



From Nothingness to Resilience. A Case Study of Kreol Resilience in Mauritius: Examining Narratives of Dispossessed Young Kreol Adults (20-30 years old) who have completed secondary education.

**J.Harmon
M.Desveaux**

A Study published by Komite Diosezin Premie Fevriye

MARYE-PIKE

Published by Komite Diosezin Premie Fevriye

Port Louis: Marye-Pike

©2013

CONTENTS

Note of Thanks

About the Researchers

Preface by Father Jean Maurice Labour, President of KDPF and Vicar General of the Diocese of Port Louis

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION..... 8 - 13

- 1.1. Geographical Location and Demographics
- 1.2. Socio-Economic Indicators
- 1.3. KDPF or 1st February Diocesan Committee
- 1.4. The Research Study Project
 - 1.4.1. Key terms
 - 1.4.2. From Education to Resilience
 - 1.4.3. Significance of the Study: Three main reasons
- 1.5. Positioning as Engaged researchers of KDPF

CHAPTER II: THE FIRST KREOL CONVENTION,14 - 18

EDITION 2013

- 2.1. Prophetic “Malaise Creole” statement: From an Individual Self to a Collective Self
- 2.2. Based Upon “the position of strength”
- 2.3. Kreol Voice and Narratives

CHAPTER III: CONCEPT OF RESILIENCE & STUDIES IN.....19 - 25

AFRICAN AMERICAN RESILIENCE

- 3.1. The capacity to bounce back
- 3.2. Risk Factors & Protective Factors
- 3.3. Studies in African American Resilience
 - 3.3.1. Support from a special person or benefits of the extended family
 - 3.3.2. The Church, second only to the family
 - 3.3.3. Coping Strategies: cognitive / emotional, spiritual, ritual and collective
 - 3.3.4. Culture, Identity and Racial Socialisation

CHAPTER IV: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....26 - 38

- 4.1. Identity and Positionality of the Researchers
- 4.2. A Case Study of Resilience
 - 4.2.1. Aim, Objectives and Research Question
 - 4.2.2. Characteristics of the Case Study
- 4.3. Ethical considerations

- 4.4. Story Telling
- 4.5. Data Collection
- 4.6. Data Processing and Analysis
- 4.7. Limits of the study

CHAPTER V: FINDINGS & DISCUSSION.....39 - 45

5.1. The Person Behind Each Narrative

5.2. Determining factors

Finding NO.1: The Mother & Father Pillars

Finding NO.2: A Special Person makes the difference but not CSR

Finding NO.3: The Power of Faith

Finding NO.4: Self-assumed Kreol Identity

Finding NO.5: Management of the Self

CHAPTER VI: IMPLICATIONS.....46 - 56

6.1. Capability, Autonomy and Agency of Kreols

6.1.1. Equality of Capabilities rather than Equality of Opportunities

6.1. 2.Educating for Agency

6.2. Kreol Counter cultural capital and counter Habitus

6.3. Kreol Organic Intellectuals and Nation Building

CONCLUSION.....57 - 59

From Nothingness to Resilience...The Way Forward

ANNEXES64 - 65

Excerpt of narratives in English and Kreol Morisien

NOTES.....66- 68

NOTE OF THANKS

Komite Diocезin Premie Fevriye wishes to thank the Education Faculty Friday Seminar of the University of the Western Cape for its critical appreciation of the study. Suggestions, comments and observations have been taken into consideration for this publication

ABOUT THE RESEARCHERS

This study has been conducted by J.Harmon and M. Desveaux in the context of the Kreol Convention.

Jimmy Harmon is Head of Department of Applied Pedagogy at Institut Cardinal Jean Margeot (ICJM) which is a post-secondary adult catholic formation institute running courses and community projects under the aegis of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Port Louis in Mauritius. He has been a Part Time Researcher with the Truth and Justice Commission Mauritius (2009-2011). In 2012, he ran as Finalist of the Commonwealth Good Education Practice Award. He is currently undertaking a PhD in Language and Education with the University of the Western Cape, South Africa and will submit his thesis in November 2014. His research interests focus on heritage language, language practices and identity construction amongst Creole children in Catholic schools.

Marjorie Desveaux is an English teacher at Saint Esprit Rivière Noire Secondary School. She holds a Bachelor of Arts in English and French (UNISA, South Africa) and has completed a MA TESOL (Master in Teaching of English Language to Speakers of Other Languages) at Lancaster University , UK in 2009. She is currently undertaking a Professional Doctorate in Education (Ed.D) with the University of Brighton/ Mauritius Institute of Education . She has participated in several community projects related to Kreol literacy, art, drama, folk and songs. She has conducted the Focus Group Interviews for this study.

PREFACE

As President of Komite Diocese Premie Fevriye, it is a privilege to write the preface of this study conducted by Jimmy Harmon and Marjorie Desveaux on Kreol resilience. The idea of undertaking this study emerged, in early 2013, while discussing the organisation of the first Kreol convention in Mauritius. While I will endeavour to, firstly, mention in a gist, my humble thoughts on the richness of this research work, I will also point out how it contributes to the convention.

Having for background scene the struggle of slave descents, this study is valuable as it offers a kaleidoscope view of the Kreol situation in contemporary Mauritius. The peculiarity of this study is in the way it departs and reverses from the usual hitherto approach of considering the Kreols as a socio-economic predicament and on whom scholars and academics investigate, examine and analyse as laboratory objects. Instead here, the Kreol is considered from a positive perspective and this sets a new paradigm. The researchers' concern to set and consider themselves as equal to the subjects of this study, creates that proximity necessary to give an empathetic, yet objective, undertone to the process of accompanying the participants to tell their stories. Also, the researchers have themselves been through the same challenges as the participants of this study. However, this does not impair their objectivity when analysing, comparing and contrasting the results of this study.

Maybe a further probing could enlighten us to understand what can one achieve through resilience. What can be achieved from nothingness with resilience? Bringing a personal note to the findings of this study, I can indeed, say that with resilience one can achieve wonders out of nothingness. Throughout my years as a clergyman, I have witnessed many who wanted to succeed because their own parents were poor and had nothing. The impulse to succeed in life was ignited by the will to outgrow that state of nothingness, of unending poverty and of pernicious discrimination. Many parents have dedicated their life for the success of their children, helping them achieve heights which they could not reach for themselves.

This study will be presented at the opening of the first Kreol convention which will be held on the 27th October 2013. It will be followed by the results of a grass root work conducted by and with 23 groups of the Kreol community throughout the island, each reporting on this year's key theme: "Narrating one's journey towards achieving 'A' levels". The outcome of this convention is to derive a charter on education which will be distributed to Kreol families thereafter.

Putting all this together has been a long process of reflection and thoughtful work and it gives me immense joy to see the Kreol people coming together and putting their efforts to make a better tomorrow for the Kreol community. Each individual, apparently disconnected, is intricately interwoven to construct a more equitable and just society. Acknowledgements to Jimmy and Marjorie for undertaking this research work.

It is my hope that this convention marks a turning point in the history of slave descents. History will keep this study and convention in its memory.

Father Jean Maurice Labour.

Vicar General

15 October 2013

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Geographical Location and Demographics

The Republic of Mauritius lies in the southwest of the Indian Ocean. It comprises the main island of Mauritius and its dependencies are Rodrigues, Agalega, Saint Brandon and Chagos archipelagos as well as a number of outlying smaller islands. Mauritius, belonging to a group of islands called the Mascarenes, is of volcanic origin and has a surface area of 1865km². Mauritius has a population of 1.3 million inhabitants. A former Dutch (1638-1710), French (1710-1810) and British (1810-1968) colony, Mauritius achieved its independence in 1968. It became a Republic in 1992 and kept the Westminster system. Since the last May 2010 General Elections, Prime Minister Dr Navin Ramgoolam is leading the government with the Mauritius Labour Party coalition-led, *Alliance Pour L'Avenir* (Alliance for the Future). New elections are scheduled for 2015. The Leader of the Opposition is Mr Paul Berenger who leads the *Mouvement Militant Mauricien* (Movement Militant Mauritian) Opposition party.

In terms of languages, Mauritian Kreol is the main language spoken (more than 84%) with the presence of French (3.4% as home language) and English is used mainly in public administration. The education system has a 6+5+2 structure, i.e. six years of compulsory primary schooling from Standard I to Standard VI leading to the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE). This is followed by five years of secondary education from Form I to Form V leading to the Cambridge School Certificate and two years more of secondary ending with the Higher School Certificate (HSC). After the country became independent in 1968, education became one of the main preoccupations of the Mauritian Government to meet the new challenges awaiting the country. Considerable investment of resources, both human and material, has been put into the Education sector and impressive progress has been achieved in terms of free, universal, compulsory primary education, free textbooks, free secondary education and a fairly wide range of higher education courses with the expansion of tertiary education. Since 2005, education is compulsory up to age 16, with the introduction of 11-year schooling. English is the official medium of instruction for teaching of non-language subjects (ex. Maths, history, geography and sciences). But French or Mauritian Kreol are used mainly by teachers at all levels as support languages for class explanation. After a long struggle for its recognition, and intensified by claims from the Kreol identity affirmation movements during these past decades, Mauritian Kreol has finally been introduced as an optional language in 2011 at par with seven existing additional optional Asian / Oriental Languages.

1.2. Socio-Economic Indicators

Mauritius has been ranked first in the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) 2012 for the sixth consecutive year. The country has the longest life expectancy figures in Africa, and the 2009 Human Development Report declared the island to be one of only three African countries with 'High Human Development'. Despite this, however, certain sectors of society and especially the Creole ethnic group still suffer from discrimination, poverty and human rights infringements. Although incidences of poverty in Mauritius are rare compared with the rest of Africa, many members of the Creole population do still live below the poverty line (ACT SA, 2013). In its 2010 Country Report, the United Nations Economic and Social Council expressed its concern about the "high level of poverty among Mauritian Creoles which largely prevents the enjoyment of human rights by those affected" (CESCR, 2010: para.11). The ADEA Report (2004: 77) also observed that Creoles are disproportionately represented in the pool of lowest educational achievers and asked if there is a structural problem with the education system. Disaggregated data on religious belonging (Statistics Mauritius, 2012) lead us to estimate that the population comprises approximately 51% of people of Indian origins who are Hindus, Creoles (27%) who are mostly Roman Catholics and then the Muslims (17%), Chinese (3%) and the Whites (2%). So, Creoles represent the biggest minority group and encounter similar problems like other minorities, that is, in terms of limited access to resources, poor capacity to influence policy-making and decision taking (Edwards, 2009).

1.3. KDPF or 1st February Diocesan Committee

Set against this background, this paper is being presented at the First Kreol Convention on 27th October 2013 at the Auditorium Octave Wiehe, University of Mauritius. The Convention is organized by the Komite Diosezin Premie Fevriye (1st February Diocesan Committee, referred henceforth as KDPF) in the presence of Her Excellency Dr N. Nokwe, High Commissioner of the Republic of South Africa. KDPF Committee takes its name from the 1st February Celebration of the Abolition of Slavery. It comprises the Vicar General of the Diocese as President, one priest and seven lay members. In 1995, following requests from various Kreol organizations to hold special masses on the day of the Abolition of Slavery on 1st February of each year, the Catholic Church of Mauritius set up KDPF. This committee has become the focal point for mass celebration on the Abolition of Slavery Day. A theme is chosen with Kreol related issues such as maroonage and resistance on each mass to create awareness amongst the community and at times to draw attention of policy makers. For 1st February 2012, the theme 'Le Morne Barometer of Our Progress' was chosen to make the community realize that we can measure the general progress of the Kreols only if the slave descents of Le Morne have made progress. This committee gradually turned into a forum for research, publication and reflection and action on Kreol issues. On 28 October 2006, KDPF

took the initiative to mark the International Day for Kreol Language and Culture. This impacted national policies. The State followed suit and has been marking since then this international day by an International Kreol Festival in December of each year.

1.4. The Research Study Project

1.4.1. Key terms

In this study, resilience, dispossessed, narratives and storytelling are key terms need clarification to go through the study more comprehensively.

Resilience can be broadly described as the capacity of an individual to overcome in a remarkable way extreme situations of adversity.

The term '**dispossessed**' has been chosen instead of the usual term 'disadvantaged'. The researchers consider that the term 'disadvantaged' denotes rather in common parlance the idea of having not been favored by life circumstances (and especially the French word *désavantagé*) and thereby consolidating the blame which is usually laid upon the disadvantaged if their situation do not change even when assistance is provided to them. "Dispossessed" is borrowed from the Truth and Justice Commission Report (Volume II). Although the term is used in this report for dispossession of land and real estate, yet the researchers found it also appropriate to use this term to qualify the living conditions of these young Kreol adults who completed their secondary education. The term 'dispossessed' translates that the economic, social and cultural rights of an individual have been deprived.

Narratives are the life stories of an individual where we define who we are, who we were, what we may become in the future.

1.4.2. From Education to Resilience

As part of the process engaged in the preparation of the Convention, a study was conducted amongst eight young adult Kreols who live in the district of Black River, a region which is historically inhabited by slave descents. KDPF wanted to know how do Kreols who live in precarious conditions succeed to complete their education. KDPF wants to demonstrate that in spite of all, and even if they are seemingly a few, Kreols do make educational achievements. The project was to identify those Kreols who have succeeded in education and who are in an age bracket of 20-30 years old. They would be the role models in the Convention. Readings into international research literature on education and poverty (Grimaldi, 2012), social exclusion (Guyton, 2000; Raffo, 2009) and how marginalized groups ability to cope with adverse life conditions (Bruce, 2003; Brown, 2008) led us to discover the literature on resilience. This helped us to formulate our research question. Finally, we located our research in youth resilience. Thus, our **central research question is: how do dispossessed young Kreol adults develop resilience to complete their secondary education?**

In order to get a better idea of the Kreol resilience we targeted young Kreol adults who have at least completed secondary education up to HSC/ GCE level. We set this minimum requirement for two reasons. First, education is compulsory until 16 years old in Mauritius and second, a look at most vacancy adverts show that the Cambridge Higher School Certificate (HSC) or Advanced General Certificate (GCE A Level) is the minimum requirement. In 2012, some 10124 students sit for the HSC/ GCE examinations and 8050 passed, representing 79.9 % of pass candidates (MES Statistics, 2012). In fact, completion up to HSC is quite an uphill task if we take into consideration that entrance at secondary (Form I) stands at 18000 students approximately (MES Statistics, 2012) for every cohort. This means that only 4 out of 9 exit secondary education with HSC/ GCE A Level. At the same time completing secondary education gives access to tertiary education. The government has set the increase of Gross Tertiary Enrolment from 42% to 72 % by 2015 as national priority. Although we do not have disaggregated educational data on ethnic ground, yet successful completion of HSC/ GCE amongst Kreols is a basic and reliable indicator for us to measure resilience. At this juncture, it is important that we bring out the significance of this study.

1.4.3. Significance of the Study: Three main reasons

This study is significant for three main reasons. First, this study could not be timelier. It comes at a time when Kreol identity affirmation movement has intensified during these past decades since the statement of “malaise creole” in 1993 (the malaise creole will be dealt with in Section II). In terms of identity, Kreols no longer hesitate to define themselves as Kreols whereas it was a shame or a deep inhibited feeling to do so. An Equal Opportunity Act has been enacted first and followed by the setting up of an Equal Opportunity Tribunal following pressures from Kreol movements to combat discrimination. The tribunal has also been one of the recommendations of the Truth and Justice Commission report (2011) which the existing government has implemented. Kreol Morisien is now offered as a language subject at par with the existing optional Oriental Languages in primary schools since 2010. The struggle for the formal use of Kreol Morisien has been underpinned by strong Kreol identity claims. So, this study will try to measure how far has Kreol consciousness made its way amongst the Kreols.

Second, in spite of the progress made, yet poverty, marginalization and invisibility are still marked features of the Kreol community. The Equal Opportunity Act may hide the unequal power relations and be more a bane than a boon for the Kreols. The Mauritius Report 2011 for the Prefinal Africa Governance Report III on ‘Elections and the Management of Identity in Africa’ (StraConsult, 2011) goes in depth in explaining how ethnic, communal and casteist forces play a major role in politics. The Report quotes Rosabelle Boswell for her publication on *Le Malaise Creole – Ethnic Identity in Mauritius* (Berghan Books. 2006):

The various historical and political forces impacting identity in Mauritius have created a heterogeneous society where identity formation is situational. Mauritius is also a society with established social and political hierarchies, where white dominant group and the existing Hindu hegemony seek to entrench specific interpretation of culture and identity. Over time, these identities have informed access to and the allocation of resources. It has also created various overlapping social factions on the island, whose participants compete, network and create alliances in the bid to obtain meaning or to maintain a margin of authority or privilege in a complex society. (Boswell in the PrefinalAGR III, 2011: 14).

The situation is still the same and has become more complex and identity affirmation movement has created a natural reaction with the reinforcement of the 'network and alliances', erecting barriers to Kreols. It happens that claims for a better representation of Kreols in the civil service are very often met by open or tacit and implicit recriminations that Kreol do not have academic qualifications and that they do not invest enough in education. This recrimination takes at times a patronizing and moralizing discourse¹ towards the Kreols especially when it comes from non Kreols. So, this study brings in the open air voices from Kreols who state that Kreols do make effort and the effort is more so remarkable and laudable when we consider all the obstacles that they have to overcome.

Finally, Kreol resilience has not been researched until now. This study is the first of its kind. Reports and studies have always addressed Kreol issues from a deficit viewpoint. This study looks at Kreols as an added value and try to understand the persistent issues and the future of the Kreols.

1.5. Positioning as Engaged researchers of KDPF

We, authors of this paper, are both members of KDPF and conducted the study. We define ourselves **as engaged researchers** within the radical research school of thought (Schostak and Schostak, 2008). This means they assume their Kreol identity in their research work and argues that research can have a political dimension which suggests that there is a possibility of the overthrow of a previously stable or at least dominant order of knowing, thinking believing and acting. Radical or engaged researchers design, develop and write research to make a difference.

The next chapter gives key features of the Kreol Convention.

¹ On 7th September 2012 in the 6 a.m news on a private radio station (Radio 1), Minister Suren Dayal, Minister of Social Integration declares that “ nou pe fer sa pou zot...zot bizin fer zefor...” (we are doing that for you...you must make an effort). The Minister made this statement at an official ceremony handing keys of low cost houses to poor inhabitants of a region of Port Louis which is densely populated by Kreols. The morning press also report the Minister as saying ‘ nous ne tolérerons pas l’assistanant” which we can translate as “ we will not tolerate spoonfeeding” (Le Defi Quotidien, 7th September, 2012).

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST KREOL CONVENTION, EDITION 2013

2.1. Prophetic “Malaise Creole” statement: From an Individual Self to a Collective Self

This First Kreol Convention marks the twenty years (1993-2013) of the prophetic “malaise creole” (Creole uneasiness) statement. On 31st January 1993, Father Roger Cerveaux², a Kreol catholic priest, stated that the Church was turning a deaf ear to the calls of the Kreols for help while the latter were struggling with their numerous difficulties. Cerveaux’s statement was made during a talk delivered in a small fishermen community village in the north of Mauritius to mark the celebration of the Abolition of Slavery (1st February). At that time, 1st February was not yet a public holiday³. On the following day, the statement of Father Roger Cerveaux was immediately reported in the press under the caption “malaise creole” and hit the news headlines. This sent waves of shock first to the Church leading to severe dissensions in its clerical rank, especially between some Franco-mauritian (Whites) and Kreol priests. Some lay bourgeois catholic Kreol opinion leaders did also put up a strong opposition to the term ‘malaise creole’, asking if a priest could define himself as a Kreol while he should be looking after his flock as a catholic not as a Kreol. Faced with such a situation the newly appointed Bishop, Mgr Piat initiated several consultations at several levels (priests, nuns, lay, community levels, etc) which became a forum for deep reflection on the Kreol issue in the church and society at large. This led the new Bishop to write a Lent Letter on the Malaise Creole (1993).

The Letter brought for the first time in the open air fundamental issues like the underrepresentation of the Kreols in the civil service, their general precarious socio-economic conditions, cultural identity crisis and poor educational achievements in education amongst other issues. The Letter also addressed the demands of the Kreols to the church: a more dignified role and position for the Kreols in the church, a better access to catholic schools, a Kreol liturgy. As response to the calls of the Kreols, the Letter specified that the church should respond to the Kreols by being faithful to its mission of evangelization and that evangelization itself implies self-liberation. This liberation process would be through training, community projects, alleviation of poverty and education. After the February 1999 riots “malaise creole” provided a conceptual framework to academics (Miles, 1999; Bunwaree, 2004; Rosabelle, 2006;) and policy makers for a better understanding of persistent poverty and other forms of marginalization amongst Kreols.

Since then, the Church has implemented several measures in line with the call of Father Roger Cerveaux. She has participated in the translation of the New Testament in Mauritian Kreol, tried

² Roger Cerveaux passed away on 14th May 2013 at 64 years old. Apart from the malaise creole statement, his main contribution has been to introduce Negro Spiritual Songs in the liturgy.

³ Slavery was abolished on 1st February 1835. However, it will be on 1st February 2007 that the Abolition of Slavery Day will be declared a Public Holiday.

different forms of inculturated liturgy, adopted a preferential option for the poor in its admission criteria to its schools. Kreol movements, on their part, have pressurized for a Truth and Justice Commission, introduction of Mauritian Kreol in schools and other Kreol issues. For members of the Kreol community at large, “malaise creole” has been a prophetic statement which has helped to define, explain and structure the individual Self into a Collective self. Tajfel (1978 in Joseph: 2004) defined social identity as ‘that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership’. In some sense, the Convention is convened by the people and not by the organizers of the Convention. It is this collective self which has motivated the organizers to hold a convention and elaborate its rationale on the Truth and Justice Commission Report (2011).

2.2. Based Upon “the position of strength”

Following persistent requests of *Les Verts Fraternels*⁴(Green Party), the government asked the President of the Republic to establish a Truth and Justice Commission (TJC). In 2008, the Commission was set up by an Act of Parliament and whose objects were to make an assessment of the consequences of slavery and indentured labour during the colonial period up to the present. The Commission had to make recommendations to the President on measures to be taken following its assessment and its findings with a view to achieving social justice and national unity. The Commission was chaired by Dr Alex Boraine, a South African and former Deputy Chairperson to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission from 1996 to 1998. In the introduction to the report (2011), Boraine wrote:

The Mauritian Commission is unique in its focus. Mauritius is the only country in the world to have succeeded in establishing a Truth Commission relating to Slavery and Indenture. It is the only Commission which has investigated the history and consequences of Slavery and Indenture. There are many countries in Africa, such as Liberia, Senegal, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, who have never addressed the grotesque acts of forcing people into slavery. Certainly, those Arab countries which, hundreds of years ago, traded in slavery have never come to terms with that evil either. It is well known that the United States of America has never ever attempted to deal concretely with the consequences of slavery in that country. This is true also of the Caribbean. Hopefully, these countries, and many others, more especially Madagascar and Mozambique, will learn from the Mauritian experience. Mauritius has indeed set an example to the world. (TJC, 2011: Volume I, Introduction).

The TJC Report represents four volumes of 2700 pages with an additional volume (Volume 5) containing verbatim of interviews. More than 200 recommendations have been made. The government

⁴ This party is more commonly known as the Michel Brothers Party (Sylvio and Elie Michel). One of its former member, late Jean Claude Armance, tabled a motion in 2002 at the National Assembly for compensation to slave descents. This was made in the wake of the Durban World Conference on Racism which in its Resolution 56/ 266 declares slavery as a crime against humanity.

has set up a ministerial committee chaired by the Honourable Xavier Luc Duval, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, to look at the implementation of the report. Some recommendations have already been implemented such as the introduction of Mauritian Kreol in schools, the Equal Opportunity Act and some actions to alleviate poverty. KDPF as host organizer has built the rationale of the Convention on one specific recommendation which reads as follow: “To discard fragmented ineffective efforts and to build both political and economic strength from a position of strength, instead of thinking in terms of targeted victimisation and pawns” (TJC, 2011: Volume I). This “position of strength” is the originality of the conceptualization of this convention. To those disadvantaged and dispossessed, the Kreol Convention gives them the possibility to speak from a position of strength. Until now all reports (ADEA, 2006, Bunwaree 2004; ADEA, 2006; ADEA 2006; AGR III, 2011) and discourses depict Kreols from a victimization vantage point. The Convention is the reverse. It says that Kreols can progress in life. The slogan is: Kreol *Lite* (Struggle), Kreol *Kapav* (Kreol Can). This is illustrated through voice and narratives.

2.3. Kreol Voice and Narratives

We take the term voice from postcolonial theory which establishes intellectual spaces for subaltern people to speak for themselves and in their own voices. Subaltern studies (Devy, Davis and Chakravarty, 2011) provide valuable insights into the situation of the Kreols in Mauritius. Subaltern is defined as a social group which is socially, geographically and politically outside the hegemonic power of the hegemonic power structure. The Truth and Justice Commission Report (2011) corroborates the dispossessed and disadvantaged position of the Kreols. In terms of discrimination, TJC confirms that:

There is enough evidence collected in numerous surveys, including those conducted by the Commission, which show that Creoles are discriminated against and do not enjoy the same fruits of development to the same extent as others do. As several surveys undertaken by the Commission indicate, discrimination and racial stereotyping also persist. The work of Bunwaree (1997), Eriksen (2007) and Geetanjalee Gill (2010) also highlight this. (TJC, 2011: p.14)

With regard to job opportunities, the report mentions that:

Job opportunities in public service were mentioned as one area which should represent the multi-ethnic nature of Mauritian society. Participants indicated that Creoles were underrepresented in both private and public sector positions, and education was not seen as the only issue for their unemployment but also their skin colour and names. Interestingly, the waning political representation of Franco- Mauritians was also found to be an area of contention. However, such experiences of marginalisation in the political sphere is qualitatively different to that of Creoles, due to continued economic supremacy of Franco-Mauritians. (TJC, Vol.2: p. 50)

Young Kreol women especially of the African phenotype are the most to suffer racial prejudice. We still remember here how the Member of Parliament Aurore Perraud from the majority rank suffered a form of racism at an official function at the Auditorium Octave Wiehe and which hit the newspaper headlines in 2011. The TJC Report states that:

The Commission finds that black-skinned, young Creole, or slave descendant, women in Mauritius experience the worst form of racism. They are often the ones harassed and harangued. They receive the poorest levels of service. They are most discriminated against in public and Government spaces. They are the targets of racism from family members and in their marriages (from their in-laws). They find it difficult to obtain decently-paid work and are encouraged by a positive discourse on whiteness (the privileging of whiteness) to alter their appearance straighter hair and light skin) and language (from speaking to Kreol to French) so as to appear more white". (TJC, Vol. 3: 44)

About the locality of the Kreols, the Report writes:

The stigma associated with residence in majority Creole areas, such as cités, means that the Creoles and members of the working class are confined to, and expected to participate in, class and «race» specific leisure activities. Conversely, leisure activities in affluent areas have elite participants who, by association with such materials of mean gain positive stereotyping. (TJC, Vol. 1: 67)

Even in education, the report observes:

Self-deprecating views of Creole identity persist amongst contemporary youths, because of the invisibility of positive Creole representation in the school curriculum and in society. In other words, Creoles need more positive role models, not only drawn from Mauritian society, but also from among African diaspora people beyond Mauritius. (TJC, Vol. 1: 200).

Thus, the dice are loaded against the Kreols. However, it is interesting to note that the post colonial theories posit that subaltern position in society is not irreversible. The status quo can be challenged and the concept of agency comes in which refers to the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act. If we consider Karl Marx's famous words in 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte':

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living (Progress Publishers, 1969: 430)

Besides, the notion of hope from a Christian perspective defines hope not as a naive optimism but to act in patience and perseverance for a better world. Neither does it mean to fold our arms and wait. Contemporary theorists like Anthony Giddens have developed the theory of structuration. Central to Giddens' theory of structuration is the understanding that people's actions are shaped (in both

constraining and enabling ways) by the very social structures that those actions then serve to reinforce or reconfigure. And the practice theory helps us to act upon the structures. It is within this perspective that voice through narratives or story telling becomes self-liberating for the Kreols. This is the how the Kreols can act upon the dominant discourse which puts the blame upon the Kreols and which pervades our power structures. This dominant discourse has been internalised by the Kreols. The Kreol Convention aims at deconstructing this discourse of oppression. The Kreol Convention will focus on narratives of young Kreol adults who have succeeded in completing their secondary education and are currently pursuing higher education as an illustration of Kreol resilience. It has been observed that through narratives we define who we are. In fact, it is not the self that constructs the narrative but the narrative constructs the self. In the next section, we will examine the notion of resilience, studies and findings drawn from international literature.

CHAPTER III

CONCEPT OF RESILIENCE

& STUDIES IN AFRICAN AMERICAN RESILIENCE

3.1. The capacity to bounce back

Miller and MacIntosh (1999) make an interesting review of definitions given to the word 'resilience' by different researchers. They themselves define resilience as a situation where an individual displays "positive adaptation despite negative environmental influences" (p.159). Looking at other definitions, they refer to Rutter (1987) who defines resilience as the "positive pole". This means it is the capacity of an individual to put up a fight against adverse situations and stand firm like a "pole". "Unusually good adaptation" (Beardslee, 1989) and "positive psychological adjustment" (Smith & Prieor, 1995) are another definitions reported by Miller and MacIntosh (1999) which show that resilience translates something of a special behaviour and attitude. Finally, Miller and McIntosh (1999) consider that two definitions namely the ability to "thrive, mature, and increase competence" (Gordon, 1995: 239) and the ability to "bounce back, recover, or successfully adapt in the face of obstacles and adversity" (Zunz, Turner, & Norman, 1993, p. 170) appear to best encapsulate the various definitions in the resilience literature. For our study, we would say that resilience defined as the capacity to bounce back and recover would suit those young adult Kreols who have successfully completed their education. But in order to qualify a situation as resilience, a certain number of conditions or factors must prevail.

There exists a conceptual framework to identify a situation of resilience. It is grounded in the variable-oriented resilience model proposed by Masten (1994, 2001 in Utsey, Bolden, Lanier and Williams III, 2007). According to this model, resilience is defined as "good outcomes in spite of serious threats to adaptation or development" (Masten, 2001: 228 in Utsey, Bolden, Lanier and Williams III, 2007). Two conditions are necessary for identifying resilience: they are (a) the presence of a significant threat (e.g., poverty, parental history of mental illness) or exposure to severe adversity (e.g., death of a parent, victim of a violent crime) and (b) a determination that positive adaptation has occurred in the face of the adversity (Masten & Coatsworth, 1998). In the case of Kreols, high level of poverty, broken families and the internalization of negative self-fulfilling prophecies represent significant threat to their situation. Struggling to complete ones' education and at least up to secondary level is a sign of determination and positive adaptation. Education is the visible sign of achievement in society and the mark of remarkable progress in life. It is thus important here to distinguish resilience from adaptation. Resilience is superior or highly successful performance in a risk situation as compared to adaptation which is more of a passive and complacent attitude than being in a combative mood. Having said so, let us see what are the risk and protective factors in resilience.

3.2. Risk Factors & Protective Factors

Research (Luthar & Zigler, 1991 in Miller and McIntosh, 1999) has shown that although environmental disadvantage and stress can lead to behavioral and psychological difficulties among children, many children are able to overcome adverse influences. They even mature into well-adapted individuals (Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostolny, & Pardo, 1992; Luthar & Zigler, 1991; Safyer, 1994 in Miller and McIntosh, 1999). A population that is at particular risk of poor developmental outcomes is urban African American adolescents. However, not all African American adolescents fall prey to the negative influences in their environment. Instead, many transcend expectations, and their lives take positive trajectories. Miller and McIntosh put then the question: Why some and not others? It is when we look at the risk and protective factors that we may be able to answer this question. Resilience does not develop on its own. It results from a combination of risk and protective factors. Risk factors can be internal (e.g., physical or psychological impairment) and external (e.g., community violence) and it is considered that they increase the likelihood of psychopathology. Protective factors help the individual to counter the effects of risk factors. Protective factors are critical elements in the development of resilience. The protective factors fall into three categories: (i) individual characteristics, which depend on the idiosyncrasy and general personality traits (ii) supportive family and positive relationship with at least one parent or relative (iii) available and useful external community supports. For the purpose of our study we will examine African American resilience by using the lens of risk and protective factors.

3.3. Studies in African American Resilience

3.3.1. Support from a special person or benefits of the extended family

Much current research (Brown, 2008; Utsey, Bolden, Lanier and Williams III, 2007; Miller and McIntosh, 1999; Bruce, 1986) is dominated by studies in African American resilience. These studies provide us valuable insights for our own study. Brown (2008) states that results of her studies suggest that having the support of a special person is significantly associated with study participants' resiliency. This may indicate that receiving support from individuals who are not immediate family may have an essential role in African American resiliency. For many African Americans, there are various individuals outside of the nuclear family who may be part of their support system. African Americans often have role models or other adults in the community that they can turn to who are not related to them but who have possibly helped in their care as a child (Taylor et al., 2001 in Brown, 2008).

African Americans may also have a church family, which may consist of individuals who are special to them and who serve as role models and even healers of their emotional distress (Bagley & Carroll, 1998; Franklin et al., 2002 in Brown, 2008). Brown (2008: 36) states: "Having these additional sources of support in the community may be what separates the individuals who succeed from the

individuals who fall victim to their circumstance”. Also, studies have examined the benefits of the extended family on the wellbeing of African Americans as well (e.g., Taylor et al., 2001). The extended family can include parents, grandparents, cousins, nieces, and nephews. These individuals have a primary role in the African American family (Bagley & Carroll, 1998 in Brown, 2008).

Research has shown that extended family networks provide a variety of support ranging from instrumental and tangible aid to emotional support, advice, and information (Taylor et al., 2001). Dressler (1985 in Brown, 2008) examined the relationship between the extended family and mental health in a southern African American community. He found that men with more extended family support were less affected by stressful life events. This finding contradicts the argument that extended families are more of a handicap than progress to the individual. In Mauritius, a birth control campaign in 2011 known as ‘Small Family, Big Future’ (Ti Fami Gran lavenir’) targeted women in pockets of poverty as part of the strategy of the then Ministry of Social Integration. Pockets of poverty are mainly regions inhabited by Kreols as shown by the poverty map⁵ (Statistics Mauritius, This campaign was opposed by those who consider that the greatest resource of the poor are their children and so campaigning against ‘having too many children’ weaken the family as a structural support. The church is another support structure for the African Americans.

3.3.2. The Church, second only to the family

In many African American communities the churches are second only to the family as an important social institution (Taylor & Chatters, 1988). Historically, African American families have relied on their churches to contribute to the psycho educational development of their children and provide them with additional role models (Franklin, Boyd-Franklin, & Draper, 2002). The church serves as a place for “socialization, inspiration, communication, training, and healing” (Bagley & Carroll, 1998, p. 117 in Brown, 2008). The church helps to create bonds with individuals in the community. How far do the Kreols feel that they can rely on their church namely the Catholic Church? The Catholic Church has the biggest Kreol membership amongst the Christian denominations. Her social services like Caritas and parish social support structures do cater for the Kreols. The church is also the only and rare place which provides a space to Catholic lay Kreols to reflect, speak and act. Yet the bond of the Kreols with their Church may not be of the same nature as the African American communities to theirs. The history of the Church in Mauritius differs from that of the US. Christianity has given birth to black churches in the US. In the case of Africa and especially in Anglophone countries, the encounter of

⁵ A Poverty Map is a spatial representation of poverty indicators at disaggregated geographical regions. It gives an overview of the disparities that exist in poverty level within a country. The Bureau of Statistics Mauritius indicates that the poorest regions were mostly located in the eastern coast, the south west coast and in Port Louis (Poverty Map, Statistics Mauritius, 2013: para.3.4). These regions are mainly inhabited by Kreols.

Christianity during the colonial days with the local cultures have led to a nativised church and a deeply inculturated liturgy. But the evolution of the Catholic Church in Mauritius has not undergone the same process as the Black churches or the church in Africa.

The catholic church of Mauritius was officially established in 1721 by the French Lazarists Congregation following an agreement between the East India Company and the Catholic church in France. While there have been notable strides made in the recognition of the Kreol culture in the liturgy in the past decade⁶, yet the Church does not explicitly identify itself as Kreol. In an interview to *L'Express* newspaper (3rd November 2007), Father Jean Maurice Labour, Vicar General of the Diocese of Port Louis and also the President of the 1st February Diocesan Committee declared that the Church has remained in its structure and soul entirely a White French culturally dominant church as a result of the establishment of the Catholic Church in the days of the East India Company⁷.

In fact, the issue of Kreol identity is at the heart of the Catholic Church and is a very sensitive issue that the Church has to constantly handle. It seems that to give itself a leeway, the Church rather presents herself as the Church of all baptized people comprising different cultures while the French culture and world view remain visibly dominant. Alain Romaine, a Kreol priest himself, observes that for reasons linked to their training in France, Catholic priests (especially the 1970s and 1980s generations) have been alienated from the people and for instance, cannot understand the manifestation of popular devotion amongst the Kreols (Romaine, 2003:53; for an in-depth understanding of Creole Culture and Faith *see* Palmyre: 2007). Moreover, KTO which is a French catholic satellite TV channel is now watched by many Catholics and has received strong support and acclaim by the local catholic church in the catholic weekly, *La Vie Catholique* (5th October, 2013). The case of Christian African Americans is definitely different.

Drawing from Utsey, Bolden, Lanier, and Williams III (2007), we find that the worldview of African Americans is grounded in a strong spiritual/religious belief system, extended familial and fictive kinship bonds, a collective social orientation, and affective expressiveness. It seems that cultural beliefs, behaviours and practices of African Americans lead them to develop coping strategies that result in positive adaptive outcomes in situations of risk and adversity. These culture-specific coping strategies are conceptually linked to assets in Masten's (2001 in Miller and McIntosh, 1999) model of resilience which we found earlier.

3.3.3. Coping Strategies: cognitive and emotional, spiritual, ritual and collective

⁶ Some actions taken to inculturate the Church as from 2000 to date have been: the translation of Our Father (2006) and the Credo (2012) in Mauritian Kreol.

⁷ In fact, the Saint Patron of the Diocese of Port Louis is Saint Louis, the French monarch Louis IX (1227-1270). Each year a mass is celebrated in his honour on 25th August by the Bishop of Port Louis.

There are three categories of coping strategies namely (i) **cognitive and emotional coping** where with response to adversity, the individual evaluates (cognitive) the level of risk and adversity in an effort to regulate emotional response to the situation. (ii) **Spiritual coping** represents the degree to which beliefs about God or a higher power are used in managing adversity. For Barbarin (1993 in Utsey, Bolden, Lanier, and Williams III, 2007), spiritual coping enhances resilience by providing a basis for optimism and the ability to recover from adversity.

With regard to the church context in Mauritius, there have been since these last decades, some gendered evangelization projects⁸ which noticeably are impacting the Kreol world and help Kreols cope in adversity. (iii) Closely related to the spiritual dimension is the **ritual coping**. It represents an African American cultural practice where rites and rituals are used as a means of providing structure to spiritual expression (e.g., celebrating events, acknowledging the presence of ancestors). Ritual coping is conceptually linked to spiritual coping but differs in that the former is an active expression of the latter. These coping strategies are not exclusive to African Americans but represent common cultural framework shared by many persons of African descent. In the case of Mauritius, Kreols may have been robbed of this ritual coping as the history of slavery and its sequel has shown that Afro-Malagasy cults have been prohibited through the police and legal proceedings since 1843. For Joyce Fortuné-Pope (2011) who is a Kreol academic living in the US, “the practice of traditional religions in Mauritius is a legacy of slavery; it is a prime example of human resilience [...]” (p.2). But she observes that although at first Afro Malagasy cults predominate but Mauritian popular religion has subsequently been more diverse with influences of Catholicism, Islam, and even Bhudhism from Chinese lineage. And finally (iv) **collective coping** is a group centered strategy whereby individuals rely on their family and social networks for managing risk and adversity. Overall, research suggests that African American additional tool for coping is culture, identity and racial socialisation which can promote resiliency.

3.3.4. Culture, Identity and Racial socialisation

It has been noted that amongst African Americans cultural pride messages and messages related to teaching cultural history have been associated with improved academic achievement, racial identity development, cognitive outcomes, and socio emotional outcomes (Caughy et al., 2002 in Brown, 2009). These are elements which might explain resiliency in the Black community. Cultural pride messages forms part of the socialization process of the Blacks. This has been called racial socialization. Peters (1985 in Brown,2009), to better explain the concept of racial socialization, states that like all Black parents share the same tasks as all parents like raising one’s children and looking after their needs so that they blossom in life. But Black parents have an additional responsibility ‘for

⁸ ‘Gregoire Sessions’ are mass evangelization sessions by Father Jocelyn Gregoire which started by the end of the 1990s and since the last three years ‘Zezi Vre Zom’ (Jesus True God) and ‘Le regard de Jesus sur la femme mauricienne’ (Jesus’ Gaze on the Mauritian woman) are two gendered evangelization projects which attract mainly Kreols.

raising physically and emotionally healthy children who are Black in a society in which being Black has negative connotations” (Peters, 1985, p. 161 in Brown, 1999: 34). In other words, racial socialization is a set of behaviors, communications, and interactions between parents and children that address how African Americans ought to feel about their cultural heritage and how they should respond to the racial hostility or confusion in American society (Stevenson, Cameron, Herrero-Taylor, & Davis, 2002 in Brown, 2009). Through racial socialization families shape the beliefs and attitudes that suit the context. There is growing evidence that racial socialization has a positive impact on the development and psychological well-being of African Americans (e.g., Belgrave, Chase-Vaughn, Gray, Addison, & Cherry, 2000; Caughy, O’Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Coard & Sellers, 2005; Frabutt, Walker, & Mackinnon-Lewis, 2002; Stevenson et al., 2002 in Brown, 2009).

Results of the above studies indicated that mothers who provided their children with a moderate amount of racial socialization also demonstrated the most warmth and positive communication toward their children. As a result, the children of these mothers exhibited positive behavior. This aspect of resiliency is of great interest for the Kreols. As described earlier this Kreol convention is set against the process through which Kreols have gone through since the malaise creole statement in 1993 and its ensuing consequences. We will investigate in our research study how far there have been elements of cultural pride messages, identity and racial socialization amongst the eight young Kreol adults and which might explain their success in educational achievements. The next section looks at the research design of our study.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Identity and Positionality of the Researchers

When the organizing committee of the Kreol Convention decided that this study should be conducted, we had to clarify our position as researcher and member of the committee. We discussed about how we are going to present ourselves in this research enterprise and especially how to position ourselves. Questions were: in which research paradigm? What would be the ontological standpoint ? Should we distinguish being members of the committee, known in public as engaged Kreol militants and academics from the scientific study that we were supposed to conduct? It was difficult to imagine renouncing our engagement for the scientific garb or conduct the research from an ivory tower and make armchair politics. These questions were times of reflexivity for us. Reflexivity is defined as a 'turning back on oneself, a process of self-reference' (Davies, 2008: 4). Our concern here was not so much how to keep stand back and reflect on our research study so as not to be biased and that the results of the study are not artefacts of the researcher's presence. But, we wanted rather to know how to enter the field, how to negotiate our presence, how we position identities that we claim or are imposed on us by the participants in the field.

Drawing from the literature, we found that there is a growing body of literature across several disciplines which grapple with the questions that we were raising. They are issues relating to identity of the researcher, language, power and positionality. For Giampapa and Lamoureux (2011), for instance, it is about "the ways in which researchers enter the field and construct identities for themselves and the ways in which participants exercise power" (Giampapa and Lamoureux, 2011: 138). At the end, we negotiated our identity as researchers by locating our study in the Critical Emancipatory Research (CER). We found that it was more appropriate to couch our research in the CER theoretical framework as originally developed by Adorno, Habermas and the Frankfurt School in 1924. Mahlomaholo (2009) defines CER as follow:

CER preaches closeness between the researcher and the researched. The latter are not treated as if they were mere impersonal objects in a natural science laboratory. In CER they are treated and handled with respect and recognition of equality between them and the researcher. CER sees the researched as other human being(s), as equal subjects like the researcher. It sees the researcher as being tasked with the role of interpreting other people's interpretations and trying to make sense thereof. Research is seen as the most humanising experience and one from which the researcher must emerge more human, more humane, more cautious, more respecting and more open-minded to signals and messages coming from a very diverse list of sources (p.14).

CER is underpinned by critical theory which is characterized by an interpretive approach combined with an interest in critically disputing actual social realities. It is sometimes referred to as 'critical hermeneutics'. Its guiding principle is an emancipatory interest in knowledge. In this case, the aim of social science is to serve the emancipatory project, but without providing any given formulaic solution and without making critical interpretations from rigid frames of reference. The work of critical theory 'is open-ended and fallibilistic in ways quite distinct from the totalizing theoretical "systems" that filled the intellectual graveyard of Western thought' (Morrow, 1994: 267 in Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000). Critical theory maintains a dialectical view of society, claiming that social phenomena must always be viewed in their historical contexts. Realized patterns must be understood in terms of negation, on a basis of their own opposite and of the possibility of social conditions of a qualitatively different kind. Researchers located in CER paradigm and who drive their reflections from critical theory world view are commonly known as 'engaged researchers'. Thus, we define ourselves as engaged researchers and more precisely as Kreol academics participating actively in the Kreol identity affirmation movement in the Republic of Mauritius. At this stage, we are able to state the purpose of the study and its central research question.

4.2. A Case Study of Resilience

Doing case study research means identifying a topic that lends itself to in-depth analysis in a natural context using multiple sources of information. Once the stage has been set, we must determine what is known and not known about the topic to create an important research question.

4.2.1. Aim, Objectives and Research Question

The **aim** of this study is to investigate resilience amongst young Kreol adults. We argue that the best way to examine Kreol resilience is to study the capability of Kreols to complete at least their secondary education.

The **objective** to achieve this aim has been to uncover and capture the voice of young dispossessed Kreol adults who have completed their secondary education through narratives.

Our **central research question** is formulated as such: **how do dispossessed young Kreol adults develop resilience to complete secondary education?** This question looks at how these young Kreols have developed coping strategies in adversity to complete their secondary education. It is in search of an answer to this question that we have decided to identify ten participants for this study. Thus, this research is a typical **case study** of resilience of young Kreol adults.

4.2.2. Characteristics of the Case Study

For this section, we will refer extensively to the publication *Doing Case Study Research. A Practical Guide to Beginning Researchers* by Hancock and Algozzine (2006). This publication is very enlightening for our work.

a. Phenomenon under study : Resilience; Sampling: 8 Participants

In our case we focus on the phenomenon of resilience of young Kreol adults and especially when it relates to their educational achievements. We decided for the focus group interviews and more particularly to the narrative focus group interviews. Kvale and Brinkman (2009) describe focus group as follow:

A focus group interview usually consists of six to ten subjects led by a moderator (Chrzanowska, 2002). It is characterized by a non-directive style of interviewing, where the prime concern is to encourage a variety of viewpoints on the topic in focus for the group. The group moderator's task is to create an atmosphere for the expression of personal and conflicting viewpoints on the topics in focus. The aim of the focus group is not to reach consensus about, or solutions to, the issues discussed, but to bring forth different viewpoints on an issue. Focus group interviews are well suited for exploratory studies in a domain, since the lively collective interaction may bring forth more spontaneous expressive and emotional views than in individual, often more cognitive, interviews. In the case of sensitive taboo topics, the group interaction may facilitate expression of viewpoints usually not accessible. The group interaction, however, reduces the moderator's control of the course of an interview, and one price of the lively interaction may be interview transcripts that are somewhat chaotic. (p.150)

And as for narrative interviews Kvale and Brinkman (2009) describe that they 'center on the stories the subject tell, on the plots and structures of their accounts. The stories may come up spontaneously during the interview or be elicited by the interviewer'. (p.150). Our focus group interviews had more or less the same features as described by Kvale and Brinkman (2009).

In the light of our research question, we opted for a purposive sampling. We established three criteria namely for participants in the study. First, that participants must be young Kreols in the age bracket of 20-30 years old; second, they must have completed their secondary education and hold a GCE Advanced Level; third, they must reside in the District of Black River and preferably in the vicinity of Le Morne region. In terms of socio-economic background the nine of them came from low income families. The combination of these three criteria gives us the profile of the young dispossessed Kreol adults. Two members of the KDPF, who live in that region, contacted grass root movements and their leaders to identify the participants. Nine participants met the established criteria and they were selected as sampling. But one of them attended only the first pre-Focus Group Interview meeting and withdrew. Finally, we got eight participants.

Table 1 gives additional information on the participants. They are 2 males and 6 females. Amongst the males, 1 BSC holder and 1 HSC holder and they both work. For the females, there are 2 BSC holders, 2 HSC holders, 1 BSC student and 1 Teachers' Diploma student which make a total of 6 female participants.

SAMPLING	ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS		PROFESSION	
	2 Males	6 Females	2 Males	6 Females
A total of 8 Participants	1 HSC Holder 1 BSC Holder	2 B.Sc Honours 2 HSC / GCE A Level 1 BSC student 1 Teacher's Diploma student	1 BSC working 1 HSC working	1 BSC Honour unemployed 1 BSC Law and Management working as Kitchen Helper 1 HSC Employed 3 Studying but not working

Table 1.

b. The natural context : Maroon World Heritage ; Space: Le Morne and its vicinity ; Time: Three months

For Hancock and Algozzine (2006), usually, the phenomenon being researched is studied in its natural context, bounded by space and time. In terms of natural context, our research has been conducted amongst nine young adult Kreol who live in the region of Black River District and more precisely in the vicinity of Le Morne Village. This village is inhabited by a majority of people of slave descents. The research work was conducted with these eight young Kreol adults in the natural context of maroon world heritage. Le Morne Mountain which stands proudly and defiantly in this village is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, recognized as a symbol of maroonage and slaves' fight for freedom, their suffering, and their sacrifice, all of which have relevance beyond its geographical location, to the countries from which the slaves came – in particular the African mainland, Madagascar, India, and South-east Asia- and represented by the Creole people of Mauritius and their shared memories and oral traditions. As regard time, we locate our study, first at macrolevel, in the post-publication period of the Truth and Justice Commission (2011) and the twenty years which have elapsed since the malaise creole statement in 1993. At a microlevel, the study was conducted over a period of three months (July, August, September 2013) by using different research instruments and data collection.

c. **Research Instruments: Narratives through Focus Group Interview, Facebook posting, Reflective script**

Hancock and Algozzine (2006) states that:

[...] case study research is richly descriptive, because it is grounded in deep and varied sources of information. It employs quotes of key participants, anecdotes, prose composed from interviews, and other literary techniques to create mental images that bring to life the complexity of the many variables inherent in the phenomenon being studied". (p.16)

In fact, our study is based on the collection of **narratives**. Crossley (2000: 76) posits that through narrative we define who we are, who we were and who we may become in the future. McAdams corroborates this theory when he states that "... we do not 'discover' ourselves in narrative, rather, we make or create ourselves through narrative" (McAdams, 1993 : 13). In order to collect these narratives, we conducted focus group interviews.

The **focus group interview** presents benefits as well as limitations. Regarding its advantages, using the focus group saves time and money and researchers have the opportunity to observe a large amount of data on a given subject in a limited period of time based on the their ability to bring together and lead the focus group (Morgan, 1997). We had three sessions of focus group interview in the evening from 5.30 p.m to 9.00 p.m on three distinct days (one in July, two in August). The interviews were conducted at Saint Esprit Riviere Noire College which is situated in the Black River District and not far from Le Morne Mountain. The authors of this paper conducted the interviews. They took place in a classroom. Three members of the Kreol Convention Organising Committee (KCOC) were also present. As an icebreaking technique and to allow the nine young Kreol adults express themselves in their own language and their age, they were invited to post their comments, observations and appreciations on Facebook.

One participant volunteered to create a **Kreol Convention Facebook** page. On the third session, participants were invited to submit one A4 written **reflective paper** on the experience they lived in the three sessions. However, the inconvenience of focus group interview is generally that the level of self-disclosure which occurs and may be difficult or uncomfortable for participants and in some circumstances requires much effort, trust and courage (Krueger, 1994). Here ethical considerations are paramount.

4.3. **Ethical considerations**

The research complied with the Code of Ethics of the American Research Education Association. Participants were informed that they have the right to confidentiality, anonymity and withdrawal at any stage of the research. As researchers the two authors did their best to conduct the study in line

with the Singapore Statement on Research Integrity (2010). This statement was developed as part of the 2nd World Conference on Research Integrity, 21-24 July, in Singapore. It is a global guide to the responsible conduct of research. The Statement stipulates the following principles: *integrity* in all aspects of research, *accountability* in the conduct of research, *professional courtesy and fairness* in working with others and *good stewardship* of research on behalf of others. It is interesting to note that we were confronted with the request of the participants not to remain anonymous. They expressed the wish that they be known publicly if needed so that their narratives could inspire others. In line with their request we looked for the professional services of a stage director for storytelling.

4.4. Story Telling

Williams, Labonte and O'Brien (2003) state that the transformative power of storytelling is widely acclaimed. They say that therapists and social workers have written about its healing capacities with respect to individuals and families. Story telling has also the capacity to build community. Other writers (Shor and Freire, 1987; Razack, 1993 in William, labonte and O'Brien, 2003)) have concentrated their efforts on storytelling as a method for challenging dominant social structures or improving community work practice. The stage director acted as resource person and trained the eight participants how to make a qualitative presentation of their stories. Participants were exposed to basic theatrical technique to reach out with voice, action and engaging visual.

The combination of focus group interviews, posting on facebook, reflective script for the narratives of the young Kreol adults is underpinned by the Participatory Action research techniques. Participatory action research (PAR) was initiated and developed in Africa and South America in the 1970s by third world activists and academics. For Bozalek (2011), the participatory research paradigm emphasises social investigation, education, and action, with the ultimate goal of the improvement of the lives of those who are involved in the research process. Therefore, sessions of focus group interviews, posting on facebook, reflective scripts and storytelling give us an enriching data collection.

4.5.Data Collection

We give the stages of the data collection and how we proceeded for each data gathered from namely:
(a) Focus Group Interviews (b) Facebook (C) Reflective or Self-Introspection written script

Focus Group Interviews

We had three sessions with the nine participants.

Session N0.1: Pre-Interview Session

On the first session, we presented the rationale, objectives and expected outcome of the Kreol Convention. We explained how the research project forms part of the convention. We stated the research question. We also made a small exposé on the Critical Emancipatory Research Framework

and the engaged researcher. The researchers explained how they were also part of this research and involved personally. They stated that they wanted to know more about the Kreol community and invited the participants to join them in this research project as co-researchers. We then gave justification for their selection as research participants. Afterwards, we invited them to react. They said that they find the project interesting and that the focus group will help them to share and know each other (most of them did not know each other). Then, we told them that we will conduct the interview at our next session. Our main objective when conducting this interview is to collect their narratives on how they completed their secondary education. Thus, we gave an outline of the type of questions that we will put to them without revealing the exact formulation of each question so as to keep an element of naturalness and spontaneity when we will conduct the interview. Then, we informed them that we will meet in two weeks. In order to keep in touch, it was suggested that the group had a facebook page.

One participant volunteered to create the facebook page. We (both researchers and participants) were invited to post comments, remarks and appreciations before the second session. This already set the tone, a mutual contract and created a bond between the researchers and the participant. It was agreed that this facebook page will be accessed only by the co-researchers and not made public to keep the privacy of the comments. Guidelines were also given as regard the nature of comments to be posted on the page and the underpinning principles of our online comments. We forwarded to the participants the 'No Hate Speech Movement' brochure. This document has been published by the 'Young People Combating Hate Speech Online' which is a project being run by the Council of Europe's youth sector between 2012 and 2014. It aims to combat racism and discrimination in online expression of hate speech by equipping young people and youth organisations with the competences necessary to recognise and act against such human rights violations. Hate speech, as defined by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe, covers all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, antisemitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin. For the purpose of the campaign, other forms of discrimination and prejudice, such as antigypsyism, christianphobia, islamophobia, misogyny, sexism and discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity fall clearly within the scope of hate speech (www.nohatespeechmovement.org).

Notes of meeting were recorded and became our **first data**.

Seal's Lyrics 'People Get Ready' posted on Focus Group Kreol Convention Facebook page

On the following day, the Facebook page was created. It bears the name: Focus Group Kreol Convention. The researchers posted the lyrics 'People Get Ready' by Seal, famous British R& B and soul sing-song writer. This song invites people to get ready because:

The train is coming
You don't need no baggage, you just get on board
All you need is faith to hear the diesels humming
You don't need no ticket, you just thank the Lord...

This song kickstarted reactions on the page and prompted the participants to express their views on the Kreol community and its current situation. Some started to speak of their own situations and how faith plays an important role in their life.

These first comments on facebook were the **second data** that we collected.

Session N0.2: Group Interview

At our second meeting, we met in the same place and at the same time in the evening. We started the interview. The interview took place in a classroom. The participants were seated in a circular form. The two researchers put themselves in front of the circle. One was taking notes on her tablet and the other in a notebook. After a brief recapitulation of our last session, we went directly into the subject matter. We followed the four stages of an interview (Gilham, 2000) namely the introductory phase where we made a brief recapitulation of the last session, noted the creation of the facebook page and stating the objective of the second session; the opening development of the interview where participants were informed about three areas will be developed in the interview (how did I do succeed in my education, what are the factors which helped me, who are the people who helped me) ; the central core of the interview where we wanted to know how did the participants cope with the adverse situation and what helped them to do so and ; bringing the interview to a close, both socially and in terms of content. Before we started the interview we felt that the participants had some apprehensions and some expressed some fears about how their narratives could be important. With regard to experience in ethnographic interviews, Spradley (1999) observes the following:

Building rapport is a complex process, one that every ethnographer must monitor when doing fieldwork. In conducting ethnographic interviews, this process is facilitated by following certain principles; keep informants talking; make repeated explanations; restate what informants say; and don't ask questions for meaning, ask for use. When combined with asking ethnographic questions, rapport will usually develop in a smooth way from apprehension through cooperation and even into the stage of participation. (Spradley, 1979: 63)

We let them put all their questions and we answered to all them with all sincerity, guided by the code of ethics of the researcher which we referred to earlier. The interview had three rounds namely participants were asked to name three things which helped them (1st round), each participant was invited to give his/ her reactions, comments, observations or remarks on what he/ she said or on what the others said (2nd round) and participants were invited to write on this whole exercise through a self-introspection exercise at home (3rd round). They were informed that some questions will be posted

online and they asked to take into consideration these questions when writing their script. No word limit was given about the length of the script. We explained that this exercise would help them get a better understanding about their ideas, and experiences and especially about others. The researchers informed the participants that they also were going to keep a journal.

The interview was the **third data** that was collected.

Session 3: Post-Interview

This session looked at how the narratives of the participants could be presented at the Convention. We explained that there will be a paper presentation about the study and its findings but we also want to have the voices of the participants be expressed and heard at the convention. This created a discussion and the participants brainstormed about the different ways their stories could be presented. The meeting ended with the suggestion of contacting one resource person in drama / story telling on stage. Some participants brought their self-reflective piece of writing.

Reflective Scripts

Six participants out of eight submitted their scripts. The participants were invited to reflect on four questions namely, first, 'what did this cause to me when I reflected on my own story? What did I feel - for myself, for others?' (Question N0.1); second, 'what did this cause to me when I came to share my story?' (Question N0.2); third, 'what did this cause to me when I heard of the stories of others? 'Is there a job which I wanted to do or a subject which I wanted to study which has helped me to progress'. Answers to four questions provide us an enriching data on the focus group interview. The data represents self-introspection and reflective writing. The Oxford English Dictionary (2012) defines reflective practice as the action or process of thinking carefully or deeply about a particular subject, typically involving influence from one's past life and experiences. This exercise helps us to make the link between the experiences of the participants and the theories about resilience.

The reflective scripts are the **fourth data**.

Of a similar nature are the postings on Facebook

Kreol Convention Focus Group Facebook

Postings on Facebook were made over a period of three months. They represent twenty three exchanges. They represent the **fifth data**. Two additional data have been collected

Minutes of Forum Theatre sessions

The nine participants participated in four training sessions in drama techniques, stage play and how to present their stories. The resource person made a report for each session. We have report for three sessions. This represents our sixth data.

Report from Teacher Group Narratives

The Focus Group Interview has been the core group of the research study of the Kreol Convention project. There were also other groups which reflected on education and their narratives were collected. We got a report from a group of six Kreol teachers who met and reflected on their educational achievements. The report was sent to us by the moderator of this group. These teachers work in schools situated in the southwest coast of the island and most of them live in this region. They come from families of modest origins and are more or less similar in terms or profile with the participants in the Focus Group Interview. We will use their narratives. So, this report is our **seventh data**.

Hence, we have seven types of data which have been collected on the case study of resilience amongst young Kreol adults. These data reveal how they have coped in adversity to complete their education

Table.2 presents the data collected for the period July to September 2013.

DATA NO.	DESCRIPTION OF DATA	SOURCE
1.	Notes of meeting 16 th July 2013 Pre-Interview session	Focus Group Interview
2.	Facebook posting (1 st series of posting) Comments on Seal's Lyrics 'People Get Ready'	Focus Group Kreol Convention Facebook
3.	Notes / Transcript of Group Interview on 30 th July	Focus Group Interview
4.	Six scripts Reflective writing of 6 participants (out of nine)	Focus Group
5.	Facebook comments from 17 th July to 18 th September 2013	Facebook
6.	Notes on of meeting 'Drama Technique sessions' Three notes taken on three sessions	Resource Person
7.	Report on Teachers' Group narratives	Teachers' Group Conventionists

Table. 2

4.6.Data Processing and Analysis

4.6.1. Verifying validity and richness

In presence of the seven data, we first examined if the data collected add meaning to our research study. We found that their different sources and types of data they represent help us to investigate our

central research question, the aim and objectives of the study. Second, we formulated some questions to verify if the data could provide us valuable information on what we are researching. Then, we came with the treating of the data.

4.6.2. Categorising the data

We organized the data in terms of hierarchy of information: we considered data N0.3 (Focus Group Interview) and N0.4 as the main and core data. They were compared and contrasted. Data N0.2 (Facebook pre-Focus Group Interview) & N0.5 (Facebook post-Focus Group Interview) were lumped together and compared and contrasted. Data N0.1 (Notes of meeting / pre-Focus Group Interview) and N0.6 (Story Telling Sessions) stand on their own but related to others. Data N0.7 (Report of Teacher's Focus Group) were used to compare and contrast Data N0.3 and N0.4.

4.6.3. Coding of data

For the Focus Group Interview and the Reflective Script we have organized the data by question to look across the participants answers in order to identify consistencies and differences. We categorize information gathered with the data and then we identify themes and patterns in terms of ideas expressed, concepts, terminologies and phrases used. In our analysis we refer to the participants' voices. For the participants we used the following coding as shown in Table.3. Fictitious names have been given to the participants.

S/N	DATA	DATA CODING	PARTICIPANTS	PARTICIPANTS' CODING
1.	Focus Group Interview	FGI	Azania / Kate / Myriam Ola / Rachel / Steve /Violeta / Walter	E.g . Azania FGI / Kate FGI Myrian FGI / OlaFGI
2.	Reflective Script Question N0.1 Question N0.2 Question No.3 Question N0.4	RS Ques. 1 RS Ques. 2 RS Ques.3 RS Ques. 4	Azania / Kate / Myriam Ola / Rachel / Steve Violeta Walter	For e.g., Azania RS Ques.1 / Azania RS Ques.2 / Azania RS Ques.3 / Azania RS Ques.4
3.	Teachers' Group Report	TGR		TGR
4.	Facebook Kreol Convention	FKC		FKC
5.	Story Telling Sessions	STS		STC

Table. 3.

Coding of participants and data

4.7.Limits of the study

This study covers a period of three months with a total of three face to face meetings (four hours each) which makes a total of 12hrs contact hours. The issue under investigation needs more time and presence in the field. Surely, this is its main lacuna and it may have missed some elements which limit the understanding of the cultural milieu. We have mitigated this risk by making the TJC Report (2011) our main text of referencing for the people of Le Morne. The report gives abundant information about this milieu.

A further limitation is that conducting research with eight participants on how they completed their secondary education does not give an exact indication of the real situation of all Kreols in the country as far as completion of secondary education is concerned. Achievements, overcoming obstacles and being resilient in life depend on both individual variables and systemic factors. But, we overcome somehow these limits because the findings of our case study help us to read the 'big thing' through the 'small things'. In fact, we look at the whole range of context: both macro and micro levels. In the next section, we will look at the early findings and we discuss them in the light of the literature that we presented earlier.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

As a reminder, our central research question is: **how do dispossessed young Kreol adults develop resilience to complete their secondary education?** We examine the narratives of nine young Kreol adults of the Kreol minority group in Mauritius who have successfully completed secondary education.

In this section, first, we reproduce verbatim how each participant presented herself/ himself so that we can better understand, appreciate and know who is the persons behind each narrative are. We have given a fictitious name to each.

Second, we proceed with the findings for the Focus Group Interview. Our objective was to know what factors helped them to complete their secondary education.

5.1. The Person Behind Each Narrative

1. My name is **Azania**. I live in Baie du Cap. I am a Part Time student running for a B.A (Hons) in Law and Management (University of Mauritius). I work as kitchen helper in a hotel. I live with my mum and my dad died eight years ago. I have three brothers and am the only daughter for my family as my sister died when she was only 11 months. My mum works as maid at Riviere Noire, my brothers as mason as well as my dad when he was alive.

2. My name is **Violeta**. I live at Cité EDC, Le Morne. I am a full time student in Year 2 BSC Psychology with Counselling Skills (Middlesex University Campus, Mauritius). My mother is housewife and my father undertakes several small jobs. For the time being, my dad is working in a small shop. I have two sisters and one elder brother.

3. My name is **Steve**. I live in Case Noyale. I hold a HSC / GCE ALevel and I hold a Diploma in Hospitality Management. I am unemployed. My father works in a coffee field factory at Chamarel. My mum works in a kindergarten. I have a sister who is studying in her first year of HSC/ GCE A Level.

4. My name is **Rachel**. I live in Case Noyale. I am doing a Teachers' Diploma primary education. I am in my second year. My father is a fisherman. Mum is a maid. I have one older brother and sister, four younger sisters. We are seven in all.

5. My name is **Ola**. I live in La Gaulette. My father works at Paradis Hotel as a cook and my mother is a pre-primary teacher. I have one sister aged 14. I am a HSC holder. I am unemployed.

6. My name is **Walter**. I live in Le Morne Village. I am married with one child. I hold a BSC (Hons) in Heritage Studies (University of Mauritius). I am site manager of Le Morne Heritage Trust Fund. My father is a bus mechanic. My mother (now passed away) was housewife. They got divorced when I was in secondary. I stayed with my mum. She got remarried. I have one brother and one sister and two step brothers.

7. My name is **Kate**. I live in Baie du Cap. I hold a BSC (Hons) Marketing Management. I am unemployed. I have a brother. My mother does not work and my father is a lorry driver.

8. My name is **Myriam**. I live in Petite Riviere Noire. I am a HSC holder. I work as an Insurance advisor for a big renowned insurance company. My dad works as metal bend-tender and my mum is housewife. I have a little sister.

As we noted in the section describing the sampling, the participants come all from low socio-economic group. We now consider the findings in the coming paragraphs.

5.2. Determining factors

During the Focus Group Interview (FGI), participants were asked to state three things which they would rank as most important factors which have helped them to complete their secondary education. Below are the findings and our observations. The direct statements of the participants are put between inverted commas followed by a coding. For example, Violeta (FGI) which stands for Violeta in Focus Group Interview or Violeta (RS) , Violeta Research Script and for the Teachers' Group Report we use the acronym TGR.

Finding N0.1: The Mother & Father Pillars

For Azania, it is her mother's regular maxim 'one day I will pay you back what you give me' (Azania, FGI) has been like a leitmotiv. In the same way, Walter remembers his mother telling him that 'if you don't study, you will end up in the sugar cane fields' (Walter, FGI). For Violeta, it is her mothers' words on education which have encouraged her to complete her studies. We saw in the literature review how studies in African-American resilience indicate how the extended family brings benefits (Taylor et al., 2001) and Dressler (1985, in Brown, 2008). In the Mauritian case, it is not so much the

type of family but it is the role played by the father and the mother which has been a determining factor for perseverance. The words of encouragement, support and sustained effort have helped some of the participants to cope with their situation. This has been a positive encouragement. We note also a difference between mother-child and father-child relationship in terms of conversations that are usually exchanged.

Studies like Collins and Russell (1991 in Kosterman, Haggerty, Spoth and Redmond 2004) show that generally, interactions with mothers tend to be more frequent, more directive, and simultaneously more contentious and intimate, whereas interactions with fathers tend to involve more recreation and problem solving, and to be more goal oriented. Additional studies (Power and Shanks, 1989) found that mothers reported more emphasis on teaching interpersonal behaviors (e.g., manners, politeness) to their children, whereas fathers emphasized instrumental behaviors such as independence and assertiveness. The Teachers Group Report (TGR) used as support data in our study also confirms about the parental support. The young teachers referring to their own life story states: “Fundamental values laying emphasis on education which have been transmitted by parents have created awareness amongst us about the importance of education”. Help from a special person has also encouraged the young Kreol adults to complete their secondary education. It is almost axiomatic that a traditional family structure is important for children's attainment. With two parents, children will learn about the structure of authority relations and about how to successfully interact with authority figures (Nock, 1998 in Timothy, Biblarz and Gottainer, 2004) When that structure is removed, parent-child relations can become more peerlike and children will not learn how to deal with power holders. The case of Walter confirms how the two parents model is important even if in his case his parents got divorced and his mother remarried. But both his mother and father looked after his studies and “I got the encouragement of my parents though they were divorced” (Walter, FGI and Walter, RS).

Finding N0.2: A Special Person makes the difference but not CSR

For Ola, it was an aunt which has been of a special support to her and she helped her to remain focused on her studies (Ola, FGI). In the case of Kate, it was a teacher in primary education who helped her. She narrates: “a teacher at Standard IV-V-VI encouraged me a lot. He gave me free private tuition.” (Kate, FGI). Kate has been well supported by three special persons when she was in secondary education. Norbert Benoit⁹ (a Kreol historian and highly involved in the Kreol consciousness movement when he was alive) sponsored her and looked for a family to house her. Kate's family was illegally occupying a State land. When she was studying at GCE Ordinary Level, her father got in prison. Three months after, it was his mother who got into jail after her father was released (Kate did not explain to us why her father and mother went in prison). While her mother was in prison, she had to look after her little sister. She abandoned school after her GCE O Level. But

⁹ Dr Norbert Benoit (1939-2010) was a member of the UNESCO scientific committee of The Slave Trade Route project.

afterwards, she went back to school with her little sister hunched on her back. Then, a nun took care of her little sister so that she could set herself to her studies. In fact, Kate's story shows how a support network developed and these people who helped her are special persons to her. She is very grateful and she concludes: 'I did everything I could for my parents and the people who helped me'. (Kate, FGI). Rachel was also in a similar situation. Her baby was three months when she was studying in HSC / GCE O'Level. Fortunately, a White Catholic Priest helped her by paying her examination fees. She is now enrolled in a Teacher's Diploma course. But being helped may not necessarily create a good feeling. This was the case for Violeta.

People think that getting a sponsor is easy, but I know what trouble I went through, especially for somebody who is proud like me, asking for something is difficult. In addition, sponsors put a lot of pressure on me. I was once insulted, getting back home with all my tears running down my face. I have the impression that I owe them and this is such a weight on my heart. A weight which will remain until the end of my life. Unless I reimburse them (Violeta, FGI)

Violeta is referring here to the financial help she gets from a company through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) policy. CSR is very much in vogue in recent times in Mauritius. There are many 'Call for projects' to combat poverty and especially related to education. In 2011, a report written by Tae-Hee Jo who is Assistant Professor of Economics at the Buffalo State University, New York is highly critical of CSR. He observes that it has been widely received by socially concerned people in business, academia, and NGOs that CSR would lend support to the improvement in social welfare and the protection of environment. However, the question that whether corporations are socially responsible or corporations should behave responsibly is beside the point from the heterodox economic perspective. Heterodox economics refers to economic theories and communities of economists that are in various ways an alternative to mainstream economics. For heterodox economists, the proper question to pose is how corporations manipulate the social by means of CSR. Drawing upon the heterodox theory of the business enterprise along with the social provisioning perspective, Tae-Hee Jo argues:

The business corporation has always acted in a socially responsible manner by generating ethical-political-cultural values, norms, and beliefs that legitimize whatever the business corporation does is socially responsible. In this respect, CSR is a market-based means to control the social provisioning process by way of creating an illusionary image of corporations and, thereby, hiding the ruthless acquisitive drive and the exploitation of human beings and nature. (Tae-Hee Jo, 2011: 2)

The remarks of Tae-Hee Jo may be applicable to Violeta's case. But young adult Kreols like Violeta do not rely only on human beings they fortunately develop what we called in our literature review spiritual coping strategies.

Finding N0.3: The Power of Faith

Faith is another key factor which has allowed the young Kreols to complete their secondary education. Walter states that he has faith in Virgin Mary and has devotion to Our Lady of Great Power (Walter, FGI). Our Lady of Great Power is little known amongst Catholics of Anglophone countries. It is a cult tradition which comes from devotion of the Ursulines nuns in the region of Perigueux in France, dating back to the 17th century. This devotion has been transposed to Mauritius when the country was a French colony and the establishment of the Catholic Church in the 18th century. Our Lady of Great Power is a popular cult and devotion, present amongst the poor, marginalized and dispossessed. For Azania, looking back at her achievements she considers that we have to put God first. In the Reflective Script, she writes:

All these would never have happened if God was not put first, this was something said by everybody, we Kreols our 'backing' is Christ even if the road seems difficult but we are sure we will reach our destination [...]. Some stories make me sad but God is the One who sees black ants on black rocks in the dark night (Azania, RS)

Drawing from the Catholic Church literature, we understand that faith is not a personal thing. It rather takes a personal aspect depending on the experience of the person with God. In his Encyclical Letter *Lumen Fidei* (2013), new Pope Francis writes:

God is not the god of a particular place, or a deity linked to specific sacred time, but the God of a person, the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, capable of interacting with man and establishing a covenant with him. Faith is our response to a word which engages us personally, to a "Thou" who calls (Lumen Fidei, Chapter 1, para. 8).

Faith is closely linked to hope. Hope in the Christian sense of the word is to believe in the impossible. It is to refuse that existing conditions cannot be changed. Saint Augustine of Hippo (354-430), early Christian theologian and whose writings are considered to have been influential in the development of Western Christianity and Western philosophy is known for the famous quote: 'faith has two daughters: their names are Anger and Courage. Anger at the way things are and, Courage is to see that they do not remain as they are'. In the heydays of the Kreol identity affirmation movement, the author of this paper developed the concept of "Kreol Hope" (Harmon, 2008) which is the encounter of the struggle of the Kreols with the Christian faith. It is this Kreol Hope which brings change and makes things happen. Thus, Azania says 'we are sure we will reach our destination' (Azania, RS). It seems that the strength of the Kreols to keep on going is an awareness about their identity and the position they occupy in society.

Finding N0.4: Self-assumed Kreol Identity

Violeta (FGI) tells us that she was the only Kreol in her HSC class. She realized her position of minority not only as an ethnic group at national level but in this situation it was the realization that Kreols were inexistent in HSC classes. Myriam told us 'I met with racism at school amongst the pupils and my religious education (RE) class helped me to cope as well as some friends of RE (Rachel, FGI). Similarly, Walter remembers that 'there was also competition amongst the youth of other religions. Very few Kreols were having success in their education. I took this as a challenge to succeed in education. This strong desire to succeed boosted me to work harder' (Walter, RS). We can see that these young Kreol adults went through what we called as racial socialisation in our literature review. The adverse situations made them realise their social and cultural identities. They had to go through the process of knowing who they are and how society view them. It becomes then a self-assumed Kreol identity, It is interesting to note that being aware of their adverse situation made them persevere while they could have found it useless to fight. But they did not give up. In her reflective script when asked what this did to her when she listened to the stories of the other participants, Azania writes:

They did not give up, like me, each one has his / her motivation but we have only one aim, this is to build one's future, make us respected and that we have our dignity as Mauritian citizen, we have the right for recognition of our capacities, we want to bring our contribution (Azania, RS Ques.3)

Azania's script tells how Kreols have to draw on their personal energies to confront an adverse reality. This demonstrates that resilience is concerned with the self.

Finding N0.5: Management of the Self

Rachel tells us how motivation and, defiantly confronting others helped her to progress in her studies:

My environment prompts me to move forward. I always wanted to stand out [...]. I had ambition. God always blessed me. I wanted to show them of what mettle am I made. (Rachel, FGI)

Michele Lamont, social scientist and co-director of the Candian Institute for Advanced Studies, refers to the idea of 'management of the self' (Duvoux, Tenret, Vezinat, 2013) which she and her colleagues developed in a research project in the 'Successful Stories project'. This research study was interested into how working class and middle class African-Americans living in New Jersey responded to stigma. The use of the term 'management of the self' is based on accounts by respondents of 'how they negotiate the stigma, what they do to avoid conforming stereotypes about the angry blacks, but also how they decide to spend their energy when it is worth challenging' (Lamont, 2013 in Duvoux, Tenret, Vezinat, 2013 : 2). A parallel can be drawn here with the story of Rachel where she had to surpass herself and proved who she is to others. We can see the same trend in the story of Azania (RS) where she gives an account of how she met with racism when she announced to one of her own

colleagues at the hotel where she works that she has secured admission to the University of Mauritius. Azania narrates the following:

She said to me “how come that **you** (*voice tone is stressed here*) get access to university? “ I said to her: “Why ? Is it because I’m a Kreol that I have no right to study there?” Her reply was more shocking: “ It’s just that I know people who have better qualifications who do not succeed to secure a seat at the university of Mauritius”. (Azania, RS)

Azania manages this statement by replying in a really dignified and great way. She replied: ‘You know, when in God we trust, His action ultimately triumphs!’ (Azania, RS).

Hence, these five findings lead us to look at their implications.

CHAPTER VI

IMPLICATIONS

For this section, we will discuss the implications of the findings and our observations. Our discussion will be developed in three inter-related stages. First, we will use Amartya Sen's framework for the study of inequality by critically applying his lens-capability, autonomy and agency to the Kreols and the Mauritian context at large. Second, we will use the lens of Pierre Bourdieu by bringing in our discussion the concept of habitus and cultural capital. Finally, as engaged researchers we discuss of the necessity for the renewal of a Kreol intelligentsia who acts as the yeast of the community and helps construct a Mauritian national identity.

6.1. Capability, Autonomy and Agency of Kreols

6.1.1. Equality of Capabilities rather than Equality of Opportunities

In 2011, Father Filip Fanchette¹⁰, an influential Kreol opinion leader and currently President of the Nelson Mandela Centre, gave his opinion in a press interview on the educational achievements of Kreols in education. When asked by the journalist if he considers there is growing self-awareness amongst Kreols' parents about the importance of education, he makes the following remark:

Self-awareness is there for the great majority of Kreols. It's a myth to say that "Kreol parents do not have self-awareness". But, what is missing, it's the means and access to good schools. They do not have this *freedom to choose* which Amartya Sen speaks about. [...] One of the worst moments when I was parish priest at Roche Bois¹¹, it was when parents came to beg for a good school either primary or secondary. (Mauritius Times, 4th February 2011)¹².

In the same interview, Father Fanchette asks how come that the same Kreol children of Roche Bois who when she/ he attends the Roman Catholic Primary School (De La Salle Roman Catholic School) in the City Town would do better in terms of educational achievements. Kreol children of Roche Bois who study at De La Salle score above 70% pass whereas the government school Emmanuel Anquetil

¹⁰ Father Filip Fanchette, 76 years old, has been working for more than twenty years with international organizations whose philosophy he defines can be summed up as : An Alternative world is possible! He was Director of Office Adult Education with the World Council of Churches. He has been closely associated since 1976 with the Training For Transformation Grail Centre, Kleinmond, Cape Town and the School of Governance (UWC). He stills conducts training at the centre.

¹¹ Roche Bois is a poor suburb of the capital city town of Port Louis. It is inhabited by a majority of Kreols. During the February 1999 riots which broke following the death of a famous rasta singer named Kaya in police cell, Roche Bois became the seat of fierce confrontation with the police.

¹² French original version : La prise de conscience est là pour la grande majorité des Créoles. C'est un mythe de dire que « les parents créoles n'en ont pas conscience ». Mais, ce qui manque, ce sont les moyens et l'accès aux bonnes écoles. Ils n'ont pas cette *freedom to choose* dont parle Amartya Sen. Entre autres, celui d'inventer leur domiciliation dans un 'catchment area' autre que le leur. Un de mes pires moments quand j'étais responsable de Roche Bois, c'était quand les parents venaient me supplier pour avoir une bonne école soit primaire ou secondaire pour leurs enfants. (Filip Fanchette, Mauritius Times, 4th February, 2011)

which is found in Roche Bois hardly makes a 25% pass performance. In fact, Father Fanchette's reference to Amartya Sen is pertinent and he rightly put the Kreol's situation within the broad inequality issue in society in this interview. In 2010, *Time* magazine included Amartya Sen in their list of '100 most influential persons in the world'.

Amartya Kumar Sen, (born 3 November 1933) is an Indian economist and the winner of the 1998 Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel. He has made contributions to welfare economics, economic and social justice, economic theories of famines, and indexes of the measure of well-being of citizens of developing countries. The Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) and Ramji Ambedkar¹³(1891-1956), jurist, politician and father of the Indian constitution have been amongst the key persons who have inspired and influenced Amartya Sen. He was awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1998. In 1999, he was awarded with Bharat Ratna, the highest civilian award in India by the President of India. He is currently Professor of Economics and Philosophy at Harvard University. His two publications, *Inequality re-examined* (1995) and *The Idea of Justice* (2009) have greatly influenced international organizations and governments. Sen developed a major concept known as the capability approach which provides a framework for the study of inequality.

This framework draws attention to how the freedom to lead a life of one's choosing is a function of both the distribution of primary goods and the factors of individual circumstance that determine how goods are converted into valued 'capabilities' (Allen, 2012). Sen defines the capability approach as such:

The capability approach focuses on human life, and not just on some detached objects of convenience, such as incomes or commodities that a person may possess, which are often taken, especially in economic analysis, to be the main criteria of human success. Indeed, it proposes a serious departure from concentrating on the *means* of living to the *actual opportunities* of living. (Sen, 1995: 233).

Within the capability approach the freedom of the individual is essential and central to the development process. In the case of Mauritius, does the Equal Opportunity Act and possibility to have recourse to the Equal Opportunity Tribunal bring greater opportunities to the Kreols? Do the poor, the

¹³ Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (14 April 1891 – 6 December 1956), popularly also known as *Babasaheb*, was an Indian jurist, politician, philosopher, anthropologist, historian and economist. As independent India's first law minister, he was principal architect of the Constitution of India. Barack Obama referred to Dr. Ambedkar as a founding father of modern India during his address speech in Indian Parliament. Born into a poor Mahar Dalit (untouchables) family, Ambedkar campaigned against social discrimination and especially the Hindu caste system. He converted to Buddhism. Overcoming numerous social and financial obstacles, Ambedkar became one of the first Dalits to obtain a college education in India. Eventually earning a law degree and doctorates for his study and research in law, economics and political science from Columbia University and the London School of Economics. Ambedkar gained a reputation of engaged scholar and practised law for a few years, later advocating political rights and social freedom for India's untouchables. Ambedkar was posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award, in 1990. Amartya Sen was also recipient of this award in 1999.

marginalized, the voiceless have the freedom to achieve? Sen (1995) re-examines inequality by throwing light on the concept of achievement. In the field of education, there is a strong perception that the Kreol children do not perform well in education and know much difficulty in terms of achievements. But here again, Sen (1995) makes a further significant distinction while referring to freedom and achievement:

Achievement is concerned with what we manage to accomplish, and freedom with the real opportunity that we have to accomplish what we value. (Sen, 1995 : 30)

Sen distinguishes between achievement and the freedom to achieve (Allen, 2012) and designates the latter as the more appropriate space for the evaluation of inequality. For example, the universalisation of primary education cannot be assumed to have uniform consequences for all individuals, because its effect will be contingent on variations in individual circumstances. Basing ourselves on the earlier statement of Father Filip Fanchette that Kreols do value education and have a strong self-awareness about its importance, we may put, in the wake of Sen's distinction between achievement and freedom, the following question: "Do Kreols have the freedom to achieve what they value?" The narratives of our young Kreol adults clearly demonstrated how they had to struggle to manage to accomplish what they value. Even after they have obtained their HSC / A Level, and when they are now pursuing higher studies and or working at the same time they meet with strong racial prejudices. In the light of the difficulties of these young Kreol adults, the following observation of Sen is most enlightening:

Distinctions of caste similarly have influences of their own, despite being frequently correlated with class. Race or caste (*we would add ethnicity for the Mauritian context*) can be a factor with far-reaching influence on many aspects of day-to-day living- varying from securing employment and receiving medical attention to being fairly treated by the police. Inequalities in the distribution of income and ownership will typically be *part* of the story, but by no means the whole of it. (Sen, 2009 : 122)

It should be reckoned that the Equal Opportunity Act and its tribunal have been important steps in the Mauritian society for ensuring the consolidation of human rights and building a Mauritian society based upon equality of rights. Opportunity is intrinsically linked to choice, but opportunity and choice are not the same thing. Opportunity is not simply whether, for example, entrance to an oversubscribed Year I BSC Law and Management at the University of Mauritius or any other local universities is a realisable option for a dispossessed young Kreol student, but includes whether (say) the student's family can afford to support the student for another two years beyond. In the same line of argument, Sen, making reference to other countries which have adopted policies of equality of opportunity, makes a further distinction between the equality of opportunities and equality of capabilities. In the words of Sen, the distinction is as follow:

a more adequate way of considering 'real' equality of opportunities must be through equality of capabilities (or through the elimination of unambiguous inequalities in capabilities, since capability comparisons are typically incomplete). (p.7).

In fact, he observes that policies very often make abstraction of capabilities and lay emphasis on equality of opportunities while in reality this is not the only factor in determining a person. What the person really needs is autonomy of actions and agency.

6.1.2. Educating for Agency

Agency refers to the ability to act or perform an action. In contemporary theory, it hinges on the question of whether individuals can freely and autonomously initiate action, or whether the things they do are in some sense determined by the ways in which their identity has been constructed (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1998:9). The extent to which such agency can be effective depends on the broader institutional context, and especially the extent to which the political, governmental, and social institutions of a society allow for all agents to have an influence. Closely associated to agency is the concept of autonomy.

In the context of education, autonomy can be linked to the capacity of educational institutions to equip individuals with the knowledge and skills to take advantage of an existing range of social opportunities. Mauritian schools do provide these knowledge and skills to a certain extent. Agency, on the other hand, is linked to education's role in arming individuals with a critical perspective on social structures and norms, leading to a conscious reformulation of the institutional framework through the unseating of prejudicial sociocultural structures and norms. However, in this regard, the education system of Mauritius does not encourage, support and develop a critical outlook on our society. It barely succeeds in this mission. Agency is the power to actively shape the sociocultural context with a critical engagement of its formal and informal structures, rules and norms. For instance, how does the curriculum resonate to the Kreol students in secondary, at an age when students become more conscious of their social identity?

In the foreword to the National Curriculum Framework for Secondary (2009), the Minister of Education, Dr Honourable V. Bunwaree writes:

This curriculum framework is a major step forward in the reform of our Secondary School Curriculum. It advocates an inclusive, integrated, holistic and comprehensive approach which, through a balanced curriculum, would help to promote the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of every child of the Republic, irrespective of her/his socio-economic status and would prepare her/him for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.

In the lower forms, the teaching of social sciences (history, geography and sociology) helps students to learn more and reflect on the Mauritian society. The objectives of social sciences subject are defined as follow:

They examine the events, beliefs, and forces which have shaped our world and explore the influence of different groups and individuals on society, including the contributions and achievements of both women and men. Students develop an understanding of their own culture and heritage as well as those of others. (Curriculum Framework-Secondary, 2009: 149)

However, the TJC Report (2011) finds that the greatest aberration of the Mauritian education system is the “remnants of the Eurocentric model of education [...] and the system does not cater for the heterogeneous cultures, diverse talents and multiple intelligence of the country” (TJC, 2011: chp.7, p.296). In fact, we are confronted in Mauritius with three models of cultural integration. It is important for us to understand what societal vision and philosophy underpins each model. Each model has different value orientations.

The first model is the French model of integration. For Welply (2010), French core educational values appear to be centred around *universalism* and *collectivism*, based on an egalitarian ideal which emphasises *uniformity* amongst pupils. The second model is from England. In England, *particularism* and *individualism* seem to predominate, and *diversity* is emphasised around a ‘whole child’ ideal. These differences in value orientations are reflected in the two contrasting models of integration for immigrant children in school from these two countries. On the one hand, France’s model of integration can be defined as a ‘Republican’ model which favours ‘integration’ and the assimilation of the individual into a unified whole (Van Zanten 1997 in Welply). On the other hand, England is seen to promote a ‘Multicultural’ model which favours ‘inclusion’, and the recognition of individual and multicultural differences (Modood and May 2001 in Welply). These contrasting models lead to distinct models of socialisation, strongly tinted by multicultural and republican ideals and different ways of conceptualising difference in the classroom. The third model is from India with the ‘unity in diversity’ as motto for nation building. In this model, respect is given to each culture. Right in primary education, Mauritian kids are introduced to the different cultural and religious festivals of each community. Composite shows (representing each culture) are a regular feature of National Day celebrations at school. But Kreol culture which cuts across ethnic groups and which can be considered as both ethnic and supraethnic is confined to imaginaries of slavery and not to its founding values in building a nation.

Although there are now some signs of positive evolution¹⁴, Miles (1999) made the following observation which still stands good:

¹⁴ Since 2012, the introduction of Kreol Morisien, the setting up of a Kreol Speaking Union (other language unions exist and are set up by the government as declared policy of promoting all cultures) and a Kreol channel on the national TV Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation are signs of a Kreol culture repositioning in the Mauritian society.

Willingness to compromise, not national unity, is the key to Mauritian political consciousness. Mauritius, even more than the United States, is composed of truly "hyphenated" subcultures: Sino-Mauritians, Franco-Mauritians, Indo-Mauritians, and the like. Only the Creole population, whose genesis as an identifiable community is distinctively "made in Mauritius," can stake a claim to total Mauritianness. Yet hyphenated multiculturalism has evolved as the norm to such an extent that Creoles, rather than being celebrated as Mauritians par excellence, are implicitly stigmatized for not having an antecedent identity and language that they too can vaunt as their own. (Miles, 1999: 95).

For Miles (1999), 'Mauritianness' struggles to integrate 'a substantial African minority that remains locked in the cycles of poverty inherited from the days of slavery' (1999: 95). With the rise of a Kreol identity affirmation movement, the current generation of young Kreols seems to be at a loss with the national curriculum. This curriculum does not explicitly refer to the Kreol culture and the Kreol groups. How should young Kreols relate then to this situation? Should they continue to play a game which underplays their Kreolness inside this 'Mauritianness' ? It is within this context that it would be interesting to link recognition of ethnicity to cultural rights. New approaches in citizenship education are challenging the assimilationist model of social and cultural integration. Drawing from Banks (2009), we would say that:

[...] for students to internalize the concept of human rights, they must have experiences in the school, as well as in the larger society, that validate them as human beings; affirm their ethnic, cultural, racial, and linguistic identities; and empower them as citizens in the school and in the larger society. Banks, 2009: 101).

Many worldwide trends and developments are challenging the notion of educating students to function in one nation state. These include the ways people are moving back and forth across national border, the rights of movement permitted by the European Union and the free movement of people and goods across borders. These trends indicate that students should be educated to be cosmopolitan citizens in a global community (Appiah 2006 in Banks, 2009). Several international studies like El-Haj (2007), who studied Palestinian American youth, and by Maira (2004), who studied working-class Indian American, Pakistani American, and Bangladeshi American youth, and the findings of Nguyen (2008) in a study of Vietnamese American high school students confirm that youth distinguished between national identity and citizenship. Thus, schools need to work to implement *multicultural citizenship* (Kymlicka 1995), which recognizes the right and need for students to maintain commitments to their cultural communities, to a transnational community, and to the nation state in which they are legal citizens. But should not Mauritius explore this dimension of multicultural citizenship? Is it relevant to our context? Should it not make us revisit and call to question the 'one people, one nation model' as the world is moving towards transnational identities?

In the Mauritian context, educating for agency would be to lay the foundation for an interactive pedagogy and curriculum that integrates a critical understanding of the histories and experiences of diverse groups. Through this new approach to multiculturalism, students learn to critically view the world from multiple perspectives, value a deep understanding of cultural pluralism, promote social structural equality, develop critical thinking skills, and transform their social environments. Located within this critical multicultural education, citizenship education would help the Kreol youth to develop their cultural capacity in the light of the dominant culture. In order to explore this idea of cultural capacity we will examine the link between culture and development.

6.2. Kreol Counter cultural capital and counter Habitus

The link between culture and development has been researched and we can learn much from this literature to inform our discussion. In 2004, Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton edited *Culture and Public Action* with several renowned theorists of development in the field of poverty alleviation and empowerment. Rao and Walton (2004) defines culture as follows:

Culture is concerned with identity, aspiration, symbolic exchange, coordination, and structures and practices that serve relational ends, such as ethnicity, ritual, heritage, norms, meanings, and beliefs. It is not a set of primordial phenomena permanently embedded within national or religious or other groups, but rather a set of contested attributes, constantly in flux, both shaping and being shaped by social and economic aspects of human interaction. (p.4)

According to the two editors, a focus on culture is necessary to confront the difficult questions of ‘*what* is valued in terms of well-being, *who* does the valuing, and *why* economic and social factors interact with culture to unequally allocate access to a good life’. (Rao and Walton, 2004: p.3). In fact, they consider that cultural processes can reproduce discrimination, be exclusionary and exploitative. But they can also be harnessed for positive social and economic transformation for “their impact on aspirations, the coordination of collective action and the ways in which power and agency work in a society”. (Rao and Walton, 2004: p.4). The statement of Father Roger Cerveaux in 1993 about the malaise creole gave birth to several assumptions about the marginalization of the Kreols and their extreme poverty. For Eriksen (1999), the rapid development of the 1980s and 1990s led to significant improvements in standard of living and education achievements but it was clear that the Kreols were lagging behind. It has been argued that the reasons for this can be found in the Creole culture which lays great emphasis on individualism, freedom and excessive consumption and in Kreol social organization which lacks the strong kinship obligations characteristics of other groups. Eriksen argues that these arguments may be one-sided as they fail to consider, amongst other things, “the connections between Hindu political hegemony, kinship obligations, nepotism and Hindu dominance in the state sector” (Eriksen, 1999: p.5). He also makes reference to the Kreol *joie de vivre* (Kreol joyfulness) which he attributes to the populist Kreol leader, late Gaetan Duval in the 1960s and after independence.

However, for Rao and Walton (2004), such “blame the victim” types of poverty diagnoses as are often made for Kreols and other voiceless people in the world have not proved fruitful, either on empirical or ethical grounds. On the contrary, it should be stressed that:

[...] poor people display a remarkable capacity to adjust to extraordinarily difficult circumstances, and it is incorrect to characterize their poverty as deriving from some unchangeable, inherited attribute. However, it is the case that conditions of poverty and inequality can be a product of cultural processes, and culture, economic conditions, and power can interact to sustain disadvantage.

So, how could the Kreol culture bring positive social transformation? The narratives of our young Kreol adults in this study might provide us some clues with the culture of resilience that they have developed within school. Schools are usually regarded as places of social and class reproduction of the dominant culture (Bourdieu, 1992). Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002) was a French sociologist, anthropologist and philosopher. He pioneered investigative frameworks and concepts like cultural capital, habitus, field and symbolic violence. We will apply the Bourdieurian lens to the cultural situatedness of the narratives of the participants in this research study.

The participants were asked at one point whether they felt they had to speak French if they had to progress in their studies in secondary schools. We also asked them if they think they will have to speak French with their kids if they wish to keep moving up on the social ladder. This question on language was asked because it is common that upward social mobility is accompanied by use of French and especially amongst Kreols of the middle class. This rejection of the Kreol language and culture for French language and culture is deep-seated belief that it is a means for climbing the social ladder. Violetta’s posting on Facebook (18 September 2013, 21: 46) is very telling about the contestation of this false belief:

No. Never had I to reject my language and my Kreol culture. I have always spoken Kreol at home and my kids will also speak Kreol. French has nothing to do with success. On the contrary, it is a barrier that they have put so that people criticize us. When a Kreol comes from the coast and goes in town, we will always have somebody who will criticize his accent, but they don’t know that we children living along the coast we speak genuine Kreol, as it was in its origin...it’s they who do not know how to speak Kreol. They have messed up the language, to make it supposedly become more refined...(Focus Group Kreol Convention Facebook Page).

In the light of Violetta’s statement, we can bring in the concept of habitus. Bourdieu uses the metaphor of ‘field’ and his interrelated notion of ‘habitus’. The field is a space of struggle in which activity is structured and boundaries controlled, and a social system that functions according to its own specific logic or rules. Habitus has to do with the internalized set of tacit rules governing strategies and tactics

in the field. Unspoken rules, values and norms are established and legitimacy invested in those agents implicitly recognized as powerful possessors of symbolic capital relevant for the specific field under examination. In order to better illustrate how culture affects poverty and the reproduction of inequality, Rao and Walton (2004) quote David Swartz's interpretation of habitus. For Swartz (2000): "Habitus tends to shape individual action so that existing opportunity structures are perpetuated. Chances of success or failure are internalized and then transformed into individual aspirations or expectations; these are then in turn externalized in action that tends to reproduce the objective structure of life chances" , (Swartz, 2000: 203).

According to the definition of 'habitus', we find that Violetta has not internalized the dominant habitus. She has even developed a counter habitus. She does not have to speak French and be somebody else to succeed and complete her studies. This act of resistance of Violetta is a sign of promise for the Kreols. She may represent a minority amongst those who succeed but her situation and stand show that the educated Kreol should be one who is not ashamed of one's language and culture. Violetta gives evidence that Kreol language and culture can be a counter cultural capital. These French habitus and cultural capital are colonial legacies. Quoting Frantz Fanon from *White Skin, Black Masks*, we would say that Violetta is no longer slave of the past (Fanon, 1967: 221) and she is not alienated from her own people, ending up emulating the former masters of her ancestors. She develops resistance against that symbolic violence and the cultural hegemony of the ruling class. It is interesting to note that Azania says she did not also have to speak French to succeed. She says that, however, she loves French literature because she loves drama. "It's rather later at work that I became fluent in French because of the clients" (Azania, FKC). She adds that she understands the importance of English and French but she will at no cost reject her mother tongue. In fact, Violetta and Azania represent the emergence of a new Kreol elite, who has developed self-consciousness coming from the coastal region and not polluted by the artificiality of urban and mundane life. It is a Kreol intelligentsia connected to the people. In the next section, we will discuss the role that this new elite can play in the emancipation of the Kreols.

6.3. Kreol Organic Intellectuals and Nation Building

In order to exercise moral and intellectual leadership over society, a group must win support of dependent groups by connecting the perceived interests of these groups with their own. The ability to shape these perceptions is a powerful source of the group's agency and can be viewed as a resource. The dominant powerful class not only exercises economic control but also provides moral and intellectual leadership in society by creating alliances with the weaker classes. Indirectly, the subaltern classes absorb the ideas of intellectuals uncritically and accept the intellectual's worldview as their own; class domination is thus an intellectual and moral victory as much as it is an economic fact.

Gramsci (1891-1937)¹⁵ suggests revolutionary struggle in which the subaltern generate their own "organic intellectuals" capable of creating new forms of counter-hegemony by shattering the claims of older worldviews. With this in mind, the subaltern intellectuals take on an educative role and create "free spaces." These are defined as communally grounded voluntary associations that permit people to discover the capacity to overcome deferential patterns of behavior. The Diocesan 1st February Committee and other Kreol organizations should work towards the emergence of these organic intellectuals. In the Mauritian context, Kreol organic intellectuals should also reflect and develop a praxis about how to integrate the Kreol affirmation identity in the process of nation building. Obviously, Kreols are not an island on their own. Their identity is also shaped and affirmed by contact with others.

At the same time, it is interesting to note that Gramsci's primary concern is to show how religion can provide means and ways for subordinate groups to resist domination from socially dominant groups that exist to influence the interests and preferences of subordinate groups. It is within this perspective that we can envisage a Kreol intelligentsia grounded in its Christian faith. It is evident from the narratives that the Kreols find meaning in the Christian faith. In this sense, for the Church to be meaningful to the Kreols like the youth in our study, her impact as part of the public arena must be a consideration of justice. But the struggle for justice cannot simply take place at the level of the mind, the conquest of ignorance, or at the level of the street which is the conquest of territorial space. It must also, and most importantly, take place at the level of creation of communities of dissent, communities of justice, communities of the creatively maladjusted. As such we will be able to strive for an equality of agencies. The Catholic Church is working in this direction when it, for example, encourages the people of Agalega¹⁶ to stand on their feet and claim their rights.

¹⁵ Gramsci (1891-1937) was born in Sardinia, Italy and studied at the University of Turin where he became active in the Italian Socialist Party. By 1924 he became a founder and leader of the Italian Communist Party. His literary, journalistic, and political activities eventually led to his arrest in 1926. He spent most of the balance of his life in prison where he wrote his famous Prison Notebooks. He greatly broadened Marxist thinking on the role of intellectuals in the political process and the social hegemony, both of which would influence later social and cultural theory. Today he is, perhaps, remembered best for his use of the term hegemony. While he did not coin the term, his understanding of its impact has greatly influenced contemporary social theory.

¹⁶ In 2011, the Department of Applied Pedagogy (Institut Cardinal Jean Margeot, a catholic training centre) produced a critical report on the prevailing situation in the island of Agalega, which is one of the outerislands of Mauritius. This report has raised national awareness on the plight of the people of Agalega, which until now were encouraged to live in a culture of silence (Freire, 1967).

CONCLUSION

From Nothingness to Resilience...The Way Forward

The title of our paper (From Nothingness to Resilience) is borrowed from one subtitle of Chapter Four of the Truth and Justice Commission Report (2011). Chapter Four (pp.203-239) of the report examines the legacies, continuities and consequences of slavery and indentured labour. The chapter opens with a section on the economic system bequeathed by the colonial powers. It observes that the history of Mauritius has been characterized and fundamentally determined by the evolution of the Sugar Industry during the era of British Colonialism and later of British Imperialism. Two key events were the turning points in the evolution from economic and financial perspectives: (a) as Crown Colony, Mauritius was given access to the British sugar market as from 1815; (b) in 1825, the tariffs imposed by Britain on sugar imports from Mauritius and from the Caribbean were equalised. According to the TJC report (2011):

The intermediate social and economic classes such as traders, merchants, middlemen and medium planters were able to retrieve some of the wealth. There have been thus two complementary historical processes: development and substantial material advancement for the few and underdevelopment for the many constituting the labouring classes. (TJC Report, 2011: 203).

With regard to education, the chapter explains that abolition of slavery came in 1835 without any preparation. Unlike the situation in the Caribbean, little provision was made for the education of apprentices or their children. James Backhouse the Quaker missionary, who toured the island in 1836, wrote extensively, on the lack of education of apprentices and the reluctance of owners to send them to school. Moreover, the Committee, set up to supervise education on the island, the Committee on Public Instruction even proposed to the Government to impose a heavy penalty, with six months' imprisonment upon anyone who taught more than the rudiments of education to 'lower orders'. Fortunately, the British Government did not accept this proposal. Still, no further Government action was taken, except by private persons to educate apprentices or their children. This means that the children of the first generation of emancipated slaves did not benefit from education in time. This led to enforced literacy on the slave descents. The demographic history and spatial distribution of the emancipated slaves led them to become squatters or move to the coast or live on the periphery of the main towns.

The post-independence period was marked by cheap labour policy and low wages. In the 19th and 20th century, there has been an intensification of labour struggles organized around unions for better conditions of service and decent salary. But the situation of the slave descents did not improve significantly. In spite of this adverse situation, the report notes and observes that:

Indeed it has been a source of wonder to the Commission to observe how throughout centuries, many ordinary men and women have been able to make full use of the few opportunities offered to them to break free from a system that attempted to control their economic, social and cultural being and limit their economic and social mobility. Human agency is real, but whether it changed the fundamental economic and political structures that dominated Mauritius is to be doubted. How far will attempts in recent times to ‘democratise’ Mauritius succeed remains to be seen. (TJC Report, 2011, Vol. I, Chp. 4: 203)

The title ‘From nothingness to resilience’ accrues real significance. It rightly depicts the situation of the slave descents of which the Kreol ethnic group represents a large segment today. The eight participants in this research study are the living symbols of this resilience. They come from “nothingness” and still they fight back, displaying the highest form of resilience. This has been sufficiently demonstrated by our research study.

The aim of this research has been to uncover and capture narratives of resilience of young Kreol adults who have completed secondary education. We can say that this aim has been fulfilled. The findings represent a new milestone in Kreol counter-discourse. This counter-discourse defies moralizing discourse towards Kreols and translate the desire of a group of voiceless people to speak their own voice. For the participants, this whole research activity focusing on narratives, represent namely:

- (i) A journey in the past
“When I reflected on my own story this allowed me to make a journey in my past” (Walter, RS)
- (ii) Self-learning
“This allowed me to get deeper into what I felt during my difficult times” (Walter, RS)
- (iii) Learning and knowing others
“I learnt a lot with them, I got a life experience through the sharing.This helped me to find out what was hidden deep down in me”. (Walter, RS)
- (iv) A small candle
It seemed that there was a small candle inside me that I never realised could be there. This small candle represents lot of small things like hope, confidence, courage, strength, faith, good discernment, ambition and optimism. (Walter, RS)

In fact, this research like other research using narratives and storytelling has created self-conscious assessments of memory and oral history as a source (Rogers, 2006). It is important to know what do we do now with these findings. These narratives of resilience show how these young Kreols make a way out of no way. They showcase how these young and, others who are in similar situations, forge purposeful life for themselves in spite of pressures (Boehm, 2009). These young Kreols did express agency in crafting their lives, although much of society tried to thwart them at every turn.

We would like to open this conclusion with the words of Ytasha L. Wormack, African –American journalist, filmmaker, choreographer and author of the critically acclaimed book *Post Black. How a New Generation is redefining African-American Identity* (2010):

This book is dedicated to all those with vision, passion, and perseverance who believe in goodwill and have the courage to follow their path—to those who don't let others define them, but create a life all their own (Wormack, 2010).

Indeed, the narratives of these young Kreols are an eye opener and should force us to have another attitude towards the voiceless. History bears witness to the resilience of the Kreol ancestors. From 1835 to 1839¹⁷, it is estimated that some 9,000 apprentices purchased their freedom before they were made free by their masters. The TJC Report (2011) regrets that the certificates of freedom from apprenticeship have been so badly preserved and states that “these documents testify to the pride of people who did not want to be ‘given’ freedom” (TJC Report, Volume 1: 211).

In the wake of these dignified resilient Kreols (that is, the 9,000 slaves who paid for their freedom, our 8 young adult Kreols and all those who from nothing to resilience make it happen), the way forward is to have our Kreol fathers and mothers become home pillars. Let the successful Kreols help and support those who are falling back, may Kreol youth take pride in their language and culture and have faith in themselves with the help of God and that education charts their way to freedom, hope and transformation.

¹⁷ Slavery was abolished in 1835 under British Colonisation. The Abolition Act stipulated that abolition would be followed by a period called ‘apprenticeship’ whereby the slaves would have to work now as apprentices until their complete emancipation by their masters in 1839 for those who were slave domestics and, for those who worked in the plantation, in 1842. Finally all slaves were emancipated in 1839. While the slaves had to work to pay for their liberation, slave masters received hefty compensations. Overseers, *Commandeurs*, skilled slaves fetched £142 and £137 each while an agricultural labourer, £93 each (listed as praedial slaves). Slaves that were not attached to any particular plantation, fetched roughly the same amount. Domestics, who were also crucial to the life of the estate, fetched £119 per head domestics while junior domestics fetched £63. Owners even received compensation for the old and sick slaves, as well as children, £29 was paid for a child, totaling some £88, 132, while the old and sick, numbering some 2,302, fetched £25,752. The total number of slaves for which compensation was paid amounted to 66, 517, including the dependencies. (MNA:BIB 1881 in TJC Report, Vol.1: 205). In fact, Mauritian slaves got ‘nothing but freedom’.

REFERENCES

- ACTSA. www.actsa.org/.../ACTSA_Country_Profile_Mauritius.
- ADEA Report (2006). Initiating and Conducting an Experimental Peer Review Exercise in Education in Africa. Association for the Development of Education in Africa.
- African Development Bank Group. Mauritius Economic Outlook. www.afdb.org
- Africa Governance Report III. Elections and the Management of Diversity in Africa. Mauritius Report 2011.
- Ahearn, L. M. (2010). 'Agency and Language'. *Handbook of Pragmatics*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Alessandrini, A.C. ed.(2005). *Frantz Fanon. Critical Perspectives*. 2nd Ed. London and New York: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., and Tiffin, H. 1998. *Key concepts in post-colonial studies*. London & New York : Routedledge
- Banks, J.A. (2009): Human Rights, Diversity, and Citizenship Education, *The Educational Forum*, 73:2, 100-110
- Basu, R (2006). Multiethnic neighbourhoods as sites of social capital formation. Examining social to 'political integration' in schools. *Education, citizenship and social justice*. Vol 1(1) 59–82 [ISSN 1746-1979 DOI: 10.1177/1746197906060713]
- Boehm, L.K. (2009). *Making a way out of no way. African-American women and the Second Great Migration*. Mississipi: University of Mississipi/ Jackson. Margaret Walker Alexander Series in African American series.
- Boswell, R. (2006). *Le Malaise Creole: Ethnic Identity in Mauritius*. New York and Oxford: Bergham Books.
- Bozalek, V. (2011). Acknowledging privilege through encounters with difference: Participatory Learning and Action techniques for decolonising methodologies in Southern contexts, *International Journal of Social Researcg Methodology*. 14(6): 469-484.
- Brooks, J. (2003). *American Lazarus. Religion and the rise of African- American and Native American Literatures*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Brown, D.L. (2008). African-American Resiliency: Examining Social Racialization and Social Support as Protective Factors. *Journal of Black Psychology* 34: 32. Downloaded from jbp.sagepub.com at UNIV WESTERN CAPE LIBRARY on July 16, 2013.
- Bruce, C.E. (1976). Black Spirituality: Language and Faith. *Religious Education*. Vol.LXXXI.N0.4 July August.
- Bunwaree Sheila.,(2004) Globalisation and the AfroMauritian community. *Revi Kiltir Kreol*, N0.4 –Annual-Oct- Special Issue Haiti, Port Louis, Mauritius, Ed. Nelson Mandela Centre for African Culture. pp.50-59.
- Clark, J. V (1999). ERIC Digest. Minorities in Science and Maths. ERIC Clearinghouse for Science Mathematics and Environmental Education Columbus OH.
- Davies, C. A (2008). *Reflexive Ethnography A guide to researching selves and others*, 2nd Ed. London and New York: Routledge
- Dortie, F (2012). Les mythes fondateurs de la culture américaine. De la pensée en Amérique. *Sciences Humaines*. Numéro Hors Série. N0.17. Novembre –Décembre 2012.
- Duvoux,N., Tenret, E., and Vezinat, N. (2013). 'Culture of poverty and Social resilience, An interview with Michele Lamont. Books & Ideas.net'.
- Edwards, John (2009). *Language and Identity. An introduction*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Eisenlohr P. (2006). *Little India, Diaspora, Time and Ethnolinguistic Belonging in Hindu Mauritius*. California: University of California Press
- Epstein, J.S. (1997): Race and Violence in Education, *The Educational Forum*, 61:3, 286-288.
- Fortuné-Pope, J. (2011). Reparative Justice-The Case of Traditional Healing and Popular religion in Mauritius: A Historian's perspective. International Conference. Slave Trade , Slavery and Transition to Indenture in Mauritius

- and the Mascarenes 1715-1848. Truth and Justice Commission in collaboration with the University of Mauritius and CEMAF/ Paris.
- Freire, P (1970). *Cultural Action for Freedom. Middlesex: Penguin Books LTD.*
- Giampapa, F. and Lamoureux, S.A. (2011): Voices From the Field: Identity, Language, and Power in Multilingual Research Settings. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 10:3, 127-131
- Giampapa, F. & Lamoureux, A.S. (2011): Voices From the Field: Identity, Language, and Power in Multilingual Research Settings, *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 10:3, 127-131
- Gilham, B. (2000). *The Research Interview. Real World Research.* London and New York: Continuum
- Giroux, H (1996). *Fugitive cultures: Race, Violence and Youth.* New York : Routledge.
- Grimaldi, E (2012). Neoliberalism and the marginalisation of social justice: the making of an education policy to combat social exclusion, *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 16:11, 1131-1154.
- Guyton, E. (2000): Social Justice in Teacher Education, *The Educational Forum*, 64:2, 108-114.
- Hancock, D.R and Algozzine, B.(2006). Setting the stage. In : *Doing Case Study Research. A Practical Guide to Beginning Researchers.* Chapter 2: pp.15-25. New York and London: Teachers College Press.
- Hanson, S.L. (2009). *Swimming against the tide. African American Girls and Science Education.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Harmon, J. (2008). *L'Espérance Créole Progrès et Dignité.* Port Louis : Marye-Pike
- Hedge, N & MacKenzie, A. (2012) Putting Nussbaum's Capability Approach to work: re-visiting inclusion, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42:3, 327-344. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00071005.2010.520669>
- Ibrahim Index of African Governance Mauritius. www.moibrahimfoundation.org/mauritius
- Joseph, J.E. (2004). *Language and Identity. National, Ethnic, Religious.* Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kelly, A. (2012). Sen and the art of educational maintenance: evidencing a capability, as opposed to an effectiveness, approach to schooling, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42:3, 283-296, DOI: 10.1080/0305764X.2012.706255.
- Kosterman, R., Haggerty, K.P., Spoth, R and Redmond, C. (2004). Unique Influence of Mothers and Fathers on Their Children's Antisocial Behavior. *Journal of Marriage and Family.* Vol.66, Issue 3, 762-778.
- Krog, A.(2008) 'This thing called reconciliation...'forgiveness as part of an interconnectedness-towards-wholeness. *S. Afr. J. Philos.* 27(4).
- Labour, J. M. (2007). "Jocelyn Grégoire nous dérange". Interview in *L'Express* newspaper. 27 November 2007. pp.5.
- Mahlomaholo, S (2009). Critical emancipatory identity and academic identity, *Africa Education Review* 6 (2)
- Mauritius Examination Statistics. Analysis of CPE Performance 2012. Mauritius Examination Syndicate (MES).
- McCluskey, G., Lloyd, G., Kane, J., Riddell, S., Stead, J., & Weedon, E. (2008): Can restorative practices in schools make a difference?, *Educational Review*, 60:4, 405-41.
- McInerney, P (2009). 'Toward a critical pedagogy of engagement for alienated youth: insights from Freire and school-based research', *Critical Studies in Education*, 50: 1, 23 — 35.
- Miller, D.B. and MacIntosh, R. (1999). Promoting resilience in urban African American adolescents: Racial socialization and identity as protective factors. National Association of Social Workers, Inc. pp.159-169.
- Miles, W.F. S. (1999) a. The Creole Malaise in Mauritius. *African Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 391 (Apr., 1999), pp. 211-228. Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/723627> .Accessed: 25/11/2011 11:37
- Miles, W.F.S. (1999) b. The Mauritius Enigma. *Journal of Democracy* 10.2 (1999) 91-104

- Mukherjee A. (2012); *Literature for our times, Postcolonial Studies in the Twenty-First Century*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Osaaji, M. G. (2012). 'Re-membering the Dismembered'. In: Ashcroft B., Mendis R., McGonegal J. and Mukherjee A. (2012); *Literature for our times, Postcolonial Studies in the Twenty-First Century*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Nandan, K. I. (2012). 'Writing as Healing – Fijiindians – The Twice Banished?'. In: Ashcroft B., Mendis R., McGonegal J. and
- Nussbaum, M.(1988). Nature, function and capability: Aristotle on political distribution. *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy*, Suppl. Vol., 145–184.
- Nussbaum, M. (2000). *Women and human development: The capabilities approach*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Nussbaum, M. (2003). Capabilities as fundamental entitlements: Sen and social justice. *Feminist Economics*, 9(2–3), 33–59.
- Nussbaum, M.C. (2011). *Creating capabilities: the human development approach*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Nussbaum, M.C., & Sen, A.K. (Eds.). (1993). *The quality of life*. New York: Oxford University.
- Palmyre-Florigny, D. (2007). *Culture créole et foi chrétienne*. Belgique, Beau Bassin: Lumen Vitae, Marye-Pike.
- Perkins, K. A. (1998). *Black South African Women. An anthology of plays*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Piat, Mgr, M. (1993). *Le Malaise Creole. Lettre Pastorale*. Port Louis: Diocese de Port Louis.
- Raffo, C (2011): Educational Equity in Poor Urban Contexts – Exploring Issues of Place/Space and Young People's Identity and Agency, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 59:1, 1-19
- Raffo, C.(2009). Interrogating poverty, social exclusion and New Labour's programme of priority educational policies in England, *Critical Studies in Education*, 50: 1, 65 — 78 To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/17508480802526660 URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17508480802526660>
- Rao, V. and Walton. M. (2004). 'Culture and Public Action. Relationality, Equality of Agency, and Development'. In : Rao, V and Walton, M. eds.*Culture and Public Action*. California: Stanford University Press. Chp.1, pp.3-35.
- Rogers, K.L. (2006). *Life and Death in the Delta. African American narratives of violence, resilience and social change*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Romaine A. (2008) 'Le créole se fait avenir': in *Genèse d'un miracle L'Express Edition Spéciale*.pp.113-115.
- Romaine A. (2003). *Religion Populaire et pastorale créole à l'Île Maurice*. Paris : Karthala.
- Schoastak, J. and Schoastak, J. (2008). *Radical Research. Designing, developing and writing research to make a difference*. London and New York : Routledge.
- Selected Works (1969). *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.
- Sen, A., 2010. *The idea of justice*. London : Penguin.
- Sen, A., 1995. *Inequality re-examined*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Small, M.L., Harding, D.J., and Lamont, M. (n.d). Reconsidering culture and poverty. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.
- Statistics Mauritius (2013). Poverty Map. Accessed on 23rd September at <http://statsmauritius.gov.mu>
- StraConsult. Africa Governance Report III. Elections and Management of Diversity in Africa. Mauritius Report 2011.

- Tae Hee Jo (2011). Heterodox Critiques of Corporate Social Responsibility. Munich Personal RePEc Archive (MPRA). Accessible: Online at <http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/35367/>
- Taylor-Powell, E., and Renner, M. (2003). 'Analysis Qualitative Data. Program Development and Evaluation'. University of Wisconsin-Extension.
- Timothy J. Biblarz, T.J. and Gottainer, G. (2004). Family Structure and Children's Success: A Comparison of Widowed and Divorced Single-Mother Families. *Journal of Marriage and Family*. Vol. 62. 533-548.
- Truth and Justice Commission Report (2011). 'From nothingness to pride and resilience'. In Chapter 4: Legacies, Continuities and Consequences of Slavery and Indenture labour. pp.199-239.
- Utsey, S.O., Bolden, M, A., Lanier, Y and Williams III, O (2007). Communities Resilient Outcomes in African Americans From High-Risk Urban Examining the Role of Culture-Specific Coping as a Predictor of Resilient Outcomes in African Americans from High Risk Urban communities *Journal of Black Psychology* 2007 33: 75. Downloaded at <http://jbp.sagepub.com/content/33/1/75>
- Vergès, F. (2005). 'I am not the slave of slavery'. In: Alessandrini, A.C. ed.(2005). *Frantz Fanon. Critical Perspectives*. 2nd Ed. London and New York: Routledge. Chp 14: pp.261-278
- Walker, M and Unterhalter, E. (2007). *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Williams, L., Labonte, R., and O'Brien, M. (2003). Empowering social action through narratives of identity and culture. *Health Promotion International*. Vol.18, N0.1.
- Womack, Y.L (2010). *Post Black. How a New Generation is redefining African-American Identity*. Ed. Derek T. Tingle. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books.

ANNEX 1

Extre Refleksion bann Partisipan an Ekri

Azania

Nou kreol nou baking se le Kris mem si larout la paret pli difisil me nou sir ki nou pou ariv a bon por. Mo leker ankor fermal kan mo pans tou seki mo'nn viv ek ankor pe andire pou mo letid tersier. Mo'nn dekouver inpe mo kapasite ek konfians ki mo ti pe reserser apre bann lesek ki mo'nn traverse dan mo lavi, me anmemtan sa finn rapel enn flasbak ki revel mwa se ki mo'nn reysi fer ziska azordi.

Violeta

Dimoun kapav panse ki gaygn enn sponsor se fasil, me mwa mo kone ki mizer mo'nn pase, sirtou pou enn dimoun fier kouma mwa al dimann dimoun kiksoz ti difisil, anplis bann sponsor la met boukou presion lor mwa, mo'nn deza gaygn koze kouyon tou kot mo'nn rant lakaz an-larm. Mo ena linpresion ki mo dwa zot e sa se enn gro pwa pou mwa. Enn pwa ki pou res lor mo ledò ziska lafin mo lavi. Amwin si mo ranbours zot ziska dernie sou.

Walter

Mo kone ki ena boukou kouma mwa ki finn viv ou pe viv bann moman kouma mo finn pase e mo anvi ki zot realize atraver mo lexanp ki ena enn laport ek enn lalimier pli divan. Pou sartin li pran plis letan, pou lezot li vinn pli vit, me nou bizin rod li e pa arete tank ki nou pa trouv li. E mo finn ousi remarke ki plis nou fer bann kitsoz dan lasinplisite, plis nou fer leker lezot dimoun kontan, sirtou bann pli pov, se sa bann dimoun la ki trouv zot rekonpans ki dire toultan.

Aurelie

Tou nou bann zistwar se enn prev ki kreol nou bann dimounn for e nou pa merit lignorans. Nou merit legalite ek rekonesans parski nou kapav lite e nou kapav reysi. Mo espere ki par nou zistwar, bann zenerasion fitir kapav retrouv zot e ki nou vinn enn sours linspiration pou bann ki dekouraze.

Ola

Ti ena osi konpetision ant bann zenn lot relizion. Touletan ena bien tigit kreol ki resi. Mo finn pran sa kouma enn *challenge* pou resi dan ledikasion. Finn touzour ena sa lanvi reisit kinn booste mwa pou travay pli dir. Se osi par lespri sin ek la gras bondie ek lafwa ki mo ena dan li ki'nn touzour donn mwa lafors ek kouraz malgre difikilte pou kontign persevere dan ledikasion.

Annex 2

Excerpts of Reflective Script of Participants Translated in English

Violeta

Listening to others story, this satisfied me, I'm not alone. I thought I was lonely as being in the middle of the ocean before. Now I've realised that we are all a continent, competent people that can achieve big things. If this group decide to collaborate together, awesome, just imagine what they accomplished personally without much help. Now imagine that we unite our strength.

Myriam

Firstly family support without which I wouldn't be motivated to give the best of myself. My father always advises me so that I don't let myself be led by temptation and my mother who has always guide and taught me not to forget God. They've always believed and encourage me even when I myself stop believing in my capability. This moral support was also from my friends who were always there helping me to revise and manage my stress of not being able to statisfy parents. Thanks to God, everything happens if we trust Him. He brings wisdom, health and also intelligence, gratitude and this while showing us when to humiliate ourselves and learn. He is our leader.

Azania

When we want we can! I'm really proud of you cause we never back down and this prove that Creole is ambitious each in his own way and based on their capacity are bashing on but above all, we all went through despondency but we walked through the dark tunnel to reach hope. What i once promised my mother is now coming true but I couldn't believe that I've reached this much.

NOTES

NOTES

NOTES