sugar for local consumption (3), while the rest produce brown sugar to be exported to the EEC, Great Britain, Canada, U.S.A and other Asian countries. The 21 sugar estates own and control more than 55% of the land under cane cultivation.\*\*\* Whereas 30,000 small planters (4) and 'metayers' exploit only 30%; out of the 21 sugar estates, one was nationalised in 1973 (5), and 17 of them are owned and controlled by 6 financial groups; and 6 'holdings' produce more than 70% of the Mauritian sugar.

According to the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement of 1951, Mauritius sold 60 percent of its sugar to United Kingdom; 30 percent went to other markets, principally Canada and 3 percent to United States. The Agreement expired on the 31st of December, 1974 and it was replaced by a Convention between

\* See Appendices 2I-26 regarding Population, Economic Structure, Employment, Unemployment by Age group, Ethnic group and Sex.

\*\* See Appendix I2 for the 2I factory areas.

\*\*\* See Appendices 42, 43 regarding the cultivation, production and disposal of sugar cane between 1974-1981 in Mauritius.

the European Economic Community and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries which was signed at Lomé, Togo on 28th of February, 1975 (6). This became known as the ACP Protocol on sugar. Under this sugar Protocol, the 13 ACP members will supply the EEC with 13 million tons of sugar and each of the 13 ACP countries has been assigned a quota. The quota for Mauritius is 500,000 tons a year and she also benefits from the resources of the European Investment Bank and the European Development Fund. Through the International Sugar Agreement (ISA) Mauritius also benefits from a quota of 175,000 tons; this Agreement does not interfere with the provision of the ACP sugar Protocol (7).

Sugar remains the backbone of the Mauritian economy, and being part of the capitalist international economic order, it has experienced the boom-bust cycle of that economic order. But in the 1970s, the sugar industry was recovering with a production of 680,000 tons a year - a figure which was expected to reach 800,000 tons in the 1980s through the efforts, research and experiments of the Mauritius Sugar Industry Research Institute - an institution completely owned, controlled and financed by the sugar industry.

There have been tentative attempts, both on the part of the sugar industry and of the Government, at agricultural diversification, especially in the cultivation of tea, tobacco, aloe-fibre, animal husbandry and foodstuffs.

(i) Tea.

Tea is the second export commodity of Mauritius; it represents 4,5% of the cultivated land as compared to 93,5 for sugar cane; out of 11,800 arpents (8) of cultivable land only 9,400 were actually exploited (9). The income from tea was 20 million rupees (10) in 1972 as compared to 522 million for sugar. Its expansion has been obviously limited by the availability of cultivable land and external market forces; today, 59% of the Mauritian tea is sold to South Africa and 38% to Great Britain.

The Tea Control Board is responsible for production and marketing, while the Tea Development Authority, partly financed by the World Bank, is responsible for the administration and the creation of employment - less than 1000 a year (11). The "Crown Lands" of the state are distributed among small planters for exploitation. This private sector of the tea industry is composed of small and big planters and other credit societies. The tea industry employs 7,000 persons during crop season and around 6,000 during intercrop season.

It is worth noting that the sugar barons have generously invested in the tea industry. They have entirely financed the extension and modernization of the Dubreuil tea factory which is one of the largest and most modern in the world (12).

(ii) Tobacco .

Only 1,6% of the cultivable land have been allocated to the cultivation of tobacco, vegetables and other crops (13). The cultivation of tobacco has been placed under the control of the "Tobacco Board" which allocate parcels of land and quotas to each planter according to the demands of the two tobacco factories on the island, the majority of whose shares are owned by the British and American Companies; about 80% of the tobacco produced is consumed locally.

(iii) Foodstuffs .

The fact that about 1% of all the cultivable land is available for food-production shows that it is not an important item, neither on the sugar industry's nor on the Government's agenda. In fact agricultural commodities account for 25 to 30 percent of total imports,\* since Mauritius has to import virtually all its needs of rice, its staple food, as well as its total wheat flour consumption and large proportion of the meat, milk, edible oil consumed and many fruits and vegetables. All consumers are entitled to purchase, at

\* See Appendices 38 and 39 showing Imports and Exports in Mauritius between 1973-1981.

subsidised prices, a rationed quantity of basic quality rice and of wheat flour (14). Most of the vegetables and fruits produced \*are meant for local consumption; it is only where potatoes, poultry and eggs are concerned that Mauritius has nearly reached a self-sufficiency level, but still much remains to be done to increase meat production (15). Mauritius has the best fishing lagoon which extends more than 250 kms and until 1973 most of the fishing was done by Mauritians (16). Recently with the booming of the tourist industry and partly because of inappropriate pricing policy in the past, several nations are fishing in Mauritius' territorial waters and have forced several domestic companies out of business (17). Fish are available in small quantities on the local markets and at exorbitant prices.

(iv) Aloe Fibre.\*\*

The sugar industry needs sacks to **transport** its sugar from the factories to the docks; and as early as 1920s, the Department of Agriculture found out that these sacks could be **made** locally from aloe-fibre. Hence, the Government opened a sack factory at Quatre-Bornes. The sugar industry owns six small factories where the aloe-leaves are chemically treated, whitened and dried, thereafter to be transported to the Government sack factory where they are knitted, woven and mixed with jute imported from Pakistan (18).

(v) Manufacturing Industries .

Despite the fact that the Meade Report (19) recommended industrial diversification to meet the needs of the increasing unemployed, it was only in the 1970s, with the creation of the "Zone Franche" that manufacturing industries were able to have a separate existence from the heavy industries related to the sugar industry which employs 60% of the working population of the island, whereas the manufacturing industries employ only 6%. Manufacturing industries could not have an early take-off because industrial goods, either for consumption or to be used as equipments, consist of 50%

\* See Appendix 44 regarding foodcrops cultivation and production in Mauritius between 1977 and 1980.

\*\* Due to the gradual mechanization of the docks, the sack industry has lost its importance.

of the Mauritian imports which are monopolized by a few families only - Harel-Mallac, Ireland-Fraser and Blyth Brothers. They control the arrival and distribution of all the imported products; besides, these few families hold among themselves the majority of the shares of six holdings controlling seventeen of the largest sugar estates in Mauritius (20).

The new manufacturing industries come under two categories, namely:

- (i) Those holding a Development Certificate and
- (ii) Those established in the Export Processing Zone.

Industries holding EPZ certificates produce exclusively for export and are entitled to numerous concessions, ranging from tax concessions, exemption from income tax on dividends for a five years, to exemption from payments of import duties on capital goods and raw materials. The EPZ units are also allowed freely to repatriate the capital brought into the country and remit profits and dividends abroad (21).

The EPZ, due to its generous tax conditions, has attracted a lot of foreign capital from Hongkong, France, West Germany and India. As a Zone for assembling various kinds of products, the EPZ has been a success because it employs a cheap and well-educated labour comprising mostly of women (22). But the EPZ has also provided the barons of the sugar industry an opportunity to invest their surplus value, which they have been able to repatriate through payments of imports, purchase of equipments etc, in association with foreign capital; thus, local capital re-enters Mauritius as foreign capital to enjoy all the tax privileges (23).

(vi) Tourism .

Tourism has been actively promoted in Mauritius since 1959, when the

Mauritius Government Tourist Office (MGTO) was created. Since the mid-fifties the industry has rapidly expanded: from about 1800 tourists in 1954, the number visiting Mauritius has increased to over 128,000 in 1979 (24). The average annual tourism growth rate in the seventies was around 17 percent even though the number of tourists visiting Mauritius declined in 1980. The number of hotels increased from only one in 1950 to 38 in 1980; similarly the hotel bed capacity increased from less than one hundred to 3,900 (25).

Although its contribution to GDP was 4 percent in 1980, tourism plays an important role in the economy of Mauritius. It contributed about 8 percent of gross foreign exchange earnings from exports of goods and non-factor services and helped to maintain directly or indirectly about 18,000 jobs. Its net contribution to the balance of payments was about 5 percent of foreign exchange earnings in 1980 (26). Overall, tourism expenditure and the income it generated are estimated to have produced about Rs. 80 million in government revenue, 4 percent of total in 1980.

According to a recent study (27), the overall contribution of tourism spending is higher in Mauritius than in many other islands and further development is justified provided the level of net benefits can be maintained.

The Franco-Mauritian sugar barons have also heavily invested in the tourist industry: their South-African connection provides them with a selectively rich clientele who went so far as to suggest that their hotels should be restricted to "whites only" - a demand which was rejected because the black Prime Minister should be denied access to these selective hotels (28).

4.6.1. Class, Caste and Clientelism: A Note towards the Social Stratification of a Fragmented Social Formation.

The description of the population structure, in terms of origin, occupation, race and religion, coupled with the description of the economic structure in order of predominant economic activities bring to the fore the issue of social stratification in post-independent Mauritius. How is one to categorise or classify an assemblage of people, originating from Europe, Africa and Asia, which has been vertically and horizontally divided into economic, racial, cultural and religious groups, where each group leads a separate existence, yet each groups needs each other for its survival?.

I will suggest that the organizing principle for such a stratification is to be found in the dominant economic activity of post-independent Mauritius, which is: the plantation economy and its related industries.

Mauritius is a particular social formation in the sense that the formation of its social structures have been entirely influenced, affected and transformed by the French and British Imperial powers, depending upon which of the two Imperial powers has been dominant in the international system, and also depending upon the function which Mauritius has been called upon to fulfill in that international system. Mauritius became a full-fledged plantation economy under the dominance of British Imperialism in the international system in the early nineteenth century, and the international division of labour thus created as a consequence of the expansion of the British Empire, Mauritius has functioned as an exporter of sugar and a net importer of food-stuffs and industrial goods.

As the dominant mode of production, the plantation economy has generated its own type of stratification based on a property nexus. There is a handful of mostly Franco-Mauritian dominant people, owning the means of production—capital land and factories; while on the other, there are thousands of people

who have nothing, but their labour to sell. Located between these two groups, there is another group of people comprising of managers, overseers, clerks, doctors, lawyers and immediately succeeding this group, there is a small group of planters and landowners but the problem is that not everybody owns land in Mauritius and that not everybody is an artisan. Thus, offering a much simplified version of the social stratification in post-independent Mauritius, it would at first appear that, in the absence of an aristocratic-class, the social pyramid is composed of an upper class, a middle class and a working class.

It should be pointed out that the concept and definition of class have generated considerable debate, both among Marxists and non-Marxists, and also among nations: England, France, America and the socialist countries (1); should class be defined in relation to property or in relation to political struggle? (2). Following Bodenheimer, I have opted for the following definition of class:-

"The concept of class does not refer simply to income, occupational status, or interest groups, but also to class solidarity, a mode of life, and a structural position in relation to other classes in society, giving rise to a class consciousness, to class interests, and a sharp struggle with other classes" (3).

According to this definition, only the upper and the middle classes would be properly called classes. Whereas the bulk of the working class has remained a "class in itself but not for itself".

This class configuration is further complicated by the fact that each ethnic community has its own upper, middle, and working class (4). The class configuration of this stratification becomes even more complex with the revival of the caste system among the Indo-Mauritian: a revival in which caste is no longer a social category, as it exists in India (5) but takes the form of a political category where the majority of the lower castes are organizing

themselves in order to take over the apparatuses of the state despite the fact that the social stigma, inequalities and odiousness attached to the caste system in India do not exist in Mauritius (6).

I will argue that with the increasing internationalization of capital, and with the rise of pockets of dependent industrialized areas in independent Mauritius, the class relations which existed in colonial Mauritius, based on a three-tier society, have undergone considerable changes: the old barriers, based on class, colour, religion and culture have been fast disappearing and the upper classes of each community are coming close together of their common economic interests.

This new alliance, in post-independent Mauritius, has given rise to a clientele class and to other clientele groups; according to Bodenheimer (7) "clientele classes, or clientele groups are those which have a vested interest in the existing international system; they carry certain functions on behalf of foreign interests; in return they enjoy a privileged and increasingly dominant and hegemonic position within their own societies, based largely on economic, political or military support from abroad; they thrive within the orbit of foreign capital; the technical, managerial, professional or intellectual elites-become clientele when their interests, actions and privileged positions are derived from their ties to foreign interests".

The point of my argument is that the concepts of class and caste are inadequate to capture the dynamics of this new relationship between the national and the international as a consequence of the internationalization of capital and its dominance via different social groups in the peripheral countries in general and in post-independent Mauritius in particular.

Thus the concept of clientelism which cuts across class, race, caste and religious boundaries , brings to the fore the true nature of this new relationship between international capitalism and national labour in our contemporary world.

I have already pointed out that in post-independent Mauritius, the first social group to act as a clientele class has been that behind the Mauritius Labour Party, since it derived its political power to control the apparatuses of the state from Great Britain. The second group of clientele class is the national bourgeoisie, comprising mostly of Franco-Mauritians, who own and control the sugar industry and its allied products. I have also shown in my lengthy description of the Mauritian economy, how the latter has allied with foreign capital to exploit the other economic activities of the island, ranging from tea cultivation, imports and exports, tourism and finally in the booming Export Processing Zone.

My intention, in the next section and sub-sections, is to extend the concept of clientelism to the field of education. But first, I will set the scene by offering a description of the ~~sectorally~~ fragmented educational institutions and practices in post-independent Mauritius.

#### 4.7. A Description of the Sectorally / Fragmented Educational System in Post-Independent Mauritius.

Benedict (1) points out that since the 1950s, there has been an increasing demand for a western-type of education in Mauritius, and throughout the years, various types of institutions and agencies, ranging from the informal, non-formal to the formal, have been catering for the educational needs of the Mauritian communities. But it should be pointed out that despite the fact that both the informal and non-formal agencies have brought their invaluable contribution to the educational field, I will argue that the formal educational system, in post-independent Mauritius, remains the main channel performing the functions of socialization, selection, rewards and punishments—in terms of success and failures—and paving the way for the successful candidates to be allocated to certain sectors of the economy. Hence, my concern in this section of the study is the formal educational system which Coombs et al (2) define as:-

"By formal education we refer, of course, to the hierarchically structured, chronologically graded 'educational system' running from primary school through the university and including, in addition to general academic studies, a variety of specialized programmes and institutions for full time technical and professional training".

Mauritius has a 6-5-2 educational structure\*. Primary education of 6 years' duration is followed by 5 years of secondary education leading to the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (CSC), and a further two years leading to the Cambridge Higher School Certificate. Candidates taking these examinations can also sit for the General Certificate of Education, both Ordinary and Advanced levels, offered by the London University.

##### 4.7.1. Primary Education

Education is not compulsory in Mauritius. Nevertheless 92 percent of

\* See Appendix 27 for the Educational Pyramid in Mauritius, in 1975.

children in the age group 6 to 11 are in school. In 1979, 125,165 children attended primary school nearly equally divided between boys and girls. 54.7 percent were attending schools in rural areas and 45.3 percent in urban areas. Primary education extends normally over six years from the age of five years plus (3).

Primary schools are provided by the Government and by private sources, some of which received aid from the Government (4). In 1975, 71.5 percent\* of children attended 184 government primary schools, with 24.6 percent in aided schools and 3.9 percent in un-aided schools - combined in 50 primary schools (5).

Promotion is automatic in the primary cycle of education (6), and drop-outs are negligible. The curriculum is heavily language-oriented with 58 percent of the time devoted to English - the official language and the language of instruction; to French and five oriental languages. On average 25 percent of time is allotted to arithmetic and geography leaving only 19 percent for the teaching of hygiene, nature study and observation, moral teaching and civics, needlework or gardening, drawing, arts and crafts, singing, story telling, creative work, savings bank and physical education. Modern mathematics was introduced in primary schools in 1971 (7).

The primary school cycle, after the sixth year, culminates in the Primary School Leaving Certificate (PSLC) examination, and the successful candidates with excellent academic performance are qualified to sit for the Junior Scholarship (JS) Examination in order to select pupils for the Government secondary schools; the latter examination has been set and marked by the Moray House College of Education until 1979, both these examinations were combined into Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) examination and set by the Mauritius Institute of Education (8). In 1975, 55.4 percent of those who sat for the Primary Leaving Certificate passed, of whom 32.1 percent were qualified to take the Junior Scholarship Examination. Three hundred pupils

\*See Appendices 28-3I regarding Primary School enrolments, time schedule and results in Mauritius.

were awarded scholarships out of a total of 35,473 taking the PSLC examination (9). Another 100 pupils are awarded places in government schools on payment of Rs 10 monthly as fees (10).

The primary school teachers follow a two-year training course at the Mauritius College of Education, formerly known as the Teachers' Training College.

#### 4.7.2. Secondary Schools

In 1975, there were 64,826 students enrolled in secondary schools\* of all types, only 5.2 percent of whom were in government schools; 12.8 percent were in aided private schools and 82 percent in un-aided private schools (11). About 55 percent were boys and 45 percent girls, representing some 40 percent of the age-group 12 - 18 years; 69.2 percent of the secondary enrolment is in urban areas and 30.8 percent in rural areas, mainly in private un-aided schools. Between 1970 and 1975 secondary enrolment increased by 47 percent at 9.4 percent per annum (12).

In 1974 there were 125 secondary schools in Mauritius of which five were government schools (13) and thirteen were aided. The government schools offer full programmes from Form I to Form VI and are located in urban areas. Most pupils are scholars and do not pay fees; these schools enjoy good physical facilities and are of a high standard. The aided secondary schools, owned by religious denominations, mainly Roman Catholics, offer similar facilities and are of an equivalent standard and reputation; they are also located largely in urban areas (14); these schools are run on a non-profit basis. But un-aided private schools are profit-making (15); located in both urban and rural areas, many offer very poor facilities and some are quite unsuitable to be schools (16). As a result of their geographical location, thousands of pupils daily travel from rural areas without schools to Port-Louis and Plaines Wilhems where 52 percent of the secondary schools are located (17).

\* See Appendices 32-36 regarding Secondary Schools Classification, Enrolment, Time Schedule and Results in Mauritius.

Schools may be recognized for the purpose of the School Certificate and General Certificate of Education Examinations. There are two classes of recognition A and B, of which B is probationary. Twenty schools have 'A' recognition (five government, thirteen aided and two un-aided) - these schools should obtain 50% of the passes at the CSC and HSC examinations. Eighty-six schools have 'B' recognition, all un-aided private schools - these schools should obtain 40% of passes; and the remaining 19 schools are un-aided and unrecognized, which means that these schools are not allowed by the Cambridge Syndicate to prepare students for these examinations. Recently, there has been a further classification and these schools into: Class I - non-profit making; Class II - profit making, not included in Class I or III; Class III - profit making schools in rural areas (18).

Political expediency led the Labour Government to make secondary and tertiary education free in 1976 - a decision which further increased the prospering industry of private tuition. Competition, for the 15 scholarships awarded, dominates the examination-oriented educational system whose curriculum continues to be dominated by the requirements of the London and Cambridge Boards of Examinations. The schools have a free hand in the choice of the textbooks and on the employment of teachers whose training has been on the agenda of the Mauritius Institute of Education since its opening in 1973.

#### 4.7.3. Junior Secondary Schools \*

In 1975 there were four Junior Technical Schools (19) in Mauritius providing a three-year programme — in reality merely Senior Primary Schools offering an extended primary education with a very limited technical bias (20). These schools are operated by primary school teachers and have inadequate workshop facilities and equipment. The role that these schools are expected to play in the educational system has not been defined clearly as yet (21). As from 1975, the courses have been extended to four years, but no detailed

\* The Junior Secondary Schools are today known as State Secondary Schools.

syllabus for the fourth year has been worked out as yet. In the 1975 - 1980 Development Plan, the Labour government was firmly committed to the proper staffing and providing adequate materials for the running of the Junior Technical Schools found at Belle-Rose, Central Flacq and Port-Louis.

Thirty-five years ago, the Ward Report (22) emphasized the need for technical schools and Junior Secondary Schools. Similar ideas were expressed by Meade (23) in his 1960 survey of Mauritius. But so strong is the obsession with purely academic schooling in Mauritius that it would be unrealistic to associate the Junior Secondary Schools, the Technical Schools and the Central Schools with the mainstream of educational theory and educational practice.

#### 4.7.4. Teacher Education

At present, Primary School Teachers are trained at the Mauritius College of Education, formerly known as "Teachers' Training College". It was founded in 1943 and provides training for government and aided (mainly Roman Catholic) primary schools. The college is co-educational, with a ratio of two males to one female(24). The qualification required for entry is the Cambridge School Certificate. Two programmes are offered: the general programme under the control of the Ministry of Education which selects the candidates; and the Oriental Languages programme, candidates for which are selected by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute; 522 candidates were admitted for the academic year 1975/1976, 280 as general course students and 242 in Oriental Languages; 175 were women. The course is of two years duration: the first year is spent at the college and the second year in a school; thus, combining theory and practice.

Secondary school teachers are being trained at the Mauritius Institute of Education: a semi-autonomous body responsible to the Minister of Education but working in close association with the University of Mauritius. It was formally established by an Act of the Legislative Assembly late in 1973 - which means that prior to its establishment, secondary school teachers had to

go abroad for professional qualification in teaching. The Institute's main functions have been defined as:

- (i) Research;
- (ii) Curriculum Development;
- (iii) Teacher Training;
- (iv) Examination Reform (25).

#### 4.7.5. Higher Education: The University of Mauritius

The University of Mauritius is the only institution which offers higher education of a non-academic kind. Its creation was fraught with debate: Lockwood (26), Master of the Birkbeck College, argued that the time was not ripe for Mauritius to be endowed with a University College. Later, Leys (27) thought differently: he argued that the creation of a purely developmental University anticipating the future man-power needs of an industrialised Mauritius was an essential step if any economic development was to be contemplated (28).

The University of Mauritius came into being in 1965 - though it was not very active in the first three years of its existence. It was given a new constitution by an Act of the Legislative Assembly in 1971 and was formally inaugurated by H.M the Queen in March, 1972. It was conceived with the needs of the island's economic development boldly placed to the forefront among the disciplines in which higher education was and still to be provided. It consists of three Faculties:

- (i) The Faculty of Agriculture;
- (ii) The Faculty of Industrial Technology;

(iii) The Faculty of Administration.

It has links with the Universities of Manchester and Birmingham (public administration); with Reading (agriculture); and with Hatfield Polytechnic (engineering) (29).

The students who want to pursue higher studies in subjects other than sugar technology, agriculture and mechanical engineering or administration, always go abroad.

4.8. Political Clientelism and National Educational Policy: The Government's Three National Plans Since Independence, 1968-1982.

With the increasing centralization of the Mauritian educational system, (I) accompanied by the total commitment and constant interference of the Mauritian state in the educational field, I will argue that the national educational policy should be discussed and debated with the international system in mind (2) because I have already pointed out, the Mauritius Labour Party, controlling the apparatuses of the State, has already assumed the status of 'political client' to the international system via Great Britain (3). The question which arises now is whether the educational policy of this client-government would help to transform the post-independent educational system to respond to the national needs or would it continue, as in the colonial days, to serve the economic needs and cultural interests of the international system? An answer to this question will depend upon a thorough analysis of the educational policy in question and upon the political ideology which permeates it.

The First Four-Year Plan, 1971-1975, was precise as to the direction of the future educational development:-

"A change in the quality and content of education from its present academic emphasis to a more technical and vocational orientation at all levels in order to create skills that will meet the demand generated by prospective economic development" (4).

If this highbrowish political rhetoric was perhaps too obfuscating, the principal objectives were spelled out more forcefully:-

- (i) Free education for all children at the first level (primary);
- (ii) Opportunity for secondary and vocational training for at least 60 percent of the boys in the age group 15 - 19 by 1980;

- (iii) A balanced curriculum which will include technical subjects and integrated sciences at all levels;
- (iv) Technical and vocational orientation of education at the secondary and post-secondary levels;
- (v) Equality of educational opportunity for all according to their educational potential (5).

A critical appraisal of the client-government's educational policy, as outlined in the first Four-Year Plan, reveals the contradictory nature between its political rhetoric and political practice. I will argue that the client-government supported by a suppliant civil service and a caucus of compliant intellectuals, could not bring any drastic structural changes in Mauritius as it owned its political power from its close relationship with the Imperial power - Great Britain; as such, its main objective has been to safeguard the economic and cultural interests of the dominant class in the British metropolis by forming alliances - whether economic or political - with other similar clientele groups in Mauritius; and to placate its vast numbers of political supporters, it has to bring in 'cosmetic reforms'. I will argue that this is what exactly happened in the educational field during the implementation of the first Four-Year Development Plan.

At the primary education level, seven new schools were built and 31 extensions added to existing schools, providing an additional 290 classrooms (6); total enrolment in government and aided schools increased from 142,093 in 1970 to 143,408 by 1974 - (this is the only objective for which the government should be given full credit for).

As far as the other objectives are concerned, they have been completely out of reach. Technical and vocational education remained the cinderella of the Mauritian educational system. The system continued to be examination-

orientated, fraught with an academic curriculum dictated by the cultural needs of the Cambridge and London Board of Examinations. The rural-urban dichotomy continued to work in favour of the latter, where the children of the upper income group, both at primary and secondary levels, topped the scholarship award lists through endless private tuition - a practice which has come to exist as a parallel system of education in Mauritius (7).

"More of the same" - this should be a suitable epitaph for the first Four-Year Development Plan of this client-government.

The second 1975-1980 Five Year Plan proposed further adjustment of the - educational development to meet the socio-economic needs of the country, and, in particular, further steps would be taken to:-

- (i) To democratise the educational system;
- (ii) Spread out schools and colleges evenly over the country so as to balance the educational facilities between the urban and rural areas;
- (iii) Diversify the curricula;
- (iv) Make an integrated approach to the concept of education as a life-long process for the development of a well balanced personality;
- (v) Adjust the education system to meet the manpower requirements (8).

There is a marked change in the rhetoric of the second Development Plan: the emphasis is more on democratisation, distribution of educational resources and, with the foundation of the Mauritius Institute of Education, on the diversification of the school curricula. It should also be pointed out that the concept of education as a 'life-long' process cannot be easily integrated

with the formal educational system prevalent in Mauritius: its philosophy and pedagogical requirements are quite different (9).

I will argue that these educational objectives have been couched in a language of political rhetoric, bordering on political slogans, because the client-government was fast losing its political grips on the apparatuses of the state. In the mid-1970s Mauritius was in the throes of the international economic recession, political chaos was in the air with the rupture of the alliance between the two clientele groups (10), unemployment was rising, and the 'Mouvement Militant Mauricien' - a self-proclaimed Marxist party, was knocking at the door of power, and clamouring for a general election which was held in December, 1976 (11).

The client-government was trying to win back its long lost support among the labouring class in general and among the younger generation in particular. Universal franchise was reduced to eighteen, and to lure the latter to the fold, secondary and tertiary education were to be made free if the client-government was returned to power. The masses of poor people voted for the client-government in order to get rid of the educational financial burden which has plagued them for generations; secondary and tertiary education became free since January, 1977 (12). The first Development Plan emphasized Primary Education; and the second Development Plan emphasized secondary education.

True to the philosophy of clientelism, the client-government opened its doors to foreign capital, especially in the Export Processing Zone, and appealed to the expertise of foreign international agencies, like the UNESCO, the UNDP and the World-Bank to help in solving the economic and educational problems in Mauritius - the impact of foreign aid on the development of education in Mauritius will be dealt in a separate section of this study.

The key words during this second Development Plan has been, "more of the

same", and "cosmetic reforms"; the question of bringing in structural changes in the field of education never arose.

The third 1980-1982 Development Plan was drafted more in a public relations spirit rather than in an actual Development Plan because the general election was scheduled to take place on the 11th of June 1982; and the writings on the wall suggested that the client-government would not be returned to power again. That is why, perhaps, the third Development Plan was called an 'interim plan'. The Plan made it clear that the client-government's recurrent expenditure\* in education rose from 12% in the second Development Plan to 17% in the third Plan (13). Thus the main objective during this period was to ensure the 'cost-effectiveness' of the present education system. Emphasis was also laid on raising the 'quality' of education at all levels. Besides, educational development would be promoted so as to achieve the following social objectives:-

- (i) To improve the efficiency of the school system at all levels;
- (ii) To prepare people for self-education;
- (iii) To produce various types and levels of skills required for the socio-economic and cultural development of the country;
- (iv) To improve the existing educational infrastructure and to ensure their more even distribution between rural and urban areas (14).

It is a matter of conjecture whether these educational objectives would have ever been put into practice. One thing became certain: these educational objectives, to achieve certain social goals, were never put into practice because the client-government suffered its most humiliating political defeat in the general election of June, 1982. None of its political candidates was elected (15). But these educational objectives betray a new rhetoric - the

\* See Appendix 37 for Government's Recurrent Expenditure on Education between 1975-1979.

rhetoric of the international agencies, like the World Bank, the UNDP and the UNESCO where the educational system were to be managed like factories, in terms of cost-effectiveness, quality of goods produced and efficient 'management' of the system. The impact of the forces external to the Mauritian social structure is obvious.

Before assessing the contribution of the client-government's educational policy to the economic and social development of post-independent Mauritius, I would like to highlight the impact of the international agencies, like the World Bank, the UNDP and UNESCO, on educational development in post-independent Mauritius.

As we have seen, the formal structure of the Mauritian system of education consists of primary and secondary schools only. I have spoken about how they have developed within the society. Teachers' training, at the primary level is provided for by the Mauritius College of Education which was founded in 1943; whilst the newly established Mauritius Institute of Education trains secondary school teachers and acts as a Curriculum Research Centre and a think-tank for educational research and innovation; it has been modelled on the Institute of Education of the London University. It has a separate Charter like the University of Mauritius.

The University of Mauritius established in 1965 by the British largely reflects the values of the British University system. It is the only educational institution within the fragmented educational system which offers a range, however limited, of non-academic higher subjects. These range from Degrees in Public Administration, Agriculture to Engineering. Its main area of interest have been Sugar Technology. Hence, if primary and secondary education appear to be irrelevant to the developmental needs of Mauritius, higher education is even more so. Why?.

In this section I will argue that foreign aid for education has been

almost entirely directed to aiding certain developments in the sphere of higher education. By default little help has been provided for the development for alternative forms and practices of education which might be directed towards developing Mauritius' potential for an independent, harmonious and homogeneous economic development (I will subsequently call this national interests). Work in the area of relating education to productive needs, as Paulo Freire suggests(16), has received almost no support whatsoever. One is almost forced to conclude with much cynicism that Schultz's correlation between the development of higher education and economic development (17) has been a godsend to the middle class keen on providing non-manual, relatively remunerative positions for its offsprings. It also tallies with the arguments put forward by Martin Carnoy(18) that higher education on one hand has been directed towards producing middle-level manpower to meet the direct needs of an economy dominated by a clientele class (es) and strongly conditioned by international forces. On the other hand, as Bernstein argues (19) it is also providing certain kinds of managerial skills (his concept of the new middle class) essential to the maintenance of the present system for the distribution of physical and symbolic values within the society. Indeed, higher education in Mauritius can be characterised as acting largely as a "Clientele agency" in accordance with the needs of the "international system" to create various functionaries, managers, accountants, clerks, administrators, teachers, groups of elites and intellectuals - all agents of social control. I will discuss this in more detail in the following two sections.

For the moment, the most important question arising from this very confusing situation is what is the relationship between the educational system proper and the social and economic structure?. In this section I will begin to provide an answer through looking more closely at the immediate external shaping organizations and factors. I have already looked at this problem, so to speak, in abstract; I will now define it in more precise terms before looking at the internal factors and their relationship with these external shaping factors.

But prior to this, I intend to assess the client-Government's language policy in post-independent Mauritius and its implication for educational transmission.

#### 4.8.I The Tower of Babel: Language Policy and Language issue in Post-Independent Mauritius.

By now, the Reader would have been cognizant with certain striking features characterising the 'mauritian society', viz: that it is not only a sectorally fragmented social formation where different classes and social groups are interlocked in conflict over power and the control of natural resources of the island, but it is also a 'tower of babel' where the politics of linguistic legitimation have given rise to linguistic conflict and linguistic contradiction. The languages currently in use in Mauritius are: French, Hindi, Gujerati, Urdu, Tamil, Telegu, Marathi, Mandarin, Bhojpuri and the French-based Creole, which is the lingua-franca. Despite this linguistic diversity, English is the only official language. It is used as the vehicle of communication in parliament, the courts, and in educational transmission; but French is the dominant language of television, radio, and the press; there is no newspaper in English. I will argue that the French cultural hegemony can best be explained in a historical perspective.

The imperial conflict, between Great Britain and France, has been the dynamics responsible for the evolution of Mauritius as a 'depository for peoples of varied cultural entities' \* in the Indian Ocean. Under French imperialism, 1715-1810, Mauritius became economically, politically and culturally closer to the French metropolis, so much so that the French language and French culture, since then, have thrown deep roots in the Mauritian soil. This French cultural hegemony was threatened when, in 1810, Great Britain conquered Mauritius; but the Treaty of Paris, inter alia, safeguarded 'the rights of the French inhabitants to maintain their culture, religion, and language'.

Under British rule, 1810-1968, the English language gradually ousted French as the official language in Mauritius. The Commission of Eastern Enquiry\*\*emphasized the use of English in all Government Offices; and finally the English language replaced French in the supreme court in 1847\*\*\*. On the other hand, the Anglicisation\*\*of Mauritius led to the imposition of the

\* Edmund B. Richmond: Language Teaching in The Indian Ocean, P.9, University of America Press, 1983.

\*\* See Section 3.2.2 of this study, and other relevant Sections, for more details.

\*\*\* Edmund B. Richmond: Language Teaching in The Indian Ocean, Opt. Cit.P.10.

\*\*\* See Section 3.5 for more details regarding the Anglicisation of Mauritius.

English language in the emerging educational system in general, and in the Royal College in particular.

In the 1840s, the Mauritian social structure was rendered more complex by the massive importation of indentured labourers from the Indian sub-continent. From this point onwards, the Indian languages would start competing for linguistic spaces along with French, English and Creole- a fact which the British Colonial Administration could not ignore for long.

By 1862, seven schools for Indians were established, with instruction in Bengali, Tamil, and Hindi. In spite of this, the authorities recognised the need for the Indian children to learn to express themselves in Creole and English\*\*\*. In 1877, the government stipulated that annual examinations would be offered in only one language. Candidates for teaching certificates had to pass examinations in two languages, the first in English, with the second being either French, Hindi, or Tamil\*. In the early 1900s, it was decided to use vernacular languages in lower and middle primary education, but English and French had to be taught as subjects from the beginning. In the upper years, English alone was the language of instruction. Until the 1930s, the collective Indian voice was not powerful enough to force governmental inclusion of Indian languages in primary schools. The Indians demanded that their languages be included in the curriculum so that their children could study the language of their forefathers. By 1941, Hindi, Urdu, and Tamil were offered in primary schools. But the same year, the publication of the Ward Report condemned such a practice; and the entire contradictory linguistic situation was partially resolved by the Education Ordinance 30 of 1941\*\*, which called for the Director to ensure the spread of English through more effective teaching methods. French was clearly to revert to second place in language importance. Indian languages were indeed removed from the public schools. But, as a result of pressure from the Indian community, the colonial administration developed a modified language policy in the Education Ordinance

\* See Section 3.6.4.5 of this study for more details on this subject.

\*\* See Education Ordinance 30 of 1941, Paragraph 3, Section I (d), for more details.

\*\*\* Edmund B. Richmond: Language Teaching in The Indian Ocean, Opt. Cit. P.II.

of 1944, in which English was to be the vehicle of instruction in the fifth and sixth years, and all conversations between pupil and teacher would be conducted in English. In the lower primary classes, any language could be employed at the discretion of the head teacher. French was introduced as a subject during the third year. Provisions were also made for the teaching of Oriental languages in the primary schools; and in 1952, they were officially introduced into the primary school curriculum\*\*. The Education Ordinance of 1957 provided for the possibility of using any language in the lower primary classes which might be deemed suitable for the pupils. It further decreed that English was to be the only language of instruction in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades. Teacher and pupil were still required to use English in all classroom conversations except for lessons in other languages. Until now, this has been the official stance of the government.

Although Mauritius became independent in 1968, yet there has been no change in language policy since the Education Ordinance of 1957 until 1982\*- the period under study. The Labour Government's position has been obvious: its 'clientele' status towards the international capitalist order in general, and towards Great Britain in particular has forced the Labour - Government in adopting policies aimed at safeguarding its own needs and interests, as well as those of the international order-this has been exemplified by discussions of the 'client'government's policies regarding the economy and education in the preceding sections of this study. Up to now, clientelism has preserved the official status of the English language, but it has failed to prevent the propagation of the French language and culture; consequently, English language and culture is in decline, whereas French language and culture is gradually increasing its dominance in Mauritius due to the intensive and extensive works carried out by the various 'Alliance Francaise' centres, as compared to the inactivity and complete passivity of the only British Council.

With the increase of communal strife and communal feelings in Mauritius, communal passion tend to dominate linguistic debates, so much so that it

\* After 1982, there has been a move by various 'leftist ' groups to give Creole precedence over other languages-especially in education.

\*\* Edmun B.Richmond: Language Teaching in The Indian Ocean, Opt. Cit. P.12.

has become impossible for any kind of consensus to be reached where language policy is concerned: clientele groups and vested interests always carry the day. The babel tower is here to stay!

4.8.2. "Client-Government" and International Relations: The Impact of Foreign Aid on Educational Development in Post-Independent Mauritius

I have argued that the logic of the history of Mauritian society led to the development of client relationships and what I have called, by extension, client-governments. I have also shown how the governments organised by the Labour Party marked not so much a new system but the final incorporation of the Indian elite into the prevailing system.

The underlying concept of development, as we have seen through looking at developmental and educational plans, was based on incrementalism and rooted in human capital theory. As such the Labour government readily practised an open door policy concerning foreign investment (1) in general and sought to provide a stable social and political climate and to develop labour markets suitable to foreign investment in the Mauritian economy. This, as we have seen, meant encouragement for education to absorb and reflect those values and the establishment of educational institutions like the Institute of Education or the refurbishment of existing educational institutions to be acceptable to "international standards".

However, these general underlying tendencies are also affected and conditioned by others elements like the cultural and linguistic ties with Asia in general and India in particular. The tendency to be attracted to French culture and the historical, administrative and educational links with Great Britain have played an important role in the shaping of educational institutions, practices and the formation of the cultural and social perception of Mauritian society. At the same time the need for assured markets for the sugar production, the need for aid and technical assistance and the important requirement as an importer of foodstuffs and industrial goods, to maintain good relations with otherwise unpopular regimes i.e South Africa have also played an important role (2).

Much needs to be studied in detail about the effects of the absorption of the developmentalist and incrementalist hypotheses into mainstream Mauritian thinking and the way that they have conditioned social and political responses. More research is required concerning how the institutions created in the light of the adoption of developmental plans in the fields of agriculture and industry have perhaps led to the creation of jobs for the middle class and hence the perpetuation of the existing social, economic and more importantly in our case, educational structures. In part we can see some of the answers emerging through a consideration of the types of foreign aid solicited and the affects of the aid programmes (3). And all of these factors must be examined against the background that the dominant party was dependent upon the support of the labouring classes.

However, I will limit myself to a consideration of the relationship between foreign aid and the development of educational institutions and practices in Mauritius.

In line with the views expressed by Schultz, Denison and, in the earlier writings of Blaug and filtered through international organisations and the education in economics received by returning future government officials, foreign aid programmes in education have until quite recently been largely to finance higher education projects and to a lesser extent technical schooling. Technical schooling, however, is still somewhat marginal to the Mauritian educational system (4).

For example Great Britain provided considerable financial and other forms of assistance for the setting up of the University of Mauritius. The British government provided aid both for capital costs and staffing. Under the BESS scheme (5), ten members of staff to provide an initial impetus to the University were provided.

There has also been UNDP/ILO assistance in the financing and staffing

of the Industrial Trade Training Centre. The Mahatma Gandhi Institute is being set up with Aid from the Indian Government. The French Government provide four educational advisers (6): one each for primary and secondary levels at Ministry of Education headquarters, one at the Mauritius College of Education and one at the Lycee Labourdonnais and five voluntary serving overseas (7). Roughly 60% of the building costs of the Institute of Education are being provided by Great Britain and about 70% of the recurrent costs by UNESCO through UNDP. Plans for expansion involve substantial amounts of aid from EDF and the World Bank (8).

It is fairly obvious from this Section of study that various international institutions and organizations are directly influencing and impinging upon educational institutions and educational practices in Mauritius with - catastrophic consequences. In the next Section of this study, it is my intention, therefore, to analyse the internal impact of this interference with the help of Bernstein's concepts of 'classification and framing'.

#### 4.9: An Analysis of the Dominant Mode of Education and Dominant Mode of Production in Post-Independent Mauritius.

In Part II of this study I have pointed out that under British Imperialism, Mauritius developed a **sectorally** fragmented system of educational institutions and practices which was, after independence, further expanded by the client-government controlling the apparatuses of the state. The first Four-Year Development Plan - 1971-1975, emphasized the provision of universal primary education by the increase of modern buildings, properly trained teachers and an equitable distribution of educational resources. The second Five-Year Development Plan, 1975-1980, the government attempted, through foreign educational aid, to diversify the academic secondary education by creating a handful of technical and vocational schools. The third Two-Year Development Plan, 1980-1982 could not be implemented because the client-government was voted out of office in June 1982.

Two important points emerge from the development of the **sectorally** fragmented educational institutions and practices in post-independent Mauritius; these are:-

- (i) The educational sector was consuming 17% of the total budget of the government;
- (ii) That a disproportionate share of the national budget was spent in perpetuating a **sectorally** fragmented system of education, the content of which is still determined by the Cambridge and London Board of Examinations - that is the Mauritian educational system is transmitting an elitist education as legitimised by these two Universities which serve the economic and cultural needs of the dominant class in the British metropolis.

The government's educational policy has helped to perpetuate the grammar

school tradition which was established in Mauritius in the 1840s (1) under British Colonial rule; and the Course of Study pursued at the Royal College and other secondary schools at that time (2), makes it clear that form of the Curriculum has been strongly Classified and strongly Framed, that is the dominant mode of education has been of the Collection type characterized by strongly bounded units of knowledge, hierarchically organized and transmitted through a rigid division of labour among the teaching staff; and a strong framing implies that the acquirer has little control on the selection, organization and pacing of the transmission of that knowledge (3); for more than a century, the Mauritian child has been socialized into an expressive order from which many were excluded - which controls the transmission of the beliefs of the moral system rather than in an instrumental one, that is the transmission of facts, procedures and judgements involved in the acquisition of specific skills (4); Bernstein further points out that the inter-action between the teachers and the acquirers is constrained; the latter are subjected to a strict social control and their whole school and extra-school hours are spent in tackling their school tasks. The school knowledge takes on a sacred form for the acquirers, and Bernstein associates it (sacred knowledge) with private property.

The dominant mode of production in post-independent Mauritius is the plantation economy, another colonial heritage, which has been integrated into the international economic order since the early nineteenth century as a result of the international division of labour. Mauritius has been exporting its sugar to the EEC, United Kingdom, U.S.A, Canada and a few other countries. The unit of the dominant mode of production is the plantation, and the social relationships of this unit of the mode of production is strongly classified, that is the relationships between the categories of production-unskilled, skilled, technologists, managers etc, are stable, sharply distinguished, and the functions well insulated from each other, and the agents are not interchangeable; and strongly framed, that is framing

refers to the form of communication constituted by the category system of the mode of production, would imply that the unit of production would be characterised by repetitive, individually performed, strongly paced and explicitly sequenced divisive act.

The fact that both, the dominant mode of education and the dominant mode of production, are strongly classified and strongly framed, seems to indicate that the educational structures and processes 'correspond' to those of production and are dependent upon them.

While discussing the systemic relationships between the aspects of education and the aspects of production, Bernstein (5) points to the existence of contradiction, discrepancies and areas of independence and autonomy; and in the Mauritian context, Bernstein's first example of disjunction between the mode of education and the mode of production becomes apparent:-

(i) The relationship between the type or category of students produced by education and those required by the mode of production; the students receive an academic type of education which is most suitable for clerical and other white collar occupations, rather than are prepared to work for the plantation economy whose interests are best being served by the Mauritius Sugar Industry Research Institute. Employment in the plantation economy depends very much upon kinship, political ties, religious beliefs and cultural identities.

Bernstein's concepts help us to pinpoint and to understand what otherwise appear to be inexplicable contradictions. Strong classification and framing is required for those sectors of the population aspiring to civil service and teaching jobs in order to provide for selection. It is also a means of developing a "distaste" for schooling on the part of, in particular, rural children who seeing no relationship between the systems of thought in the schools and their own loss of interest and disappear at an early age from the system. (6)

I will strongly argue, therefore, that since there are no systemic links between the dominant mode of education and the dominant mode of production, the educational system enjoys a large measure of autonomy from the mode of production; as Bernstein points out:- the intrinsic features of education which refer to education as structurally distinct and separate from production with distinct and separate values are in contradiction with the extrinsic features of education which refer to the systemic relationships with production (7).

Education is thus providing a dual function of selection and social control. For that reason, as Bernstein argues, its relative autonomy is important. This is because education is the basic means whereby the consciousness of the agents of symbolic control is legitimized and maintained, and, in co-operation with the family reproduced (8).

Bernstein argues that for the middle class education is a continuation of the forms of communication and systems of thinking established within the family whilst for the working class it is an interruptor system. He locates educational failure within this phenomenon. But there are problems applying a model devised in a relatively homogenous society to one based upon social fragmentation because there is no single working class. There is most probably an African working class, an Indian working class etc all moulded by different cultural elements and aspirations. Whilst it is clear that within Indian culture, in particular, with the high value placed upon learning and in some cases the low value placed upon manual labour, education is seen as a passport to better positions. Hence it is important within education to have a no nonsense approach and accumulate educational knowledge as quickly as possible. Hence if we look at a classroom we find very very strong classification between subjects, teachers and pupils and very very strong framing. Learning tends to be by rote and is strongly policed.

Indeed, we can define the educational dependency of Mauritius upon Europe in a different way using classification and framing. That is, whilst in Europe

in those areas of education devoted to accumulating knowledge we tend to find a system of C+ and F+. In Mauritius I must characterise the system as one of C++ and F++. This means there is less room for innovatory thinking. Indeed, if there is less room for innovatory thinking there is a reinforcement of Mauritius' dependence on ideas coming from outside the society and a readiness to accept changes in curriculum and educational practices not based upon them, let us say, the need to develop agriculture in Mauritius based upon indigenous needs and possibilities, but upon ideas coming from organisations and agencies abroad. With this the vicious circle of dependency appears to be completed.

Since I have argued that the 'sectorally' fragmented educational system in post-independent Mauritius, far from serving the national interests (in the sense I have used the term), has been reproducing a certain type of educational culture; I will devote the next section of this study in elaborating, not to say proving, that particular argument by basing myself on the limited English translation of Bourdieu's work dealing with 'cultural reproduction'.

#### 4.10 Education and Cultural Reproduction in Post-Independent Mauritius in a National and International Perspective .

Durkheim, Bernstein and Bourdieu all believe that within the educational system there is a particular form of social order resulting from and dependent upon historical and social conditions external to it. They take as a starting point the belief that education's primary function is to transmit the cultural heritage of society, and also that a theory of cultural reproduction is crucial to the understanding of what is transmitted within the school not only through the overt curriculum, but also through the form of the school's organization. Schooling is seen as a system of communication in which a particular cultural message is created and reproduced.

Throughout this study, I have emphasized the interplay of the national-international perspective. Consequently the works of Durkheim, Bernstein and Bourdieu pose two problems for me:-

- (i) Their works are firmly grounded within the national parameters, that is we have hardly signs or traces of external social forces influencing, affecting or transforming internal and internalised social relationships or class relations, as is the case in Mauritius;
- (ii) Their works emphasize the transmission of a common cultural heritage by the schools in society where there is consensus; but where there is conflict the dominant class imposes its own cultural values - this is definitely not the case in Mauritius.

I accept the fact that the sectorally fragmented educational system is transmitting a particular kind of culture, but which is definitely not the common cultural heritage. It is rather transmitting the cultural values of the dominant class of the British metropolis even after independence. In Part II of this study, I have analytically shown how it did happen by

emphasizing the needs and interests of the British metropolis dominant in the international system up to the second World War.

In the Mauritian context, the concept of 'independence' becomes a misnomer as the dominant class within the British metropolis continue to impede Mauritius' development indirectly, after independence, through the various internal structures and by creating a 'bridgehead' via different client-classes and client groups. Consequently, I view the demarcation line between Colonial Mauritius and Independent Mauritius as an artificial one. Thus, in the subsequent paragraphs, I will attempt to offer a coherent picture of basic elements of the historical process of cultural reproduction in Mauritius. I will request the general reader to bear with me, for a certain amount of repetition will be unavoidable.

Since I intend to discuss education and cultural production in a national and international perspective, I will first re-emphasize my definition of the international system based on Bodenheimer's model of 'Dependency and Imperialism'; she clarifies the concrete meanings of the 'world market' and the 'international system' by adding that, by itself, the world market encompasses all flows of goods and services among nations outside the Communist trade bloc, all capital transfers (including foreign aid and overseas investment) and all commodity exchanges. But the world market is the core of a broader "international system": this international system include not only a network of economic (market) relation, but also the entire complex of political, military, social and cultural international relations organised by and around that market (1).

Since the present educational system in post-independent Mauritius was established, evolved and perpetuated under British imperial rule, I think that the rise of Great Britain as the dominant imperial power in the international system would be the right place to start. This was the point which arose from the historical sections of this work. Great Britain conquered

Mauritius in 1810, and inherited with her a century of French administration, a strong community of thriving French businessmen and planters and with pronounced cultural values and cultural ties with the French metropolis. After the Napoleonic Wars, Great Britain became the dominant power in the Indian Ocean and in the international system.

For Mauritius, in addition to being an economic, political, military and naval power, Great Britain was also a cultural exemplar. Whilst under French imperialism, Mauritius was culturally and economically close to the French metropolis; and when Britain conquered Mauritius, she tried to do the same. Mauritius was virtually transformed and a new social order was created to legitimise the British rule and various agencies – the Press, the Educational System and the Church – were set to work in order to diffuse the English language and culture.

The major task of the British Administration was to break the economic, political and symbolic power of the French dominant plantation class whose cultural values permeated throughout the island and was transmitted in the Royal College, the only school in the island providing both primary and secondary education in the colony.

It is significant to point out that the process of bringing Mauritius closer to the British metropolis coincided with the rise of industrial capital in the latter. This process was achieved in part through symbolic violence (2), Bourdieu's key concept which refers to the imposition of specific meanings, categories and concepts in thought and communication by the dominating power over the dominated classes. To start with, the Royal College was transformed and endowed with an English Rector, the English Language became the official language and the medium of instruction, the classics became dominant in the school curriculum while the French language and French literature assumed a secondary importance (3). Thus, the Royal College became the only institution authorised to reproduce the dominant culture of the dominant class of

the British metropolis. To further legitimise the educational culture transmitted at the Royal College, the latter was turned into the only channel for social mobility in Mauritius and also providing access to administrative jobs in the civil service.

Through "symbolic violence", the British colonial administration succeeded in separating economic power from symbolic power, that is the separation of power and control, of the French dominant class, the majority of whom accepted this arrangement, while a minority withdrew their children from the Royal College and established separate Catholic institutions for the education of their children this is the beginning of the sectorally fragmented educational institutions and practices.

With the increase in population, and the economic rise of an Indian peasant class, there was a great demand for the grammar-type education which gave access not only to a job in the civil service and to higher studies, through English Scholarships, but was also the only channel for social mobility. As the colonial administration could not make adequate provision for these children, the whole educational sector was thrown open to private entrepreneurs and speculators, one should remember that the 'laissez-faire' policy was still predominant. There was, as we have seen, a great demand for the academic culture of the dominant class of the British metropolis, the colonial administration, through private speculators, fulfilled that demand: the market relationship of supply and demand coupled with the philosophy of free-educational-tradism gave rise to a stratified and ~~sectorally~~ fragmented educational system in which each institution was competing with one another to offer a diluted, and sometimes modified, versions of the dominant culture of the British metropolis to their client at competitive rates and through a strengthening of classification and framing; thus, the dominant academic culture, in its commodified form (4), helped to create an academic market in Mauritius whose impact will be analysed in the next paragraph.

The rise of what I have called a "client-government" in post-independent Mauritius helped to expand that academic market by further expanding the sectorally fragmented educational institutions and practices.

Bourdieu (5) points out that culture not merely classifies knowledge but also classifies the classifiers. That is, in the case of Mauritius, the academic culture to be transmitted in the Mauritian schools, mostly secondary, are legitimised by the London and Cambridge Board of Examiners and they have stratified the Mauritian secondary schools into A, B or Provisional status, and also into Class I, II or III, depending upon how successfully these schools reproduce the legitimised academic culture. The results show that those schools which reproduce the legitimised academic culture successfully are those usually frequented by pupils of higher socio-economic group, and the majority of the failures belong to the lower status schools and belong to the lower socio-economic group (6). Bourdieu provides an answer to this unequal cultural reproduction.

In 'Systems of Education and Systems of Thought' (7), Bourdieu points out that besides providing for the intellectual make-up of society, schools building upon family background also provide the individual with a 'Habitus' - habits of thought, perceptions, dispositions and manners to understand his culture. But as I have pointed out in passing, the individual also comes to school with a 'cultural capital' linguistic and social competences, and such qualities as style, manners, know-how as well as aspirations and perception of the objective chances of success, that is the instrument for the appropriation of the culture, which will help him, through a long period of apprenticeship in the school, to shape up his individual unconscious. Through the creation of this cultural unconscious that the conditions for cultural reproduction are ensured (8). In the Mauritian context, the children from the higher socio-economic order and who attend higher-status schools are endowed with 'cultural capital', that is, with the instrument for the appropriation of the culture of the dominant class in the British metropolis,

that is why they are able to transform their social-capital into scholastic capital. Whereas those who are poor and/or attend lower status schools and 'lack' the cultural capital in order to decode the dominant cultural message, obviously do badly academically. This explains the poor academic performance in Mauritius of those from the lower socio-economic group and the success of those from the higher socio-economic group whose cultural capital is more similar to the dominant class in the British metropolis.

The family, as I have argued, thus becomes an important source of social and cultural inequality; just as the **sectorally** fragmented and stratified educational system, by transmitting the dominant culture of the dominant class in the British metropolis, has become the mechanism for the reproduction of social classes, clientele groups, and clientele classes whose interests are closely linked with the interests of the dominant groups or class in the British metropolis. But given the importance of **sectoral** fragmentation in the future, we must have further studies to support, modify or negate this view and the demonstration of it I made in the previous section. If we can demonstrate this, then we will have clearly demonstrated at the same time the following hypothesis: that the Mauritian educational system, **sectorally** fragmented and stratified, will be perpetuated by a "client-government", controlling the apparatuses of the state, and aided by a dependent system of education producing "subordinate" intellectuals who would continue to serve international interests, rather than the national ones.

#### 4.11. By Way of Conclusion

Throughout this study, I have emphasized the interplay of the national and the international. I have explored the dynamics of this interplay, and I have shown that to what extent forces external to the Mauritian social structure - economic, political, religious and cultural - have shaped, and to a great extent, determined internal and internalized social processes, class relations and class conflicts.

I have also traced and analysed the function of Mauritius under different forms of the international system (in Wallerstein's use of the term) and the impact of the needs and interests of the latter upon the former. Thus, I have analysed the development of what, I have called a sectorally fragmented system of educational institutions and practices based on a multiplicity of factors which influenced its development and also because of the nature of the fragmented social formation which exists in contemporary Mauritius. Thus, education becomes a site of conflict reflecting the various clientele, class, caste and international interests and conflicting ideologies. This becomes evident in post-independent Mauritius when the Mauritius Labour Party, assuming a clientele role for the international system, helped to perpetuate the system, through various educational and cultural aids, which serve the needs and interests of the international system for more than a century.

I have also analysed and hopefully demonstrated that the system of education in Mauritius is poorly and incoherently related to the potentiality of the dominant mode of production (agriculture). Instead of developing agriculture, as say appears to be the case in countries like Cuba with the emphasis on locating schools in the countryside and closely relating them to agricultural production in Mauritius, there is the contrary tendency of socializing Mauritian children and students not into an instrumental order but an expressive order. This has a tendency to directly reproduce the cultural

and social needs of the dominant class(es) in a client relationship within the international order. Thus one conclusion from this study is that the Mauritian system of education is not contributing to a form of economic and social development which could potentially lead to a lessening of Mauritius' economic hence social dependence.

It is worthwhile to engage in some utopian speculation for the moment and ask the question: how can the Mauritian educational system under ideal circumstances contribute towards this kind of economic and social development?. The problem is extremely complex and I can only offer rather than a magical formula some kinds of suggestions for the orientation of future educational policy and reform:

- (i) Ways must be found to manipulate the Mauritian educational system to serve what I will call national interests and fulfil national needs.
- (ii) This would require research into the area of the process of schooling rather than looking at curriculum development as is the current practice in the Mauritius Institute of Education.
- (iii) There should be research - there is currently none - into school performance, especially the relative differences between urban and rural sectors and locate the reasons for these differences.
- (iv) There is a need for research into the vested interest of different power groups, clientele groups and ethnic groups in the sphere of education. Currently there is none.
- (v) There should be more research into the politics of language instruction and the role of the media; and finally ;

I realise that these are modest proposals and it can be argued that if one maintains, as I have, that educational institutions and practices are very strongly conditioned by social forces and that the conditioning for a dependent society is especially strong, one cannot change these institutions and practices without a significant change in the social division of labour itself. I think that the answer lies in the fact that there is, as I have hopefully demonstrated in the case of Mauritius, a relative autonomy between education and the socio-economic structure which creates room for the beginnings of such changes. Finally, to paraphrase Bernstein, there is something approaching a moral imperative present: if one cannot change a social order through changes in educational institutions and in particular educational practices, then how else can it be done? Indeed, if change is not somehow rooted to changes coming through educational and/or social transmission, it becomes an extremely difficult task to explain how change takes place at all.

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3. Harry Magdoff & Paul M. Sweezy: Notes on the Multinational Corporation, in Readings in U.S. Imperialism, Opt. Cit. P.93.
4. Paul A. Baran & Paul M. Sweezy: Monopoly Capital, P.6, Pelican Book, 1968.
5. Susanne Bodenheimer: The Roots of Latin American Underdevelopment, in Readings in U.S. Imperialism, Opt. Cit. P.173.
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8. See Johan Galtung's: European Community: A Superpower in the Making, Opt. Cit.
9. Anthony Brewer: Marxist Theories of Imperialism, A Critical Survey, P.275, RKP, 1980.
10. Bob Rowthorn: Imperialism in the 1970s - Unity or Rivalry? in International Firms and Modern Imperialism, P.159, Opt. Cit.
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2. Anthony D. Smith: State and Nation in the Third World, Chapter 5, Wheat-sheaf Books, 1983.
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4. Hamza Alavi: The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh in Politics and State in the Third World, Edited by H. Goulbourne, Opt. Cit. P.38.
5. J.S. Saul: The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Tanzania, in Politics and State in the Third World, Opt. Cit. P.70.
6. W. Hein & K. Stenzel: The Capitalist State and Underdevelopment in Latin America: The Case of Venezuela, in Politics and State in the Third World, Opt. Cit. P.92.
7. Susanne Bodenheimer: The Roots of Latin American Underdevelopment, in Readings in U.S Imperialism, Opt. Cit. P.163.
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9. Hansard, 5th Series, 27th May 1965, Vol. 713, Col. 817.
10. Jean Harris: A Brief History of the Indian Ocean in John Madeley's: Diego Garcia: A Contrast to the Falklands, P.13, Minority Rights Group Report No.54, 1982.
11. N.B.K. Reddy: The Emerging Geopolitical Patterns of the Indian Ocean Region in The Indian Ocean Region: Resources and Development, Edited by Alex Kerr, P.233, Westview Press, 1981.

12. Ibid. P.217.

13. Dr. Ram Mannick: Diego Garcia: Victim of Imperialism or Mauritian Muddle?  
P.10, M.E.A. Publication, 1982.

14. Great Britain eventually loaned the island the the U.S.A for defense purposes for a period of 70 years.

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2. Jean Houbert: Mauritius: Independence and Dependence in Journal of Modern African Studies, Opt. Cit. P.81.
3. Roger Dale: Education and the Capitalist State: Contributions and Contradictions in Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, Edited by Michael W. Apple, P.127 following, RKP, 1982.
4. Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.192.
5. In order to preserve and defend this old social order based on a status quo, the Mauritian Prime Minister, Sir S. Ramgoolam, unhesitatingly, had recourse to C.I.A's finance and expertise in the 1981 General Election when his position was threatened by a so-called 'communist onslaught'. See South Magazine, P.84, October 1981.
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8. Goran Ohlin: Development in Retrospect in Toward a New Strategy for Development, Edited by Kim Q. Hill, P.125, Pergamon Press, 1979.

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5. See Appendix for various tables and population charts.
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11. Dr. Auguste Toussaint: La Langue Francaise a L'ile Maurice, in Revue Francaise d'histoire d'outre-Mer, P.398, LVI, No.205, 1969.
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18. Burton Benedict: Slavery and Indenture in Mauritius and Seychelles in Asian & African Systems of Slavery, Edited by J.L. Watson, P.154, Basil Blackwell, 1980.
19. J.P. & J. Durand: L'ile Maurice et ses Populations, Opt. Cit. P.47.
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21. J.P. & J. Durand: L'ile Maurice et ses Populations, Opt. Cit. P.47.
22. See Burton Benedict's: Indians in a Plural Society, P.35 passim, H.M.S.O. 1961.
23. Burton Benedict: Problems of a Plural Society, Opt. Cit. P.34.
24. J.P. & J. Durand: L'ile Maurice et ses Populations, Opt. Cit. P.46
25. Burton Benedict: Problems of a Plural Society, Opt. Cit. P30.
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4. Consisting mostly of Indian Planters.
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6. Ibid. P.81.
7. Dr. A.R. Mannick: Mauritius: the Development of a Plural Society, Opt. cit. P.82.
8. J.P. & J. Durand: L'ile Maurice, Quelle Independance? Opt. Cit. P.73.
9. 1 Arpent = 1.043 Acres.
10. 1 Rupee = 0.1300 U.S Dollar, depending upon the rate of exchange.
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24. Mauritius: Economic Memorandum, P.24, World Bank Publication, 1983.
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2. Ralph Miliband: Marxism and Politics, Chapter 2; Pp.17-42; O.U.P 1978.
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2. Philip H. Coombs et al: New Paths to Learning, P.11, I.C.E.D Publication 1973.
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4. These schools have been called "private aided" and "private un-aided".
5. UNESCO Report, Opt. Cit. P.68.
6. This is referred to in the Education Ordinance of 1957 as "No pupil shall be allowed to remain more than a year in the same class at a government or aided primary school".
7. UNESCO Report, Opt. Cit. P.69.
8. See K. Jagatsingh's: The Future in our Hands, P.8, Book Production Unit, Mauritius Institute of Education, 1979.
9. In 1979, there were 7 government schools.
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11. UNESCO Report: Mauritius: Prospects for Educational Development, Opt. Cit. P.70.
12. Ibid. P.72.
13. Ibid.
14. Only one aided school with 350 pupils is located in a rural area.

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19. M. Vasudevan: Planning Educational Development in Mauritius, UNESCO Report, P.19, 1974.
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26. Dr. J.F. Lockwood: An Examination of the Possibility of Setting up a University College in Mauritius, P.6, Sessional Paper, No.5, 1962.
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28. R.D.Ramdoyal: The Development of Education in Mauritius, Opt.Cit. P.162.
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2. See my use of Bodenheimer's theory and its application in the Mauritian context.
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4. Mauritius, Four-Year Plan, 1971-1975, P.68, Para 1.
5. Ibid. P.69, Para. 5.
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8. Mauritius: Five-Year Plan, 1975-1980, P.37, Para. 8.2.
9. A.J. Cropley (Editor): Towards a System of Lifelong Education, UNESCO Publication, 1980.
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11. Dr. A.R. Mannick: Mauritius: The Development of a Plural Society, Opt. Cit. P.143.
12. At present only tertiary education is fee-paying; and there is talk of re-introducing fees at the secondary level also.
13. The 1980-1982 Development Plan, P.188, Para. 20.2.1. Government Printing, August, 1980.
14. The 1980-1982 Development Plan, Opt. Cit. P.188.

15. William Casey, the Head of the C.I.A admitted financing the election of Ramgoolam, the leader of the client-government; he also admitted using members of the Peace-Corps and some roving journalists as spies. South Magazine, P.84, October, 1981.
16. See Unit 19 of The Curriculum and Cultural Reproduction, Block III, E202, prepared by Madeleine MacDonald, Opt. Cit.
17. See Human Capital Theory in Part I of this study.
18. See Martin Carnoy's "Education as Cultural Imperialism", Opt. Cit. Part I.
19. See Basil Bernstein: Class, Code and Control Vol. 3: Towards a Theory of Educational Transmission, RKP, 1977.

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1. Because of the inadequacy of national capital.
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3. See Appendix for the Foreign Aid of Mauritius.
4. J.E. Meade et al: The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius, Pp.212-213.
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6. Mauritius: Educational Profile, Opt. Cit. P.13.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

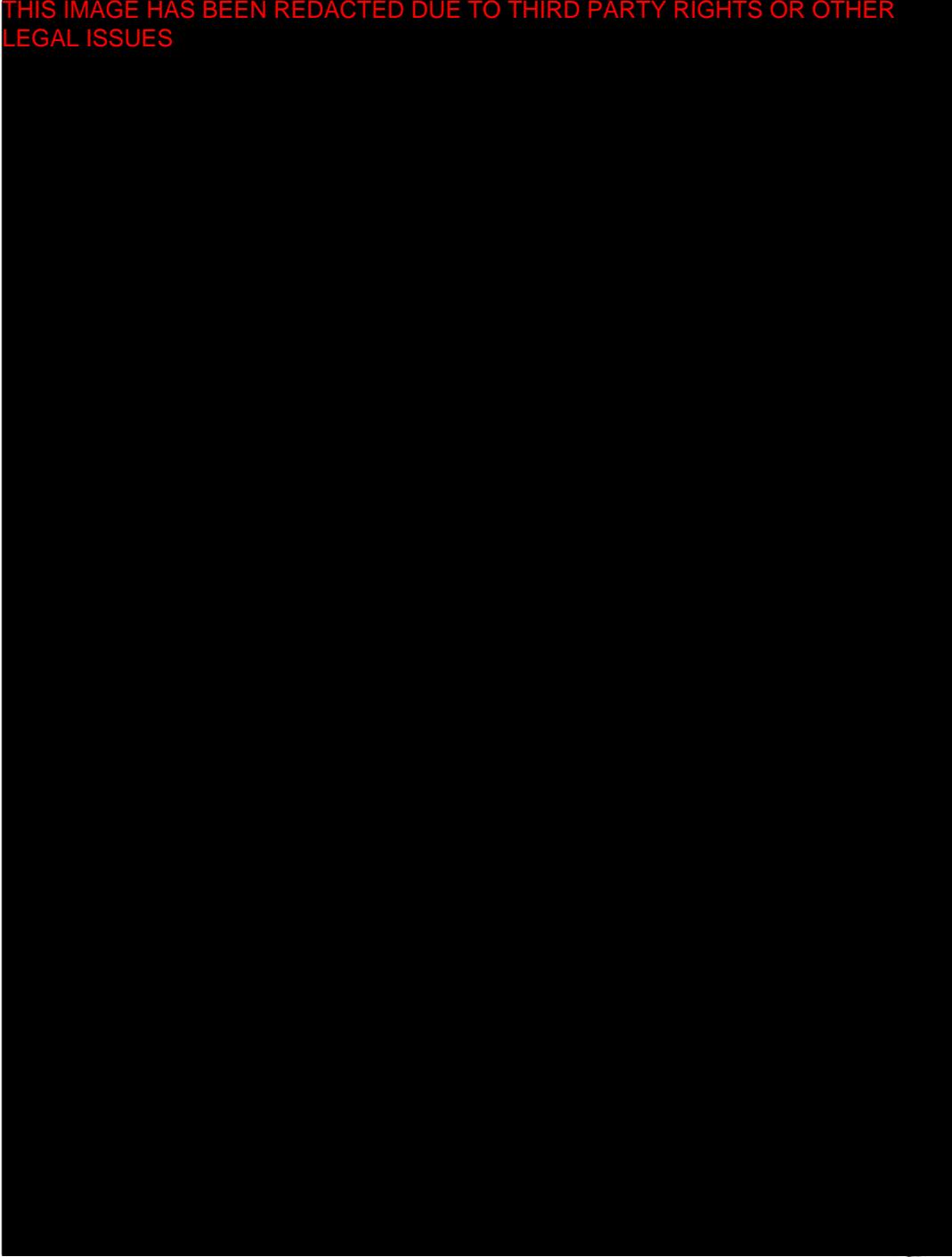
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1. See Section 3.5.2 of this study for the Anglicisation process of the Royal College.
2. See Appendix for the Course of study at the Royal College in 1844.
3. Basil Bernstein: Class, Codes and Control Vol. 3, Opt. Cit. P.179.
4. Ibid. P.52.
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7. Basil Bernstein: Class, Codes and Control Vol. 3, Opt. Cit. P.190.
8. Ibid.

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2. See Chapter 3, Section 3.2 of this study for more details.
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4. See Chapter 3, Section 3.5 of this study for more details on Anglicisation.
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6. Madeleine MacDonald: The Curriculum and Cultural Reproduction, Opt. Cit P.39.
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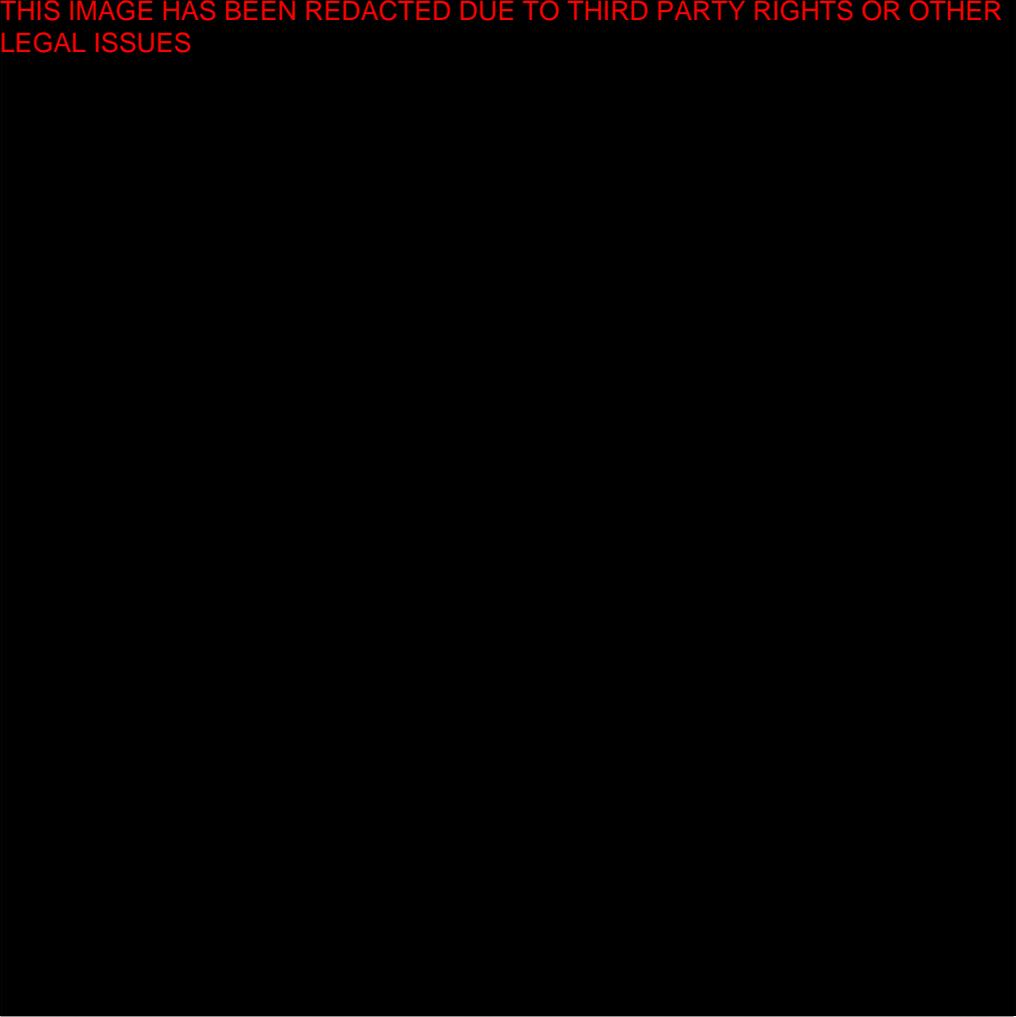
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Source: Barnwell and Toussaint, P.I9.

Chart showing the various Imperial occupation of Mauritius.

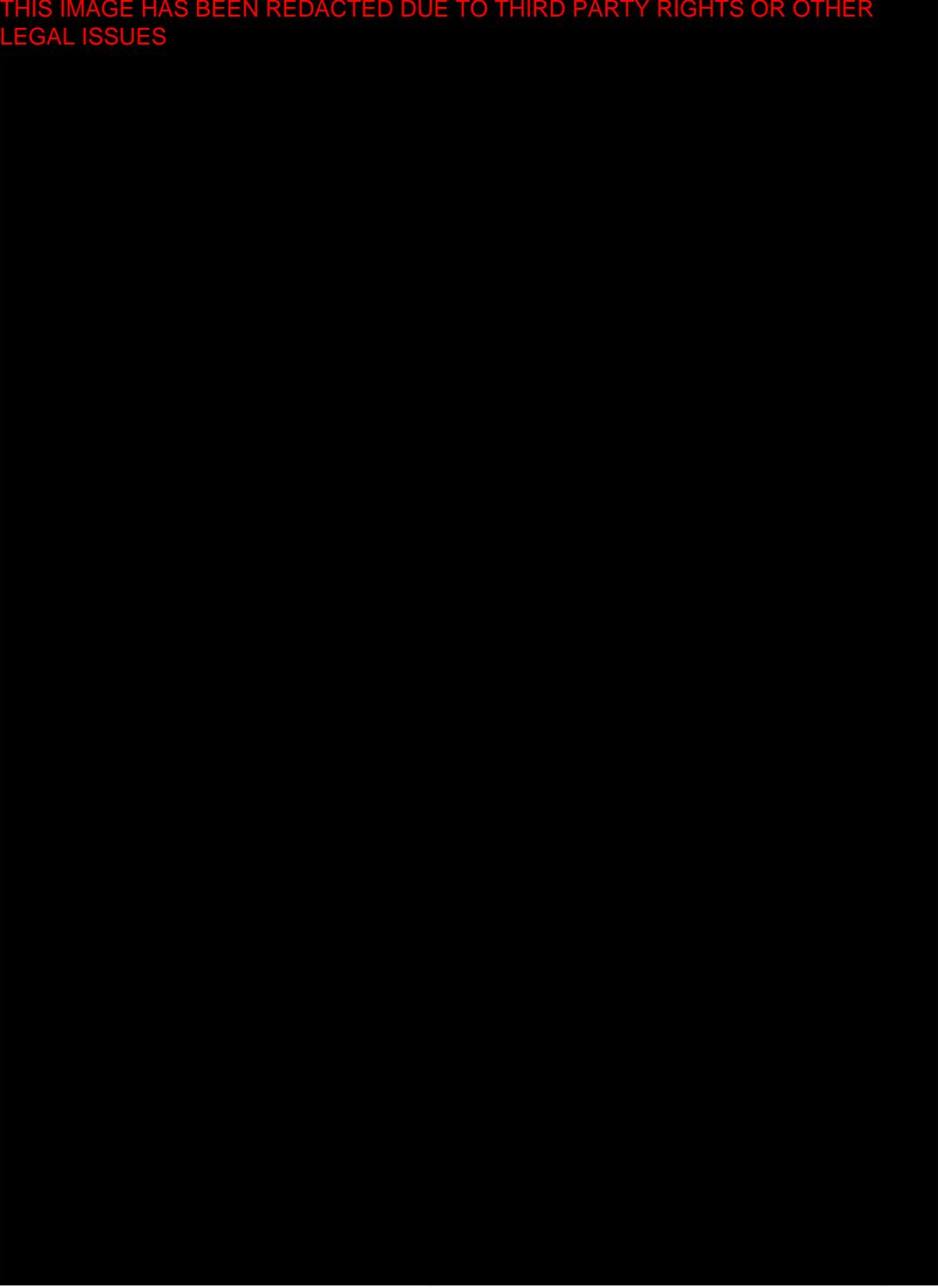
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Source: Barnwell and Toussaint, P.253.

List of Dutch Governors in Mauritius.

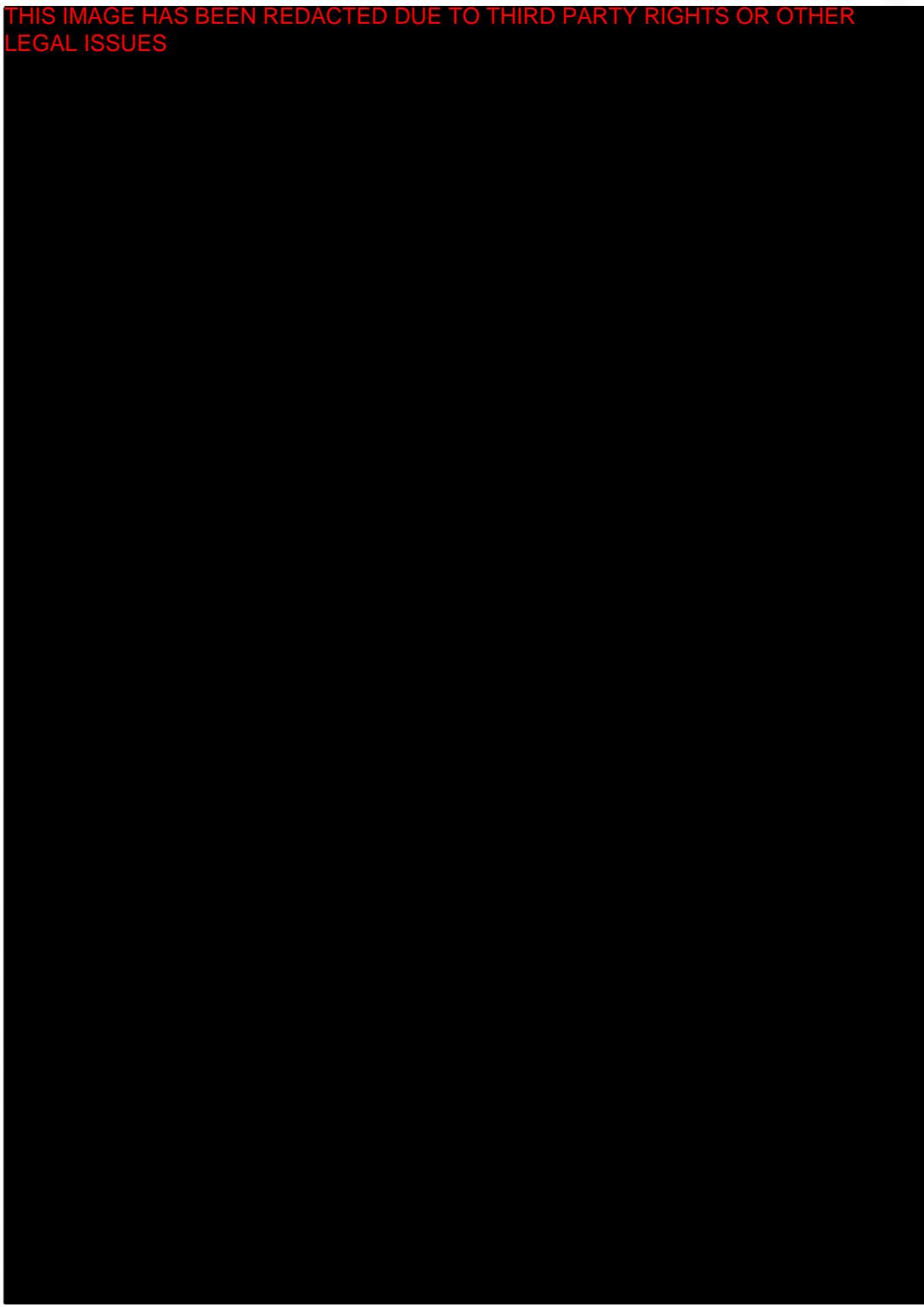
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Source: Barnwell and Toussaint, P. 99.

Different Systems of Government under French Imperial Rule .

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Source: Barnwell and Toussaint, P.109.

Chart showing types of Government, in detail, under French Imperial Rule.



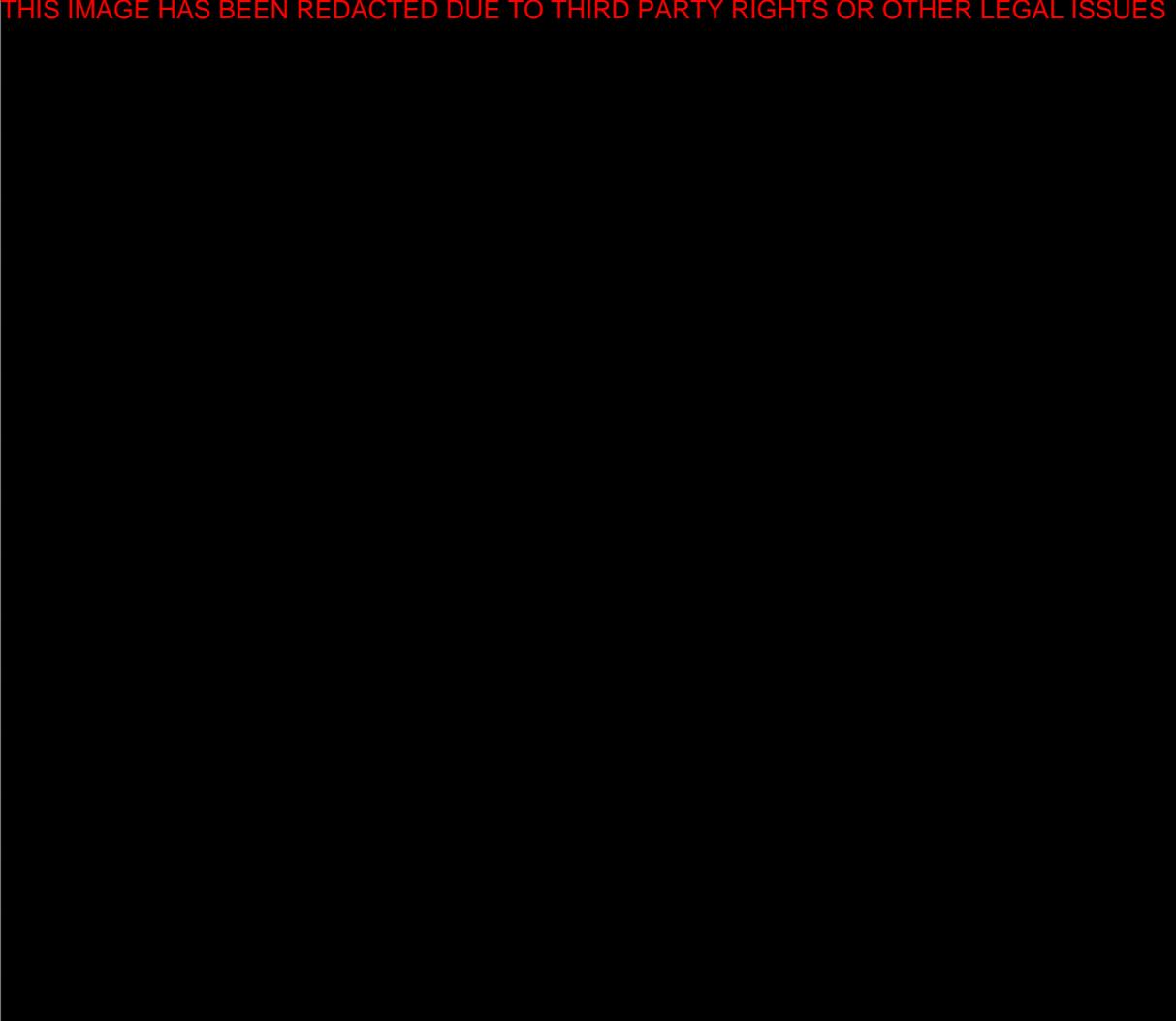
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Source: Barnwell and Toussaint, Pp 253-254.

A list of French Governors in Mauritius, from 1722-1810.

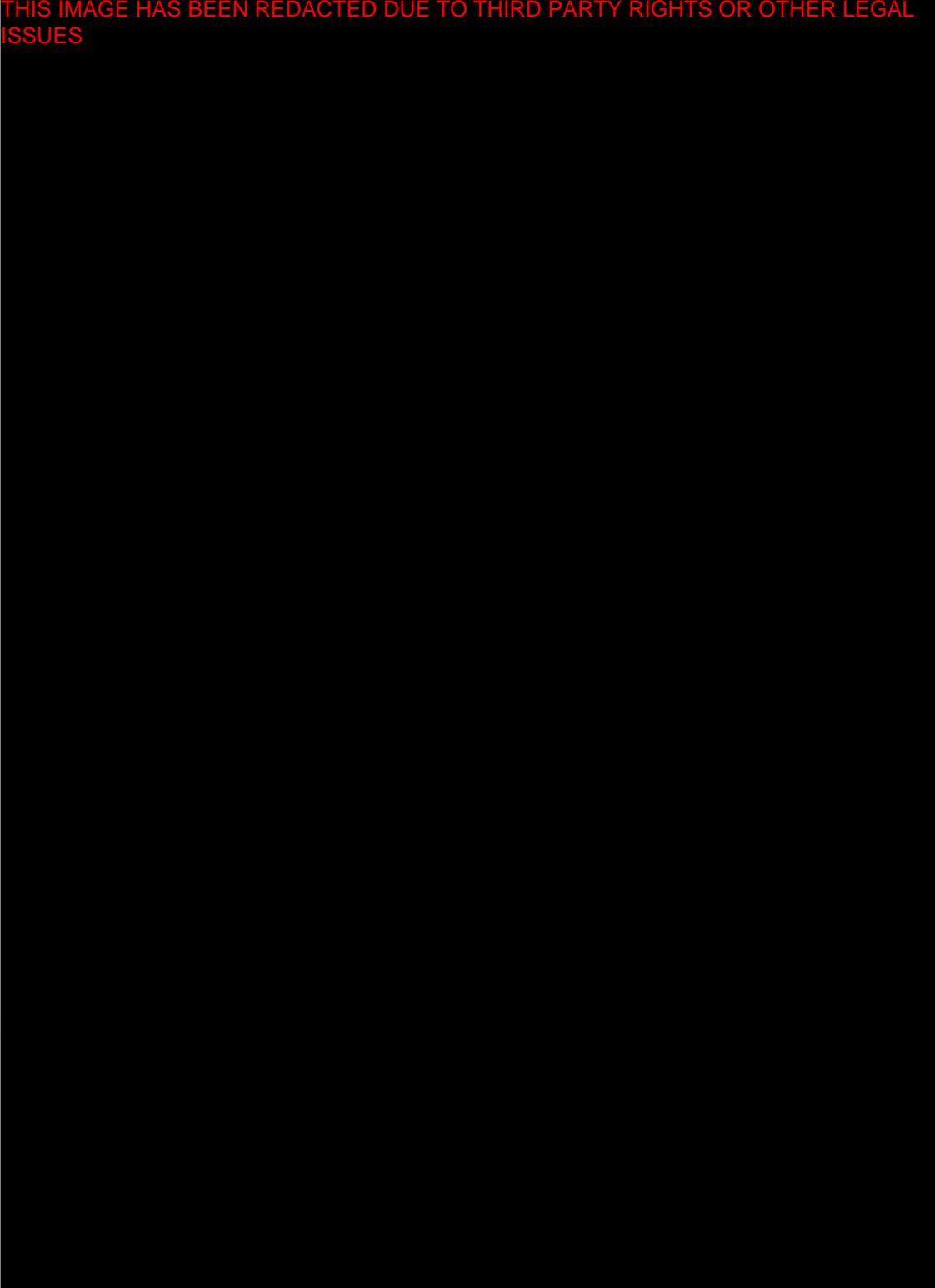
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Source: Barnwell and Toussaint, P.126.

Chart showing Periods of English Rule in Mauritius, until 1947, before  
Constitutional Reforms.

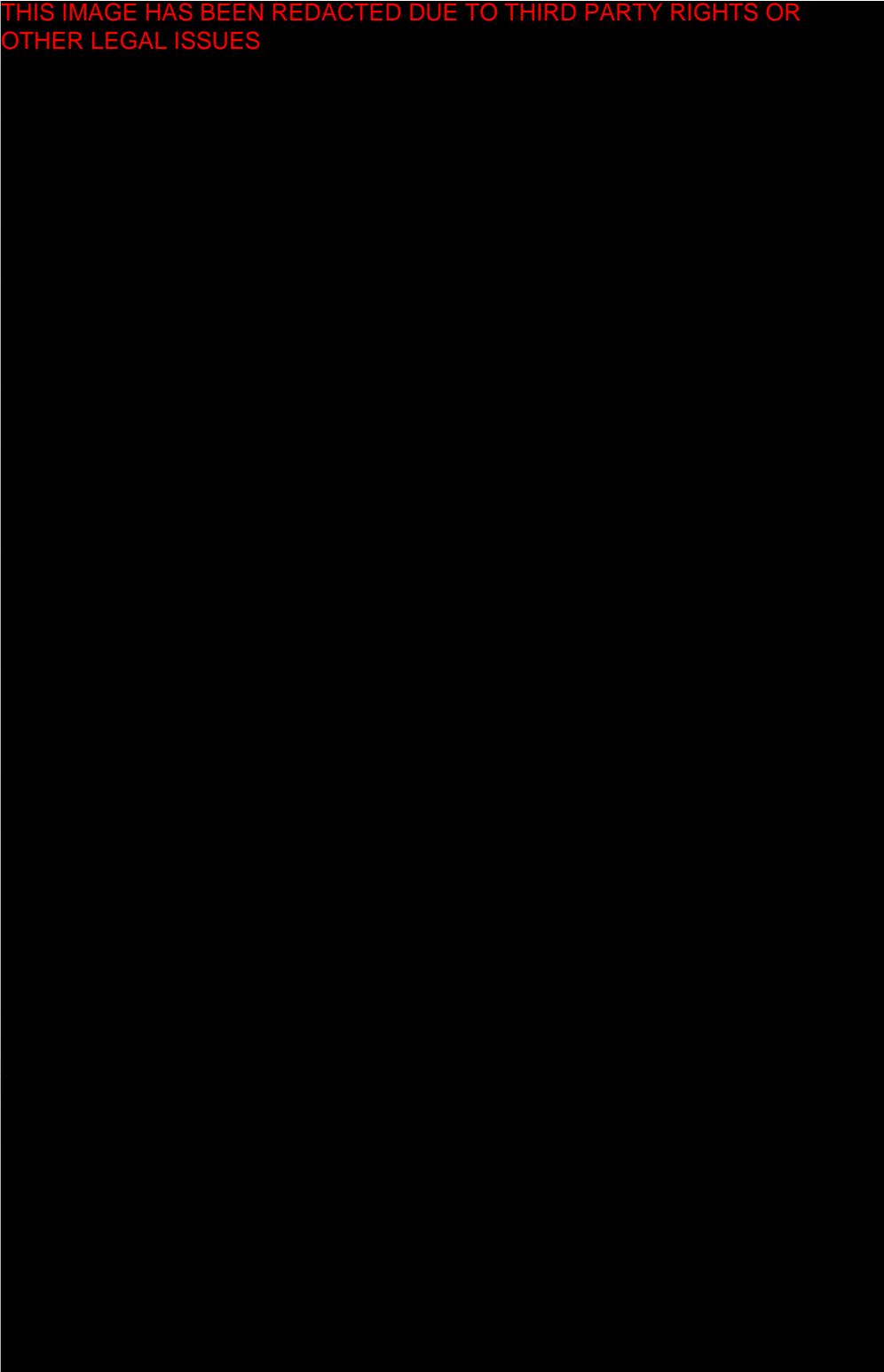
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Source: Report of the Mauritius Education Committee, Pp I4 & I5,, 1844.

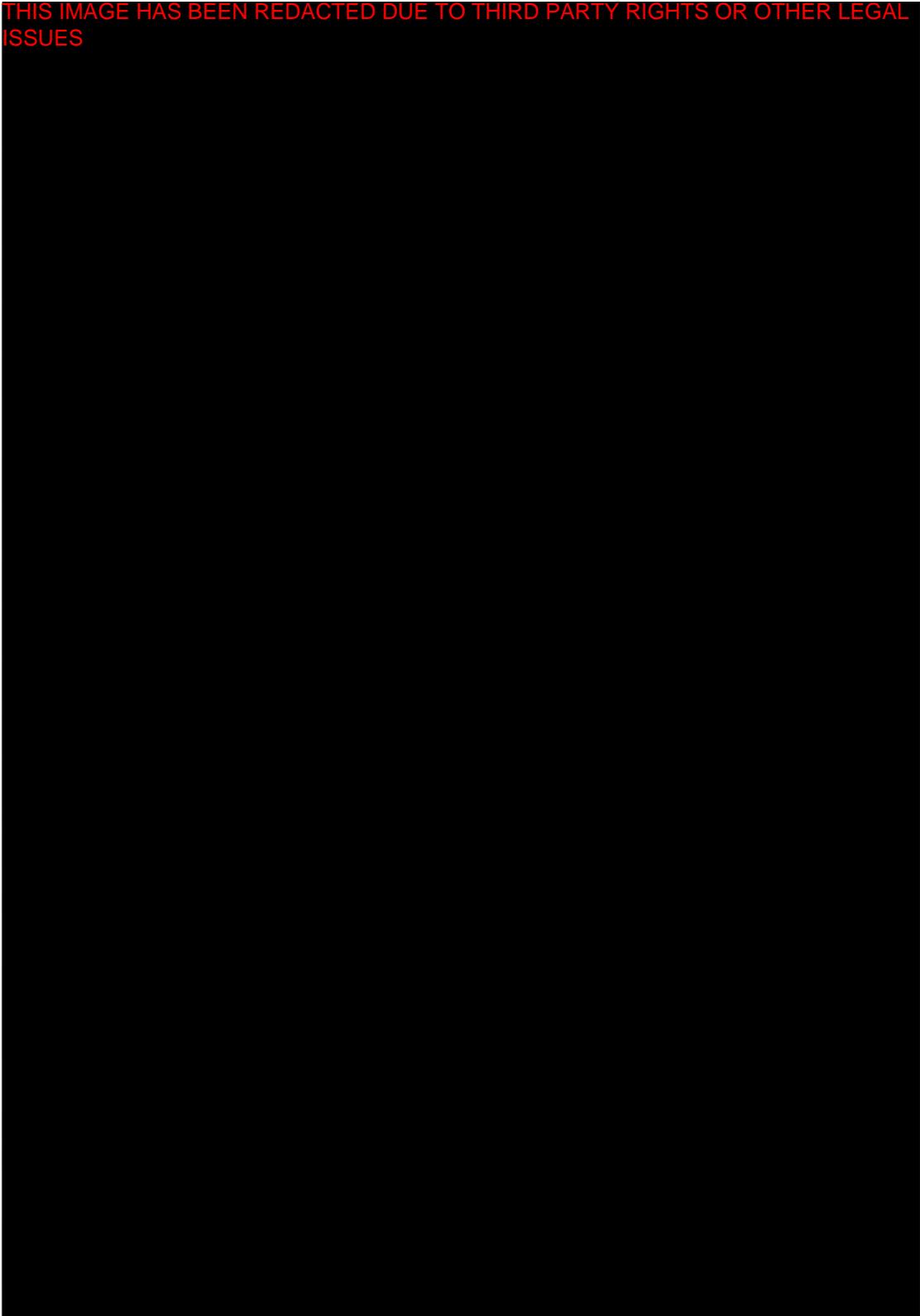
Course of Study pursued by different classes of the Royal College.

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Source: Report of the Mauritius Education Committee, P.15, 1844.  
Course of Study pursued by different classes of the Royal College.

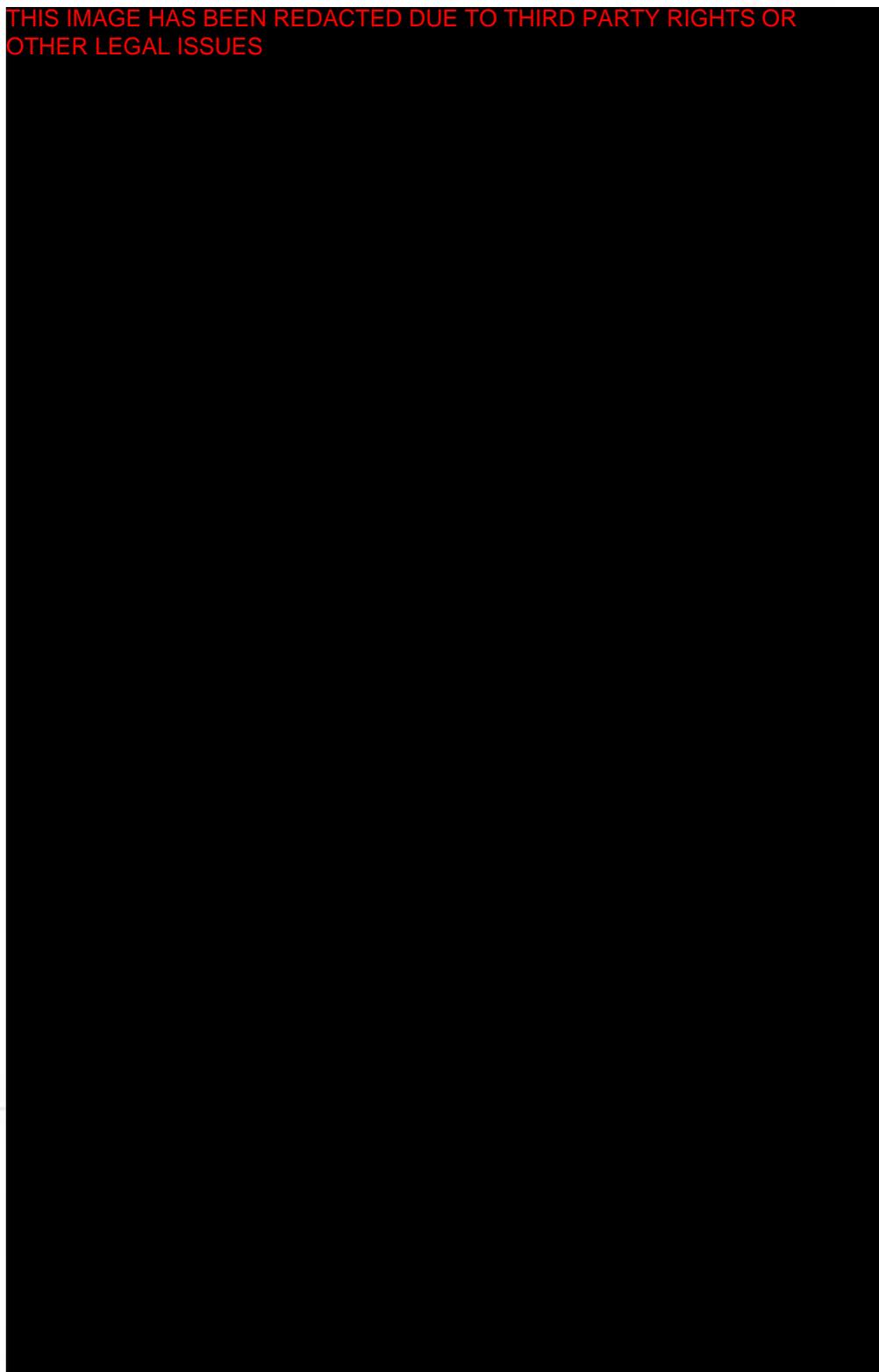
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Source: Report of the Mauritius Education Committee, P.37.

Public Examination conducted at the Royal College in 1843.

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Source: Report of the Mauritius Education Committee, P.38.

Public Examination conducted at the Royal College in 1843.

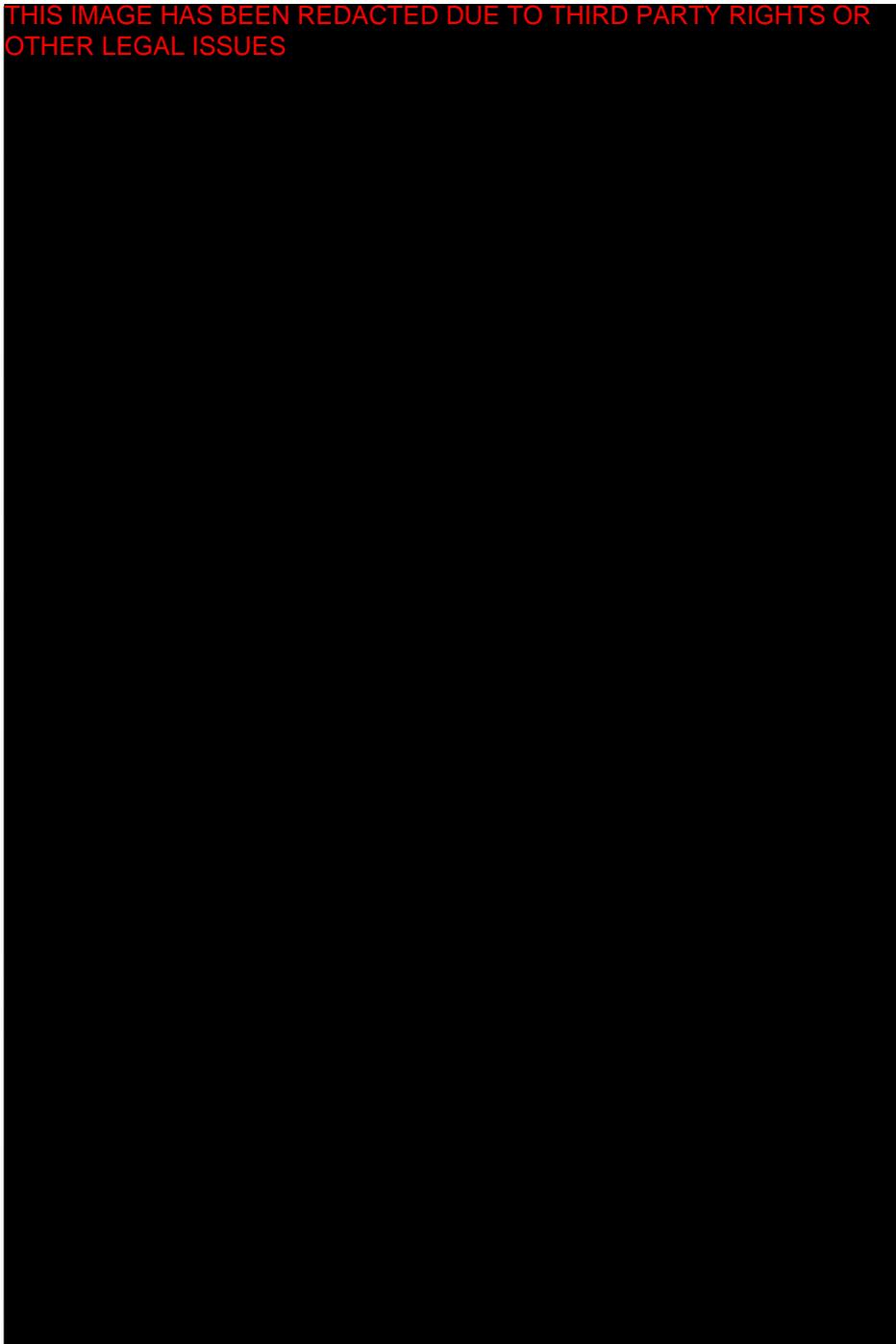
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Source: Report of the Mauritius Education Committee, P.13, 1846.

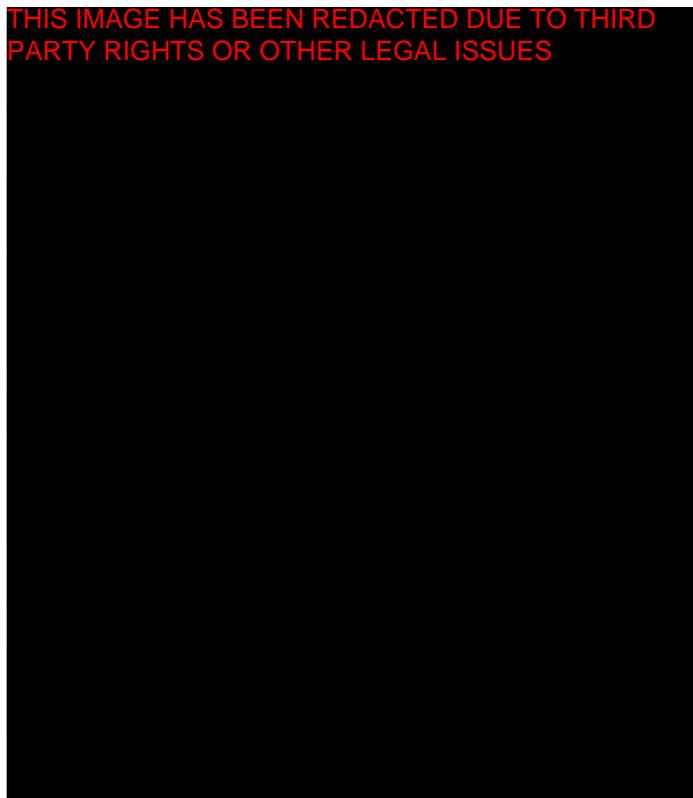
List of English Scholarship winners from 1840-1846.

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Source: A.R. Mannick, P.I.O.

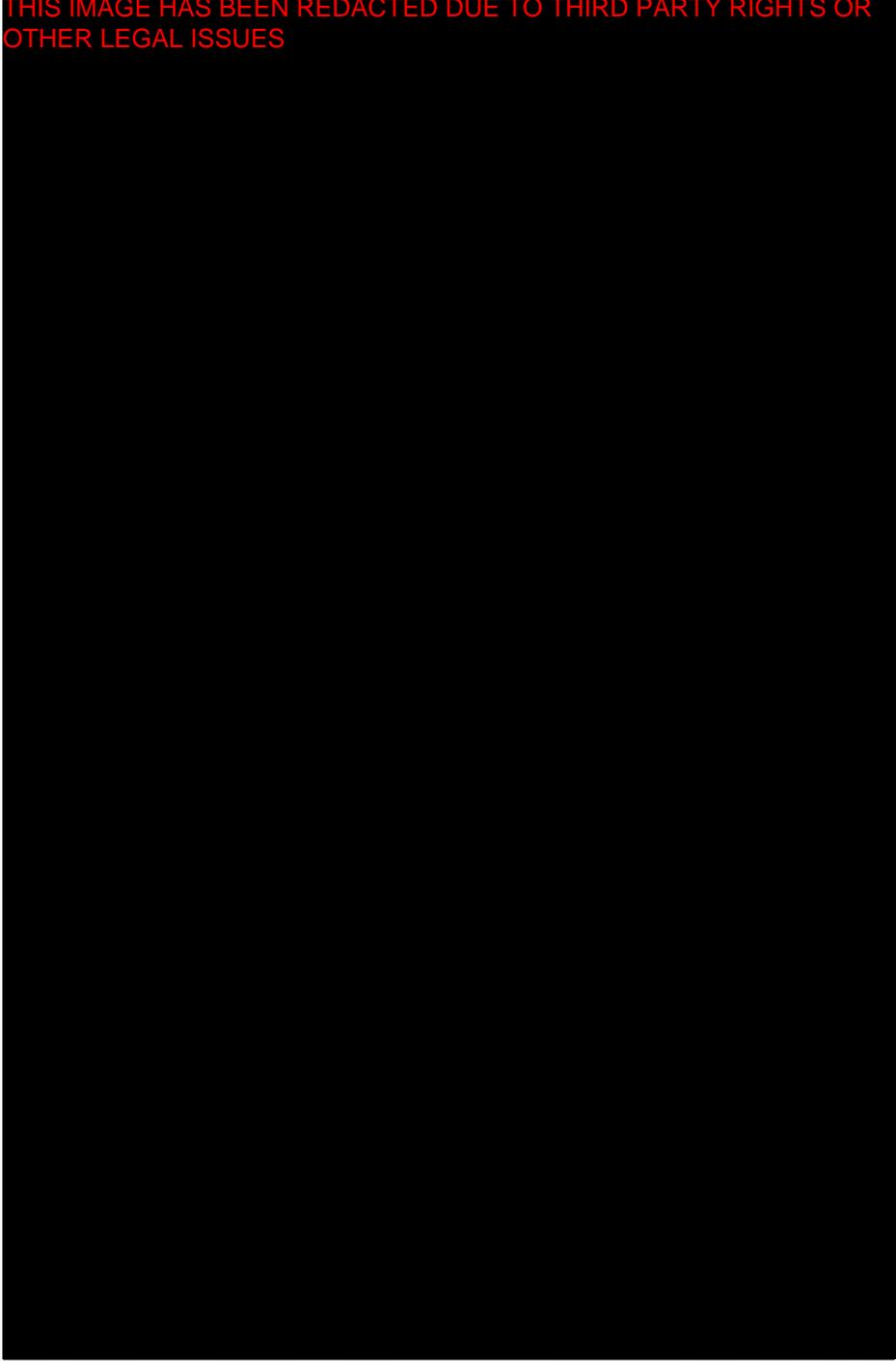
Map of Mauritius showing districts.



Map showing principal towns in Mauritius.

Source: Barnwell and Toussaint, P.24I.

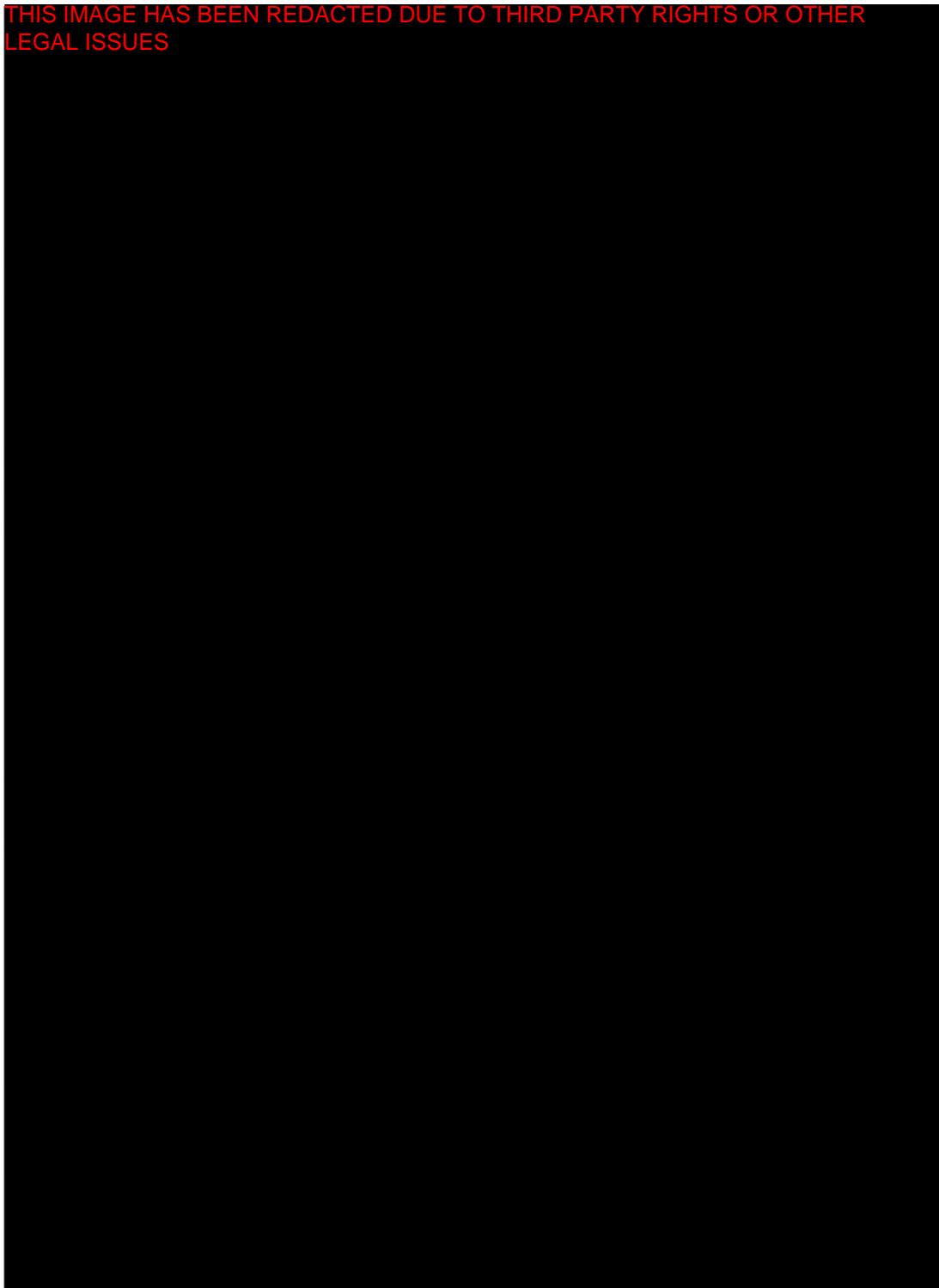
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Source: Sugar in Mauritius, P.28.

Map showing all the Sugar Estates in Mauritius.

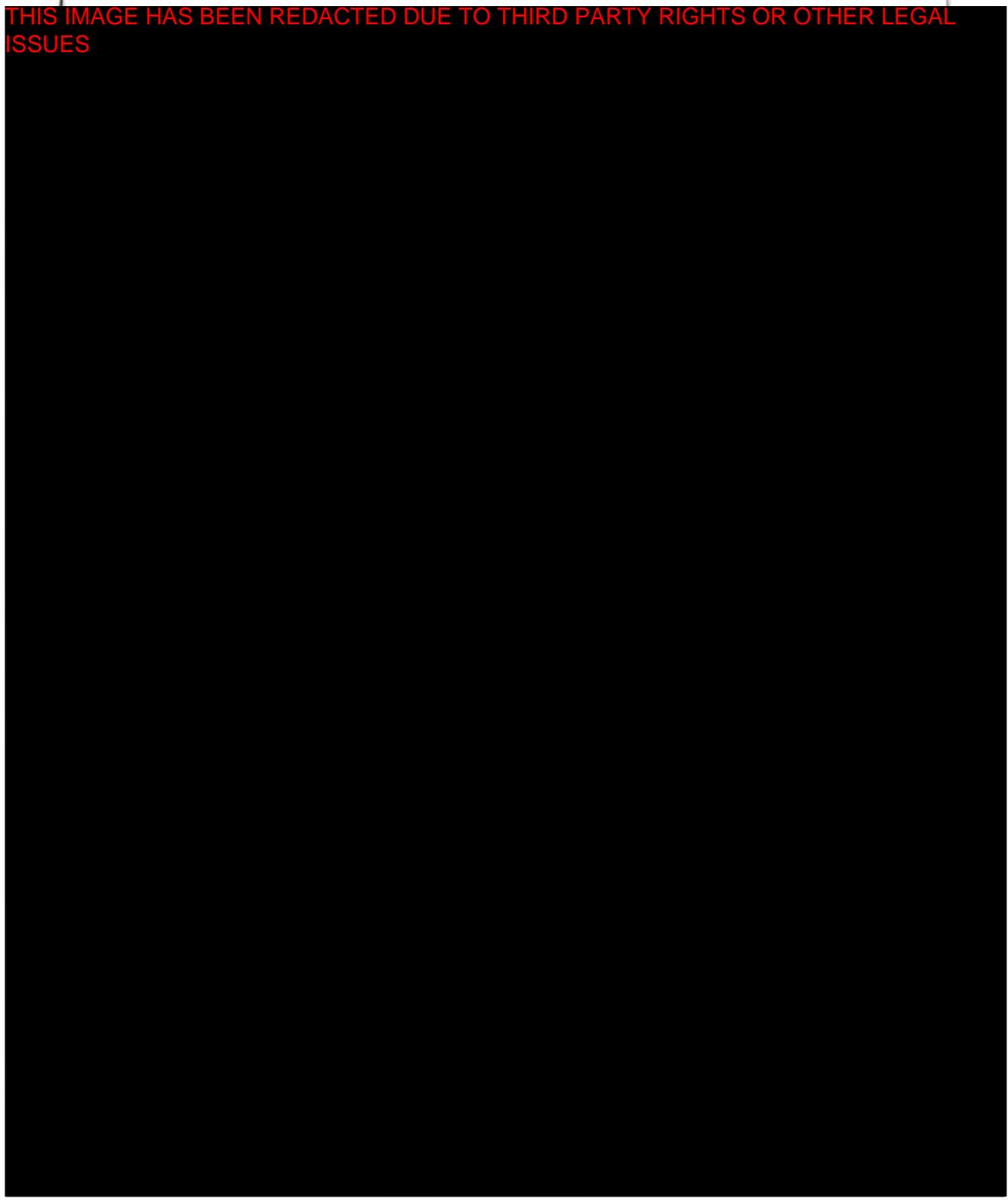
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Source: Barnwell and Toussaint, P.255.

Chart showing population increase in Mauritius from 1735- 1944.

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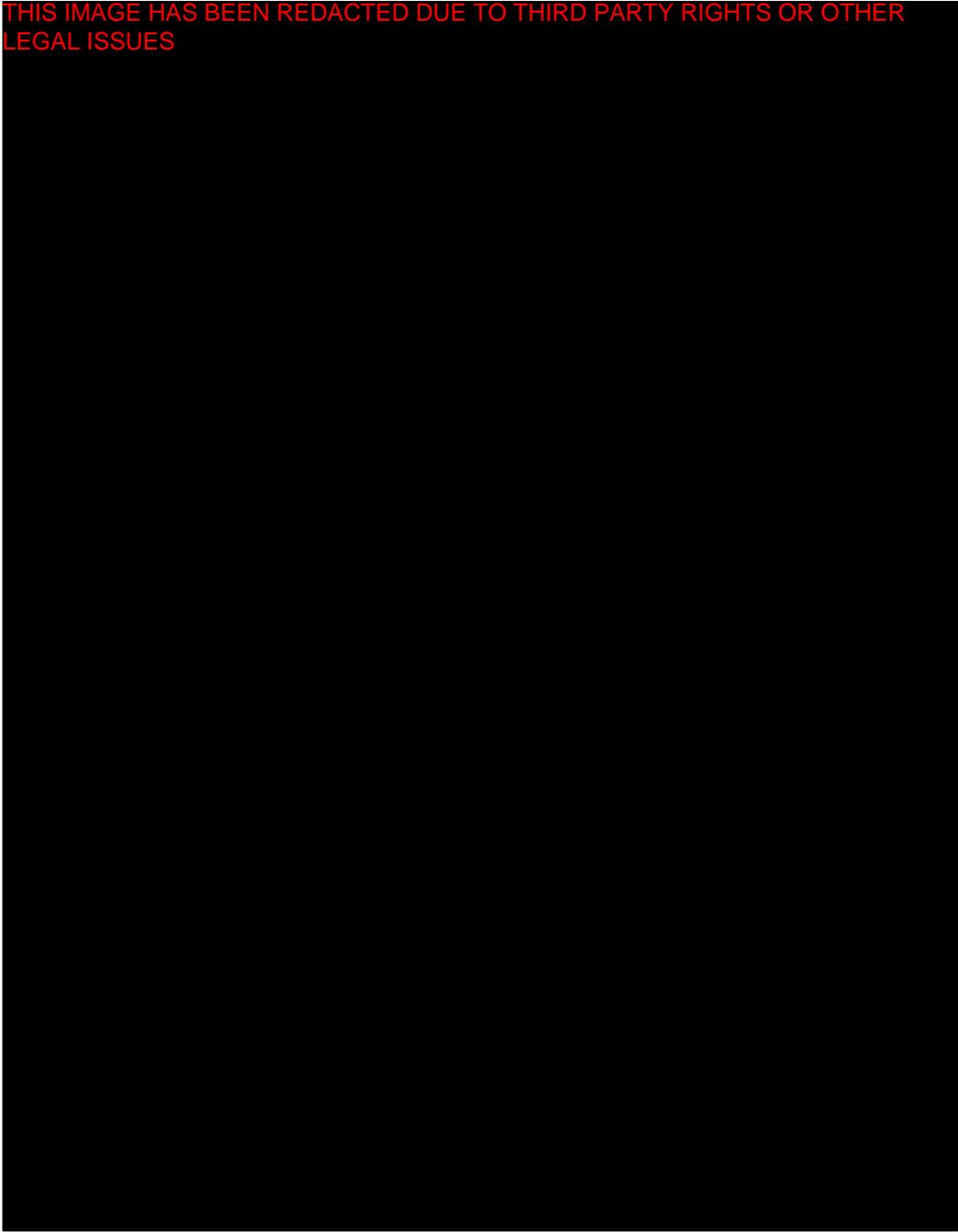


Cambridge School Certificate Results in Government and Better-Class Secondary Schools.

Source: J.E.Meade et al: The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius, P.217.

**British Governors**

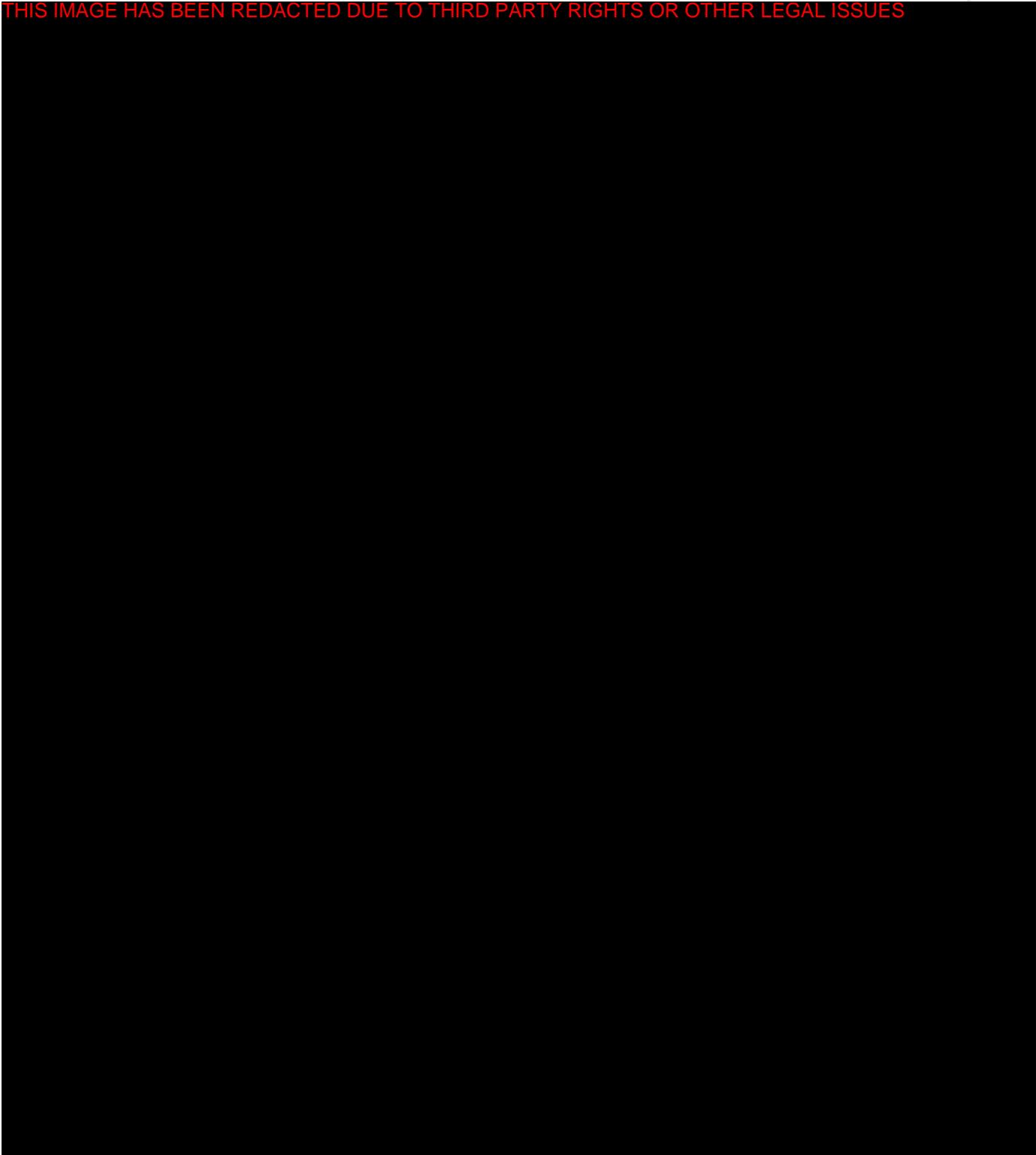
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Source: *Modern Mauritius: The Politics of Decolonization*, P.205.

List of British Governors in Mauritius, from 1810-1968.

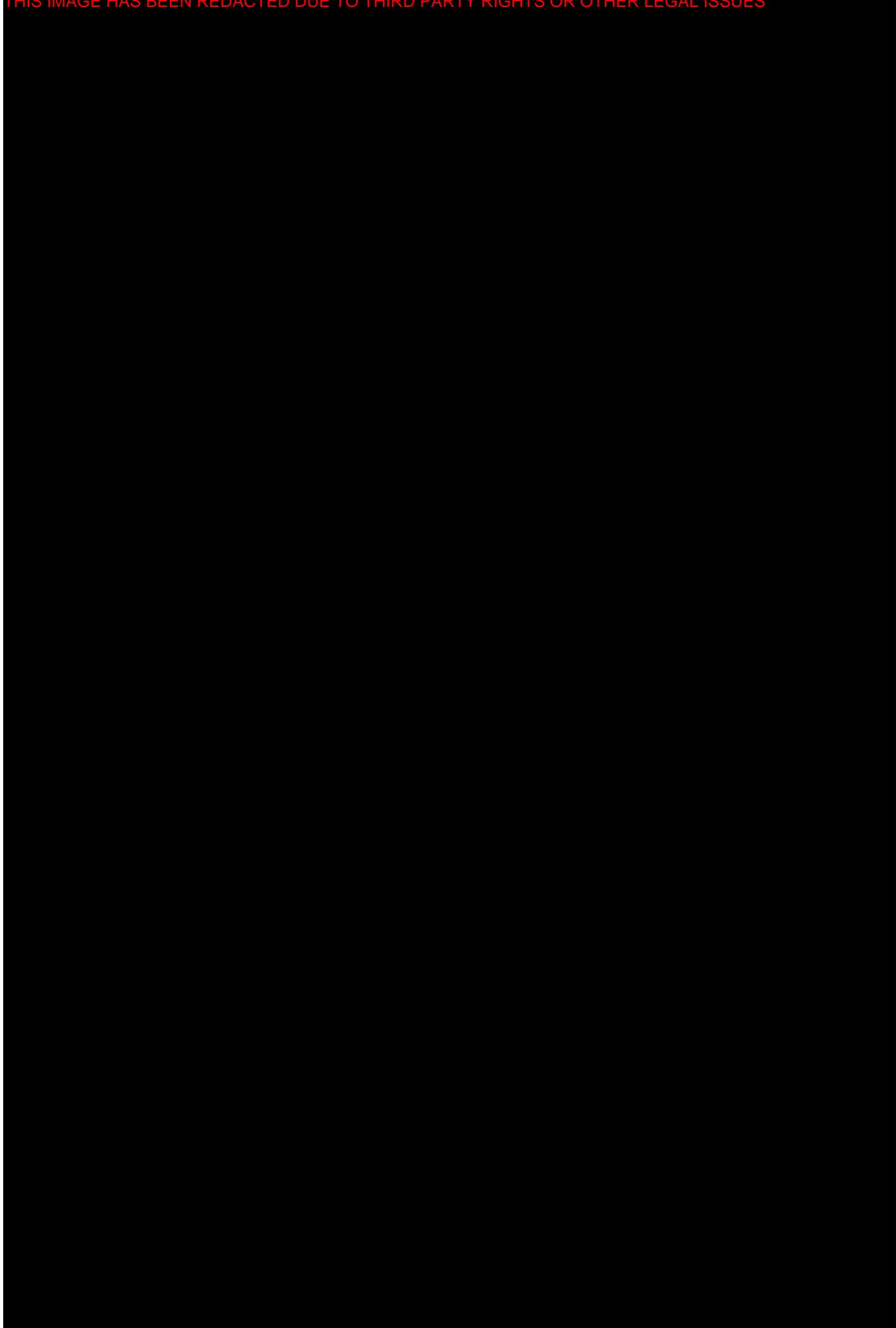
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Source: World Development Report, P.163, 1982

See Basic Indicators for Mauritius in Group IV of the list.

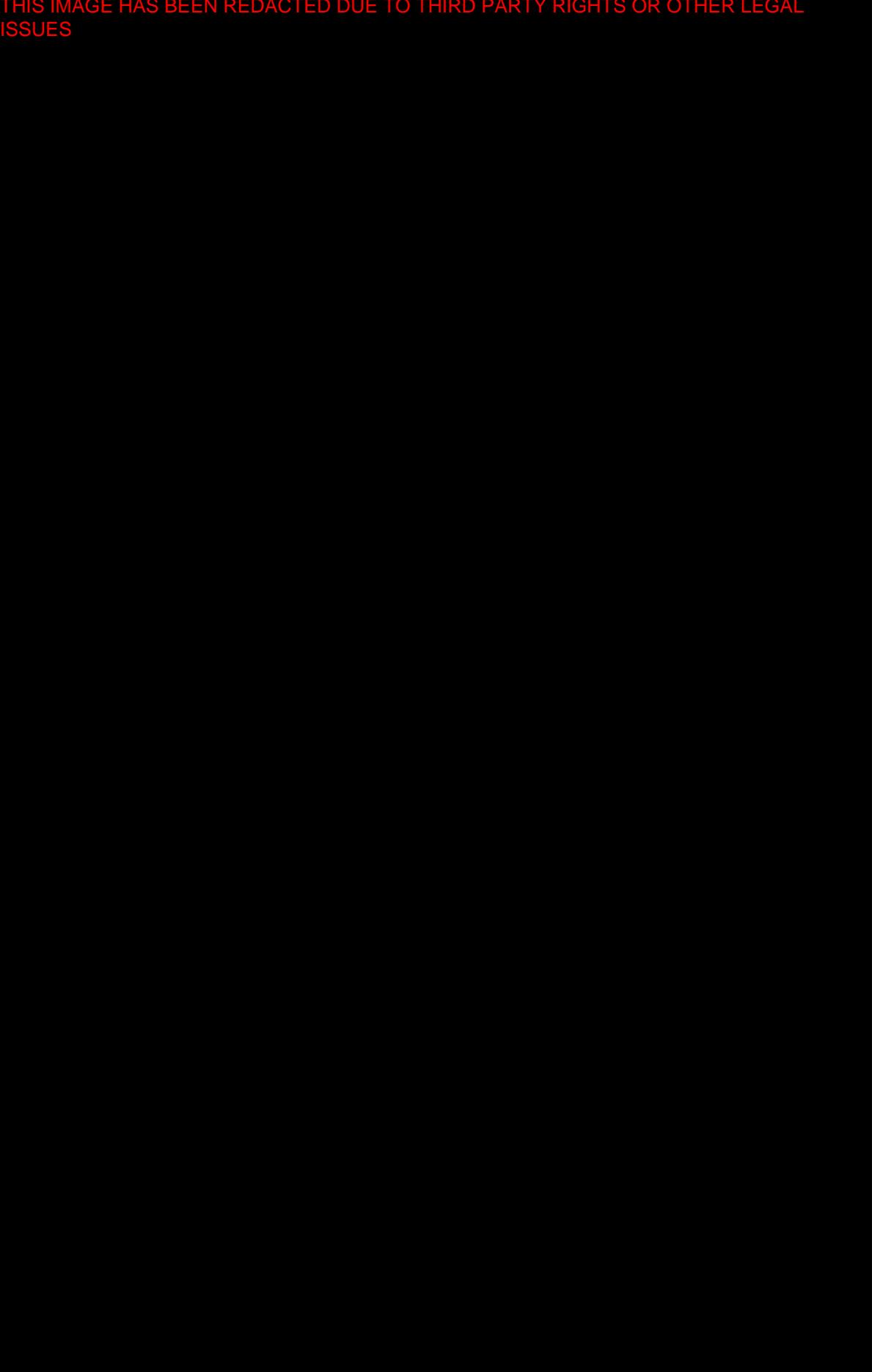
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Source: Dominance and Dependence, Open University Course Book, D233, P.8, 1981.

Map showing Mauritius in relation to the EEC and the ACP States.

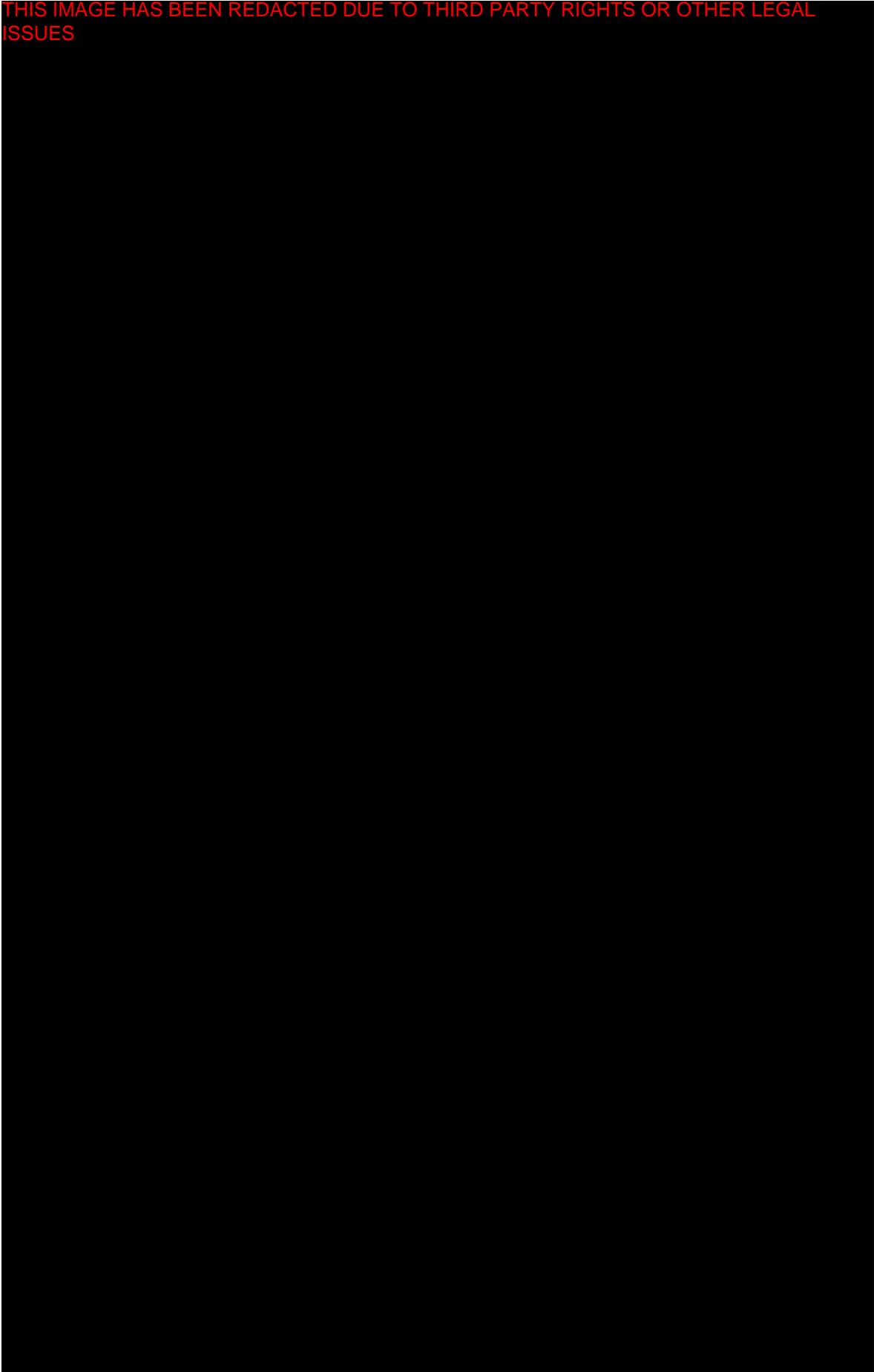
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Total population and population growth of Mauritius, 1960-1981.

Source: World Bank's Economic Memorandum on Mauritius, P.51. 1983.

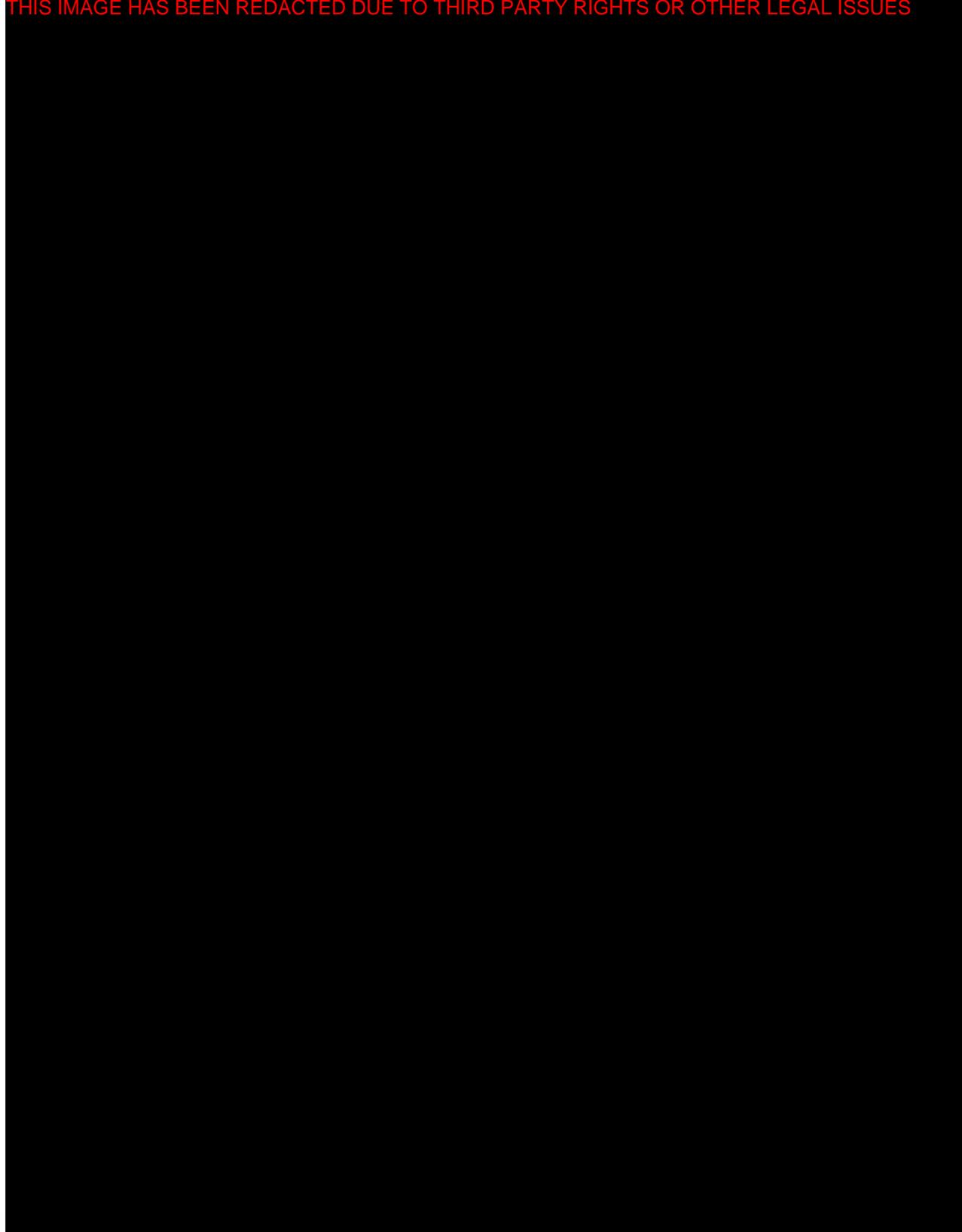
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Population Indicators by Age and Sex in Mauritius, 1972-1980.

Source: World Bank's Economic Memorandum on Mauritius, P.52. 1983.

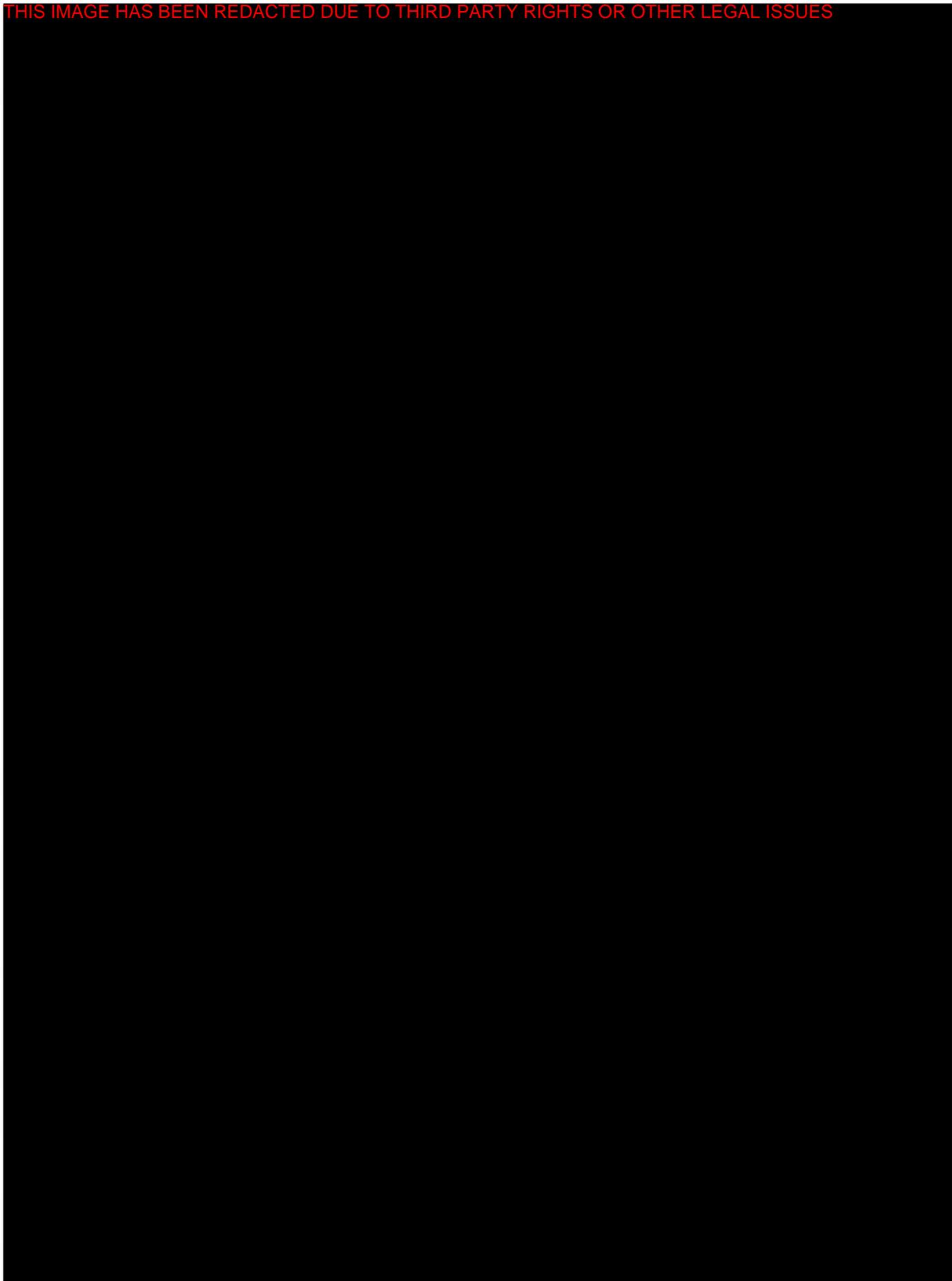
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Population of Mauritius by Language and sex.

Source: UNESCO Report: Prospects for educational development, Annex II.

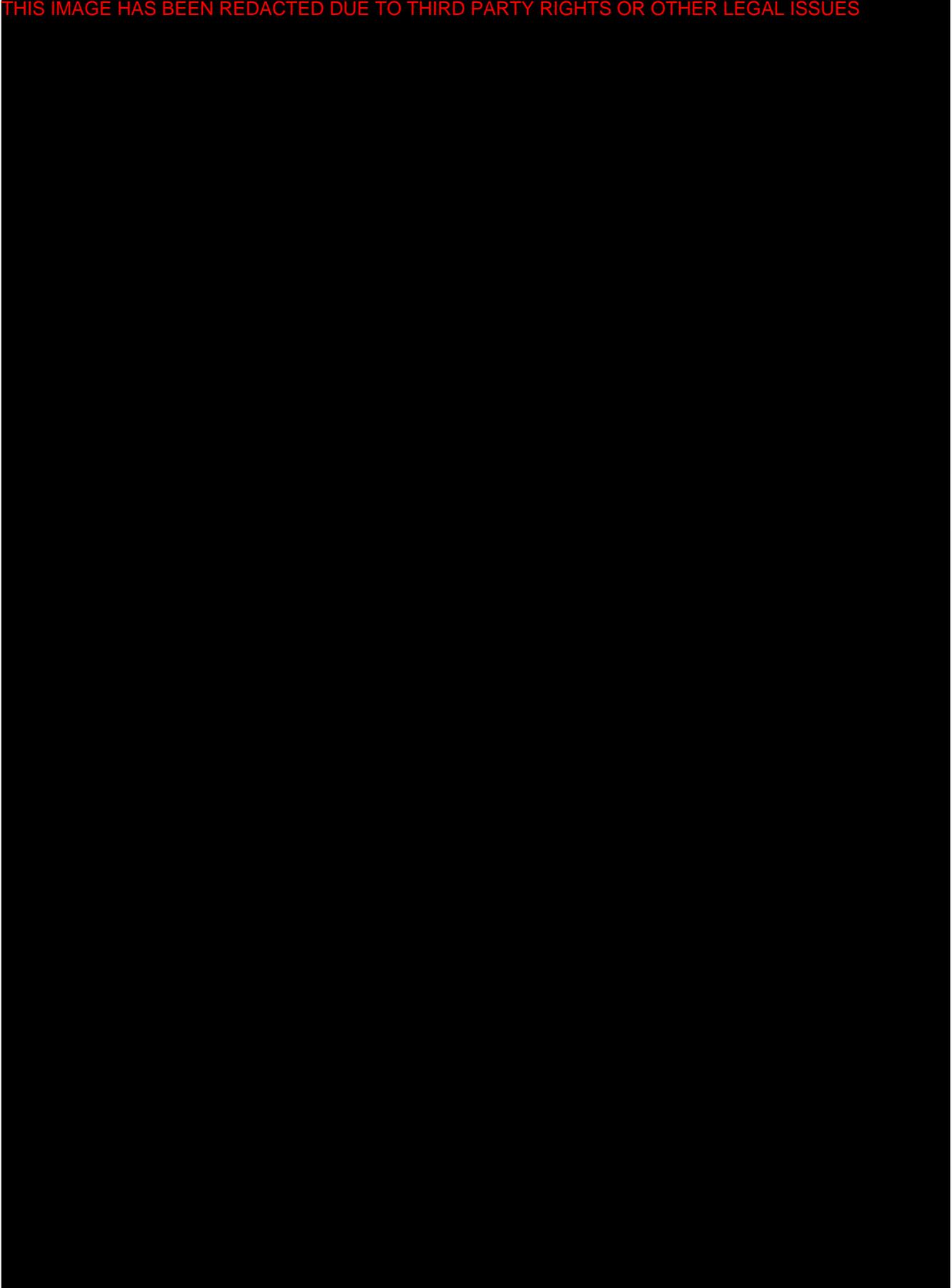
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Population over 12 years, by type of economic activity.

Source: UNESCO Report: Prospects for educational development, Annex 9.

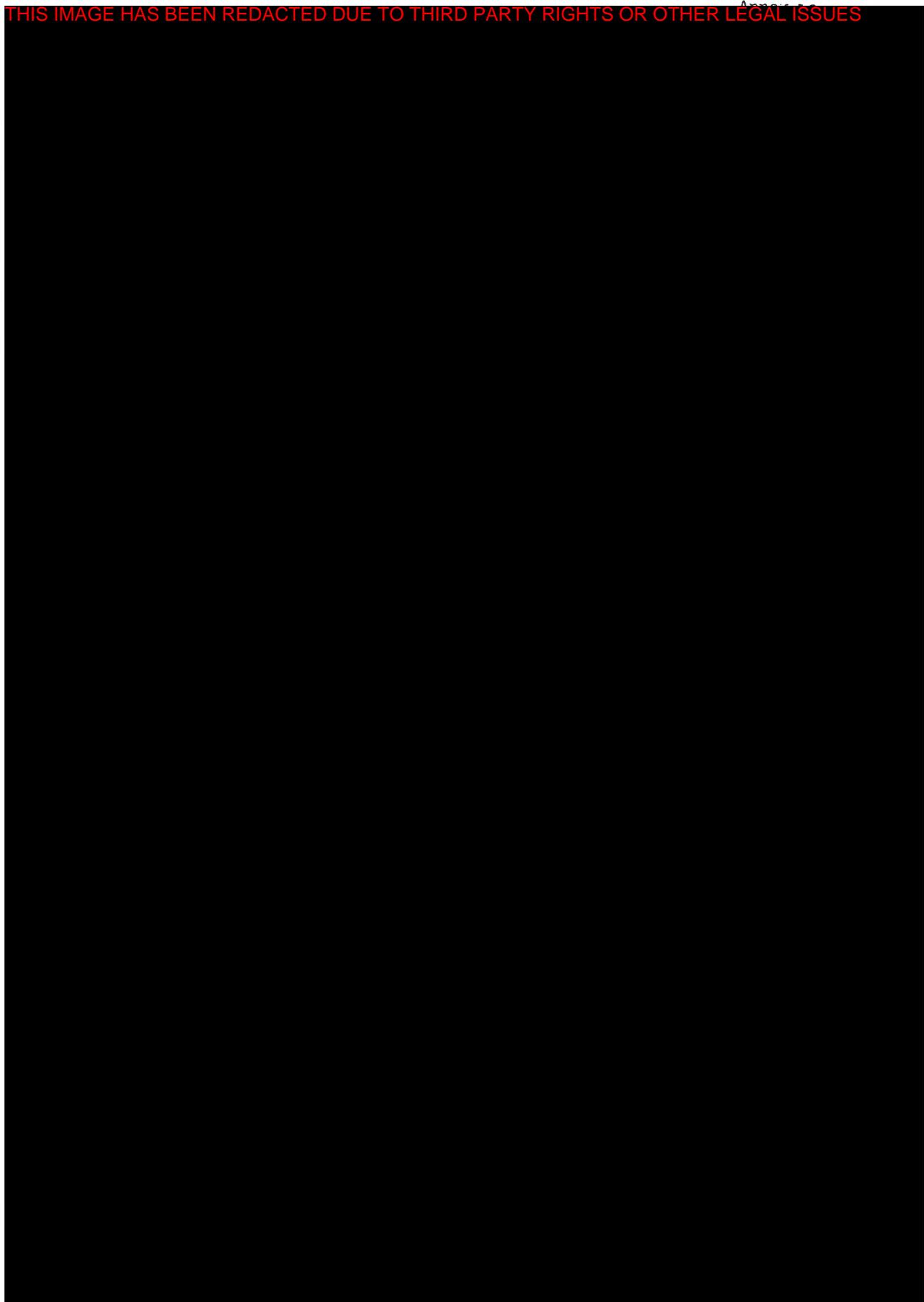
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Population indicators by employment in major occupational group.

Source: UNESCO Report: Prospects for educational development , Annex I2.

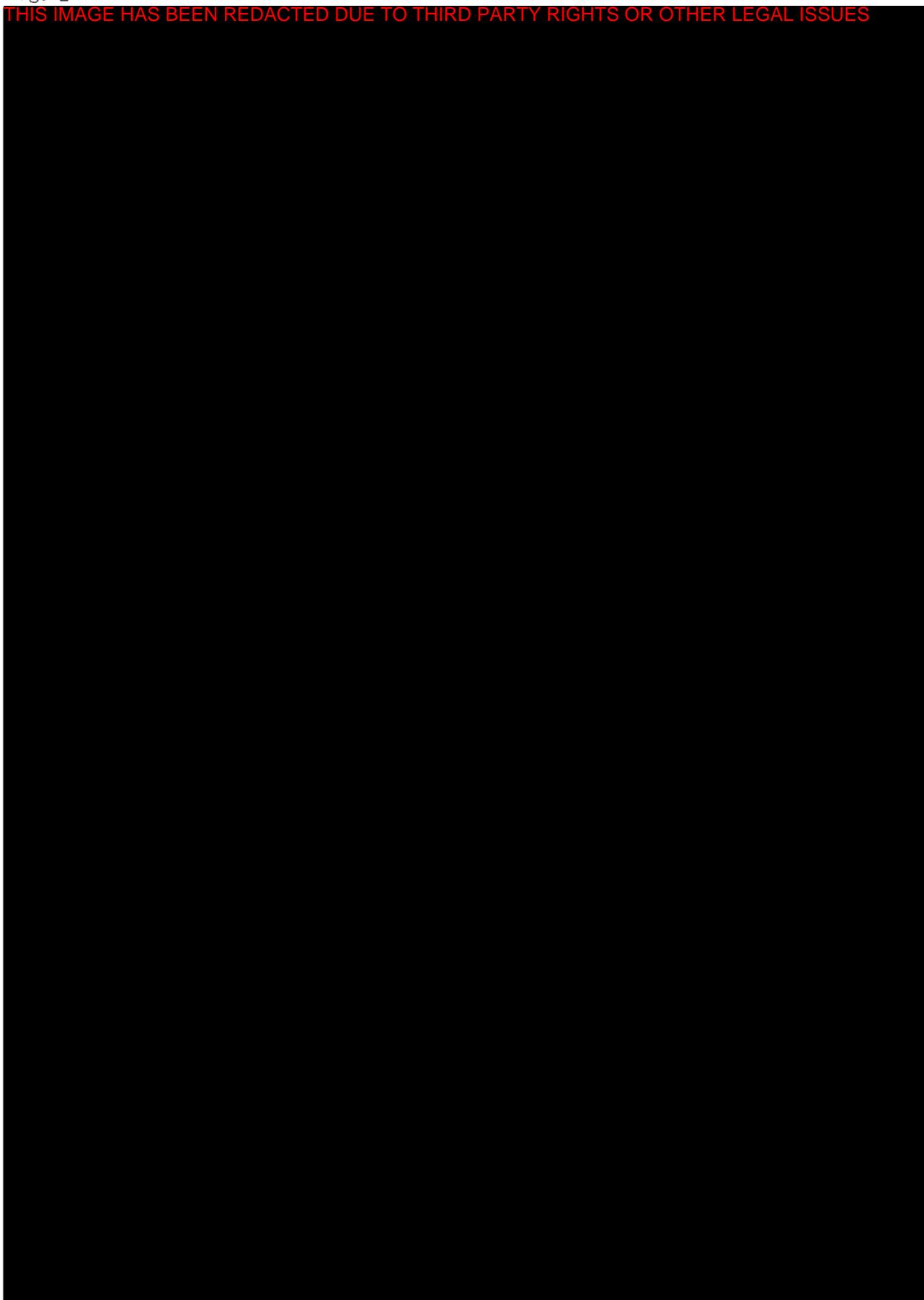
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Population indicators of unemployed by major occupational group.

Source: UNESCO Report: Prospects for educational development, Annex I2, P.2

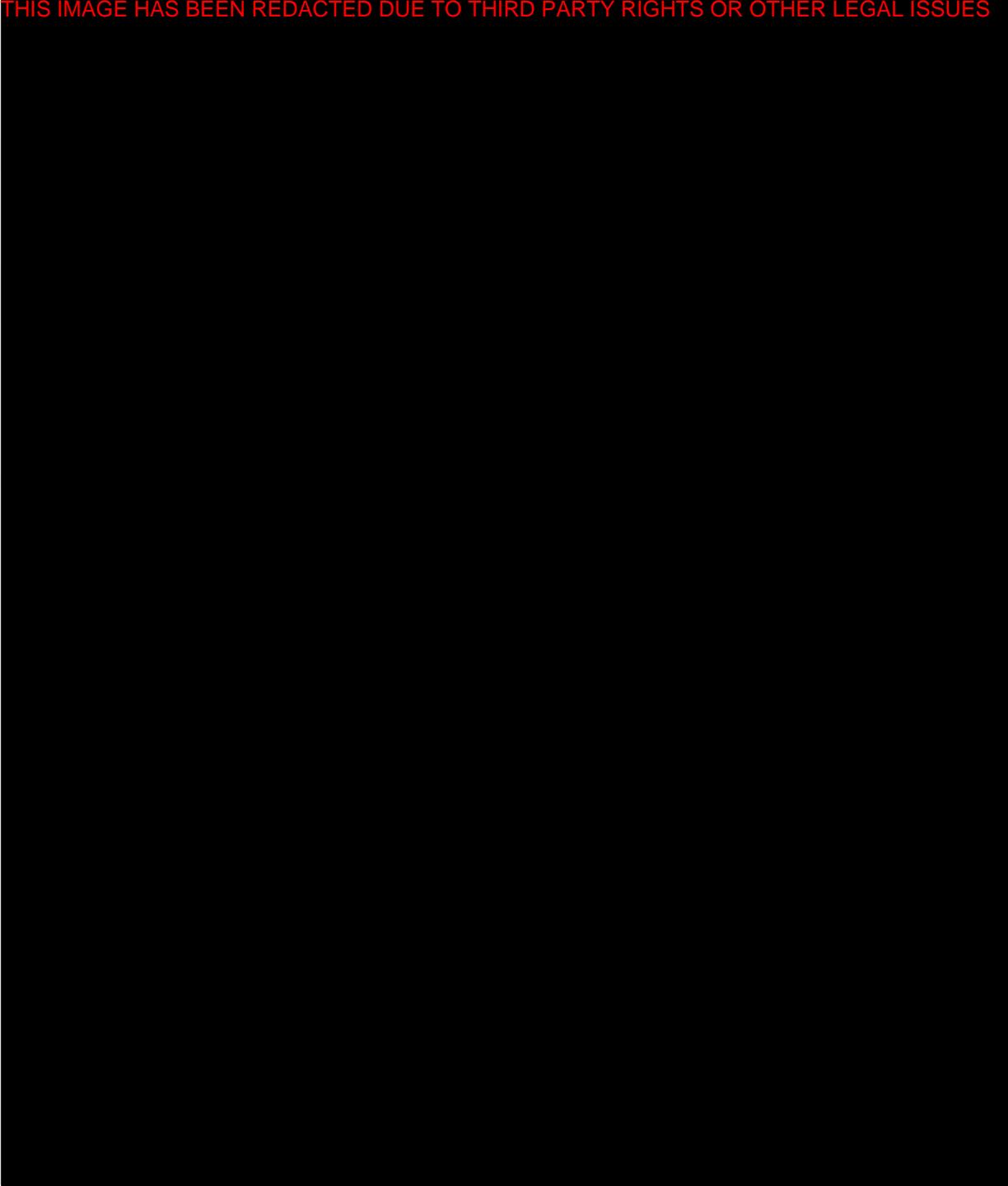
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Population indicator of all economic activities in Mauritius.

Source: UNESCO Report: Prospects for educational development, Annex 13, P.I

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Population indicator showing employment by ethnic group.

Source: Dr. Burton Benedict: Mauritius, Problems of a Plural Society, P.26, 1965.



































































































































































































A Bibliographical Note Regarding the Mauritian Literature and Various Historical Sources.

The accumulation of physical capital among the advanced industrialised countries of the North has led to a parallel accumulation of cultural capital; so much so, that all the advanced centres of learning, Research centres, famous Universities and Museums are all found there; besides, due to the dominant roles played by most of these countries in governing two-thirds of the world population- constituted as an entity known as the Third World- these advanced countries, as colonial masters and makers of history, have produced voluminous books, statutes, pamphlets and various documents on the Third World countries, and which are preserved in the various libraries and record offices than these Third World countries have themselves produced. But there have been exceptions: the few educated people in the colonies in general, and in Mauritius in particular, have tried to record the history of their respective colony; but unfortunately in the case of Mauritius, these versions of history bear the stamp of partiality, of prejudice and to a great extent, of distortion of historical facts. Therefore, during the course of this study, I have been confronted with a set of problems: first, I had to find relevant materials dealing with the historical and sociological aspects of Mauritius- materials which I confess are scanty or non-existent; second, I had to choose, from the extant literature, a few reliable texts and then check their accuracy with available historical, social and educational documents .

I have already pointed out that, in the case of Mauritius, the scantiness of relevant historical documents represented a major problem; and their location represented a problem of different order: first, many important buildings in London were destroyed during the War, and many libraries were unfortunately among them- this led to a loss of important historical documents on colonies in general, and on Mauritius in particular; prior to the re-organization of the Colonial Office, all documents on colonies were located in different libraries and offices- some of them are still there, whereas the bulk of the documents have been transferred to the Public Record Office; consequently, chasing the documents from place to place has been a tiring,

but enriching, experience.

The various institutions have most willingly made available any existing documents to me; and many librarians went out of their way to help; consequently, as far as old documents are concerned, there has been no restrictions on accessibility. But as far as recent documents are concerned, especially those dealing with events in post-independent Mauritius and on Diego-Garcia, the thirty-years rule has been most forcibly enforced; consequently, because of these restrictions, events like the Diego-Garcia affair will remain, for some time, shrouded in mystery.

It is rather unfortunate that Mauritius has never attracted foreign scholars as a field of study ; consequently, we have a plethora of various kinds of reports emanating from various international organizations like the UNDP, FAO, IMF , UNESCO etc; but book-size academic studies have been most certainly missing. To my mind, Dr. Burton Benedict is the only foreign scholar who has done considerable field work in Mauritius from an anthropological perspective; hence, I have made capital use of his various publications in my study. Dr. Benedict's works represent a major contribution leading towards a clearer understanding of the evolution of a plural society.

On the national level, the problem is one of abundance of historical materials: during the colonial days, the national bourgeoisie has written Mauritian history from its ideological standpoint; but the post-independent phase has seen the same history being re-interpreted by the new emerging Indian elite; but all the different versions of the Mauritian history, with a few exceptions of course, suffer from the same cardinal sin- that of being communally biased. In this connection, A.S. Simmons's\* remark is worth quoting:-

" Because of communal biases, few Mauritians have been able to write about their island with objectivity, and few non- Mauritians have published anything about the island".

Therefore, during the course of this study, I have chosen those books which have been fairly objective in their treatment of historical materials and

\* Adele Smith Simmons: Modern Mauritius, Opt. Cit. P.230.

their interpretation of historical facts. These books are as follows:-

- (a) Dr. Auguste Toussaint's: Histoire Des Iles Mascareignes is a key text for understanding the historical evolution of Mauritius and the sister islands of Reunion and Rodrigues. It also highlights the imperial conflict , between France and Great Britain, for spheres of influence in the Indian Ocean.
- (b) Barnwell and Toussaint's: A Short History of Mauritius is a useful and informative text dealing with the historical development of Mauritius until the Constitutional Reforms in 1947.
- (c) Adele Smith Simmons's: Modern Mauritius is an American's view of the historical development of Mauritius; the text becomes highly authoritative when thrashing out issues like: the emergence of the Indian elite, and the politics of Constitutional Reforms in Mauritius.
- (d) Joyce and Jean-Pierre Durand's: L'ile Maurice, Quelle Indépendance? is a key sociological text treating the independence of Mauritius as a problematic issue. Written from a Marxist perspective, it rightly focuses upon the dependency and underdevelopment of Mauritius. It offers a useful corrective view to the economic and social problems of Mauritius as compared to the conservative one.
- (e) Dr. Burton Benedict's pioneering works in Mauritius are a major contribution for the proper understanding of the evolution of a plural society; his first book, Indians in a Plural Society is based on his findings after living in two Mauritian villages, and is a very detailed account of Indian customs. His second book, Mauritius, The Problems of a Plural Society is a useful introduction to the island; two of his papers: Education Without Opportunity in Mauritius and Slavery and Indenture in Mauritius and Seychelles are illuminating.
- (f) Ramesh Randoyal's : The Development of Education in Mauritius is a scholarly work ; written from a historical perspective, it remains, up to date, the best introductory work on the subject; yet, some of his conclusions reached at are highly debatable.

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