



Centre for
Human Rights and
Restorative Justice

REFERENCES TO WOMEN

Mauritius Truth Commission

Abstract

Notes on discussions of women, as well as a list of coding themes and references to women in the Mauritius Truth Commission.

Chelsea Barranger

Table of Contents

Researcher Notes	2
Links to Data Visualization.....	4
Coding Women for the Mauritius Report.....	5
References to Women	6
Child Node References to Women	76
<i>Colonialism</i>	76
Caste	100
Indenture	102
Slavery	107
<i>Discrimination</i>	120
<i>Domestic and Sexual Violence</i>	125
<i>Drugs and Alcohol</i>	127
<i>Economy and Labour</i>	129
Trade Unions	148
Wages	148
<i>Education</i>	151
<i>Ethnicity</i>	155
<i>Land</i>	163
<i>Legacy</i>	167
<i>Migration</i>	170
<i>Socialization</i>	171

Researcher Notes

Report details:

- published in 2011
- pdf has 2887 pages
- chapter on women labourers
- according to NVivo's text search, the word women (using stems) is referenced 746 times, representing 0.29% coverage
- after deleting references from the bibliography, notes or headers, there are **401 broad references** to women in the content of the report
- women usually discussed in terms of the legacy of slavery (e.g., economic and social inequality, low education, discrimination based on skin pigmentation, etc.)

Women are referenced in the report in the following ways:

- discussions of slavery and the work of female slaves
 - male and female slaves were categorized according to capacity for work and presumed ethnic traits
 - slave masters mixed male and female slaves early to encourage marriage and breeding - women were giving rewards for the number of children they had (e.g., 2 days off work etc.)
 - women often had the same work as men but some owners felt women should carry fewer heavy things to prevent miscarriages
 - slave women had to do hard labour, care for young children, and faced sexual assault
 - women could nothing if slave masters punished their children
- immigrant women came with husbands who were going to work in Mauritius
- Indian women brought and kept traditions from home alive in new country
- wives of immigrants or indentured servants provided essential supports at home (e.g., cooking and cleaning) and were sought after due to an imbalance of gender ratios
- women have lower salaries than men and retired earlier
- women reared and milked cows in villages to make additional income for families
- labourer tasks were divided by gender stereotypes of men as strong and women as weak, though on occasion women did similar labour to men
- women not paid the same for completing the same labour as men
- physical damage from labour (e.g., cut up hands etc.) made it difficult to cook and take care of children
- European women disliked women of mixed ancestry and framed them as man stealers
- ethnic stereotyping hinders access to work
- dark skinned women are pressured by media depictions and societal preferences to lighten their skin tones
- poverty among single women households and teenage mothers

- sexuality and sex education are taboo - lack of information has led to high teenage pregnancy rates
- ability to acquire land depended on if head of the household was a man or a woman
- single women forced to leave children with family in order to work
- unpaid female labour - cooking, cleaning, cutting wood, educating children, etc.
- women often faced domestic violence
- women were often live in servants who cared for master's children
- women played important role of saving money to purchase land
- washing stations sites of gossip and socialization for women
- barriers to leaving abusive relationships: lack of means, fear of reprisal, loneliness, children, social stigma, lack of resources and education
- economic dependence of women traced back to slavery
- low wages and poverty forced women and children to work which meant putting education on hold which keeps the cycle of poverty going
- Commission concluded that blacked skinned women experience the worst racism

Links to Data Visualization

This section contains links to all data visualization for the Mauritius report.

Word Frequency Cloud

- [word frequency cloud](#)
- [excel sheet of word frequency cloud findings](#)

Word Trees

- [history](#)
- [women](#)
- [children](#)
- [youth](#)
- [forgive](#)
- [victim](#)
- [truth](#)
- [reconciliation](#)
- [land](#)

*NVivo software can only edit word trees by changing the central search term and branch sizes. Word trees includes references from bibliography, headers, and notes that cannot be edited out using NVivo software. Researchers will need to manually remove unsightly branches using editing software (e.g., paint, photoshop, etc.)

Coding Women for the Mauritius Report

The following chart breakdowns the child nodes used for coding women references based on themes and discussions surrounding women in the Mauritius report.

Women	References or discussions of women
Colonialism	References or discussions of colonialism
Caste	References or discussions of castes or the caste system
Indenture	References or discussions of indenture or indentured servants
Slavery	References or discussions of slavery
Discrimination	References or discussions of discrimination and racism
Domestic and Sexual Violence	References or discussions of domestic and sexual violence
Drugs and Alcohol	References or discussions of alcohol and drugs
Economy and Labour	References or discussions of the economy or labour
Trade Unions	References or discussions trade unions
Wages	References or discussions of wages and pay
Education	References or discussions of education, training, etc.
Ethnicity	References or discussions of ethnicity and ethnic lines or tensions
Land	References or discussions of land and land ownership
Legacy	References or discussions of legacy, impacts or effects
Migration	References or discussions of migration or displacement
Socialization	References or discussions of socializing

References to Women

This section contains all references to women from the Mauritius report.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 401 references coded [1.57% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

“The horrendous nature of the enterprise of African slavery is well-known and documented. Around 20 million young people were kidnapped, taken in chains across the Atlantic and sold into slavery in the plantations of the New World. Millions more died in transit in the dungeons of the castles such as Gorée, Elmina and Cape Coast, or in the hell holes under the decks of the slave ships. It was without doubt, in the fullest sense of the term, a crime against humanity. A vast proportion of sub-Saharan Africa from Senegal right around to Angola and on the other side from Mozambique into Malawi and Tanzania was depopulated. Its young men and women were taken away”.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

The slave population grew steadily in size during the 18th century, from 2,533 in 1746 to 15,027 in 1767, to 33,832 in 1787, to 60,646 in 1806, to reach 63,821 by 1810, prior to the British conquest. Their occupations consisted mainly of agricultural labourers, household servants, fishermen, artisans, port workers and sailors. The enslaved people faced a harsh regime. CharpentierCossigny, an Engineer, in 1753, noted that “the company was hiring slaves, then starving them to death”.¹³ According to him, “for every skilled slave in an ‘atelier’, there were another ten or so manual labourers performing the essential back-breaking tasks of breaking and carrying stones, digging trenches, loading and unloading ships, building roads.” This ‘vast army’ of Government slaves included many women.¹⁴

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

There is evidence that the elderly slaves, women and children, considered to be unproductive, were indeed expelled from the plantations.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition, the Company also owned slaves who worked in various capacities. When the King took over the island in 1767, the slaves belonging to the Company were ceded to the King. There were in 1769: 162 Malagasies, 436 Guineans, 345 Creoles, 254 Mozambicans, 25 Indians, 2 Creoles from Bourbon, 1 from Pondicherry and 3 from Macao for a total of 1,228 slaves. They were divided into 662 men, 139 boys, 21 young male children, 271 women, 126 girls and 9 nine female infants.³⁶

French slave trading in the Southwest Indian Ocean was started in Madagascar to supply slaves to Bourbon Island, colonised earlier. The slaves engaged in agriculture and the women among them married, or cohabited with French men, due to the shortage of French women. Indian prisoners were also left there. Distinctions between French on the one hand, and Malagasy and Indian people on the other, appeared some years later in 1674, when an Ordinance of Jacob de la Haye (Article 20) ordered that there would be no marriages between French and négresses or between noirs and white women. The term ‘slave’ also appears for the first time in Bourbon.³⁷ It is there that slavery, as it is understood in Mauritius, became established with maroon hunts, separate Parish Registers and domestic servants being treated as property.³⁸

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

The revolts of slaves on board have been studied to some extent by several authors: Peerthum, Allen, Filliot. Both revolt and escape occurred on board and appeared to have been expected, when the ship was being outfitted for voyage i.e. extra strong fences, more guards etc. were provided. For ships bound for Mauritius, a number have been documented in earlier studies: Allen’s database of voyages lists only 23 voyages with revolts. Vernet’s transcription of the journal of the *Espérance* also shows that escapes occurred among women as well.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

the slave trade increased in the 1760s onwards, the evidence from the French National Archives shows stereotyping and categorizing of various ethnicities in one group quite early in the slave trade. Thus 'Mozambican' slaves became trusted as were West African slaves; in fact, they were considered trustworthy enough to be recruited for the defence of the island. Women slaves from Mozambique were also appreciated for their reproductive capacity. Statements made at the time smack of breeding attempts: "Nombre trop modique de négresses Mozambique ou Bengalie [...] chaque vaisseau en apporte 12 ou 15 [...] elles peuplent plus et sont moins debauchées."128

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Tattoos for Colin represented the 'caste' identity of the different ethnic groups, many of which came to Mauritius. Women of the Sofala group also pierced their upper lip and their tattoos consisted of curved lines from their foreheads to temples, and there were points on the cheeks and body.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

2.3 Women

The section of the C4 series consulted by the TJC is unfortunately silent, for the most part, on the situation of enslaved women. The instances where they appear are when they are cited in criminal cases; e.g. in cases when they refused to bear children or in reference to marriage partners and concubines. They also appear, when accounting of the value of slaves was undertaken. More intense searches in archival records are required. Only a few points will be made here.

☐ Categorising women

The same criteria used by colonial society to differentiate between male slaves applied in the case of female slaves: females were categorised according to their capacity for various occupations, based on presumed ethnic traits. Officials also continually complained about women who did not want to bear children and about Malagasy women, in particular, who used traditional medicine to abort. Indian and Guinean slaves were considered better breeders. By the sheer fact of mentioning the reproductive capacity of women slaves, it was clear that officials saw high birth rate as being beneficial since it would reduce the need to obtain more slaves through slave trading. 149

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

According to reports found in C4 series, there was no decent place for slave women to give birth and many lost their babies during childbirth. 150

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

In the attempt to reform slavery, to reform administration of the management of concessions to make them more productive, owners were requested to mix men and women and to marry slaves early; pour «accorder des récompenses pour exciter chez eux la propagation». Rewards included getting 2 days off per month, if they bore 6 live children; 4 days off, if they bore 9 children and freedom for the parents, only if they bore 12 children. It was also recommended that heavy loads not be carried by slaves from one district to another. 151 Whether these reforms ever got off the ground remains to be researched by an intensive demographic study. By the 1770s, this may not have succeeded, if it was at all implemented as the slave trade was expanding.

An extraordinary measure was recommended years later to prevent women from performing abortions, thereby indicating that the situation may not have improved. An Act dating from 1556 was introduced in the islands and included the death penalty for those convicted of ending their pregnancies.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Work of women

Women were involved in various tasks related to domestic work and often performing the same work as men. In one unique document relating to the employment of women on Vigoureux's establishment, the Governor doubted whether women should be given the same work as men. In Vigoureux establishment, some women were pregnant,

some worked with children on their backs, others were still breastfeeding and others were employed in cooking food for the entire workshop of slaves. He recognized their social value and felt that, although it was desirable to have women in the workforce, it was an additional expense for the Government to pay Vigoureux for the maintenance of the slaves.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Rice was given when other foods were not available. On some estates, rice was given once a week on Sundays, while on weekdays, they were fed manioc. Aside from manioc, slaves received half a herring and 1 lb of salt every Sunday. Disputes with owners occurred over the measurement of rations, with complaints being lodged about smaller measures being used. On large plantations, slaves also received salt, 2 ounces of salted fish or meat (occasionally) and a cup of 'arrack'. On some estates, slaves could take as much cane juice as they liked. Women who were nursing were fed from 'the master's table' for 2-3 months. Slaves also grew their own provisions: brèdes (greens), while those in forest estates could hunt for the tandrac (hedgehog). Coastal estates had many slaves employed as fishermen and others picking 'bambaras' ('sea slug'). If food supplies to slaves on small estates were deficient, it was felt that this was compensated for by the less strenuous work of cultivating manioc, grain and vegetable gardens and transporting these goods to market. Some slaves had access to provision grounds, while others were permitted to engage in petty trade.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Women and children

Males outnumbered females and only a small proportion of adult slaves lived in family groups, with the majority headed by single-parents, overwhelmingly female-headed. Slave women faced immense difficulties to be able to care for, or even feed, their young children. Slave women often complained of ill-treatment and sexual exploitation; they were obliged to work unduly long hours despite having young children to care. And the insecurity of women necessarily increased the vulnerability of children and the impermanence of family life. If babies suffered from inadequate maternal care, they did not remain babies for long. As children, they soon directly faced mistreatment (e.g. they were put in chains, flogged) which had made maternal care so difficult. Clearly, the nature of the power structure meant that children could not rely on support from parents who were themselves so vulnerable to their masters.

Slave women had to carry out their domestic tasks in addition to their agricultural work. According to a study in Nyasaland, on average, every woman spent about 7 hours daily on such routine domestic tasks as preparing cereals, fetching water and collecting fuel and leaves from the bush for food and food preparation.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Canteen ownership was also reserved for Whites at this time; so slaves procured from the Gens de couleur. In 13 Messidor An 10, Babet Vevard, a free Black woman, was condemned because she had given drinks to 2 slaves, Jacmin and Sebastien (MNA: E 102). A new law on 14 Ventose An 6 declared 3 months imprisonment for illicit liquor sale. Babet got 100 piastres fine, as well as having his material confiscated.¹⁶² Many women from the Gens de couleur, who cohabited with poor whites, also opened canteens through their partners who gave them the capital to start the business. Adeline, a Free black woman, was imprisoned for 8 days for having 'kept' the Chevalier Peron and 3 other sailors and given them alcohol to drink in the house of Citoyen Mottel (MNA E 102, p. 32).

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1753, slaves were still building fortifications. Moreover, as Megan Vaughan observes "the slaves placed at Charpentier-Cossigny's disposal for the building, of the fortifications included as many women as men, all of them engaged in hard manual labour."

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

In January 1778, a survey of the state of slaves, who belonged to the King, was made, and details given on the heads of workshops. There were 3,084 slaves among whom were 1,732 males, 765 females, 349 boys and 238 girls. An assessment was made of their exact value: out of the 3,084, there were 381 who were either infirm or unfit to work

because of fatigue. No strenuous work could be given to them. Some were old and needed care in order not to worsen their infirmities. They tended to be left to themselves most of the time, and the rest of the time, they were given what was the equivalent of children's work. The boys and girls, up to 9-10 years, were not given any work either. The women, though fit for work, were allowed to stay home and look after their children. It was, therefore, on the male slaves, according to reports, that all the burden of work fell. Even among them, however, some were ill or had marooned. The Government therefore bought 180 more slaves from private persons for the dredging of the Port.²²²

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. Trans. the women whose usefulness, for the most part, is confined to carrying stones on their head during works). "Il y a celles qui sont enceintes ou nourrices, lesquelles ne rendent aucun service toute une partie de l'année, il faut au moins les loger, les nourrir, les habiller et leur donner des ustensiles.

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

Indian men and women were brought both as slaves and as free workers as far back as 1729. Among the free men, were either skilled artisans, poor fishermen, peons (pions) or sailors. It is also reported that those in skilled trades transmitted their knowledge to their children and thus continued in the same trade for generations.²²⁷ The first Indian worker on contract was brought in 1734, although workers had been arriving well before that date (MNA: NA 6/1A, quoted in Jumeer).

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Jumeer, many Indian slaves were women. Many did not declare the fathers of their children because these were European. This situation is explained by Jumeer as resulting from shortage of European women on the island. The children were known as the 'Noirs Libres' (Jumeer: 105-7). Moreover, among the manumitted, many were Indian women. Their children formed a privileged group being 'Eurasian'. Finally, there were also those Indian slave women bought by 'petits blancs' (poor whites). These have been partly studied by Jumeer, but further work is required (Jumeer: 114).

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Among the women, they were among the first to obtain manumission as numerous liaisons existed with European owners and other non-Indian slaves. According to Nagapen, slavery was "un agent pollueur terriblement efficace" (Eng. trans. a very efficient polluting agent).²²⁸

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, they were not all wealthy inhabitants; 50% of Europeans were 'petit blancs', made up of artisans, workers, carpenters, stone-masons. In the rural areas, the men might be overseers, and the women employed as domestics. As the Free Black population emerged, the Whites relinquished

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

Slaves who had hitherto engaged in occupations not requiring hard physical labour were brought into plantation work and many did not survive this shift. Women, who had traditionally stayed at home or were working in domestic service, were also forced to shift to plantation work. Children and the elderly were brought in and given lighter work on the plantation ('petite bande') and in herding cattle. That itself, although not requiring hard physical labour, meant much longer hours of work and a 7-day working week.

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

Concerning women, he observed that many young girls had multiple partners by the age of 12.

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition to free French and Indian engagés, non-slave forced labour was also used in the form of convicts from France and, later in the British period, from India. Women engagées were also recruited, but in smaller numbers. French children, mostly orphaned, were also brought in and placed as apprentices in Isle de France.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission recommends that further study be undertaken on French engagé labour, men, women and children as well as on the orphaned children brought to Isle de France to work.

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

In his report on Liberated Africans in Mauritius, in 1826, P. Salter, the Ag. Collector of Customs, we learn that between 1813 and 1826, out of 2,998 Liberated Africans brought to Mauritius, some 291 had died even before being apprenticed. Women constituted only ¼ of them. More than 9% of the Liberated Africans died within less than a month after landing, dying of dysentery, cholera, and the small pox, as well as from severe cases of malnutrition and dehydration which prevailed on the slave vessels sailing between Madagascar and East Africa to Mauritius and its dependencies. The state of the ships was confirmed by Captain Dorval, who had commanded one of them, *Le Coureur*, involved in illegal slave trading. He described the state of the slave vessels which were always extremely overcrowded, with diseases being rampant and the high mortality rate. Thus we find that more had died before reaching Mauritius.

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

Women would be brought in to service male labourers/slaves, to undertake domestic duties, such as cooking and cleaning, and satisfy sexual needs: " In Demerara," Mr. Gladstone stated, "the females are employed in the field as well as the men; and if the female Coolies wilt engage to work there, a larger proportion may be sent, say two women to three men, or, if desired, equal numbers; but if they will not engage to work there, then the proportion sent to the Isle of France, of one female to nine or ten men, for cooking and washing, is enough".²⁴³ Thus numbers of women would only be increased, if their labour was required. It is only when problems arose that more women were allowed to come. As the company named Gillanders needed labour, Gladstone complied.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

However by this time, Mauritian planters represented in the Immigration Committee also wished to have permanent immigrants, and not temporary ones, as 6,000 immigrants had already left Mauritius by 1844. To do this, however, would have necessitated the introduction of a greater number of women and families.²⁴⁸ It was not thought necessary to import much more after that year. It was felt that to undertake Government-controlled recruitment and shipping, this could be more efficiently supervised by a Government Emigration Agent based in Calcutta. Furthermore, this was also where rice supply for Mauritius was procured. By October 1843, the Protector of Emigrants reported that the labour needs of the Colony had been met: about 29,000 labourers would have been introduced of whom 2,700 were women and 700, children.²⁴⁹

☐ Emigration of women

After 1842, it appears that officially, about 12 women to every 100 were to be brought, including some children, but in fact, many more were brought. On 23rd January 1843, the first boat load of

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

immigrants with wives and children were disembarked, "a very rare occurrence up to the period of the prohibition."²⁵⁰ Employers preferred women below the age of 20, and up to 30. However, it was not easy to find more females: according to the European view of Indian women, the tendency was to think that "respectable females of the working class in India will not go abroad."²⁵¹

However, Hugon had different views: he stated that there was no real objection to women accompanying their husbands, even to work, since women, among the Hill people, had a different attitude to work. Tribal women worked, while those 'of Hindostan' did not. But, due to increased landlessness and unemployment, he did not feel

that even this would be an obstacle for women. The real obstacle was the fact that in Mauritius, there was no law guaranteeing that the wives would stay with their husbands as religious marriages were not recognized.²⁵²

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

Although many of the first immigrants came from Madras and Bombay, the Indian Government was not agreeable to other ports in India being used by the Mauritian Government because immigration could be better checked, nor could abuses, ('under the eye of the Supreme Government'). From Calcutta, it was also possible to ensure that more women embarked, as very few women embarked from Madras and Bombay.²⁵³

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

Patna was another of the districts sending large numbers of immigrants to Mauritius. The chief recruiter there was a man named Chunni. Recruiters were encouraged to put up posters showing the advantages of emigration, "in kaithi character and in simple language by thousands throughout the district."²⁵⁸ However, between 1879 and 1882, when Grierson had visited, only 110 emigrants had left for Mauritius, out of 717 leaving Patna, and emigration was dwindling. Chunni worked alone, according to Grierson and had a pakka sub-depot in Patna. One rarely encounters women in the recruiting process, but Sukhiya deserves mention as she provided food to the emigrants and had lived in Mauritius for 12 years. She set up a 'Railway refreshment room' for emigrants. She stated that she encouraged people to go to Mauritius.²⁵⁹

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

The gender ratio must also be mentioned (Fig. 6). Under private importation, no women or children were brought in. Later, of the 512 tribals sampled who came between the years 1843 and 1844, 75% were men and 16% women, the rest being children or unknown. The percentage of women was higher than for other immigrants, since women of other groups, it seems, were reluctant to travel.

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Gender-wise, there was a preponderance of men: out of 441 immigrants, 358 were males and only 83 were women. Immigration, according to the database, was most intense before 1853, with the bulk of immigrants arriving in 1852. Reports do indicate that recruiters found it hard to recruit women.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

It will be observed that, in contrast to other groups, not only were many more women present on board ships but many more were married. The category marked 'unspecified' might also contain married persons.

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

Women under indenture

If slavery and indenture as economic systems have received due attention on the part of scholars, the lesser-known aspects deserve also mention. Indentured labourers like slaves, brought with them their cultures, life-styles which they were in varying degrees able to keep. In the case of Indian labourers, how were their cultures and social life transformed by indenture? In other words, what was the impact on their non-working lives? Women have been recognised in Mauritian history as having kept the traditions brought from India. This was possibly because they stayed at home, unlike other labour immigrants and so were able to provide the nurturing roles. The absence of women, for example, in the early years deserve mention, as this was a matter of concern for authorities.

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

"only [British] colony which failed to engage Indian women as indentured labourers. The numbers of women formally employed on estates was consequently never very high, even in the principal sugar-growing districts ... In 1846 9% of the total Indian female population was registered as part of the plantation labour force. At the time of the malaria epidemic in 1867, less than 100 women were reported as working on the sugar estates. By 1871, when

the next census was taken, this figure had risen, even so, only 7% of women [or 1,808 Indian females out of a total estate population of 24,425] were officially employed as plantation workers.”²⁸⁷

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

One consequence of indenture, because of the relative scarcity of women, was to raise the ‘marriageable value’ of women and, in so doing, transform their social power. Women were crucial for the early indentured as they were imported solely and clearly to look after men’s needs in the barracks: provision of food and domestic chores. Rather than requesting a dowry, men now paid parents, thus reversing an age-old Indian tradition. Doyal of Flacq paid a huge sum of \$137 to get

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

married to Bagmanea. This practice of paying the bride’s price was not limited to any particular section of the Indian immigrants, and another immigrant Virapatim, of South Indian origin, paid several hundred rupees to get married to Taylaman.²⁸⁸ This should not necessarily be interpreted as an example of women’s emancipation, since there is some evidence of this resembling a ‘sale’ of daughters rather than being a celebration.

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

Instability of marriages was also a consequence of the imbalance in sexes: there were reports of wives being enticed away by other immigrants and women moving out of the matrimonial alliances, according to Mishra, for ‘more attractive’ options.²⁹² Archival records show that this was one of the primary concerns of the male population in Mauritius who requested the Authorities to restore their wives. However, due to the fact they were no ‘legally married’, the Police could not intervene.

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

It is still not that clear whether it is Westernisation or indenture, whether it was self-change or imposed change, which modified/changed Indian traditions in Mauritius. Anthropologists have given their views but there has been little attempt to study the evolution diachronically, in other words over time, since the 19th century. The difficulty has been that, although much historical data is available on material conditions of immigrants, their cultural and social life remains largely unknown. Although in India, reformist movements were also advocating changes, in Mauritius it is not clear whether the changes that occurred were imposed by plantation conditions or Colonial Officials’ intervention through laws or whether the immigrants themselves abandoned them. The practice of sati (widow burning) dowry were understandably no longer practicable in a period of shortage of women but for other practices, the situation is less clear: human sacrifice, polygyny, child marriage etc. There is no indication when these died out, if they ever existed at all. From interviews with elders, it is clear that child marriages existed, as did the heavy expenditure during marriage that parents endured.

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

Estate owners often provided either salted fish or dholl, but not both, saying that Indians preferred dholl to fish. However, this ration did not cover the needs of labourers with families, women and children too young to work. Those who became sick, while at work, received the whole ration, while those who did not attend work at all did not receive any ration. Rations were distributed on Saturdays during the ‘entrecoupe’ (non-harvest) season and on Sundays during the harvest season. Rations and wages were given to labourers who fell sick or had an accident at work. Those who were sick and absent from work did not receive any wages or rations. But working conditions varied widely from estate to estate.

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

It should be noted that, in the 1870s/1880s, although it was compulsory for men (Indian labourers) to attend the estate hospital when ill, women and children often did not, either due to ignorance or cultural norms or poor hospital conditions (including food not being to their liking). Children were often not vaccinated. Women would not deliver in hospitals and gave birth in their huts with the assistance of traditional midwives (dais). They attended hospitals

only in case of complications. This resulted in high child and maternal mortality on the estates. But things gradually improved, when medical care and living conditions in estate hospitals improved.

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

While the above may be seen as an analysis of society from a political economy perspective, this is not to say that the human, individual agency or perspective is being ignored. 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.

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

From a sample survey conducted early in 2011 among 283 labourers who participated in the VRS II scheme, 70.3% of the labourers are working, with 78.3% among the women and 68.2% among the men. It is to be noted that the number of men and women labourers in the sample is respectively 183 and 60 given a ratio of 3:1 as per the population of labourers having opted for VRS II. Further, among those working and the 150 men and 45 women who responded to the required question, 74% of the men and 84.4% of the women are on contract with the sugar estates or with the job contractors of sugar estates, thus going back to a system that existed under indenture.

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

The prevailing income among the respondents is very low indeed. About 62% of them earn between Rs 1,000 to Rs 6000; and women labourers are worse off with 68% of them being in that income bracket.

A 're-skilling programme' had also been planned for the labourers. From the sample, 72% of men and 82% of women either had not benefitted from any training whatsoever or did not attend the training session. Among those who did attend, only 17% found it beneficial. It is obvious that the training provided did not satisfy the objective of re-skilling as defined in MAAS.

It was also noted that among the retired labourers, the women face a particularly difficult situation. The reduced pension, referred to earlier on, impacts more severely on them for three reasons. Firstly, their basic salary is lower than that of men on account of wage packages and remuneration orders prevailing in the Sugar Industry. Secondly, they retire at a younger age than the men, at 45 or 50 years and the actuarial factors used to compute retirement pension are lower. Thirdly, they may be widows or are the only bread earner in cases where the husband is unable to work.

To provide support to women affected by the VRS, an amount of Rs. 800 million was included in the Action Plan 2006-2015 for adaptation and empowerment. These funds were destined for the safety nets, possibly in a revamped Social Aid Programme. However, this specific project has not been implemented.

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1970, the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) was established in Mauritius and the Export Processing Zone Act was passed. The Act provided major incentives to manufacturers catering for foreign markets. Moreover, firms within the EPZs equally benefited from the availability of cheap labour which came from unemployed workers and women who were outside the labour force at that time.³¹¹ In his paper, Ali Zafar elaborated as follows

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

"According to interviews with textile executives located in the EPZ, 80 per cent of workers in the EPZs in the 1980s were women. The rate has decreased somewhat in the 1990's and 2000's, but women continue to be more than 60 per cent of the workers in the zones. The lower wages that were paid to the workers in the EPZs in the early years allowed the firms to accumulate capital and reinvest the earnings into the firm's expansion."

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in

modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. Unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

The Export Oriented Enterprises (as the EPZ is to be known as from 2006) employed, by March 2001, 93,218 workers of whom 30,783 and 62,435 were respectively males and females, giving a ratio of nearly 1:2 in favour of female workers. With the restructuring of the sector, there were many redundancies so that by June 2009, there were 58,066 workers of whom 24,451 and 33,615 were respectively males and females, giving a ratio of 1:14 or 5:7 in favour of female workers. Of the 35,000 workers made redundant, about 29,000 were women and about 6,000 were men. Thus women are the most vulnerable group in the labour force in that sector.

In the process of restructuring, wages went up compared to the 1980s; but nevertheless, in the textile sector, monthly wages in March 2002 went down from Rs. 7,039 to Rs. 6,236 in March 2008 in real terms (using 2001 as base year). The wages reached its March 2002 level in March 2009. As wages go up, the share of females in the labour force in this sector goes down. The obvious question is: "What happened to the 35,000 workers made redundant and, in particular, to the 29,000 women?"

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

The apprenticeship system has been researched in some depth in Mauritian Historiography, as well as the opposition to it coming from abolitionists who saw it as not being much different from slavery. The complicity of the local Government in creating a system that was no different from slavery and ensured that labour stayed on estates until contract labour system was established, while owners enjoyed the compensation money and invested in their sugar estates. Apprentices were quick to see they had been duped of their freedom. They expressed this disapproval of this 'new system of slavery' in several forms. Some marooned and were hunted in exactly the same manner as they had been under slavery. When caught they were flogged in the same manner. Others chose to withdraw from plantation labour (but not from agriculture), knowing full well that this is what would strike at the heart of plantation's operation. Others still bought their freedom from apprenticeship, just as, when slaves, they had bought their manumission. They were still advertised as slaves for hire, even though slavery had been abolished. While the stereotype of women is that they were downtrodden people, the number of applications for freedom from apprenticeship are very revealing. These women's history must not be forgotten and deserves further study.

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

For Port Louis, there is a far greater variety of occupations engaged in by the ex-apprentice population. There are a large number of women employed as seamstresses in skilled work, but twice as many working as domestics.

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

As has been stated before, it is important to grasp the mindset of the slave population before the abolition of slavery in order to understand their actions afterwards, given the paucity of information as to their whereabouts, after slavery was abolished. Only, then, can we understand the ex-slave population's movements after slavery: what did they think of 'freedom'? Was it individual liberty? Was it their intention to regroup somewhere? Was it education, and what about employment? Was it their wish to be near the former owners of the sugar plantations? Did women want to continue to labour on sugar estates or in the kitchen of the owners? This is all the more necessary as there have been numerous sweeping statements made in public discourse, concerning their movements which continue to impact on public perceptions and discourse. Some of these sweeping statements and perceptions are:

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

For the average sugar estate worker living in an estate camp in the earlier part of the twentieth century, the day began like most other days, rising at 5-6 a.m. to go to work, after being awakened by the "Lappel", a man charged with waking up all the workers, or even as early as 1-2 a.m., if it was the harvest season. How early they rose depended not only on how far the estate camp was from the field where they had to work, but also on whether the

estate provided a lorry to transport them, or if they had to walk there or were lucky enough to hitch a ride on a passing bullock-drawn cart. Most workers took breakfast before they set off for work, usually consisting of tea and bread, and sometimes a little left over curry, and if they had sufficient time, they would offer a prayer for the hard day of work ahead. Women normally woke up somewhat earlier than men did, as they also had to prepare breakfast for their husbands and the other members of the family. After brushing their teeth either with charcoal, or by using either their fingers or a piece of guava stick for this purpose, they would set off for work, came back after midday and ate something prior to commencing their daily chores. Women and children were the ones who were primarily responsible for carrying out these household chores, which normally consisted of fetching water and washing clothes, and collecting wood for cooking and grass for any cows or livestock that they kept.

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

camp. Camp inhabitants describe “polishing” earthen floors with cow dung every week or once a fortnight, and red clay was particularly sought after with women prepared to walk several miles in order to collect it. It is conceivable that some of the camp inhabitants would have built these structures themselves, and there is also evidence that they kept livestock in close proximity to their dwellings, much like their forefathers had done during the days of indenture. Of course, back in those days, there was no electricity to begin with, so most camp inhabitants relied on candles and kerosene lamps for lighting, and if the camp inhabitants were fortunate enough, a regular supply of water could be accessed through a public tap or a well in the camp. Cooking facilities varied, with some camp inhabitants opting to cook on their verandahs, or even inside their own dwellings over a pile of stones referred to as a “foyer” by the informants, sometimes resulting in fires that destroyed dwellings. While others preferred to cook in a makeshift kitchen located outside their dwellings and used either wood or sugarcane for these purposes. The informants also state that toilets and bathing facilities were usually not attached to their dwellings and were at some distance from where they lived and were used by all of the camp’s inhabitants. Some estates had schools, medical dispensaries, crèches, and transported workers to the nearest district hospital if required, or failing, that camp inhabitants were forced to walk to school and the nearest hospital by foot, or gave birth with the help of a midwife in their own dwellings.³³⁹

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

The more ‘lavish’ type of housing could be found in some villages as “lakaz tol vitrinn”³⁴⁹ and the people who owned it as living like “tourists”. Yet it would also appear there were not all that many differences between most village dwellings and the type of housing found on estate camps prior to the 1960s. As Benedict (1961:55) points out, huts made of wattle and daub were quite common, as were earthen floors laid over stone foundations, and while poor families did their cooking on verandahs, others did it in a “separate hut of sheet iron located in the yard”, and apparently housing in villages was also crowded (cf. Benedict 1961:12).³⁵⁰ Similarly, although most village dwellings had their own yards, something that estate camp inhabitants could not claim to have was pit latrines, and the bucket system were the most common methods of conservancy, and it is likely that in the absence of these, villagers would have used nearby cane fields. Benedict also states that household chores were primarily the responsibility of women and children,³⁵¹ and that these included doing such things as replastering earthen floors with red clay and cow dung, collecting water from the village fountain or nearby rivers and streams, if fountains were lacking (cf. ARLD 1945:3), and walking long distances to collect wood for cooking and fodder for livestock. Rearing cows and selling milk in order to generate additional sources of income also seem to have been quite common in villages and were primarily the responsibility of women,

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

The first task to be performed in connection with ratoon canes is that of revelage, which consists of arranging the straw in the interlines separating two lines of canes after the crop has been cut. This is a task usually performed by women. It is not regarded as a task making very severe demands upon the physical powers of the workers. This task is followed by that of manuring, which consists of spreading pen or chemical manure, or both, according to the estimated needs of the soil. The spreading of chemical fertilizers is frequently performed by small boys, and is an operation that can be finished at any time.

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 7. WOMEN LABOURERS

The treatment of gender differences must be mentioned as it is an issue that women have felt strongly about but which has been ignored.

The main criterion used to distinguish men's and women's work is the physical strength required to do arduous tasks. Lighter tasks such as manuring, weeding and removing straw from cane was usually performed by women or a third group of workers consisting of women, children and invalids and was used as justification for paying them less than men (cf. Hooper 1937:166). However, in practice (confirmed by oral testimonies), women were required to perform more physically demanding tasks that men normally performed and were perhaps better suited to doing such as cutting cane, loading it, and the removal of stones. Thus although paid less, women have had to work in equally physically demanding tasks: "We had to walk on the 'mardier' [wooden plank] to put the cane in the 'corbeil' [cane barrow]. It was ... very exhausting work for ladies like us. We had to put the cane on our head and walk along the 'mardier', which was very high. We used to fall down too (Sooben 2009:17)."

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

Yet while it does not appear that women were exempt from doing physically demanding tasks such as cutting and loading cane for instance, tasks often described by both male and female informants, as being the province of men who worked in the Grande Bande and which they accordingly rationalized was the reason men were paid more than women. The ALDR of 1945 indicates that women who worked in the Grande Bande were being paid less for doing tasks that appear to be little different to that which men who worked in the Petite Bande performed (ARLD 1945:24-26). According to the ARLD of 1945 men who work in the Grande Bande are "required to perform any sort of unskilled or semi-skilled labour on a sugar estate", while men who work in the Petite Bande are "required to perform the same sort of labour [...] but with a reduced task and not bound to do holing". This sounds like the same type of tasks that women who worked in the Grande Bande were expected to perform, and indeed if we compare the ARLD of 1956, which reproduces a copy of a collective agreement reached between the Mauritius Amalgamated Labourer's Association and the Mauritius Sugar Producer's Association, it states that women working in this group were not expected to cut or load cane.

Women, Class, I, Grande Bande.-Labourers capable of performing and required to perform any task appertaining to unskilled labour, but not bound to do holing, uprooting, forking, crowbar work, loading, cutting, heaving cleaning, heavy buttage, [and] manuring involving the carrying of a load of more than 18 kilos of manure per basket" (ARLD 1956:21-22).

Reference 58 - 0.02% Coverage

This neglect of the rights of female labourers, which probably goes some way towards explaining why they were paid less for doing some of the same types of tasks as men, may also reflect their marginal position in the Mauritian Sugar Industry since the days of indenture. Few women were 'indentured' in the 19th century but with the end of indenture, the rate of women's participation rates in the Sugar Industry's workforce gradually increased. The Great Depression, widowed women, poverty are some of the reasons cited but this needs to be more fully researched. Surra epidemics may also have been responsible as many women had previously stayed home to rear cattle.

Whatever be the reasons, by the end of the Second World War, female labourers accounted for almost half of the Mauritian Sugar Industry's workforce, or a maximum of 18,126 female labourers at the height of the crop season in 1945 (ARLD 1945:46). It is important to note, however, that more female labourers tended to be employed during the inter-crop period whereas men made up the bulk of field labourers during both the inter-crop and crop periods. The same logic used to determine how much men and women should be paid for the types of tasks which they performed, also seems to account for the Industry's preference to employ more women to do lighter tasks between crops and for men to do heavier tasks such as harvesting cane when the crop has to be harvested.

The most poignant testimonies have been furnished by the elderly female sugar estate workers. For instance, one informant³⁶⁰ complained that she would hurt herself when she had to remove straw from the sugarcane just prior to it being cut by male labourers (the process described as *dépaillage* in the Hooper Commission's summary above). She also says that she used to wear *linz lakaz*, that is, her everyday clothes to work, and that workers were not provided with uniforms, boots, gloves and masks until after Independence. Similarly, in Pamela Sooben's (2009: 16-17) undergraduate dissertation, the elderly female sugar estate workers she interviewed complained of having to remove straw from sugarcane. In order to protect themselves, they wore long socks over their hands, but that still did not prevent the straw from piercing their old socks and drawing blood from their hands: "When the sirdar asked us to remove 'divet' from sugarcane, especially 'canne coulou', we would run away because these 'divet' pierced our

old socks, hands and fingers. We also used to get rashes". These women also complained of finding it difficult to cook for themselves after a day's work because of the injuries they sustained to their hands, while working in the cane fields without gloves (Sooben 2009:8).

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: 'Coloured Population', 'Libres de Couleur', 'Gens de Couleur', 'Free Population', 'Creoles Ferblan', 'Mulatres' etc. We have chosen the term Gens de Couleur as it implies a certain social status whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins. However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

More importantly, among this population, the imagined 'fear' of being 'swamped' by Indian or the 'ti Kreol' no longer exists in the same manner that led to the massive exodus of Gens de Couleur in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, towards Australia, the U.K., Canada and South Africa, even though social mingling may still be problematical for some. Although a cultural and social void was created, the emerging Gens de Couleur today have, according to Rivière, abandoned their former spirit of ghettos, or 'cloisonnement' (erecting barriers), against this imagined invasion by other communities, especially Ti-Créoles. The young envision the future with optimism and an openness that augur well for a multicultural and unified nation. Professions are open to all, and the persons interviewed by the Commission were not in dread of 'cultural nepotism' that their ancestors deplored. Women appear more open and more enlightened in respect of inter-communal marriages and socialising with other communities.

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

The mixed traits which created beautiful complexions and features were the bane of European women who did not like the way the mixed women enticed their husbands and men away from them. Rose Freycinet wrote about : 'those pretty and well-shaped girls are kept by the rich men, young and old, of Mauritius. I shall add, to the great shame of men, even fathers lavish on those wretches luxuries which their own children often go without. Can you believe, dear friend, that one would not find two men here who do not keep one of those girls in fine quarters, fine clothes and served by five or six black servants [...]?'...Some men even set up home with these women, have a dozen children by them and have no other house but theirs; these men are not married. By their actions, they are forced to withdraw from society, for these women are never received publicly. They provide a good education for their children, who are almost white; several even send them to England and France [...].373

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

Many French merchants, settling in the Isle de France, cohabited with female slaves or Coloured women. Some married freed slaves - such later on was the case of Benoît Ollier from the Lyon region, who arrived in 1789 and latter married Julie, a freed slave born in Mauritius; they gave birth to Rémy Ollier, who was to become one of our greatest journalists, in 1816. 374

The Mésalliances and de facto relationships were also the direct result of an imbalance between settler men and women. In 1778, there were 1,727 white women out of a total white population of 4,417; in 1809, white women numbered 2,671 out of a white population of 6,227. Rampant promiscuity and mésalliances led to the emergence of a mulatto and métis class. Free Indian contractual workers and Indian free settlers as well as freed Indian slaves contracted liaisons or marriages with petits blancs or Coloured individuals.

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

Chinese workers or settlers and individual women belonging to the freed slave or Coloured community, but a detailed study is required on this.

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

Prejudices survived from the French colonial days during the British period; for example, an Ordinance of 1779 prohibited entry by the Whites into the 'Quartier des Libres' and punished any infringement by fines. 378 Yet, Indian women, not deterred by the coloured status of their children, had them baptized, without naming their fathers, according to Jumeer. 379 But, this did not secure access into 'good society'; in fact, these children were ostracized both by the Whites and the Indians. A similar story unfolded, when it came to Coloured children with freed slave mothers. Even though their numbers increased, hostility between the White and 'Coloured Population', as Rose de Freycinet noted, 380 increased in the early nineteenth century. The causes of this white antagonism was, partly, rivalry between the two groups of women, White and Coloured, but, above all, it can be explained by the abolition of the status description in the Ordinance of 1829.

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

Rémy Ollier and Reverend Le Brun left a trail of educated, socially conscious and practically motivated men and women who were to take up battle for liberal reforms. The influence of Rémy Ollier continued long after he had passed away. The first lawyer emerging from this group, significantly, was in post in 1842, Athanase Volcy Hitié, and the first notary, G. Lalandelle, qualified in the same year. By 1852, the Royal College was open to all sections of the population,⁴⁰¹ but very few Indian boys attended. Although in the *Sentinelle* of April 1843, Rémy Ollier pledged to redress injustices borne by whatever class and by people of whatever colour, he was more committed to fighting prejudices that prevailed against the *Gens de Couleur*, in the first instance. *La Sentinelle*, a new 'political newspaper', was to 'signal abuses' and "call all Mauritians to an intelligent unity." ⁴⁰²

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

This industry employed a considerable number of persons, mostly Creoles and mostly women for the cutting of leaves and processing of these into fibre. Men were used at the level of the spinning plants, *filatures d'aloës*. By 1979, there were still some 80 aloe fibre factories in operation, employing quite a considerable number of workers.⁴²⁵

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

All employees in the aloe fibre industry, whether on the plantations or at the Central factory, located in Quatre-Bornes, were laid off; with little or no compensation. The closure of the aloe fibre industry has been a great blow to this category of workers, and especially to Creole women.

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

The rise of the Tourist Industry and the setting up of Export Processing Zones were a boon to the Creole proletariat in late 1970s and 1980s. Many Creole workers, more especially Creole women, found employment in both industries, although their male counterparts were less fortunate in this respect. Illiteracy, which was still prevalent in their milieu, however, impeded accessibility to secretarial and administrative jobs.⁴²⁸

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

Work in the port was, and still is, male-centered. It was not until the 1990s that the port authorities hired women in administration. This section was written based on interviews of port workers and represents their thoughts about their lives.⁴⁴¹ This is as yet the unwritten history of the port.

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

In his work on land acquisition by slaves and indentured labour, Richard Allen has highlighted on the ownership of land by the *gens de couleur*, a majority of whom were free Indians from Pondichery. For the period covering 1766 –

1809, 17,460 arpents were owned by free Africans and Indians classified as gens de couleur.⁴⁹¹ The enactment of the law of Emancipation of 1767 in the code Delaleu gives recognition to the presence of a third category of individuals, as opposed to the whites and the slaves. A majority of the people falling in this category were of Indian origin. Due to gender imbalance, many Indian slaves had no alternative but to marry women slaves, both of Malagasy and Mozambican origins.

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

An elite mystique was maintained among Franco-Mauritians and some Gens de Couleur. This was an intangible aspect of being white or nearly white that others, despite class mobility, could not achieve. White Franco-Mauritian women also practised a particular kind of racism, one involving association and dissociation. Specifically, the women participate actively in charity and volunteer work with the poor, but often do so as a way of achieving a particular identity, one which valorises charitable acts among women as a sign of morality. Charity is also a way of dissociating from the poor (and ultimately the blacks) because it structures the relationship with them, without allowing them to fully engage with the self (i.e., Whites). Furthermore, it also stereotypes the poor because it publicly constructs them as people in need and as dependents who are unable to help themselves. While not all philanthropic acts are done with such motives, we argue that there is a powerful religious-racial discourse at play in Mauritius, one which socially constructs the white woman as the epitome of physical and moral purity. By participating in such acts of moral purification (charity) and doing this in defined social spaces, the white woman manages to support and perpetuate this discourse of purity and also controls the purity of home space – as she does not ‘recevoir’ or receive blacks as equals into this home space. It would seem to us (as a general trend) that, as far as the white Franco-Mauritian men were concerned, it was important for them to maintain the purity of spaces in the public sphere. Thus, they tend to control access to leisure spaces and to jobs and opportunities, by doing so in various ways, consciously (deliberate barring of access) and unconsciously (through micro-aggressions or in references to the prospective black employee in the company not being suitable for the job).

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

These friendships are, however, mostly still masculine, as it is men who tend to occupy the public spheres in Mauritius. With regard to the complex issue of gender, racial myths and stereotypes have permeated gendered categories. For Franco-Mauritian women, there is pressure to maintain a high level of propriety and morality. They participate in a range of charity work, not only because they are fully aware of poverty in Mauritius, but also because this validates their position in the social hierarchy as pure, moral beings. In this sense, they are juxtaposed to the Creole or black women, who are deemed to occupy the lowest rung of the society, being stereotyped as drug dealers and sex workers. Assumptions about the nature of Indian descendants are legion. For instance, women of Hindu origin were being employed, and Creole women were not being employed, at one factory because the idea was that there was inevitable ethnic solidarity among Hindu women. This view

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

does not take into consideration the fact that these women might choose to differentiate between themselves on the basis of age, class, caste, interest or home location.

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

Believing that caste belongingness refers to a hierarchy based on natural criteria seems to be losing ground in contemporary Mauritius. The local, more universal, versions of such conceptions appeared when people stated that

the only caste is that of 'God', or that there are only two castes, men and women. As a consequence, the most overt and/or violent forms of discrimination, whether physical (low-caste individuals being slapped for entering a temple) or psychological (in-laws refusing food from lower-caste daughter-in-laws) are cited, but only as examples from the past. However, it is to be noted that temples still bar members of certain castes from entering. This must be condemned. However, castes are still, in Mauritian popular beliefs, associated with a certain type of character, which can be described as discriminatory and derogatory. Thus, the stereotype of Chamar is that of an alcoholic and quarrelsome person. When an inter-caste marriage is broken up, one often uses such classifications as a cause. When one criticizes a quarrelsome

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

Although anaemia was a serious problem during the 1900s until the 1960s, generally affecting the lower-income groups of the population, it was particularly common among the Indian section of the population and affected mostly women of child-bearing age and young children. The disease was generally associated with malaria as well as hookworm infection. With the eradication of malaria, improved sanitation, public health measures (including iron supplementation and free shoes or boots to school children and labourers) and improved nutrition, anaemia ceased to be a major public health problem by the end of the 20th century.

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

High alcohol consumption had been the cause of sickness and mortality among slaves, apprentices and troops. During the 1825-40 period of sugar expansion, the widespread distribution of liquor to slaves as an incentive to work proved to be detrimental as slaves turned into alcoholics. The amount and frequency of arrack distribution differed on each estate but ranged from as little as once a week to several glasses a day. Liquor became cheap and freely available as slaves began to distil it in their huts and sell it to other slaves. Alcohol consumption increased dramatically during the crop season and affected both men and women. It led to various social ills, including fighting among slaves, general disorderliness, theft, lateness at work, insubordination, accidents and, even sometimes, suicides. There were also many unlicensed liquor shops in the districts (Teelock, 1998).

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

The problem of poverty is associated with social exclusion and marginalisation of some sections of the society. In Rodrigues, family poverty among groups, such as single women heads of households and teenage mothers, is accentuated by their lack of association with formal networks in the society. A Qualitative Study on Family Problems in Rodrigues, undertaken by the University of Mauritius, Ministry for Rodrigues and UNICEF in 1993, found that these groups of women, in most cases, do not belong to any associations, movements or community groupings. Some 20 years after that study, it should be noted that an extensive network of associations and organisations exists in Rodrigues and that these actively participate in the development of the island and cooperate in the identification and execution of community-based projects. Single women heads of households and teenage mothers are, however, not widely integrated into this network of organisations. The Study noted that the absence of single women heads of households could partly be attributed to feelings of uneasiness in taking part and a concern with being socially looked down upon by other association members.

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

Single-headed female households are among the poorest in Rodrigues. Some studies also seem to indicate that external circumstances often result in such households finding themselves in a vicious circle of poverty from one generation to another. Teenage pregnancy also leads to unstable relations and poverty. Once again, it is only through education, sensitisation and direct empowerment that the vicious circle of early pregnancy, lack of education, poverty and unstable family relationships can be broken. It is to be acknowledged that the Commission for Child Development, Family Welfare and Women's Rights is currently implementing its action plan relating to the sensitisation and direct empowerment of vulnerable groups, especially teenage mothers. The action plan addresses the recommendations of the Report on Teenage Pregnancy under three headings, that is, Prevention, Empowerment, and Integration.

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

unmarried women who often face difficulties in obtaining an adequate income. The causes of the women's income poverty were attributed to a lack of employment opportunities for women in Rodrigues, large families, lack of education and problems in accessing land. In addition, single female heads of households are often marginalised in terms of not being involved in the extensive network of associations and movements that exist in Rodrigues.

Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

In line with the trend for the Republic of Mauritius, the population structure in Rodrigues is gradually changing towards an increasingly larger number of elderly persons. The age structure in the Republic has changed considerably in the past four decades. In Rodrigues, the number of persons aged 60 or above increased by 65% from 1990 to 2004. At the same time, the share of population above the age of 60 grew from 5.9% to 9.1%. The ageing population poses new challenges to the society, particularly in terms of care arrangements. Wider societal changes, such as the abandoning of the extended family system, increasing labour market participation of women and the gradual disappearance of the female care-giver model, all add impetus to the need for society to arrange for care of the elderly. In view of these changes and given the growth in the elderly population, it is important to set up facilities that can accommodate elderly persons who are not able to live with the family or on their own and elderly who are in need of day care services. The population projections, detailed below, indicate that the elderly population in Rodrigues will grow rapidly over the next 40 years and that the elderly population will come to constitute an increasingly larger share of the islands inhabitants.

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

With a growing elderly population, appropriate planning needs to be initiated to ensure that care arrangements can be offered to elderly persons in need of these services. As elderly persons live longer, it is also important to cater for the essential and recreational needs of this age group who will have more spare time. A particular challenge in the care of elderly is to cater for the social and economic needs of elderly women who constitute the majority of elderly persons, but who are often in a disadvantaged position with lower income than their male counterparts.

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Age-specific fertility rates reveal that the number of live births among mothers aged 15 to 19 is higher in Rodrigues than in the Island of Mauritius. In 2004, there were 77 live births per 1,000 women aged between 15 and 19 in Rodrigues, compared to 36 in the Island of Mauritius (CSO, 2005b). In an international perspective, Rodrigues can be clustered among countries that fall somewhere mid-way in between relatively high and relatively low adolescent fertility rates.

Data from Rodrigues reveal that fertility rates among women aged 15 to 19 gradually decreased between 1990 and 1997 and then reached a low of 47 live births per 1,000 women. The rate has, thereafter, increased to reach 77 in 2004 (CSO, 2005a). In 2002, a Contraceptive Prevalence Survey revealed that one in five teenage girls in Rodrigues aged 15 to 19 are mothers or pregnant with their first child (Ministry of Health and Quality of Life). Data such as these provide some information on childbearing among teenagers, but it is important to note that the exact number of teenage pregnancies is difficult to estimate since some teenagers resort to abortion and data are not available on abortion rates.

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Teenage mothers in Rodrigues are reported to come from varied backgrounds and all parts of the island and have different levels of education ranging from no formal schooling to upper levels of secondary school (Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development, 2001). Interviews carried out as part of the Baseline study conducted on behalf of the Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development in 2001, however, revealed that the problem of teenage pregnancy is perceived to be more prevalent in the poorest areas, among girls who lack education and job prospects. The participant views from the Baseline Study also suggest that many cases of teenage pregnancy are linked to prostitution and that many teenage pregnancies occur in families where the girl's mother also had a teenage pregnancy. The authors of the Qualitative Study of family problems in Rodrigues judged it difficult to test the validity of a correlation between mother and daughter teenage pregnancy, but report that

interviewed teenage mothers, in many cases, came from families where there was instability in terms of the mother not having a steady partner.

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

Sexual activity among teenagers in Rodrigues is reported to start as early as the age of 12 – 13 for some girls, and 14 – 15 for some boys. Since pre-marital sexual activity is severely condemned by parents and the society at large, it occurs surreptitiously. A notion of sexuality as a taboo subject prevails and the topic is rarely one that parents discuss with their children. The school system also appears to provide insufficient information on reproductive processes, and there is as a result a lack of, or confused, knowledge about procreation among teenagers (Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development, 2001).

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

The Situation Analysis of Children and Women (1998) and a report on the present socioeconomic status and support services in Rodrigues (Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development, 2001) point out that, with a few exceptions, there are not many support services and facilities available for disabled persons in Rodrigues. Nationwide, disability is a main area of vulnerability which has not received adequate attention. While developments have taken place in the area in recent years, there is much that remains to be done in terms of support facilities for disabled persons and mechanisms to enhance their employability.

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

The overarching goal is to move towards greater equality by empowering both women and men to reach fully their potential and use their creativity and entrepreneurial spirit through the provision of adequate infrastructure services, opportunities and training, thereby enabling them to move away from low-productivity agriculture and fisheries sectors to other more productive activities thereby raising their incomes.

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

“a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated.”

Doing so would imply making significant progress towards ensuring that equality between men and women is fair and right.

- Increasing economic participation and the likelihood that women would find decent and productive jobs so as to increase their economic autonomy, hence allowing them to escape poverty;
- Deliberate promotion of women empowerment so as to enable them to:

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

Unless the various partners – including the Church, NGOs, associations of employers, businessmen/women and other social leaders - work together for a common purpose of changing the economy and social structure and making it more productive and resilient to meet the expectations of the youth, the island runs the risk of being totally overwhelmed by external influences. No amount of outside aid – from the central government or outside will help unless these social challenges are dealt with. A highly dynamic Health Education Unit working closely with the Family Planning section of the Department of Health, all social partners and NGOs like the Mauritius Family Welfare and Planning Association and the Action Familiale is required. There is the need to sensitise and empower girls to take the necessary precautions themselves and to bear upon their partners to do so as well. The Church and religious leaders have an important role to play in the sensitisation campaigns.

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

□ This system and policy of affirmative action must take into account women of slave and indentured descent. While it is acknowledged that it is presently difficult to define who is slave/indentured labour descendant, policy-makers (and Government) should ensure that positive discrimination occurs.

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

157. land settlement □ Democratising access to property ownership through the construction of low-cost residential developments/Morcellement for the working classes. It also implies implementing measures to protect and defend the land rights of the vulnerable groups, such as women and working-class families. The land allocated should contain sufficient space for agricultural activities with the accompanying training.

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

227. Discriminatory wage rates against women and generally occupational segregation should be done away with.

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

basis or verbal contracts that did not appear in the official figures. She also points out that those women who were not officially employed often helped their male partners to complete set tasks or spent their time sowing vacoas bags or rearing livestock for their families.

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

359 See the amendment to the Regulation of Wages and Conditions of Employment Ordinance 1961, as enshrined in Government Notice No. 134 of 1973. This is despite the fact that the Annual Reports of the Labour Department and Ministry of Labour prior to 1973 indicate that women should be paid “equal wages for doing equal work” in their various labour ordinances.

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

Land and slave-ownership were indicators of economic and social status on the island. Besides the French colonists who possessed large areas “concessions”, the ‘Gens de Couleur’, the soldiers (Noirs de Détachement) who participated in “Maroon Detachments”, were given 5 Arpents each. Contrary to the French colonists, they were not allowed to cultivate cash crops such as spices (cocoa, cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg or cloves) on their lands. The only cultivation allowed were food crops. The ‘Gens de Couleur’ gradually developed other activities: buying and selling, renting land and warehouses. They borrowed money to purchase property. As far as slave-ownership was concerned, most of the ‘Gens de couleur’ owned domestic slaves. Some slave women ended up as partners of the masters.

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

During the period, 1721-1735, there were no real developments in the country, despite some progress in the settlement of new migrants and the arrival of more women likely to marry the increasing single settlers.

Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

Under Mahé de Labourdonnais, many plants were introduced in the country. He also reactivated agricultural development, and revived the Sugar Industry. He encouraged settlement and provided women with a dowry to marry settlers. The value of land appreciated greatly with new grants.

Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

The origins of the Mauritian ‘Gens de Couleur’ of colour date to 1729 when the first of a small but steady stream of Indian immigrants, many of whom were skilled craftsmen and artisans recruited at Pondichéry on India’s Coromandel Coast to work in the colony under contract for specified periods of time, reached the island. Exactly how many of these contractual workers arrived in the colony during the eighteenth century is unknown, but they continued to do so until at least the late 1790s. How many of these craftsmen and artisans chose to remain on the island following completion of their contracts is also unknown, but significant numbers appear to have done so. Small numbers of Indian banians or merchants also reportedly reached the island no later than the mid-eighteenth

century.¹ Freeborn Malagasy men and women, including individuals known as marmites who facilitated the rice, cattle, and slave trade from Madagascar

Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian Gens de couleur also began to acquire real property during the mid-eighteenth century as gifts and bequests and by private purchase. As noted earlier, the full extent of this activity is impossible to ascertain because many of these transactions were handled *sous seing privé*. On numerous occasions, however, free persons of colour called on notaries to formalize these transactions. The survival of tens of thousands of notarial acts executed by Gens de couleur during this era affords a opportunity to chart the general outlines of free coloured land acquisition and ownership and, equally important, to discern how these men and women mobilized the financial resources they need to acquire and develop ever greater quantities of land over time.

Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

population tripled in size. However, population growth was not the only factor that contributed to this development. The notarial records indicate that growing numbers of Gens de couleur ventured into the local real estate market because they possessed the capital resources to do so. The increasing regularity with which these men and women paid the full purchase price for land at the time of a sale's formal completion suggests more specifically that, especially after the 1780s, more and more Gens de couleur controlled greater economic resources and enjoyed a certain degree of financial independence.

Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

Census data from this era highlight the extent to which a free coloured household's control of financial resources and ability to acquire land depended, at least to a certain extent, on whether the household in question was headed by a man or a woman. Femmes de couleur, who frequently outnumbered Hommes de couleur by a substantial margin, not only acquired a disproportionately small number of the public lands granted or sold to free persons of colour before 1810 but also often received substantially smaller tracts than did free coloured men.¹⁵ The subdivision of the Grande Réserve during the first decade of the nineteenth century graphically illustrates this fact of economic life; only seven of the twenty-four tracts sold to Gens de couleur were purchased by women. Data from the 1825 Plaines Wilhems census confirm that male-headed households probably controlled a disproportionately large percentage of free coloured economic resources in the island's rural districts by the mid-1820s, if not before.¹⁶

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

According to the terms of the Act that abolished slavery in Mauritius in 1835, the colony's new freedmen were required to continue serving their former masters as "apprentices" for a period not to exceed six years. Termination of the apprenticeship system on 31 March 1839 removed the last legal impediments to the colony's former slaves' ability to reap the fruit of their own labor. As the archival records make clear, the economic fortunes of many of these new freedmen and women rested on their ability to mobilize capital, acquire land, and exploit the economic opportunities that existed during the late 1830s and 1840s.

Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves as provision grounds, continued control of which was undoubtedly a matter of serious concern to the island's new freedmen and women.

Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

The ability of ex-apprentices to acquire such properties stemmed in part from the fact that some of these men and women apparently possessed substantial amounts of cash. Exactly how much money ex-apprentices held cannot be determined with any precision, but considerable sums seem to have been involved. The cost of acquiring an adult apprentice's services between 1835 and 1839 ranged from \$200 to \$250, a fact which suggests that the 9,000 apprentices, who reportedly purchased their freedom before emancipation, spent at least \$1,800,000 to do so. The ability of slaves to accumulate sizeable sums of money is attested to in other ways. Commenting on the demise of a

short-lived government-backed Savings Bank in 1831, Protector of Slaves R.H. Thomas not only reported the names of a Government slave and a Government apprentice who had funds in the bank, but also acknowledged that slaves who had saved some money were financially astute enough to appreciate that the 12 percent interest they could expect, when their masters held their funds, was far superior to the 5 percent offered by the Savings Bank.⁴⁴ The notarial records likewise confirm that individual ex-apprentices possessed, or had access to, significant financial resources. During the first two years of the *petit morcellement* (1839-40), 75 percent of those who purchased land paid the full purchase price at the time of the sale's formal completion, a figure that rose to 83 percent during 1841-42 and then to more than 90 percent during the remaining years of the *petit morcellement*.⁴⁵

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

These sources demonstrate the ability of *Gens de couleur libres*, ex-apprentices, and Old Immigrants to participate actively in the local real estate market depended on various factors: the talents, abilities, and initiative of individual men and women; the ability of these individuals to acquire, or generate the money needed to purchase or

Reference 106 - 0.02% Coverage

maintenance of personal, business, and other socio-economic relationships with others of the island's inhabitants, both within and across different communities; their willingness to exploit economic opportunities; and the consequences of the island's dependency on sugar as the mainstay of its economy from the mid-1820s until well into the twentieth century. The sugar industry's heavy reliance on domestically-generated capital not only played a crucial role in shaping major developments such as the grand *morcellement*,⁷⁴ but also highlights the extent to which access to investment and working capital and financial services influenced the extent to which the colony's residents were able to acquire, and retain control of, land. Changes in the composition of the colony's "gardener" population during the late 1840s and 1850s illustrate the consequences that could flow from an inability to amass, or have access to, capital resources. More specifically, the notarial records indicate that many of the small plots sold during the *petit morcellement* remained undeveloped and were subsequently sold to Old Immigrants by their original purchasers because they possessed only limited financial resources, an economic fact of life that left many of these men and women struggling to hold their own during the increasingly difficult economic times that characterized the late 1840s and early 1850s.⁷⁵ Access to working capital would be equally crucial to the success of the class of Indian/Indo-Mauritian small planters that came into existence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a result of the grand *morcellement*.⁷⁶

The extent to which access to capital is central to understanding the history of landownership in colonial Mauritius is revealed in other ways. The increasing incidence of sharecropping during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may be traced, in so small measure, to the financial problems facing the local sugar industry at this time. Economic considerations also compelled men and women to squat on publically, or privately-owned land. Many ex-apprentices did so because they lacked the money needed to secure legal title to land. The illegal occupation of public lands, especially mountain and river reserves and the *pas géométriques*, by impoverished men and women of all ethno-cultural backgrounds remained a problem for the Colonial Government throughout the nineteenth century. Information on the extent of this activity and those who engaged in it remains frustratingly scarce, but in 1906, the colony's Conservator of Forests noted some of factors that made dealing with the alienation of these lands so problematic: the absence of detailed and accurate maps of the lands in question; the passage of laws such as Ordinance No. 30 of 1895 which essentially destroyed the inalienability of the *pas géométriques*; and the difficulties that arose from the fact that Indian and Creole small proprietors, many if not most of whom were illiterate, had often purchased land in Government reserves "in ignorance and good faith."⁷⁷ In so doing, he underscores the need for scholars, Government officials, and the general public to appreciate the complexities – social, economic, and political – that coming to grips with the nature, dynamics, and problems of land ownership in Mauritius, both past and present, entails.

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

For Rodrigues, a local facilitator/research assistant, familiar of local realities was responsible for identifying key informants and only one regional coordinator was responsible for compiling and collecting testimonies. The informants were mainly men and women aged 50 years old and above, Mauritians, Rodriguans, Agaleans and Chagossians who identify themselves as descendants of slaves. The sample was representative of the various occupational activities, both white collar and blue collar workers.

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

PORT LOUIS NORTH AND SOUTH R1-R4 – Most of the respondents worked at two or three jobs at the same time. The women could be housemaids, social workers, women labourers etc. For the men-folk, too, working at two jobs simultaneously is not rare. The most common jobs are manual work; tailor, blacksmith, carpenter, charcoal maker, docker, sugar cane labourer. The grandparents had been labourers, stockbreeders, etc.

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

All of them – men as well as women - have done different jobs, mostly because they were not employed on a regularly basis, but on a seasonal basis especially those who worked as labourers or kouper kann in the sugar-cane estates. They have not known security of employment.

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

Some have been married once, others have had children without being married, others have been married more than once. Women have their own stories to recall. Some of them have educated their children without the support of a husband (widows or single mothers). They have worked very hard for very low wages and show a great sense of sacrifice. They have been forced to leave their children with family members to find better paid jobs, either in places other than their living places or abroad. Some of them have worked as maids, embroiderers, in textile factories.

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

servants had another parallel job (R21, R28). The women, for the most, were and some are still are housemaids, nurses, cooks, women labourers.

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

For those who have not been in the civil service or on sugar estates, we find that they (both men and women) have changed jobs throughout their lives. Most of the time, this was dictated by the need to feed the family and primarily the children. We have accounts of men having to cycle for long distances to go for work when they could find work in neighbouring area. It was driven by the

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

Women have played a crucial role within the family. They were the ones who faced the pressure of feeding the family. They would go far in the woods to cut wood to cook food. They would collect vegetables (brède), fruits (Jack fruit, fruits à pain) and roots (maize, manioc, sweet potato, “arouille”) that were available to feed the family. For New Year, they could hardly afford meat and “saumon”, i.e. canned pilchards were the best they could have once or twice a year.

Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

women who mostly cared about the future of the children. They were the ones who would really bother sending the children to school to acquire education, at times without the support of the husbands. Women used to cumulate jobs (maids, field-workers, cleaners, cane-cutters, etc.) and very often had to face domestic violence.

Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

occupations vary from drivers, fishermen, masons, brick-layers, tailleurs roche, labourers, tailors, wood-cutters, carpenters, gardeners, civil servants, plumbers, electricians, etc. for the men. Women used to cumulate jobs (maids, field-workers, cleaners, cane-cutters, etc.) housemaids, nurses, cooks, women labourers. All had known poverty and had often taken parallel jobs to survive. They had thus never known job security for the work was seasonal. Life was not, or could simply not be, planned as families had to struggle for food.

Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

Women have their own stories to tell. Some of them have educated their children without the support of a husband (widow or single mother). Women have played a crucial role within the family. They were the ones who faced the pressure of feeding the family. They would go far in the woods to cut wood and to cook food. They would collect vegetables (brède), fruits (Jack fruit, fruits à pain) and roots (maize, manioc, sweet potato, “arouille”) that were available to feed the family.

Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

education, at times without the support of the husband. Women used to cumulate jobs (maids, field-workers, cleaners, cane-cutters, etc.) and very often had to face domestic violence.

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

Many had worked «dan lakour blan» (as domestic servants of the whites) and lived in dépendances. Women were housemaids, «nenenn».

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves. Women were servants and worked 24/7 for their masters, going to “campements” with them, taking care of their children, but were ill treated for some of them. They slept under the table and when their family lived in dependence, their children had to be shut in the house so as not to disturb the masters.

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

The parents were metal workers, labourers, wood cutters, fishermen, ‘toiler’ , ‘chaudronnier’, drivers, masons, stone cutters, seasonal workers on sugar estates. Women were maids, housewives (but often seasonal workers). Many worked for the whites and the respondents remember their dominant attitude.

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

peanuts. Mothers worked as maids, sewers, worked in aloe factories, planted peanuts. Many had worked «dan lakour blan» and lived in dépendances. Women were housemaids, «nenenn».

The other jobs: Seamstress, cabinetmaker, joiner, labourer, mason, woodcutter, bus driver, sacristain, railwayman, cook, vacoas bag and mat maker. The parents were metal workers, labourers, wood cutters, fishermen, ‘toiler’ , ‘chaudronnier’, drivers, masons, stone cutters, seasonal workers on sugar estates. Women were maids, housewives (but often seasonal workers). Many worked for the whites and the respondents remember their dominant attitude. The parents were metal workers, labourers, wood cutters, fishermen, ‘toiler’ , ‘chaudronnier’, drivers, masons, stone cutters, seasonal workers on sugar estates. Women were maids, housewives (but often seasonal workers). Many worked for the whites and the respondents remember their dominant attitude.

Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

Those living in cité (R6 and R10) have bought the house and even extended the premises. The women have played an important role in saving money to buy the house and land.

Most of the respondents owned their house, having through either purchase or inheritance. Those living in cité have bought the house and even extended the premises. But some own the “cité” house but are still “paying for the land. They all are aware of the importance of being a house owner. The women have played an important role in saving money to buy the house and land.

Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

R14 Creoles are despised because they voted against Independence but this must be analysed in context. The Labour Party was founded by slave descendants. My father was member of the Labour Party. Because of the struggle of port

workers, social and work laws have progressed. In Free Zone and tourism, black women were called “p” because they dared to work in these sectors.

Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

The economic contribution is tremendous in the plantation sector, in sugar cane estates and textile and other factories (sack). In Free Zone and tourism, black women were called “putes” because they dared to work in these sectors.

Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

From everything that was said during the interviews, the contribution of Creole women has been underlined and it is tremendous. Women are in the forefront when it comes to acquiring land and houses, to provide for the basic needs of children, to make sure (as best they can) that their children get education.

Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Whites are seen as being those who were responsible for the fate of slaves. They were cruel and arrogant. They are those who possess 70% of all lands in Mauritius; they have taken lands from Creoles. Médine Sugar Estate is cited as an example. Today Whites are still those who are the masters in hotels. Workers still suffer from them. Many respondents, specially the women, have worked “dan lakour blan”. Those who have French or white ancestors acknowledge it.

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

R6 Mauritius should evolve. University and the employment market are not easily accessible to Creoles. Their efforts are not rewarded. They are discouraged. Many have to emigrate. Things must change in education and in the work market. Manual work should have a better social status. People work hard but cannot cope because everything is expensive. My children must work during the week-end also; otherwise they cannot cope with their salary to repay the loan for their house. To have a table or chairs, we have to get indebted and then work to repay. If we spare some money, it is for our health problems. Those in the low class cannot progress. It is very slow. Everyone is doing effort but little progress. I think training, formation is very important for manual work also. We need to have a part of the cake. Women want to better the life of their family. When young people don't have opportunities, they fall in drug, prostitution etc. We need to help them. Government should help. Families with young people in drugs cannot progress. It is not easy for those young to find help. Government should work for all the people, not for some people only. All should work together for our country. All children should have equal rights, food etc.

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Teelock (1998), in 1806, 1826 and 1832, the slave population in the Black River district amounted to 4,687; 5,397 and 4,429 respectively.⁶ In 1831, the number of slaves in Black River amounted to 4,642 slaves of which 2,926 were men and 1,716 were women. There were 264 French settlers and 588 ‘Free Blacks’. At the abolition of slavery, in 1835, most inhabitants (French and Coloured) were still living in the region and between 1835 and 1935; about four percent of the exapprentice population of Mauritius lived in Black River.⁷

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

The population of Indian origins in the Black River region came essentially from Madras and Calcutta and the men outnumbered the women. Some of them were living on estate land while others were not living on Sugar Estates (Tables 2 and Table 3).

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

After working hours and during their free time, the farmers who were essentially the Bombaye²⁰ worked in the fields whereas the Creoles went fishing. The women were responsible for the household chores. The forest provided them with cooking wood and they did their laundry in the river.

Reference 131 - 0.01% Coverage

Indeed, during fieldwork, women with their buckets on their head walking to the river were observed. It is to be noted that the scene of women, commonly referred to as dhobi, carrying their basket full of clothes on their head and doing their washing at river, is perceived as a folkloric scene. 'Dhobi' are considered as being inherent to Mauritian folklore and the Indo Mauritians might probably name these places 'dhobi ghat'.

Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

There are both male and female heritage spaces, so far unrecognised on heritage lists: washing places became 'socialising' spaces, spaces where women could express themselves freely without being constrained by their husband's presence and where they could 'gossip'. Developments have negatively impacted on the continued availability of these spaces for inhabitants of Cite La Mivoie.

Reference 133 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans: ...I will not hide, mostly Marathis. In the socio-cultural organisations they want Marathis only, they do not want neither Hindis nor Catholics. I also happened to me, I am the president of the Women Association that is opened to all women irrespective of their race [and] caste. You understand...majority were the Marathis, minority there were some Creoles, they told me to take the Creole women out of the association. I did not agree, I said no...hence, since I disagreed they took me out of the association. Hence, I organised [meetings] at my place. Because I organise them midday they expelled me from over there, they told me, if I want to stay I need to take out all the Creoles. But you understand I did not want to do that...)

Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

Presently, two forms of extended families were identified in the Cité, firstly joint families and, secondly, combined families. Single mothers on the other hand tend to prefer matri-focal residential patterns given that women tend to assume prominence.

Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

Women in the Cité have children at a young age, as young as 13 years of age, and it is common for women in their thirties to have five children from different fathers as illustrated in Devi's testimony below.

Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

The testimonies revealed that some women do not even know the name of the father of their child and thus do not receive any alimony for their children. These women sometimes are unemployed and live in abusive relationships with domestic violence being widespread in the Cité.

Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

restraining them to leave abusive relationships entrap these women in the vicious cycle of domestic violence. The main barriers are: (i) lack of financial means and affordable housing facilities, (ii) fear of loneliness and violent reprisal, (iii) limited access to resources, training and education for women; (iv) children and (v) fear of social stigma.

Reference 138 - 0.01% Coverage

This naming practice dates back to colonial times such as Arthur Townsend born in 1898, the son of Louis Malache, was declared under his mother's name Marie Elizabeth Townsend. This practice might stem from the fact that during slavery, maternity and the nurturing role of women were recognised whereas slave owners undermined paternity and hence only the mother's name was registered in the plantation records.⁵²

Reference 139 - 0.01% Coverage

Women are the pillar of the Cité in that based on the respondent's testimonies, the women residents are more active than men are and they are the pillar of the family as they play a crucial role in the formation of community life. But, the Cité inner-structure remains patriarchal.

Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...you just said that women are more active in the region...how you explain that?...you hear fathers say ayo this is not of my concern I will not get involved in that I do not say all, they are fathers you feel they can do things but in the PTA there are 12 members there is one man amongst 11 women...would you say that in the housing estate it is the woman who is the head of the household?...yes yes easily clear and straight...)
Even though, at the surface, women seem to be empowered, yet, field research uncovered that female residents have internalised low self-esteem and low self-confidence that result from negative self-images and self-representations. They believe that they are socially and economically dependent on men and that their social and individual identity can only be constructed through a man.
The generational transmission of these beliefs perpetuate serial monogamy and multiple sexual partners among both men and women. For example, Stephane Lahache, the father of Emilienne Faron, had three three wives.

Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

In keeping with Teelock (1998), these types of relationships seem to date back to slavery when women were convinced that the route to 'material improvement', social mobility, social recognition and a better standard of living was through a man and especially 'free men that could provide for their subsistence' which implies a man with a higher social status. These relationships were also a means for women to build sense of social image and social respect.
The economic dependence of women also was retraced to slave times when few opportunities of socio-economic mobility were available and women 'were for the most part dependent on the men when they wanted to provide additional comforts and necessities to their children and a path to social advancement.'⁵⁶

Reference 142 - 0.01% Coverage

We tend to forget that 'black female' identity was shattered under slavery. Slave women were treated as sexual objects that imply that they were denied sexual integrity and they were the property of their slave master. They had no control over their sexuality and bodies.

Reference 143 - 0.01% Coverage

This sexual stereotyping that was perpetuated in post-colonial times such as in the post-colonial literature, has impacted on the 'black female' psyche with women across generations internalising that their body and sexuality were just a 'bartering tool for love and affection' and social status.

Reference 144 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, the rape and sexual objectification of slave women and the helplessness of the slave men who watched their wife, sister or daughter being abused are present in the collective memory.

Reference 145 - 0.01% Coverage

The distribution of work duties on the sugar plantations during slavery as well further disrupted gender roles since, slave women were 'forced into male roles', they 'performed almost all the tasks performed by male slaves'⁵⁷ and were, in reality, subject to harsh corporal punishment.

Reference 146 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...they respect Indian women...yes sometimes an Indian woman will pass by, they will say stop swearing there is a woman passing by but sometimes they you pass by they continue swearing. If they need urinate in the open air for you to see, they urinate. They behave like that when we pass by...but Chinese women, white women and mulatto women? No they will know these people they will leave her, they will wait, they will let her pass by then they will do what they have to do or the other will say stay quiet...as if for them Creoles have to always remain (backwards)...sometimes way of talking...But what they say, what you have heard on Creoles? Creoles thieves, Creoles drunkards, Creoles whore...)

Gender differences in academic achievement and occupational distributions as well was observed with men being mostly fishermen and gardeners whereas women are housemaids and blue collar workers which means that the skilled and qualified workers are mainly women.

Reference 147 - 0.01% Coverage

Hence, in keeping with Bryne (1978), gender stereotypes that underpin gender discriminations and subsequently the cycle of gender discrimination against women are maintained and reinforced by parents in Cité La Mivoie that perpetuate identity of girls in domestic traditional terms and roles and in relation to men.

However, considering that slave women constituted the main source of unskilled and menial labour whereas slave men performed skilled work⁶⁰, the shift in job patterns with women nowadays being rather blue-collar workers and skilled workers indicate that women have been able to make use of the opportunities of post-slavery for economic advancement. (See Economic Survey Chapter)

Reference 148 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...Long ago the housing was a little more 'cool'. More respect. But now there is no respect. How to say...you see all sort of people, you see all sort of cars. You...are afraid to go out. Look when long ago my children were down over there at whatever the time I went to see them. But now you hesitate you see cars with men inside. You do not know how there are. You cannot. And now [not only] the young boys young women [too]. How I would say. They do not have self-respect. They will not respect you...they drink they are drunk they walk on the road. Yes they are vulgar. They have nothing to do...)

Reference 149 - 0.01% Coverage

Alcoholism is one of the main social problems in the Cité and is one of the causes of collateral socio-economic problems and disturbances such as noise pollution, insecurity, poverty and unemployment. Feminisation of alcoholism was also noted. For some people, daily excessive alcohol consumption is 'normal' and not a social problem. For them, alcoholism is a trivial issue. In the past shops were meeting places where men gathered in the evening after working hours. Shops are still socialising places but now both men and women as from a young age meet at the shop and drink with friends the whole daylong.

Reference 150 - 0.01% Coverage

Every day during fieldwork, we saw people on the roadside drinking and playing cards and dominos and in the evening's music playing loudly. One day during daytime, we even saw two women that were drunk and screaming on the road. The situation has worsened with children starting to drink from age of 13 and people being drunk early in the morning. With the exception of the nearby sea and the churchyard used as leisure grounds, lack of leisure and recreational activities and

Reference 151 - 0.01% Coverage

Some respondents had heard about problems of child prostitution in Cité La Mivoie but they had no proof. Poverty and lack of educational and employment opportunities seem to be the reason why women engage in prostitution.

Reference 152 - 0.01% Coverage

Teens' sexual behaviour is influenced by various social, psychological and cultural factors. In the Cité, it is a social problem that crosses generations in that women residents have their first child at a young age.

As pointed out by the director of one of the kindergarten, it seems that women do not make the distinction between love and sexual desire; for them if man wants to have sex with them it means that the man is in love with them.

Reference 153 - 0.01% Coverage

Democratising access to property ownership through the construction of low cost residential developments/Morcellement for the low and middle classes. It also implies implementing measures to protect and defend the land rights of the vulnerable groups such as women and working class families.

Reference 154 - 0.01% Coverage

Gender differences in occupational distributions can be observed with men being mostly fishermen and gardeners whereas women are paid domestic and blue-collar workers. The skilled and qualified workers are mainly women as well.

Reference 155 - 0.01% Coverage

Similarly, a matrilineal occupational transmission was observed with women working as domestic workers across generations. For example, Sylvia Malegasse was domestic worker and her two daughters, Marie Jenika Albert and Jenilo Albert also.

Reference 156 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...Long ago people worked [in the] Aloes Mill women worked in the Aloes Mill...He was fisherman yes he worked [as] fisherman...there are fishermen, labourer cut sugarcane at that time my father cut cane my husband [was] fisherman...)

Reference 157 - 0.01% Coverage

Since the majority of the residents do not possess a private motorvehicle and thus rely on the public transport, travelling long distances to town deter the latter to find a work outside Black River Village and the neighbouring localities. To work in the vicinity is more advantageous to them. For example, most interviews were conducted as from two in the evening when the residents were back from work. Most of them and especially the women respondents mentioned that they appreciate to get back home at 'decent' hours as they can do their household duties, take care of their children and do other social voluntary work. Few residents were identified working for companies located in town.

Reference 158 - 0.01% Coverage

Indeed, the public perception of domestic work is often that it is undignified work, and the workers in this sector should be pitied because they are unqualified and unskilled¹⁵⁶. This social representation of domestic labour is rooted on the colonial mentality whence domestic slaves and particularly slave women fulfilled such occupations. After the abolition of slavery, based on the 1871 Census, the 'Indian Population' outnumbered the 'General Population' in the domestic class and men preponderated over women as indicated in Chart 10 below

Reference 159 - 0.01% Coverage

In fact, based on the Millennium Development Goal Report (2010), rural children are twice as likely to be out of school as urban children are. The biggest obstacle to education is poverty and the rural-urban gap is slightly wider for girls than for boys since girls and women are, often, the first victims of poverty.

Reference 160 - 0.01% Coverage

Even though the Catholic Church, the Ministry of Gender Equality Child Development and Family Welfare and the NGO MAM (Mouvement D'Aide à La Maternité) are present on the field with family planning programmes and organise sensitisation and information campaigns, yet, it seems there is a generational transmission of teenage

pregnancy among the women in the Cité with mothers and daughters giving birth to their first child at a young age. Once pregnant the girls often do not resume schooling. (See Chapter on Social Survey)

Reference 161 - 0.01% Coverage

In fact, paid domestic labour is still commonly perceived as unskilled work and this perception is based on a dominant construction of paid domestic work as replacing unpaid family duties that were initially fulfilled by slave women and after by female family members. When paid domestic workers substituted these unpaid domestic jobs, the social and economic value of domestic employment was and is still undermined and under-estimated.

Reference 162 - 0.01% Coverage

The Millennium Development Goal Report (2010) targets to achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people by 2015. The poverty gap is widening as a backlash of the economic downturn. The already historically vulnerable groups as if the residents of Cité La Mivoie live below the poverty line are facing

Reference 163 - 0.01% Coverage

Osteological studies of slavery have so far been largely confined to slaves of considerably earlier periods such as the Roman Empire and to the Caribbean and North America. Of these, it is likely that the plantation-based slavery of the Caribbean and North America will have more relevance to the present case than examples from the ancient world. Studies of New World slavery have identified a number of characteristics that are commonly associated with slave populations, but it must be acknowledged that there is considerable variability, meaning that a 'shopping list' approach to the osteology of slavery is to be avoided. Given this caveat, some features that might be relevant in the present case are evidence of nutritional deficiency, the development of skeletal features related to heavy manual labour and evidence of high levels of non-specific infections and skeletal trauma. The last three of these are, of course, dependent on the form which slavery takes. Household slaves would have been involved in different kinds of activities to agricultural slaves and this would have been reflected in the kinds of risks to which they were exposed and hence the kinds of conditions that are visible in the skeleton. A further characteristic of slavery in Mauritius was the over-representation of males. Kuczynsky (1949, cited in Benedict 1976) has calculated that male slaves outnumbered women by two to one until 1826, when the proportion of females began to increase (Benedict 1976: 140). The 1826 registration data records five female slaves and 27 males belonging to the Le Morne Brabant estate (Teelock et al n.d.). Interestingly, these were all adults. The demographic characteristics of the Le Morne sample may therefore also cast some light on this question.

Reference 164 - 0.01% Coverage

Death around the point of birth can, of course, take place for a variety of reasons. Babies may be still-born or get into difficulties during the birth process. This is especially true where no doctors are present to assist the mother, as is likely to have been the case at Le Morne. It is likely that the surroundings in which women gave birth in the rural and relatively remote area of Le Morne were not particularly clean and so babies may also have died from infections within days of birth. Infanticide is thus only one possible explanation.

Reference 165 - 0.01% Coverage

investigated. Callie House was particularly stung by the allegation of fraud and misappropriation of funds; she wrote a very stern letter to Barrett explaining her rights as an American and she made apologies for her work. She provided a detailed explanation of the movement's mission and actions. "We tell them we don't know whether they will ever get anything or not but there is something due them and if they are willing to risk their money in defraying the expenses of getting up the petition to Congress they are at liberty to do so." She explained to Barrett: "First, we are organizing ourselves together as a race of people who feels that they have been wronged. They had a perfect right as ex-slaves to gather and organize our race together to petition the government for a compensation to alleviate our old decrepit men and women who are bent up with rheumatism from the exposure they undergone (underwent) in the dark days of slavery. I am an American born woman and was born in the proud old state of Tennessee and I am considered a law abiding citizen of that state anyone that work honestly and earnestly for the up building of their

own race would like for it to be recognize that way let it be a white man or whit woman are a black man or a black woman.”. She went on to denounce the accusation of money fraud : “My face is black is true but it’s not my fault but I love my name and my honesty in dealing with my fellow man....My whole soul and body are for this slave movement and are (am) willing to sacrifices (sacrifice) for it.”. Page 128.

Reference 166 - 0.01% Coverage

After her marriage, Lutchmee Ramdhun lived at Grand Bois with Peerthum. Between 1881 and 1886, they had three children, Ramsurrun, Poonbassea and Seesurrun. All three of them were born at Grand Bois and registered at the Civil Status Office of Flacq. This fact is not surprising because it is an old tradition for Mauritian women to go and stay for several days and weeks at their parents’ place after having given birth to their child. Ramsurrun Peerthum was born in May 1881, Poonbassea Peerthum in March 1883 and the youngest one and my great grandfather, Seesurrun Peerthum, on 1st May 1886. Lutchmee Ramdhun passed away in 1890 at the age of 26 and it is believed that she died while trying to give birth to her fourth child, which was common in those days.

Reference 167 - 0.01% Coverage

During the 1940s, the personal doctor of Sookbassea was Dr. Seewoosagur Ramgoolam on whose lap my father sat during one of his house calls in Cottage in 1945. Three years later, since she was able to sign her own name in Bhojpuri and Hindi, my great grandmother was one of the few IndoMauritian women in Rivière du Rempart district to vote in the historic General Elections of August 1948. It is not surprising that she voted for Dr. Ramgoolam who was elected as the candidate for the first time as representative of the Pamplemousses/Rivière du Rempart district.

Reference 168 - 0.01% Coverage

The death of Sookbassea was a huge blow to Chandraduth, his children and his siblings, since she was the only person who provided them with emotional and financial support for more than a quarter century. I grew up hearing stories about the personality and achievements of Sookbassea Peerthum. She was a unique woman who led an extraordinary life and could serve as an epitome to all modern Mauritian women.

Reference 169 - 0.01% Coverage

In terms of the nature of work, there was continuity with the indentured period in terms of gender and age division in plantation work. Men were doing the Gran Bann or harder work, such as cutting the cane, loading it into carts, working in mills etc. while women were supposed to do the Ti Bann or lighter work like weeding, separating leaves from the cane, planting, rearing animals, working in the gardens or as domestic help in the estate owner’s household. Women were paid less and sometimes, half the wages of male workers. In addition, however they also did the household chores before, and after, this ‘light’ work: preparing meals, looking after the cattle, preparing children for school or work etc.

Reference 170 - 0.01% Coverage

Mobility was restricted on a sugar estate even after indenture. The majority remained in occupations related to the sugar industry: in the fields or the mill or in associated sectors such as work as mechanics of machines, drivers of lorries etc. Sugar was the only major crop grown at that time. Additional income was derived from cow rearing and selling milk by women, poultry and goat farming, providing domestic help, growing vegetables etc.

Reference 171 - 0.01% Coverage

The first half of the 20th century, thus was quite difficult for most of those interviewed. For women, particularly, working life actually became harder for them. In their grandparents’ and parents’ time (i.e. indentured period and one generation after), women did not work as labourers. They reared cattle, cut grass and undertook gardening jobs. However, gradually with the pressures of large families, which increased requirements and expenses, a desire to earn more to move upwards forced more and more women to take up regular jobs as labourers. What made things much more strenuous for them was that they continued to do cattle-rearing and cutting grass etc.,

Reference 172 - 0.01% Coverage

along with new job as labourers, and they also had to look after the families and do the household chores. There were not many opportunities of mobility available for these women. In some rare cases, women remained as labourers throughout their working lives, primarily because in the sugar production, most of the occupations, except labour on the fields, were male activities.

Reference 173 - 0.01% Coverage

Wage levels always remained low, resulting in economic pressure on the families. Poverty forced women to work as labourers and even forced children to work at an early age, pushing them to leave school as they could not afford to pay for their education. In this context, large families in labouring classes thus faced a critical situation. Many respondents have stated that their parents had 8-10 children, several about 12, and some respondents even had 18 siblings.¹⁰ In the labouring classes, human beings were considered as capital – more members in the family meant more income; but then, it severely restricted the growth of the younger generations – more children meant more expenditure on their education and general well being. Since the parents did not earn enough, larger families forced, not only the women, but also most of the children into work at a very early age, depriving them of a natural childhood and overall growth.

Reference 174 - 0.01% Coverage

Women were always paid less for their labour, and the standard rationale was that as women performed lighter jobs, they were paid less. In several cases it was found that the wages paid to women were actually half (or almost half) of the men's wages.¹²

Reference 175 - 0.01% Coverage

the patriarchal discourse which does not find women capable of doing several things because of their relative physical 'weakness' compared to men. This was supported by the Colonial Administrators because it ensured relatively cheaper labour. We have several responses to support that women were doing almost the same work as male labourers, and yet they were being paid considerably lower.

Reference 176 - 0.01% Coverage

For women particularly, marriage had an important influence on changing their places of residence – from village to estate camp or vice versa.

Reference 177 - 0.01% Coverage

For women, the level of education was very low. Only one respondent went up to standard VI, one up to standard IV and a few up to standard III and it had no links with the educational levels of the parents as R/272 points out.²⁷ Even in the informal institutions of instruction (like Madarsa or Maktab) and Baithka (or temples) their presence was very low, depriving them of almost all the advantages of education. Some of them could not go because there were no schools nearby, or had no proper dress; or had to drop out because of a lack of resources or some casualty like the death of the father or mother. But for many of them, it was the parental/ societal perception that 'it was not required for the girls to go to school because their place was at home' and general apathy that deprived them of education. In some cases, it was also opposed to maintaining control over girls' activities: 'if the girls are educated, they will write letters to boys' and therefore it was not good for them to go to school.²⁸ In several cases, male siblings went to school but girls were not allowed to go to school. It is interesting to note that these patriarchal/moralistic stereotypes were not limited to one ethnic community or only to Indic religions – respondents from Hindu, Tamil, Muslim and Christian all thought alike on the matter of depriving the girls of education.²⁹ A closer look at the responses suggests that there was an interest among the women in education and it is significant to note that some of the female respondents regretted the fact that they did not go to school, and had they been educated, life would have been different for them.³⁰

Reference 178 - 0.01% Coverage

The first task to be performed in connection with ratoon canes is that of 'revelage', which consists of arranging the straw in the inter-lines separating two lines of canes after the crop has been cut. This is a task usually performed by women. It is not regarded as a task making very severe demands upon the physical powers of the workers. This task is followed by that of spreading manure, which consists of spreading pen or chemical manure, or both, according to the estimated needs of the soil. The spreading of chemical fertilizers is frequently performed by small boys, and is an operation that can be finished at any time.

Reference 179 - 0.02% Coverage

As the Hooper Commission's description of cultivation and planting techniques in the Mauritian sugar industry in the first half of the twentieth century implies, the main criterion used to distinguish men and women's work is the physical strength required to do arduous tasks. Lighter tasks such as spreading manure, weeding and removing straw from cane was usually performed by women or a third group of workers consisting of women, children and invalids and also appears to have been used as justification for paying them less than men (cf. Hooper 1937:166). However, it would also appear that women were required to perform more physically demanding tasks than men normally performed and were perhaps better suited to doing such as cutting cane, loading it, and the removal of stones. In an undergraduate dissertation by a student of the University of Mauritius who interviewed four elderly female sugar estate workers, some of whom were still working at the time, several of the informants complained about having to perform physically demanding tasks in the past like loading cane. "We had to walk on the 'mardier' [wooden plank] to put the cane in the 'corbeil' [cane barrow]. It was ... very exhausting work for ladies like us. We had to put the cane on our head and walk along the 'mardier', which was very high. We used to fall down too (Sooben 2009:17)." The elderly female sugar estate workers interviewed by the AGTF's research assistants echoed this sentiment, but several of the informants⁵⁴ also claimed they were paid less for doing tasks men normally performed. It is difficult to determine the veracity of this claim. For instance, if we refer to the Annual Report of the Labour Department (ARLD) of 1945, which provides a detailed breakdown of the tasks men and women were supposed to perform and their rates of pay as outlined in an amendment to the Minimum Wage Ordinance of 1934, it states that women who work in the Grande Bande were not exempt from doing any tasks "except holing, uprooting, forking, and crowbar work".

In Mauritius, the "Grande Bande" and the "Petite Bande" is a way of organising workers into teams who are responsible for performing specific tasks going right back to the early days of indenture. These groups are still used in the Mauritian sugar industry today, and as I alluded to above, the main criterion used to distinguish the tasks that each group should perform is based on the physical strength required to perform certain tasks. This criterion has been used as further justification to determine the wage levels of workers in the two groups, with the obvious ramification that labourers who work in the Grande Bande are paid more than those working in the Petite Bande (or "granban" and "tiban", as Mauritian sugar estate workers more commonly refer to them in Creole). Yet while it does not appear that women were exempt from doing physically demanding tasks such as cutting and loading cane for instance, tasks often described by both male and female informants as being the province of men who worked in the Grande Bande and which they accordingly rationalized was the reason men were paid more than women. The ALDR of 1945

Reference 180 - 0.01% Coverage

indicates that women who worked in the Grande Bande were being paid less for doing tasks that appear to be little different to that which men who worked in the Petite Bande performed (ARLD 1945:24-26). According to the ARLD of 1945 men who work in the Grande Bande are "required to perform any sort of unskilled or semi-skilled labour on a sugar estate", while men who work in the Petite Bande are "required to perform the same sort of labour ... but with a reduced task and not bound to do holing". This sounds like the same type of tasks that women who worked in the Grande Bande were expected to perform, and indeed if we compare the ARLD of 1956, which reproduces a copy of a collective agreement reached between the Mauritius Amalgamated Labourers' Association and the Mauritius Sugar Producer's Association, it states that women working in this group were not expected to cut or load cane.

Women, Class, I, Grande Bande-Labourers capable of performing and required to perform any task appertaining to unskilled labour, but not bound to do holing, uprooting, forking, crowbar work, loading, cutting, heaving cleaning, heavy buttage, [and] spreading manure involving the carrying of a load of more than 18 kilos of manure per basket" (ARLD 1956:21-22).

Reference 181 - 0.01% Coverage

only [British] colony which failed to engage Indian women as indentured labourers. The numbers of women formally employed on estates was consequently never very high, even in the principal sugar-growing districts ... In 1846 9% of the total Indian female population was registered as part of the plantation labour force. At the time of the malaria epidemic in 1867, less than 100 women were reported as working on the sugar estates. By 1871, when the next census was taken, this figure had risen, even so, only 7% of women [or 1,808 Indian females out of a total estate population of 24,425] were officially employed as plantation workers.⁵⁶

With the end of indenture, however, the rate of women's participation rates in the Mauritian sugar industry's workforce gradually increased. According to Vijaya Teelock (2009:360), the Great Depression to a significant extent accounted for this increase. "Another effect of the Depression was to bring more women into wage labour: in 1921, there were for example, 9,373 Indian women working, by 1931 this had jumped to 14,674." These participation rates continued to increase after the Great Depression as more female labourers joined the ranks of the Mauritian sugar industry.

Probably no singular explanation can account for this dramatic rise in female participation rates in the Mauritian sugar industry as the twentieth century unfolded. The elderly female sugar estate workers who were interviewed by the AGTF's research assistants provide a number of different reasons as to why they decided to become labourers. Some women for example were forced to work after their husbands were incapacitated by a life-crippling injury, while others stated that after their husbands died, they had little choice but to become labourers in order to look after their children. Many of the informants also indicated that they opted to become labourers after

Reference 182 - 0.01% Coverage

getting married, though without always providing a succinct explanation for their actions. One is tempted to ascribe this decision to the need for women to play their part in contributing financially to the upkeep of poorer families, in view of the fact that there would be more mouths to feed after getting married and having children. But as tempting as it might be to point to rising levels of poverty as a way of accounting for these increases in female workforce participation rates, one has to temper this possibility against the knowledge that many women did not feel compelled to enter the workforce but instead preferred to stay at home in order to raise children or to work on their own land and to rear livestock (cf. ARLD 1950:30). One also has to ask why it is that sugar estates in Mauritius, which previously had shown an aversion to employing female labourers during the indentured labour period, increasingly opted to employ more female labourers over the course of the twentieth century. These numbers continued to increase such that by the end of the Second World War, female labourers accounted for almost half of the Mauritian sugar industry's workforce, or a maximum of 18,126 female labourers at the height of the crop season in 1945 (ARLD 1945:46). It is important to note, however, that more female labourers tended to be employed during the inter-crop period whereas men made up the bulk of field labourers during both the inter-crop and crop periods. The same logic used to determine how much men and women should be paid for the types of tasks they performed, also seems to account for the industry's preference to employ more women to do lighter tasks between crops and for men to do heavier tasks such as harvesting cane when the crop has to be harvested.

Reference 183 - 0.01% Coverage

herself when she had to remove straw from the sugarcane just prior to it being cut by male labourers (the process described as *dépaillage* in the Hooper Commission's summary above). She also says that she used to wear "linz lakaz", that is, her everyday clothes to work, and that workers were not provided with uniforms, boots, gloves and masks until after independence. Similarly, in Pamela Sooben's (2009: 16-17) undergraduate dissertation referred to earlier, the elderly female sugar estate workers she interviewed complained of having to remove straw from sugarcane. In order to protect themselves, they wore long socks over their hands, but that still did not prevent the straw from piercing their old socks and drawing blood from their hands. "When the sirdar asked us to remove 'divet' from sugarcane, especially 'cane coulou', we would run away because these "divet" pierced our old socks, hands and fingers. We also used to get rashes". These women also complained of finding it difficult to cook for themselves after a day's work because of the injuries they sustained to their hands while working in the cane fields without gloves (Sooben 2009:8).

Reference 184 - 0.01% Coverage

slippers of some sort and sandals made of wood. Apparently, these types of footwear were not suitable for working in the cane fields and the informants usually opted to work bare-footed instead. Yet in spite of their lack of financial means, poverty did not prevent labourers from finding ways to protect themselves while working in the cane fields. Once again, the oral testimonies of female labourers are highly instructive in this respect. Some women wore long-sleeved shirts that they borrowed from either their husbands or a male relative in order to protect their arms from the sun and insects in the field, and many female labourers wore an apron made of “goni”⁶¹ which they wrapped around their skirts to protect the outer layer of their clothing from wear and tear. Also, as Pamela Sooben (2009:8) points out in her undergraduate dissertation, female labourers used old socks to protect their hands when they had to remove straw from sugarcane, and as time passed more female labourers wore “chapeau la paille” or straw hats to protect their heads from the sun.

Reference 185 - 0.01% Coverage

The passing of the 1922 Labour Ordinance marks an important turning point in the history of Mauritius as it finally did away with the use of penal sanctions in civil contracts between planters and labourers and coincided with the end of the indenture labour system. However, it only covered immigrants and did not theoretically apply to Mauritian-born labourers and the forfeit of wages for breaches of contract was still allowed under this ordinance. It was only with the passing of the 1938 Labour Ordinance, which sought to implement the recommendations of the Hooper Commission of enquiry into the 1937 strikes, that fining labourers for bad or negligent work was finally disallowed. This ordinance was applicable not only to monthly but also casual workers and was responsible for introducing a raft of changes such as a six day working week and eight hour day, legislating for over-time work, the registration of trade unions, maternity allowances for women, the regulation of sanitary conditions on estate camps, and paved the way for a transferral of power from the Protector of Immigrants to the newly created Labour Department. Yet in spite of these legislative changes, there is evidence that job-contractors, sirdars and estate managerial staff were still marking labourers as absent when they failed to complete a set task or forced them to redo tasks they designated as unfinished. The use of the double-cut, or fining labourers two days wages for everyday they were absent, seems to have been discontinued with the end of the indenture labour system, although Daniel North-Coombes (1987:30) claims it was still being enforced in 1938. But that does not mean that the practice of marking labourers as absent when they had done a day’s work, or “maron”, in the words of the elderly sugar estate workers themselves,⁶³ and making illegal deductions from the wages of labourers was itself discontinued.

Reference 186 - 0.02% Coverage

For the average sugar estate worker living in an estate camp in the earlier part of the twentieth century, the day began like most other days, rising at 5-6am in the morning to go to work after being awoken by the “Lappel”, a man charged with waking up all the workers, or even as early as 1-2am if it was the harvest season. How early they rose depended on not only how far the estate camp was from the field where they had to work, but also if the estate provided a lorry to transport them, or if they had to walk there by foot or were lucky enough to hitch a ride on a passing bullock cart. Most workers took some breakfast before they set off for work usually consisting of tea and bread, and sometimes a little left over curry, and if they had sufficient time they would offer a prayer for the hard day of work ahead. Women normally woke up somewhat earlier than men did, as they also had to prepare breakfast for their husbands and the other members of the family. After brushing their teeth with charcoal and using either their fingers or a piece of guava stick for this purpose, they would set off for work and came back after midday sometime and ate something prior to commencing their daily chores. Women and children were the ones who were primarily responsible for carrying out these household chores, which normally consisted of fetching water and washing clothes, and collecting wood for cooking and grass for any cows or livestock that they kept. Going by the oral testimonies of the informants, these chores took up most of their afternoons, as the estate camps often lacked potable water and bathing facilities, thus forcing them to walk several miles in order to collect it from a river or to bath in. This can be seen in the photographs on the opposite page depicting scenes from estate camps showing children about to set off or returning from collecting water in metal cans. And then there are also images of women washing their clothes by the side of rivers and streams on volcanic stone outcrops, an indelible image which is perhaps one of the most iconic images of Mauritian life.

The camps themselves, or “langar”, as the informants describe them, which is a Creole term for barracks, were usually made of ravenal and had thatch roofs and earthen floors.⁷⁹ They might also be made of a combination of materials, consisting, for example, of wood, stonewalls and corrugated iron. Over the course of the twentieth century

though, concrete housing and semidetached dwellings became more common in estate camps. Camp inhabitants describe “polishing” earthen floors with cow dung every week or once a fortnight, and red clay was particularly sought after with women being prepared to walk several miles in order to collect it. It is conceivable that some of the camp inhabitants would have built these structures themselves, and there is also evidence that they kept livestock in close proximity to their dwellings, much like their forefathers had done during the days of indenture. Of course, back in those days, there was no electricity to begin with, so most camp inhabitants relied on candles and kerosene lamps for lighting, and if the camp inhabitants were fortunate enough, a regular supply of water could be accessed through a public tap or well in the camp. Cooking facilities varied, with some camp inhabitants opting to cook on their verandas, or even inside their own dwellings over a pile of stones referred to as a “foyer” by the informants, sometimes resulting in fires that destroyed dwellings. While others preferred to cook in a makeshift kitchen located outside their dwellings and used either wood or sugarcane for these purposes. The informants also state that toilets and bathing facilities were usually not attached to their dwellings and were at some distance from where they lived and were used by all of the camp’s inhabitants. Some estates had schools, medical dispensaries,

Reference 187 - 0.01% Coverage

One informant⁹⁰ who was interviewed by an AGTF research assistant described the more lavish type of housing that could be found in some villages as “lakaz tol vitrinn”⁹¹ and the people who owned it as living like “tourists”. Yet it would also appear there were not all that many differences between most village dwellings and the type of housing found on estate camps prior to the 1960s. As Benedict (1961:55) points out, huts made of wattle and daub were quite common, as were earthen floors laid over stone foundations, and while poor families did their cooking on verandahs, others did it in a “separate hut of sheet iron located in the yard”, and apparently housing in villages was also crowded (cf. Benedict 1961:12).⁹² Similarly, although most village dwellings had their own yards, something that estate camp inhabitants could not claim to have, pit latrines and the bucket system were the most common methods of conservancy, and it is likely that in the absence of these, villagers would have used nearby cane fields. Benedict also states that household chores were primarily the responsibility of women and children,⁹³ and that these included doing such things as re-plastering earthen floors with red clay and cow dung, collecting water from the village fountain or nearby rivers and streams if fountains were lacking (cf. ARLD 1945:3), and walking long distances to collect wood for cooking and fodder for livestock. Rearing cows and selling milk in order to generate additional sources of income also seems to have been quite common in villages and primarily the responsibility of women, a view I frequently encountered in the oral testimonies of the elderly sugar estate workers interviewed by the AGTF’s research assistants.

Reference 188 - 0.01% Coverage

Unfortunately, the transcripts provided limited data on the working and living conditions of the estate workers because the interviewers focused on the cultural and religious practices, and they did not probe important issues that came out of the interviews, such as infant mortality, genderbased violence against women, alcoholism and the father abandonment of matrimonial roof.

Reference 189 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite the Annual Reports of the Labour Department and Ministry of Labour prior to 1973, analysed by Couacaud, indicating that women should be paid equal wages for doing equal work, differential wages between men and women persisted. This discriminatory practice was corroborated by testimonies which revealed that women and children were paid less than men and even half less.

Reference 190 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans: if you were cutting cane and they were cutting cane, did you earn same salary? No, the men earned more money for the day’s work. Why? I do not know it was the White’s law women did light work men did arduous work)

The nature of the work performed by women and children and the differences in their physical predisposition justified unequal wages. Women and children were supposed to do lighter tasks such as spreading manure, weeding and depaiaz (Eng. trans. removing straw from sugar cane) that demanded less physical strength, whilst men did arduous work, such as loading and unloading sugar cane and stone-breaking because they were physically stronger

than the former. In other words, women were paid less because their work output were supposedly less compared to that of men.

Reference 191 - 0.01% Coverage

Under colonial rules and in the post-Independence period, child labour was sanctioned and institutionalised. Chokras (Eng. trans. Child labourers) and women were a source of cheap labour for the estates.

Reference 192 - 0.01% Coverage

Both men and women could be a labourer supervisor. Yet, Sirdars outnumbered Sirdarine (Female labourer supervisor). Some respondents mentioned that the Sirdar was a literate¹¹⁰ person, but it seems that literacy was not a core promotional criterion, given that some Sirdars were illiterate.

Reference 193 - 0.01% Coverage

For instance, when Bawol arrived at the field, he recorded the names of the labourers who were present and absent, the time they arrived and the number of labourers present. He gave the records to the Kolom. There were approximately 4 to 5 groups of labourers, both men and women.

Reference 194 - 0.01% Coverage

The testimonies on wages paid varied, but these discrepancies arose from different working periods. Furthermore, when comparing the estate remunerations practices, slight differences were identified in the remuneration of labourers. Nevertheless, overall, wages remained low as illustrated in the examples below. Minimal wages kept the estate workers in poverty and had various collateral consequences. Low wages fostered child labour, forced women to work and promoted small-scale farming.

Reference 195 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1962, when Satianand worked for FUEL Estate, he earned 15 rupees per full working-day and was paid 39.90 rupees per full working week as Sirdar. He stated that a labourer earned approximately 4.10 rupees per full working day. During his trial period, he was paid in kind with 13 pieces of bananas. When he started working in 1949, women were paid 2.75 rupees per full working day and later they were paid 3.15 to 3.30 rupees per full working day.

Reference 196 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, in the evening Satianand's father went to the local Baithka that was a building of approximately 10 ft long and 10 ft. large that could contain 20 to 25 people. Women did not go except to teach the children and to learn Hindi. He went to the Baithka as well where he learnt Hindi.

Reference 197 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans: Baithka there was one in each region there was Baithka association so people gathered there they talk sometime there a Ramayana¹³²; they do Ramayana at each festival...there were men the men only there were women rarely went to the Baithka just for children to read)

Reference 198 - 0.01% Coverage

The respondents' life was conditioned by their work. They had limited free time, since they spent their time working for survival. They woke up in the early morning, but women woke up before their husbands (usually at three or four in the morning) and came back from work in the early afternoon (between two and four in the afternoon) depending on the work load and the distance between their places of work and residence.

During their free time, those who were small planters, especially men, worked in their fields. Women and children did household chores and masone (Eng. trans. Glazed) the walls and floor of their houses with cow dung mixed with white and red soil.

Reference 199 - 0.01% Coverage

construction that was introduced by the feminists who were exposed to European values (many went to study in Europe and came back to Mauritians). Even if gender struggle is inherent in the history of society, in Mauritius gender issues, and especially women/girls issues took on a greater visibility in the 21st century.

Reference 200 - 0.01% Coverage

Housekeeping has always been the primary responsibility of women whose primary roles have, for years, been limited to the private sphere of the family. Women were seen as housewives and mothers first. Living in relative poverty, and because of the resulting feeling of deprivation, women were forced to work to help their family make ends meet. Women worked either as labourers or as domestic workers. Before and after going to work, they had to fulfil their as wives and mothers duties. Women carried a disproportionate share of everyday-life burdens. They had to juggle household chores, child-rearing, social life and their work life. Hence, they faced, and continue to face, the triple burden of job, childcare, and housework with little and even no support, either from their partners or the Government especially since, long ago, the Colonial Government did not offer social welfare to ease their load.

Reference 201 - 0.01% Coverage

Women endured domestic violence in silence as they were trapped in the cycle of violence and were not empowered to leave abusive relationships for various reasons. such as religious, economic and cultural oppression. One female respondent testified that she was abused by her husband who was an alcoholic. She left him twice but returned eventually. The first time she abandoned the matrimonial roof, she went to live at her mother's with her baby daughter. He asked her to return home and she did so. She gave birth to two daughters, and when she was pregnant of her son, he was once more abusive with her. She let home again and went to live at her sister's. When she gave birth to her son, he again asked her to return.

Reference 202 - 0.01% Coverage

It should be noted that because of their financial situation, in keeping with the testimonies, weddings lasted one or two days only and women did not wear jewels. They did not receive jewels as dowry. Given that culture is not part of the scope of this research, we shall not concentrate on cultural dimension of camp life.

Reference 203 - 0.01% Coverage

Government Notice No. 134 of 1973. This is despite the fact that the Annual Reports of the Labour Department and Ministry of Labour, prior to 1973, indicate that women should be paid "equal wages for doing equal work" in their various Labour Ordinances. 56

In her later work, Carter (1994, 1995) states that a number of female indentured labourers were employed on a temporary basis or verbal contracts that did not appear in the official figures. She also points out that those women who were not officially employed often helped their male partners to complete set tasks or spent their time sewing vacoas bags or rearing livestock for their families. 57

Reference 204 - 0.01% Coverage

The aim of this report is to document the lives of people in 20th century Mauritius through the use of oral history. It does so through the following 10 life histories which provide an overview of the lives of several informants who were interviewed for the Aapravasi Ghat Trust Fund's Oral History Project. These subjects, seven men and three women, were chosen because they have either led extraordinary or unusual lives that set their experiences apart from most other Mauritians who come from a similar socio-cultural background. Or, alternatively, because their

experiences shed light on the kind of experiences other Mauritians are just as likely to have experienced and which provides further insights into what life must have been like for a majority of Mauritians in the not so distant past.

Reference 205 - 0.01% Coverage

Following Mrs. Bheem Mooneean's wedding, she went to live at Ernest Florent. She gave birth to 8 children at home with the help of a midwife. She cannot understand why nowadays women have problems during their delivery and why they need to have a caesarean. She never went to the hospital when she was ill despite the fact that civil hospital did exist. She used homemade remedies instead. Once she accompanied her mother and elder sister to the sugarcane fields. She was still a child. Her mother and sister were removing "fatak" trees with a hoe. She pulled a "fatak" tree with her hands and got hurt. To cure her, they applied crushed "lalyan"- "latik-wa" and then tied the wound. And when she had a cough, Mrs. Bheem Mooneean used to drink "karha" turmeric and cloves in milk.

Reference 206 - 0.01% Coverage

A female sirdar, Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah led an extraordinary life that very few other Mauritian women experienced. She was actively involved in the trade union movement during the 1970s and 1980s, and has always been particularly concerned with fighting for the rights of female Sugar Estate workers. Upon retiring she became a social worker, offering her services to the handicapped, the sick and the elderly. Now 80 years of age, Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah offers words of advice for today's generation of Mauritian women.

Reference 207 - 0.02% Coverage

Owing to some problems which she was facing on Bonne Veine Sugar Estate, Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah went to work at Trianon where she worked as a sirdarine, an uncommon occurrence in the Mauritian sugar industry. She did this work for four years (1955-1958) and was required to supervise the work of both women and children. She said that she always treated the labourers under her supervision well. Working as a sirdarine gave her experience in measuring the workload labourers had to perform, and it was also during this time that she first started to become involved with the trade union movement. After Trianon Sugar Estate was sold to Mr. Hardy, the latter renamed the latter Sugar Estate as Highlands Sugar Estate and appointed a new manager: Mr. Coombes. On noticing her intelligence the new manager gave her a job in the office and provided her with accommodation in the camp of Bagatelle given that since Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah joined Trianon Sugar Estate, she had to rent a house. As part of her responsibilities, she used to arrange the shop, check books and rams bann let ki vini. She worked on Highlands Sugar Estate for 14 years. She used to go to work at 5 a.m. and return home at 4 p.m. She said that it was difficult for her to perform such a hard work for such long hours given that she had to take care of her small children and husband. By 11 a.m./12 p.m. she no longer felt like working. Despite these difficulties, she was still able to seize the opportunity of being a camp resident to cultivate some vegetables and sell them at the market of Rose-Hill to generate an additional income.

While she was working on Highlands Sugar Estate, that is, in 1968, Plantation Workers Union sent her a letter asking her to become a member of trade unions. Despite resistance from her husband because of fears concerning problems it would create with her employers, she accepted. Her main motivation behind joining Plantation Workers Union was the various injustices that women were subject to on the Sugar Estate. She said that she learnt about some of these injustices during her childhood itself by overhearing the conversations of her parents. But by working on different Sugar Estates she could witness all of them and she herself suffered from some of these discriminations. It was very painful for her. She revealed that sirdars used to beat women with sticks. She mentioned a case whereby a female worker of Bonne Veine Sugar Estate was beaten by a sirdar. The woman was hurt and Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah had to accompany her to hospital. Men and women were assigned their load of work on an unequal basis. For example if men were assigned 125 "golet", women received 115 "golet". In their wage rate too there was disparity, that is, if a woman was paid 5 cent per "golet", a man earned 15 cents per "golet". When a woman work more than her work load she was not paid for that surplus work. Instead, the entrepreneur used to give the extra money that the women should have earned to other people with whom he was well acquainted. Women were not given proper treatment and proper medicine at the hospital. When they got hurt only a small medicine was applied to their wounds and they were asked to go to work on the next day. Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah had witnessed male nurses sexually harassing female patients. Women were also exploited sexually by Sugar Estate workers, namely the administrator and sirdars. But women could not protest against all these injustices.

Hardy was an Anglo-Ceylon. Whatever happened on his Sugar Estate had to remain within the Sugar Estate and only “bann sef” could solve the problem. But on noticing Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah’s way of talking and acting the white people understood that they could not ask her to leave trade unions. So the kolom told her that when she wanted to go to trade unions he would allow her to go because women were being mistreated too much. As a member of trade union she attended many seminars. She used to meet with representatives of different places in Port Louis to discuss.

In 1970, Sir Sewoosagar Ramgoolam introduced the system of card whereby her job on the Sugar Estate was secure. All male labourers were assigned the same workload, she as all the other women

Reference 208 - 0.01% Coverage

During the Prime Ministership of Jugnauth she and the other members of the Plantation Workers Union organised a press conference on Louis Lechelle Street at Port Louis. During the conference she raised the issue of the inequality in the wage rate of men and women.

On 19 August 1984 she talked on trade unions and on 4 September they talked about that on television. After her speech: Mrs. Bappoo sent her a letter on 7 Jan 1985 for an interview following which she appointed Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah as a member of the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund to represent female labourers. She was determined more than ever since now she had someone to back her in her endeavour. After less than 2-3 months she brought a team of “inspector travay” on Bonne Veine Sugar Estate. Misie Jacques Carey was furious. She used to note down all the injustices inflicted to women and submit the paper to Mrs. Dubois when she went to committees. Mrs. Dubois raised these issues in

Reference 209 - 0.01% Coverage

receiving their lump-sum she brought the matter to the office and helped them to get their lumpsum. When labourers were mistreated and that they absented themselves without leaving any paper, she went to Mon Desert Alma to discuss their case and help them to get their work back. As a member of trade unions she also asked for a female nurse who could attend female patients, that men and women be given the same load of work and that there should be no disparity as far as their wage rate was concerned. But she said that the disparity between the wage rate of men and women still persist. She and the other members of trade unions also asked that women should retire at the age of 58 and men 60. Their demand was approved. After 2-3 years they asked that women should retire at the age of 55 and men 58. But she retired at the age of 58 instead of 55 because the manager told her that she should continue to work since there was no one to represent labourers and give her a favour by making her work somewhat less. On retiring in 1988 she also left Plantation Workers Union. When Navin Ramgoolam became Prime Minister in 1995 the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund was dissolved.

Reference 210 - 0.01% Coverage

Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah also expressed her views on the condition of women nowadays. She said that although the situation of women has improved, they are still discriminated against in the workplace and are exposed to sexual exploitation. For instance, she reiterated the fact that in the Mauritian sugar industry, men still earn a higher wage than women.

Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah also discussed what she believes women in Mauritius must do to further improve their conditions. She said women have to stand on their own feet and must fight for their rights. She also advised them to seek advice from their predecessors, be sincere as far as their married life is concerned, to be honest in their life, and to always be courageous.

Reference 211 - 0.01% Coverage

Mr. Cyril started to work at the age of 19 on Le Val Sugar Estate. He worked as a sirdar and had to supervise the work of about seven or eight women who used to apply salt and plant canes. Initially, another sirdar taught him his work. He said it was not difficult for him to learn since he was the son of a Sugar Estate worker and was often on sugarcane fields. If he had to complain about the workers under his supervision, he made the complaint to the “assistant”. But he said he did not have to complain about the workers very often because in his opinion people in the past were more respectful. He said the workers under his supervision were very good. When they failed to do their work properly, he used to ask them to redo it until they did it properly.

Reference 212 - 0.01% Coverage

Mr. Cyril explained why nowadays some children tend to deviate from the right path. He said that in the past, women did not go to work. They looked after their children. Consequently, children benefited from a close family life. But nowadays, while some children's parents are at home when they return from school, for others none of their parents are there when they reach home. Or at night only one of their parents is at home. He believes this is enough for some children to lose selfcontrol and to become drug addicts. He thinks people should be giving this issue more consideration.

Reference 213 - 0.01% Coverage

His marriage ceremony lasted six days. Tilak and safran were performed on Monday and Wednesday respectively. On "safran" Mr. Dookhit Deewan was bathed with a paste of turmeric. He said that "safran" was important because there was no make-up in the past. During the latter ritual he wore an ordinary shirt and a "ti" pair of trousers/"enn ti langouti". Since there was no radio and television women sang from Monday to Friday.

Reference 214 - 0.01% Coverage

Mr. Persunoo Gokulanand passed away on August 17, 2010. However, in the interview, he was able to share some of his views on the present direction of Mauritian society. In his opinion, the customs of Mauritians have changed. For example, he said that in the past, women were "pli en respectable". He believed that when a woman goes to do prayer she must wear a saree.

Reference 215 - 0.01% Coverage

When Mr. Ramlall Ramduth started to work on his parents' plot of land he used to wake up at 5 a.m., brush his teeth, have his bath, do his prayer, drink tea and leave for the fields. He used to bring food-farata/rice with curry, which was prepared by his mother, to work. Initially he found the work difficult. But he had a positive attitude since he said that any work is difficult at the beginning but it becomes easier as one gets used to it. His wife also worked with him. He used to plant sugarcane and vegetables, cut canes during harvest, and after two and a half months or 3 months he used to pick the vegetables. When there was a lot of work he used to recruit women to plant canes and pick vegetables. The women started to work at 6.30/7 a.m. and finished at 2 p.m. He paid them Rs. 2 per day. If a woman was absent on 1 day she had to complete her pending work on the following day.

Reference 216 - 0.01% Coverage

other projects), a small number of in-depth and quality interviews were conducted with 'Coloured' families – 17 in Mauritius and 7 in Rodrigues. An analysis of those interviews and significant extracts are presented in Chapter 7. Semi-structured interviews were carried out to seek out present 'Coloured' individuals' views on: group identity; political representation of the community; prejudice, if any, in personal and professional lives; the economic, social and cultural contribution of the group to Mauritius; the impact of waves of emigration from the 1960s to the 1980s; access to employment; women and inter-communal marriages; how 'Coloured' youths envision the future. It is found that such appellations as mulâtres, Gens de couleur, mean little to the young, and less young, individuals who wish to develop their own 'Mauritian' identity. The past may well be behind them.

Reference 217 - 0.01% Coverage

interviewees are not in dread of 'cultural nepotism' that their ancestors deplored. Women, as Chapter 7 underlines, appear more open and more enlightened in respect of inter-communal marriages and socialising with other communities.

Reference 218 - 0.01% Coverage

As for mulatto women, he draws an even clearer racial distinction, by indirectly criticizing them for wishing to cross the social frontiers and for their lack of morality:

Reference 219 - 0.01% Coverage

“There is between White and mulatto women a demarcation line which the latter try to cross. However, those dangerous mulattoes avenge the contempt with which they are treated, by stealing the White mother’s sons, as soon as they are susceptible to their charms.” 14

Reference 220 - 0.01% Coverage

libertinage of mulatto women; they are described by him as ‘Vénus noires’, beautiful, with the most enticing eyes, long and rather curly hair. They reportedly reached the age of puberty early and were passionate and seductive in their love-making.¹⁷ Moreover, abortions were frequent among black and coloured women, as was syphilis, yet further proof, in his eyes, of their immorality. (p. 386).

Reference 221 - 0.01% Coverage

even more striking in his wife’s. Rose de Saulces de Freycinet kept a diary consisting of a series of long letters to her cousin, Caroline, after she had stowed away illegally in the Uranie in 1817. Those letters were published in 1927, as the *Journal de Madame Rose de Saulces de Freycinet*.¹⁸ In her diary, Rose is even less sympathetic to the complex nature of Mauritian society; she uses the strongest language to condemn the ‘concubinage’ that is rife on the island largely because of the loose morals of mulatto women; at the Champ-de-mars, she remarks:

Reference 222 - 0.01% Coverage

Some men even set up home with these women, have a dozen children by them and have no other house but theirs; these men are not married. By their actions, they are forced to withdraw from society, for these women are never received publicly. They provide a good education for their children, who are almost white; several even send them to England and France [...]

What is to become of this population? Will they always be completely segregated from the Whites? Creole women generally abhor those women who cause the ruin of their families and the breakdown of so many marriages.

Reference 223 - 0.01% Coverage

wishing to ensure their children’s or their mistresses’ future, in the event of their own deaths, buy land in their names. A few women already own substantial properties in their own right.”¹⁹

This tableau of the role of mulatto women sheds light on many aspects of the origins of the ‘Coloured Population’ born during the French colonial period, and after the British occupation of 1810. However, it would be erroneous to claim that libertinage and ‘concubinage’ were the only sources of the emergence of the ‘Coloured Population’, which also arose from mixed marriages between Whites and men or women of Asian and African origins. Yet, libertinage was a fact of life in the 1830s and 1840s, when Mrs. Alfred Bantrum gave a colourful picture of ‘Creole’ ladies – in

Reference 224 - 0.01% Coverage

the sense of mulattoes – at the Champ-de-mars; the seductive ‘Coloured’ women once again became the target of a European lady’s ire and high moral principles.²⁰ Nor did some local intellectuals lag behind visitors in their condemnation of the culture of pleasure promoted, seemingly, by the ‘Coloured women’; in his *Statistiques de l’Ile Maurice* (1838), Baron d’Unienville reflected on the White and ‘Coloured’ Creoles, given “avec abandon, avec passion, aux plaisirs de la société, aux jouissances de luxe.”²¹

Reference 225 - 0.01% Coverage

merchants, settling in the Isle de France, cohabited with female slaves or Coloured women.

Reference 226 - 0.01% Coverage

married freed slaves - such later on was the case of Benoît Ollier from the Lyon region, who arrived in 1789 and later married Julie, a freed slave born in Mauritius; they gave birth to Rémy Ollier, who was to become one of our greatest journalists, in 1816. 24 Mésalliances and de facto relationships were the direct result of an imbalance between settler men and women. Between 1717 and 1770, as noted by J.-M. André, a total of 1,718 contractual workers from France arrived; they were carpenters, bricklayers, masons, blacksmiths and other artisans. 25 Yet, those men generally came alone; families, as a rule, only arrived in Isle de France from French ports from 1743 onwards. There was, thus, a serious disequilibrium between genders at the peaks of La Bourdonnais' efforts to import a workforce (1743: 161; 1744: 128 workers).

Chan Low provides the following statistics: in 1778, there were 1,727 white women out of a total white population of 4,417; in 1809, white women numbered 2,671 out of a white population of 6,227 (27 November, 1994, p. 15). Rampant promiscuity and mésalliances led to the emergence of a mulatto and métis class. De l'Estrac also highlights the arrival from Pondicherry of free Indian contractual workers; others came from Karikal, at La Bourdonnais' instigation, as well as Indian slaves from the Coromandel Coast. 26 At the peak of Dupleix's glory in Pondicherry, there was a population of 70,000, of whom 2,000 were Europeans and 2,000 métis.

Reference 227 - 0.01% Coverage

De l'Estrac, for his part, refers to the presence of many petits blancs who subsisted in poverty and married freed slaves; thus, in 1776, the Census showed that among a White resident population of 3,431, 1,738 were artisans (902 men and 337 women; 305 boys and 194 girls). Half of this White population was made up of what was commonly known as petits blancs who worked as carpenters, ship-builders, masons, stone-cutters, and others as servants on large estates. They married freed slaves, when they could not find White partners.

Reference 228 - 0.01% Coverage

mixed marriages, there were born "those enfants de mille races" [multiracial children], who would later be called "Gens de Couleur". The gap between the so-called pure Whites and the petits blancs and coloured off-springs grew wider. 30 The material conditions in which lived the petits blancs and the shortage of white women in their group, as well as their lack of access to 'Whites', made them succumb easily to the charms of freed slaves or Coloured women.

Reference 229 - 0.01% Coverage

born of Whites and negresses, or Whites and Asiatic women, or White and freed slaves, had emerged. Nagapen, however, points out justifiably that the society of Isle de France/Ile Maurice was "imbued with pigmentocracy". 33 De l'Estrac is right to underline that the Blancs made "a clear distinction between 'mulattoes' and métis. According to this classification, mulattoes were of mixed blood but the products of Whites' relationships with African slaves, while the word métis designated the mixture of White and Indian bloods." 34 So, it is fair to say that, going back to the French colonial period, the very foundation of society in Isle de France, was racist. 35 There existed all nuances of colour, and a very heterogeneous group was born of illicit or unwanted unions.

Reference 230 - 0.01% Coverage

l'Estrac calls a "brassage de toutes les races" which gave rise to the 'Gens de Couleur', "an expression which is also used to designate the totality of the 'Libres'." 39 That the white masters were particularly attracted to Indian slave women in the eighteenth century is known; often, the latter became concubines and wives of their masters, according to statistics provided in Musleem Jumeer's thesis.

Reference 231 - 0.01% Coverage

1789, out of 347 freed slaves, 188 gained their freedom from their white masters; of those 188 women, 138 had given birth to 244 children. They are known also to have acquired land and properties, and métis Indian concubines seem to have played a significant role in the emergence of the 'Coloured community' in the eighteenth century. This was the direct result, according to Jumeer, once more of the imbalance between genders; in 1776, for each woman, there were three men on the island. 41

Reference 232 - 0.01% Coverage

Lim Fat have pointed out that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a reluctance, on the part of Chinese women, to accompany their emigrating partners. 42 De l'Estrac, for his part, drew attention to the fact that there were a number of Chinese artisans, marine carpenters and sailors, who had settled in Isle de France before, and during, La Bourdonnais' governorship. 43 Very early on, only "a few Chinese had married local women, hence the majority of the immigrants had to evolve a mode of life devoid of the soothing presence of womenfolk," concluded Ly Tio Fane and Lim Fat. 44 It is reported by Joseph Tsang Man King (viva voce) that the very first Chinese settler in the 1720s married a Monty, probably of Tamil origins, giving rise to a mixed family. No doubt, despite the absence of archival evidence, there were mixed marriages or various degrees of cohabitation between early Chinese workers or settlers and individual women belonging to the freed slave or Coloured community, but a detailed study is required on this.

Reference 233 - 0.01% Coverage

to as 'Coloured population', did not attempt to acquire more land and often the failed to hold on to the few (156) arpents they were given as concessions. Prejudices survived from the French colonial days during the British period; for example, an Ordinance of 1779 prohibited entry by the Whites into the 'Quartier des Libres' and punished any infringement by fines.⁵¹ Yet, Indian women, not deterred by the coloured status of their children, had them baptized, without naming their fathers, according to Jumeer. 52 But, this did not secure access into 'good society'; in fact, these children were ostracized both by the Whites and the Indians.

Reference 234 - 0.01% Coverage

66,000 Slaves 8,000 Whites 18,000 'Hommes de couleur' 54 The causes of this white antagonism was, partly, rivalry between the two groups of women, Various actions by the 'Coloured Population' to

Reference 235 - 0.01% Coverage

Sentinelle de Maurice (first issue: 8 April 1843), published three times per week, constituting a presse de combat, "the Coloured Population played a preponderant role in politics [...]" She adds: "Rémy Ollier and Reverend Le Brun had left a trail of educated, socially conscious and practically motivated men and women who were to take up battle for liberal reforms. The influence of Rémy Ollier continued long after he had passed away." 114 The first Coloured lawyer, significantly, emerged in 1842, Athanase Volcy Hitié, and the first Coloured notary, G. Lalandelle, qualified in the same year. Ollier's contribution, in political terms, will be assessed briefly in the next chapter. From 1823 to 1839, no English Scholarship was given, but from 1839, Ordinance no. 6 prescribed that such scholarships were intended "to enforce the use of the English language as a medium of instruction." With the arrival of an English Rector in 1841, Mr. Joseph Deas B.A., Coloured boys stood a better chance. By 1852, the College was open to all sections of the population, 115 although very few Indian boys attended.

Reference 236 - 0.01% Coverage

so young at 28) to Eugène Laurent (1910s), another 'Roi créole', in Moutou's estimation, 170 to Emmanuel Anquetil, and on to Sir Gaëtan Duval, the Coloured men and women of Mauritius have reasons enough to feel proud of their 'sons' and 'Tribunes'. From repression and a harsh beginning under the French, a slow and painful struggle for Human and Educational Rights under the British (1810-1885), to Anquetil's political rallies of 30,000 workers at the Champ-de-mars in 1938,

Reference 237 - 0.01% Coverage

Economic alliances took place, mostly by way of inter-group mixing and wedlock. Some white merchants married 'Coloured' women, which allowed the 'Coloured' to enter into the profession of merchant, while they were at that time excluded from the professions of 'négociant' and planter, which remained monopolized by the Whites. For instance, Benoît Ollier, a white merchant arrived on the island in 1789, married a freed slave born on the island, called Julie. They gave birth to the first 'Coloured' political activist, Rémy Ollier (1816-1845).

Reference 238 - 0.01% Coverage

existence of cohabitation with 'darker' women, he stressed that a 'mésalliance' was, at the time of Jean-Baptiste, considered taboo. Such pejorative terms as 'Mozambique' and 'Chevrette grillée' were used, in the old days, for the 'Montagnards', but are no longer in common usage.

Reference 239 - 0.01% Coverage

rather freely without being too oriented. Each interview was conducted in about one hour and concerned questions relating to group belonging, emigration in the post-Independence period, the role of women in their families, the degree of openness towards other communities and the interviewees' recommendations for a better Mauritian society.

Reference 240 - 0.01% Coverage

Translation : « I must say that Independence by itself has not caused emigration to go far from the consequences not the consequences but the effect of the consequences where there was a fear that the Hindu the Mauritians of Indian origin treat creoles the way Whites had mistreated them this we have feared this even Indians threatened others saying that after Independence all women would be theirs there was a woman who was the step-mother of my daughter who has heard someone say that after Independence all women would be theirs this is true it is not exaggerated they believed this would happen”.

Reference 241 - 0.01% Coverage

7.3.6 Role of women within the family Women within the interviewees' families have been contributing a lot to giving a structure to the family, since whether they worked or not, they have contributed to the well-being of the members of their families. Their ability to cope with work as well as with domestic tasks is clearly revealed by the interviews together with their determination to head the family in case of the death of their husband, leaving a household with small children to look after and a living to gain through hard work. Far from being a story, the role of women in the families' history, as well as at present, leads us to conclude that the stability of the family depends on the way they handle current and daily situations as well as taking important decisions, such as the type of education to be given to children and grandchildren, one of our interviewees points out.

Reference 242 - 0.01% Coverage

7.3.8 Comparison between women and men There are no significant differences between men and women in their interviews, except that women have proved to be able to cumulate domestic tasks as well as professional ones, even if they were not fully employed. All men interviewed argued that women had played a great role in their families, in the past and at present, as already said, but what we have seen is that women interviewed all worked, and even men interviewed think it is normal for women to work. The education of children in the families of our interviewees has been influenced by decision-taking by women in order to bring them up or to choose a certain type of education. The following examples illustrate, in the first case, a woman bringing up alone her six children and, in the second case, a young woman brought up alone by her mother:-

Reference 243 - 0.01% Coverage

The results were, according to the 'scientists', conclusive: Caucasians (whites) had larger brain volume and Negroids (blacks) had the smallest brain volume. As Montagu (Ibid) and others remind us however, such tests were skewed to produce the desired results. Caucasian skulls were filled with much smaller beads so that a greater final volume could be attained. Secondly, no distinction was made between differences in physiognomy. The smaller framed (and therefore smaller brain) Negroids and Mongoloids (Asians) would proportionally have smaller heads and brains versus the larger framed Caucasians. Moreover, it has been found (see Montagu 1999) that there is no direct correlation between brain volume and intelligence, because the latter is a result of the integration of biology, nutrition and socialisation. These particular facts were not included by the 'scientists'. Ultimately, scientific racism

encouraged the horrors of the Holocaust. Eugenics, the practice of racial purification, commenced not in Germany during World War II, but in America, when immigrants and the poor were sterilised to prevent the proliferation of inferior progeny. Decades later, during World War II, the Nazis attempted their own purification, by exterminating the Jews and initiating the impregnation of white European women to increase the Aryan race.

Reference 244 - 0.01% Coverage

Franco-Mauritians were not a homogeneous group. Their distance from the metropole of France, isolation on the islands, the youth of those sent to the island as well as the unequal nature of the society produced an internally differentiated group in which there were continuous efforts to maintain or achieve privilege. Although there appear to be no detailed studies of the gender profile of the early settlers, studies done in Brazil, another place in which slavery thrived, shows that the high ratio of settler men to women resulted in a more brutal system of slavery in that country and also how life chances are linked to skin colour in that society (Lovell & Wood 1998).

Reference 245 - 0.01% Coverage

- Chrysalide situated in Bambous, on the main road close to the stadium in a well-secured building. It caters for women substance abusers who are addicted to a range of drugs from alcohol to other drugs such as heroine. It is a residential centre providing treatment and rehabilitation. Although it initially catered for women from diverse groups, ages and socioeconomic backgrounds, it has extended its services to include transvestite men. According to its Director, their clients are mostly Creoles, then Muslims and Indians.

Reference 246 - 0.01% Coverage

the centre, the clients attend pre-admission educational programme with his or her family. Most of the clients are said to come from poor socio-economic background. • Centre D' Accueil de Terre Rouge located in Terre Rouge. The premises are secure and accessible. It is close to the main road. It is a male residential centre which offers a 9-week programme. Most of the staff is ex-drug addicts who have been free from drugs for many years. The centre does not provide Codeine/Methadone substitution therapy as do the above two. The Director, in an interview, reported that the problem of substance addiction has no skin colour and no money, implying that the centre has served people who are doctors, accountants and well as relatives of politicians. • Etoile D'Espérance in Moka, caters only for women alcoholics. The centre is housed in a well-maintained house, which provides a therapeutic environment with its garden and trees that complement each other to provide a private home and homely environment. According to the Director, the centre has served mostly Hindus and Creoles ... "we have had Muslim, no Chinese. We have had Whites and foreigners". • Mahatma Gandhi Ayurveda Centre found in Calebasses is an outpatient centre and has four branches in Paillote, Goodlands and Rose-Belle Sugar Estate. It offers counselling for smoking, alcohol and drug abuse. According to the Director, services are offered by Physicians who provide consultation and dispensation of Ayurvedic Medicine- natural medicine and Massage therapist. • Kinouete situated in Port Louis, and works mostly with detainees, while they are in prison and follows them up until discharge. Both Kinouete and Mahatma Gandhi Ayurveda do not house residential clients. Of all centers visited, Kinouete has most counsellors (Social Workers and Psychologists/Psychotherapists and volunteers). They work a lot with the prison-system and have recently been stopped by the Government.

Reference 247 - 0.01% Coverage

At the end of three months fieldwork, 80 interviews had been conducted, including 10 informal interviews, of both men and women aged 18 years old and above. The interview sample included also some main socio-economic actors who consented to participate in the research. Namely, the Human Resource Managers of the British American Investment Group and the Food and Allied Group, the President of La Sentinelle Ltd. and of the Mauritius Employment Federation and the Chief Executive Officer of the Corporate Social Responsibility Programme.

Reference 248 - 0.01% Coverage

The research on the youth offered better prospects for the allocated researcher. This was a segment of the Mauritian population which was relatively open and candid about their experiences of racism in Mauritius. Again, we noted the salience of skin colour to the research process. As a black woman from South Africa, the researcher was better

able to access the Creole youth and women of Mauritius. Most of this work, yielded rich data on racial experiences among the youth.

Reference 249 - 0.01% Coverage

College, there was the opportunity to speak to eight young women from Creole, Indian, Chinese and Muslim backgrounds. There the researcher was able to engage students of different religious and racial backgrounds in focus groups which proved to be informative on race discourse amongst youth.

Reference 250 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius in 1928 appeared to pave the way for a more racially-integrated society. However, and despite this important change, racism remained institutionalised or at least a very salient feature in Mauritius. Politicians remained largely male, white and wealthy. Businesses in the 1930s remained mostly white-owned and male-run. It was only in 1947 that the vote was extended to the literate in Mauritius and this saw the gradual transformation of a racially-oriented political system. But even so, the underlying discourse then was that only literate people could understand the meaning of equality and of democracy. Women were largely excluded from this newly-enfranchised population and the many illiterate slave descendants and descendants of indentured labourers were excluded.

Reference 251 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. Trans.: ... I think for us the Chinese it was easier. Whether (it is) in gastronomy or in every-day life. We integrate in another community easily; Hindu, Creole, honestly maybe with Muslims a little less, we say it now with a little suspicion given their lifestyle, religion etc. Otherwise ok...on the contrary there is more opening, there is the practical side. At that time as you said, the first Chinese that came were not only in search of a partner but of an assistant too...and at that time I remind you there were more men than women that came...it is replicating itself now. In that there are fewer boys for girls. There are more girls than boys. The boys leave and they take an English, French...)

Reference 252 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. Trans.:...How got Mulattos? The white 'masters' abused women slave African descendants or Indians and then they mixed. But now they cannot abuse, they get married, it is how this Mulatto population was born. If each one respected its type, there would be only 2 or 3 types, there would have been no Mulattos...)

Reference 253 - 0.01% Coverage

Interviewer 2: In my discussion with Franco-Mauritians now, they tell me that lot of FrancoMauritian women, they are doing a lot of social work, charity work, community work a lot. They are volunteer (...) prostitution work, NGOs (...) why you think so?

MR: Because we are in touch more with poverty now. And our group too, the same category group; we made with women what we call micro credit for houses. And it works

Reference 254 - 0.01% Coverage

MR: To women and they were paying back. That was wonderful. So let's say they have no electricity, it was through the (...) we knew that there were genuine cases. So we go and visit the houses, talk to these women and all that. And it was good. Maybe (...) you will see (...), but there were an interaction, they were happy to see white ladies. We could take time to come and visit them (...) they would ask me, "Are you nun?" I said no. "Are you paid for that?" I said no and so.

Reference 255 - 0.01% Coverage

It was our intention to fully investigate the cross-cutting implications of gender relations and racism. Our research encompassed both women and men. However, given the scale of this project and the fact that we did not have sufficiently qualified personnel to initiate the research on gender, we were not able to obtain significant observations

or interviews on the subject. However, we have noted the following issues, especially as they pertain to young Creole or slave descendant women. First, black skinned women in Mauritius experience the worst of racism. They are often the ones to be harassed and harangued. They receive the poorest levels of service. They are most discriminated against in public and government spaces. They experience racism from family members and in their marriage (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 so as to appear more white. Extracting and summarising from the interim monthly reports of our replacement researchers (Ms. Teelwah and Ms. Chacoory), it was found that at hair salons in Mauritius, black skinned Creoles are likely to receive very poor treatment and inferior

Reference 256 - 0.01% Coverage

It was also found, interestingly not in the actual data on gender and race but on the data dealing with psychological consequences of racism, that white Franco-Mauritian women also perpetuated a form of racism – one involving association and dissociation. Specifically (and this was gleaned from the interview data of an NGO Manager), the women participate actively in charity and volunteer work with the poor but often do so as a way of attaining a particular identity, one which valorises charitable acts among women as a sign of morality. Charity, as we have noted in the research, is also a way of dissociating from the poor (and ultimately the blacks) because it structures the relationship with them without allowing them to fully engage with the self (i.e. whites).

Furthermore, it also stereotypes the poor because it publicly constructs them as people in need, as dependents who are unable to help themselves. That is not to say that all charity work falls within these parameters or that all women involved in charity rationally pursue charitable acts in order to appear moral. What we can argue, however, is that there is a powerful religious-racial discourse at play in Mauritius, one which socially constructs the white woman as the epitome of physical and moral purity.

Reference 257 - 0.01% Coverage

Ethnic solidarity also perpetuates racist practice. This was also found among women of Indian descent. It was found in one textile factory that the majority of employees were Hindus because the Manager believed that this was good for cohesion and productivity in the factory.

Reference 258 - 0.01% Coverage

tended to ‘stick together’ to defend the interests of their co-ethnics, if there was a quarrel or dispute regarding a work matter. Creoles, on the other hand, were mostly part-time workers who supplied the factory with semi-finished goods produced from home. The impact of this on the individual development or career/income prospects of the Creole woman may need to be assessed. It would seem to us that this arrangement disadvantages Creole women because they are not really protected by Labour Laws of our country and may not fully understand the implications of the work contracts to which they agree. As noted previously, not only are Creoles stereotyped, but they are also compelled to become invisible and are isolated, so as to avoid potential ethnic or racial conflict in the workplace. In the following, we document the experience of a young Creole woman with racism in Mauritius:

Reference 259 - 0.01% Coverage

In an interview⁴⁹ conducted by the Clinical Psychologist on this research team, her interviewee said that there were many women approaching the drug rehabilitation NGO (Natresa). Many of these were very poor women who had turned to dealing in drugs as a way to survive and also as part of their work as sex workers. Since sex work is illegal in Mauritius (and therefore unregulated), these women were often at the mercy of unscrupulous ‘pimps’ (controllers) and also clients who abused them. A large number of the women coming to the centre and also those found in the jails were Creoles – a good number of which (exactly what number was not established), are from Rodrigues Island. The argument is that these women easily fall prey to the promises of the drug dealers on the island because they are desperate for a better life and feel that they can dramatically improve their circumstances, if they participate in the trade. It is also our view that because these women occupy the lowest rung of the socioeconomic hierarchy, it is easier for them to be drawn into sex work and drug dealing. This is because they have fewer options open to them, especially as they seek to achieve their goals:

Reference 260 - 0.01% Coverage

ML: Most of them are Creole. And secondly, Muslim and afterward Indian. And you will see because here we have prisoners, the ex-prisoners who have come here. And also in the Women prison you will see the same thing. Most of the women in the prison are Creole, secondly Muslim and then Indian. Because here in Mauritius, most of the prisoner they have been linked to drug, they are in prison because of drug trafficking or for the women sex work. Because they are on a soliciting ground. And most of them are Creole. Now they are Creole and most of the women they came from Rodrigues. They came directly from Rodrigues or the mother, father or grandmother they came from Rodrigues. And here we have made a survey analysis to know why most of them are from Rodrigues and here there are drugs and at Rodrigues we don't have drugs, hard drugs we don't have. In Mauritius we have drugs, we think here it is poverty and the dealers have a good population for exploitation to sell drug and a good field for exploitation. We think that it is for this reason but I don't...

Reference 261 - 0.01% Coverage

ML: The creoles from Mauritius, it is because they are in prostitution or the partner was a dealer. Because here in Mauritius the partner, the dealer and the pimp is the same person. And it's why most of the women here are still in drug. The men, they put the women in drugs because afterwards the women can go into prostitution to bring money for the drug.

Reference 262 - 0.01% Coverage

With regard to the complex issue of gender, we found that racial myths and stereotypes permeated gendered categories. For Franco-Mauritian women, there was pressure to maintain a high level of propriety and morality, almost as if they were women still living in the Victorian times! They participated in a range of charity work, not only because they are fully aware of poverty in Mauritius, but also because this validated their position in the social hierarchy as pure, moral beings. In this sense, they are juxtaposed to the Creole or black women, who are deemed to be on the lowest rung of the society, stereotyped as drug dealers and sex workers. Assumptions about the nature of Indian descendants are legion. For instance, as we noted, women of Hindu origins were being employed and Creole women were not being employed at one factory because the idea is that there is inevitable ethnic solidarity among Hindu women. This view does not take into consideration the fact that these women might choose to differentiate between themselves on the basis of age, class, caste, interest or home location.

Reference 263 - 0.01% Coverage

The Ministry of Women Rights: Child Development and Family Welfare have a total of eight Psychologists thus including professionals in the field of Psychology; they are posted in seven centres named Family Support Bureaus. These centres are 24-hour facilities. Their huge clientele is victims of sexual assault and domestic violence; they deal with children and families. As part of their duties the counselling staff (thus Psychologists, Social Workers) in these centres provides services to shelters as well. They are said to work long hours since they work on calls too and have a high work load.

Reference 264 - 0.01% Coverage

The researchers on this project also found that there are organisational decisions which may foster the development of racist events. We noted this example earlier in our discussion on gender and race (in Section 3 of this report) but it is worth re-analysing here. In one 'mostly women only' textile factory, the Manageress said that although she did not want to employ only members of a particular ethnic group (Hindu), she felt that this was the best policy because it promoted 'plus de cohérence' (more integration). If she did not, there would be more infighting. She also said that she noted that when it came to the 'protection' and advancement of one's own group, some of the women were willing to tell 'little lies' to protect members of their ethnic group from sanction by the boss. The same women would not do this for members of other ethnic groups or people whom they perceived to be racially different from them.

The same Manageress also relayed a story regarding reverse racism which she witnessed at BelleMare beach on the East coast of the Island. She suggested that even victims are capable of initiating racist events. She explained that she was taking a group of colleagues and visitors to the beach and she came upon a group of young Creole men

offloading beer crates from a truck. Amongst them was a Franco-Mauritian youth also assisting with the offloading of the crates. It appeared to the Manageress that the sight of white man doing hard labour was so unusual that one of the Creole men said: “Hey, we have just commemorated the 1st February (abolition of slavery), now we have a white guy working for us, lifting things. Hey, are you gonna flog us?” The haranguing of the Franco-Mauritian and reminiscence of the role of ‘his ancestors’ as slave owners, carried on for a quite a while and the Manageress was astonished at the intensity of the abuse. However, as she was with tourists and people who did not understand Kreol however, she did not feel that it was her place to intervene and left the young men to their own devices. It is our view, however, that even if the Manageress had been on her own, it would have been near impossible (and unadvisable) for her to intervene, as she is of a different ethnic and racial group to the men and she is a woman. As we discuss further on, race and gender converge to produce a particularly volatile mix in Mauritius where women of colour (in particular) experience higher levels of discrimination.

Reference 265 - 0.01% Coverage

That a system and policy of affirmative action be implemented in Mauritius to address the social and economic imbalances created and fostered under slavery, indenture and colonialism. This system and policy of affirmative action must take into account that slave descendants in particular have been discriminated against in employment, access to land and a range of resources (including for example, bank loans). In the first instance, women of slave and indentured descent should benefit from this system of affirmative action. While it is acknowledged that it is presently difficult to define who is a slave/indentured labour descendant, policy-makers (and Government) should ensure that positive discrimination occurs. This might also require a moratorium on the employment of White and Males for a specified period of years.

Reference 266 - 0.01% Coverage

Hierarchy remains, however, given the fact that in India, as everywhere else, the different parts of the body are not equivalent, in terms of purity and prestige. The head is the noblest part and it is the Brahmins who are born of it. The feet, touching the ground that is potentially impure, are the least noble parts of the body and the Shudra are born of them. Today, in India, turning one's feet towards someone or touching his head is still considered rude and even dangerous for the other one's integrity. In the same way, rivers are believed to have a ‘head’ (upstream) and ‘feet’ (downstream). Upstream is always purer. Contrary to women, men bathe upstream, so that they are not contaminated by women's impurities. Similarly, upper castes bathe upstream and lower castes downstream.

Reference 267 - 0.01% Coverage

The caste system inevitably means describing the status of male Hindus. Women belong to the caste of their father and abide by the rules, and especially those concerning marriage. Later, women will belong to the caste of their husbands. Even when a woman marries upward in the caste hierarchy, the risk is high as in-laws may refuse the food she cooks, even in her own house.

But, more generally, women are vectors for ‘pollution’. Their assigned place (included as Goddesses in the Brahminic Hindu iconography) is on the left. This is the ‘polluting’ side in Hindu thought: the left hand is reserved for polluting activities, and the right hand for eating; you circumambulate a shrine clockwise in order to keep your pure right hand close to the Gods. Similarly, women sit at the left of men because of the purity hierarchy not unrelated to caste ideology.

Reference 268 - 0.01% Coverage

- Bengali women used to have a godna on their forehead and also on their hands and arms • A Doosad or Chamar had to marry his/her son/daughter in the same caste not in a higher one

Reference 269 - 0.01% Coverage

- Last but not least, women are secondary in the patriarchal caste system, in Mauritius as in India. They have no individual caste, passing from their father's caste to their husband's caste.

- Devotional practices that, in Mauritius, previously spearheaded by women (at home and at the local kalimaya) allowed them to maintain their pre-marriage beliefs, practices and individual habits or preferences (towards a shrine, a deity or whatever devotional practice).

Reference 270 - 0.01% Coverage

Believing that castes belongingness refers to a hierarchy based on natural criteria seems to be losing ground in contemporary Mauritius. The local, more universal, versions of such conceptions appear when interviewees state that the only caste is that of God, or that there are only two castes, men and women. As a consequence, the most overt and/or violent forms of discrimination, whether physical (low-caste individuals being slapped for entering a temple) or psychological (in-laws refusing food from lower-caste daughter in laws) are cited, but only as examples from the past.

Reference 271 - 0.01% Coverage

Associated characteristics are as follows: single headed households headed by women, households with an elderly parent living alone and households headed by uneducated persons.

Reference 272 - 0.01% Coverage

i) Restructuration in the labour market gives birth to growing concerns about future means of living among unemployed youngsters and those, coping with the educational system. Young married adults facing precarious jobs as “journaliers, cé qui pé gagné” are compelled to live with parents/ in-laws. The value of education, already low in the social environment is decreasing rapidly “a quoi bon travail, quand pas sire gagne travail”. Parents, having made the necessary efforts and sacrifices, obliged to cope with changing conditions of entrance on stable labour market feel cheated. With the rising costs of living, this unexpected change gives rise to frustration and feelings that “pli ça va, pli vinne difficile pou débatta”. Formerly, “ti capave trace, tracé” through a succession of casual jobs before proper entrance on stable labour market, and setting up families of their own. Additional family tensions, inactivity among youngsters and young adults breed high consumption of alcohol, drug addiction and prostitution among young women.

Reference 273 - 0.01% Coverage

Negative mental conditioning was reinforced by their owners and much of the rest of white society, through harsh treatment, and brutal reprisals, for seeking any form of knowledge of themselves or the world at large. Men were stripped of any form of pride and or self-respect, by being humiliated in front of their families for any attempt at seeking any resemblance of justice. Women were often taken from their husbands and raped at their owner's discretion. This further diminished the male's sense of self-worth as well as the women's (Du Bois, 1903). Being forced to work without compensation dragged slave descendants further into the psychological quagmire of self-loathing and depression. It is generally accepted today that one of the most damaging aspects of the institution of slavery and oppression is the development of self-loathing, with people starting to believe that they deserve the treatment that they receive.

Reference 274 - 0.01% Coverage

- Grandparents taking care of young grandchildren (migration of Rodriguans to Mauritius, separation of partners, abandoned women having to work)

Reference 275 - 0.01% Coverage

Single parent households of today, at the lowest echelon of society – mostly headed by women – children from different fathers, high rate of teenage pregnancies as in Rodrigues (Lew-Fai, 1998), very often considered by the general public as a “way of living”, compared to other communities in the same life conditions, contribute heavily to the reproduction of poverty. What is less understood is that this “way of living” does not come from nowhere and it acts as a powerful deterrent to get out of poverty.

Reference 276 - 0.01% Coverage

disqualification process. The mother's role was destroyed because, during slavery, a mother could not properly nurture and protect her children from the slave master. Now, slave descendants' women continue to have children at a young age, not knowing how to take care of them, hence perpetuating the cycle of the missing father and the lone mother. The

Reference 277 - 0.01% Coverage

women to 100 men should be adhered to and remained in practice for the rest of the indenture period. The joint family system provided help and support even to distant relatives.

Reference 278 - 0.01% Coverage

Women were socialized to accept their roles as wives and mothers as 'natural'. The socialization process in the school made the girls highly refined in their manners, while their academic knowledge remained scant. The one female school run by M. Deaubonne, during the French colonial period, closed in 1809. We can well imagine that the vast majority of slave women and girls did not have access to education. Had there been any form of education, it was left to some individual initiatives limited to the generosity of the slave masters. Some Parish priests of the Lazarist Congregation also catered for the education of slaves. However, the forms of exclusion were reinforced with the Napoleonic rule and the restoration of slavery.

Reference 279 - 0.01% Coverage

power relations between men and women and definitions of femininity and masculinity". This term is used for the structural inventory of an entire society.

Reference 280 - 0.01% Coverage

of Port Louis, imported the Victorian image of a woman and perpetuated the patriarchal order by reinforcing the traditional gender roles that subordinated women. Education programmes for girls entailed knowledge of how to be good wives, how to cook well, and instruction in maintaining an hygienic home environment. This was further pursued in the 20th century with the setting up of 'Les Ecoles Ménagères'. Although over the years, changes in curriculum bridged the gender divide, yet, girls of the working class were limited in their ambition by this predominant bourgeois ideology of charity which confined girls to their future gendered defined roles of care-givers and home-makers. It was mostly girls of the Creole community who fell victims of this situation, whereas girls of the Indian community benefited from the emancipation work engaged by the Arya Samaj movement in the 20th

Reference 281 - 0.01% Coverage

progress. Arya Samaj rejected child marriage and purdah, established equality between all human beings and so rejected casteism, and also equality between women and men, thus encouraging the education of girls.

Reference 282 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian population, e.g. for the poor, particularly girls and women (Bunwaree, 2005). Those who would not have been able to afford education manage to send their children to school. This provoked a big generational shift for some segments of Mauritian society. Education has therefore been an important tool of mobility for some. But the question that needs to be posed are: how and why have working-class children of slave descent been able to benefit to the same extent as working-class children of indenture descent?

Reference 283 - 0.01% Coverage

culture, particularly music (samgit), folk songs, story-telling and theatre. Women have played an important role in preserving and transmitting this village oral tradition, reflecting an interesting part of Mauritian culture, both in

preserving and in creating new elements. Measures should be devised to introduce elements of the language within the Hindi classes, this being considered as more economically and socially viable in the present context.

Reference 284 - 0.01% Coverage

During their narration, my respondents, about a hundred men and women, told us about events that have marked their lives or their parents' lives. They also told us about the numerous prejudices and intolerances that shattered so many lives in a discriminating manner until the first half of the Twentieth Century.

Reference 285 - 0.01% Coverage

Non Christians made a very big effort in propagating education by voluntary work, especially concerning the education of girls. Literacy of girls in the non Christian community had a social repercussion in liberating women who started going out to work for a salary. They were no longer cloistered at home while the rate of literacy kept going up.

Reference 286 - 0.01% Coverage

(occasionally) and a cup of 'arrack'. On some estates, slaves could take as much cane juice as they liked. Women who were nursing were fed from 'the master's table' for 2-3 months.

Reference 287 - 0.01% Coverage

Women and children Males outnumbered females and only a small proportion of adult slaves lived in family groups, while the majority was single-parent, overwhelmingly female headed. Slave women faced immense difficulties to be able to care for, or even feed, their young children. Slave women often complained of ill-treatment, sexual exploitation, were obliged to work unduly hours despite having young children to care. And the insecurity of women necessarily increased the vulnerability of children and the impermanence of family life. If babies suffered from inadequate maternal care, they did not remain babies for long. As children, they soon faced directly the mistreatment (e.g. they were put in chains, flogged) which had made maternal care so difficult. Clearly, the nature of

Reference 288 - 0.01% Coverage

Slave women had to carry out their domestic tasks in addition to their agricultural work.

Reference 289 - 0.01% Coverage

dholl were served in the afternoon. However, Indians were not used to European type of food, such as biscuits (sometimes infested with weevil or hard to break). Indians were used to eating chupaties (unleavened cakes made of flour). Later, rice became the main food item on board. Moreover, children and infants did not have any proper food. Women who lost their appetite while they were sick were unable to feed their babies.

Reference 290 - 0.01% Coverage

preferred dholl to fish. However, this ration did not cover the needs of labourers with families, women and children too young to work. Those who became sick, while at work, received the whole ration, while those who did not attend work at all did not receive any ration. Rations were distributed on Saturdays during the 'entre coupe' (non-harvest) season and on Sundays during the harvest season. Rations and wages were given to labourers who fell sick or had an accident at work. Those who were sick and absent from work did not receive any wages or rations. But working conditions varied widely from estate to estate (Boodhoo 2010).

Reference 291 - 0.01% Coverage

labourers) to attend the estate hospital when ill, women and children often did not, either due to ignorance or cultural norms or poor hospital conditions (including food not being to their liking). Children were often not vaccinated. Women would not deliver in hospitals and gave birth in their

Reference 292 - 0.01% Coverage

common among the lower wage-earners of the colony. Those affected were mostly labourers of Indian origin, children and adolescents, pregnant and nursing women. A majority considered that malnutrition had increased during the war period (i.e. up to April 1943), and that there had been deterioration in the health of the working class in the past 25 years (i.e. 1918-43). A majority of doctors

Reference 293 - 0.01% Coverage

provided to pre-school children and pregnant and lactating women (MOH 1979-80). However, although the free issue of a light meal to labourers at the beginning of their day's

Reference 294 - 0.01% Coverage

It was widespread in the working class and affected mainly women in their childbearing period and young children. In women, anaemia was invariably exacerbated during pregnancy and lactation. The prevalence of anaemia was lower among the middle class, but women were more affected than men. However, no section of the community was protected or immune from anaemia. The severity of the disease was conditioned by low dietary iron intake and losses through parasitic infection (especially by hookworm and ascaris, and sometimes malaria) and it was, therefore, routinely treated with iron supplementation and de-worming. A striking improvement in the anaemia situation became evident with the success of the malaria eradication programme coupled with an improvement in the post-war food supply position (MHD 1952).

Reference 295 - 0.01% Coverage

during the crop season and affected both men and women. It led to various social ills including fighting among slaves, general disorderliness, theft, lateness at work, insubordination, accidents and, even sometimes, suicides. There were also many unlicensed liquor shops in the districts (Teelock 1998).

Reference 296 - 0.01% Coverage

- In rural areas, three vans were organised for demonstrations in cooking, elementary hygiene and child care, on similar but simpler lines to the Exhibition. Posters were also fixed around the vans, when parked. The audience was assembled before the arrival of the van. This was the only way in which Indian women could be made to attend the demonstrations. There was also the promotion of a vegetable garden with seeds distribution and flour-rice demonstration. Each place was re-visited several times to maintain contact with the inhabitants. Regular courses in nutrition and hygiene were organised for the staff so as to maintain motivation, and the vans inspired a certain degree of confidence and comfort among an uneducated population subjected to revolutionary changes and severe privations (Wilson 1946).

Reference 297 - 0.01% Coverage

increasing mobilisation of land for sugar cane plantation. Apart from the poor diet of adult slaves, slave women faced immense difficulties to care for, or properly feed, their young children leading to child malnutrition and high mortality.

Reference 298 - 0.01% Coverage

affecting the lower-income groups of the population, it was particularly common among the Indian section of the population and affected mostly women of child-bearing age and young children. The disease was generally associated with Malaria as well as hookworm infection. With the eradication of Malaria, improved sanitation, public health measures (including iron supplementation and free shoes or boots to school children and labourers) and improved nutrition, anaemia ceased to be a major public health problem by the end of the 20th century.

Reference 299 - 0.01% Coverage

beneath breasts of women, genitalia and inner aspects of the thighs. The dimension of the problem can be measured from statistics on scabies, borrowed from the annual report of the department of health.

Reference 300 - 0.01% Coverage

to December 1959, a WHO team headed by Stott carried out an extensive dietary survey. It was found that iron deficiency anaemia was wide- spread in the Island, particularly amongst women and children. The causative factors were identified as being: low dietary iron, blood loss through hookworm infestation, cooking losses of iron and iron requirements for adolescent, menstruation, pregnancy and lactation.

Reference 301 - 0.01% Coverage

in the Republic of Mauritius. Nearly 1400 new cases of cancers and 950 cancer deaths occur each year. In 2008, cancers accounted for 11.9 % of all deaths in the country. There were, in total, 2286 and 3280 new cases of cancer in men and women respectively between 2005 and 2008. The total number of new cases has risen by 41% in men and 40% in women between 1992 and 2008.

Reference 302 - 0.01% Coverage

Pregnant women, younger children and people of any age with certain chronic lung or other medical conditions appear to be at higher risk of more complicated or severe illness.

Reference 303 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves comprised of 27 men, 18 boys and 20 women. Almost immediately, 15 men and 4 boys became maroons. Why? The story of the dark ages of slaves in Mauritius unfolds in all its dimensions.

Reference 304 - 0.01% Coverage

- The prevalence of type 2 diabetes in the Mauritian population aged 25-74 years was 23.6%: 24.5% in men and 22.8% in women representing 172,400 people.
- Using the European Body Mass Index (BMI) cut-points, the prevalence of obesity was 16.0%: 11.3% for men and 20.5% for women and the prevalence of overweight was 34.9%: 34.7% in men and 35.1% in women.
- Thus, 50.9% of the participants were overweight or obese. The rate for men was 46.0%, and for women, 55.6%.
- Using the ethnic specific BMI cut-points, the prevalence of obesity was 43.3% (47.9% for women and 38.4% for men) and the prevalence of overweight was 22.3% (20.3% in women and 24.4% in men). For BMI, the Asian-specific cut-points were applied to the Hindu, Muslim and Chinese populations while the European cut-points were applied to the Creole and other (Franco-Mauritian) population.
- Thus, 65.6% of the participants were overweight or obese. The rate for men was 62.8% and for women 68.2% giving an estimated 477,000 people between 25 and 74 years of age obese in Mauritius in 2009.
- The prevalence of hypertension was 37.9%: 35.4% for women and 40.5% for men. □

Reference 305 - 0.01% Coverage

Obesity has increased during the period 1992 to 2004 with a sharp increase noted during the period 1999 to 2004 from 19.6% to 22.9%. The prevalence of overweight in both males and females has not changed much over the years and stays at around 31-34%. The prevalence of overweight and obesity in 2004 was around 55% with the condition being more prevalent among women than among men.

Reference 306 - 0.01% Coverage

The prevalence of abusive alcohol intake in males was 19.1% in 1992; this level dropped to 9.8% in 1999 and since then it has shown a dramatic increase to attain 40.9% in 2004. Among women, although the levels are relatively much lower, there has been a significant increase during the period 1999 to 2004 to reach 5% in 2004 from 0% in

1999. Abusive alcohol intake remains a major health problem despite health education and a number of measures (legislative, fiscal and others) taken to discourage people from drinking excessively.

Reference 307 - 0.01% Coverage

Maternal and Child Health is one of the corner-stones of any public health measure worthy of its name to tackle maternal and infant mortality. The figures for infant mortality were 161, 141 and 154 per thousand births for the periods 1911-1920, 1921-1930 and 1931-1945. As a comparison, in Britain the rate was around 150 per 1000 births in the 1900's. In his Report, Dr. Balfour made a strong case to start the training of midwives, establishment of a maternity ward at the Victoria hospital and (if possible) a ward for the treatment of infantile complaints related to disorders of nutrition and dietetic diseases. Dr. de Chazal, a Mauritian, made a generous contribution with the prime object that the fund be utilized to provide maternity nurses to the poor women. Through trials and tribulations the Maternity and Child Welfare Society took off the ground on 5th March 1926 and by 1935, it was regarded as a permanent feature in the life of the Colony.

Reference 308 - 0.01% Coverage

indentured labourers. In both African and Malagasy as well as in Indian cultures, the sick were taken care of by the family and the healers of the clan or community. The sick was surrounded by kith and kin or rejected altogether depending on the perceived cause of the disease. Hospitalisation and confinement were unknown to migrants, forced or free, and as far as possible they evaded public health services. Official reports on epidemics and diseases are replete with instances of sick people hiding their diseases, evading vaccination⁴, running away from hospitals, taking French leave or clamour to be discharged. Hospitalisation was looked upon as a punishment. Women, especially the Indians, avoided hospitals as they abhorred being examined by male doctors. Incidents on board the ship were numerous. Childbirth was a woman's affair.

Reference 309 - 0.01% Coverage

speaks about a species of "ceterach", which Malagasies used at that time. This plant is prepared in infusion/decoction and is taken by breast-feeding women (mothers, and nannies, often slaves), whose milk is improper for feeding babies. Daruty indicates its use as "dépurative et calmant" in case of hepatitis, tambave and cough.

Reference 310 - 0.01% Coverage

is used by Telenga doctors in India against intermittent fever. All parts of the plant have very stimulating properties. The bark of the plant is employed as tonic and depurative; la sève et la résine (resin) possess abortive properties. It can be used for abortion without affecting the mother's health. The fresh leaves are used against abdominal pains, headache and syphilis. The ripe fruits are used in gargles in case of sore throat and bronchitis, and also in bath, and as a tisane for diuretic, and on wounds as cataplasm. Daruty names it *Toddalia aculeata* and states that it holds medicinal properties to cure the following diseases and sicknesses: Abscess of the breast on women who are breast feeding women; Asthma, Bronchitis, fièvre paludienne.

Reference 311 - 0.01% Coverage

practitioners. After delivery the mother is given a tablespoon of oil of the de lila de Perse or neem (available on the market) on empty stomach. It was done over a period of 12 days. This treatment was given to the mother to clean the uterus and heal any injury or bruise that might have occurred during the process of delivery. Mothers, who have had several babies delivered at home under the expertise of the mid-wife, say that women who underwent caesarean did not consume the oil of Lila de Perse. At bed time mothers take half a glass of green safran boiled in milk, to keep the body warm and prevent it from catching cold besides acting as an anti-septic.

Reference 312 - 0.01% Coverage

of the highest divinities or God which manifests Himself in various forms. The ceremonies are usually presided over by a priest known as maraz or poossari either at the residence of the sick person or in a temple, river, lake or the sea. Indentured labourers could afford to have very simple ones, so they relied on the Tamil temple and the shrine of

kalimaya for prayers. They also organized communal Kathas in baithkas, and participated in the ceremonies organized by the Tamil temples. All indentured labourers irrespective of places of origin in India had recourse to the Cavadee, fire-walking and sword-climbing prayers for health purposes. All participants in the ceremonies interviewed said that they were carrying the Cavadee or walking on fire for health purposes. Women participants often carried a sick child or an infant. While some participants were doing the penance for healing a current disease, others were fulfilling vows for having recovered.

Reference 313 - 0.01% Coverage

have left deep scars on them; the miracle is that they were able to survive and that both men and women were passed fit for work, once landed.

Reference 314 - 0.01% Coverage

Patients were employed at the Mental Hospital, doing agriculture and gardening, carpentry, mattress-making, and tinsmith for the men while the women were doing the house work, sewing and drawing water.

Reference 315 - 0.01% Coverage

Various other developments during that period contributed to improve the health status of the population (particularly women and children), including improvement in sanitation, access to safe drinking water, universal vaccination and a primary health care system covering the whole island as well as a network of regional hospitals providing secondary and tertiary care.

Reference 316 - 0.01% Coverage

- To combat malnutrition in the impoverished population (GNI per capita: US\$ 1,280 in 1981), especially among the low income groups, food subsidy on staple foods and supplementary feeding programmes targeting children and pregnant and lactating women were put in place.

Reference 317 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition the Company also owned slaves who worked in various capacities. When the King took over the island in 1765, the slaves belonging to the Company were ceded to the King. There were in 1769: 162 Malagasies, 436 Guineans, 345 Creoles, 254 Mozambicans, 25 Indians, 2 Creoles from Bourbon, 1 from Pondichéry and 3 from Macao for a total of 1,228 slaves. They were divided into 662 men, 139 boys, 21 young male children, 271 women, 126 girls and 9 nine female infants.²⁴

Reference 318 - 0.01% Coverage

bbbb. The slaves engaged in agriculture and the women among them married, or cohabited with French men, due to the shortage of French women. Indian prisoners were also left there. Distinctions between French on the one hand, and Malagasy and Indian on the other, appeared some years later in 1674, when an Ordinance of Jacob de la Haye Article 20 ordered that there would be no marriages between French and négresses or between noirs and white women. The term 'slave' also appears for the first time in Bourbon.²⁵

Reference 319 - 0.01% Coverage

The revolts of slaves on board have been studied to some extent by several authors: Peerthum, Allen, Filliot. Both revolt and escape occurred on board and appeared to have been expected, when the ship was being outfitted for voyage i.e., extra strong fences, more guards etc were provided. For ships bound for Mauritian ships, a number have been documented in earlier studies: Allen's database of voyages lists only 23 voyages with revolts. Vernet's transcription of the journal of the *Espérance* also shows escapes occurred among women as well.

Reference 320 - 0.01% Coverage

papers relating to onward of primes for each slave, detailed accounts were kept, and the owner of the slaves was mentioned. In this case, Bonhomme and Frappier and Co. bought 441 slaves from Kilwa. Years later, the slave registration returns reveal that in 1826, Bonhomme is listed as having 186 slaves. Some of them bear 'marques d'inoculation': this is consistent with the period when they were brought since an epidemic had broken out, and slaves were vaccinated. By 1826 however, there were not only slaves born overseas but a large proportion of locally born slaves, with 90 Creole slaves, 76 slaves from Mozambique or from East Africa. Only 6 slaves were Malagasy, confirming that his cargo was purchased from Kilwa. 57 were women and were to be found mainly in the Creole group.

Reference 321 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus 'Mozambican' slaves became trusted as were West African slaves; they were considered trustworthy enough to be recruited for the defence of the island. Women slaves from Mozambique were also appreciated for their reproductive capacity. Statements made at the time smack of breeding attempts: "Nombre trop modique de négresses Mozambique ou Bengalie [...] chaque vaisseau en apporte 12 ou 15 [...] elles peuplent plus et sont moins debauchées".163

Reference 322 - 0.01% Coverage

Some women even led the slave Truth and Justice Commission 68

Reference 323 - 0.01% Coverage

Tattoos for Colin represented the 'caste' identity of the different ethnic groups, many of which came to Mauritius. Women of the Sofala group also pierced their upper lip and their tattoos consisted of curved lines from forehead to temples and there were points on the cheeks and body.

Reference 324 - 0.01% Coverage

Fields would include the several stops made by the ship by numbering the stops e.g., stop1: no. of slaves, no. of men, no. of women, no. of boys, no. of girls/stop no. 2 would include similar details thus, stop2, totalslave2, men2, women2, boys2, girls2. The date of return (Port return), date of return (Date return), no. of Men, Women, Girls, Boys.

Reference 325 - 0.01% Coverage

formerly also known as Nove. Mataca I might have ascended to the power around the 1850s, which is when the Portuguese presence in the Niassa territories, occupied by the Yao, was very weak. It is interesting to note that a "Mataca" Chief/King is always chosen among a council of women of the Mataca family. The women must be the sisters of Mataca main rulers, and so the elected people are actually the nephews of the Mataca.

Reference 326 - 0.01% Coverage

Many of these women were mothers of small babies and young children, but the list has names of old women, too.

Reference 327 - 0.01% Coverage

The gender ratio was unequal (fig. 4). Of the 31 tribals that came were under private control, no women or children arrived. Out of the total of 512 tribals who came between the years 1843 and 1844, 75% (388) were men, followed by 16% (80) women, children 7% (10) and 2% (10) were unknown. This is consistent with existing literature (Hazareesingh K and Bissoondoyal U) where they stated that the idea was to come to Mauritius for a short while and return.

Reference 328 - 0.01% Coverage

There is evidence of tribal presence in Mauritius as from 1851 also. The principal places of origin of the tribals, as mentioned before (see fig. 7), were Chota Nagpore division and the districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Midnapore, Purulia. These people came aboard Catherine Apar. They arrived on the 30th March 1851. Ships like Mohassur, Fazel Currim, Hyderabad, Bellatine and Lucknow also carried a small proportion of tribals. Aboard ships Catherine Apar, Hyderabad and Futtay Mobarruck, there were few women and children also. The table above shows that the tribal groups arriving in the country are as follows 'Munda, Santal, Oraon and Khol'

Reference 329 - 0.01% Coverage

In conclusion, we have seen that the tribal groups arriving to Mauritius included the Munda, Oraon, Santal, Gond and Khol. The majority of them were young males and came chiefly from the Chota Nagpur region. Between the years 1843 and 1844, there were a few women and children also who arrived in Mauritius. The tribals were found on every ship leaving Calcutta. After 1844, there were fewer immigrants from the tribal group. Their heavy mortality on board the ships which took them to the island and to the estate discouraged the recruiters from recruiting them. However, some tribals continued to arrive on the island, throughout the period of indenture.

Reference 330 - 0.01% Coverage

women immigrants in indentured immigrant population on the plantations led to unstable sexual relationships and affected order on plantations through social instability, sexual promiscuity, high crime rates. This volatility of men-women relationships fostered immoral ways of living, abduction and exploitation of women immigrants.

Reference 331 - 0.01% Coverage

labourers and even the murders of wives or men involved in the relationships.⁸⁰ Murders of wives by the husbands occurred mostly because of distrust, jealousy or betrayal by the women partners which was considered 'rampant' in Mauritius, although it was often termed an 'epidemic' in the colonial lexicon. As late as in 1880s, among the Indian population, 21 wives were murdered by the husbands.⁸¹ Indenture in this respect undermined the institution of marriage.

The Royal Commission noted that the custom of polyandry was an accepted custom in Mauritius and often a group of immigrant men would keep one woman in their housing unit who would cook their food and satisfy them physically. The most disturbing effect of this custom, according to the Royal Commission, was that it led to much quarrelling among the immigrants, and sometimes even murders. This prejudiced view of Colonial Authorities, based on Victorian notions of social order and moral standards, has been shared by the majority of scholars of indentured Diasporas of the old type who study indentured emigration in terms of the continuation of slavery. These scholars argue that 'the disproportion between men and women was the main factor in shaping the life of the coolie lines'⁸² and 'Indian social life in Mauritius presented a disquieting spectacle.'⁸³

Since the relative scarcity of women was related to disorder on the plantations, for the purpose of maintaining order on the plantations and encourage a structured/stable settlement in some kind of family pattern, the Colonial Authorities adopted a double-pronged strategy: first, they tried to increase the numbers of immigrant women by legally fixed quotas and second, they put a close guard and legislative regulation over the marriages among the immigrant indentured community.

Reference 332 - 0.01% Coverage

To address the concerns over the disproportion of sexes among the Indian communities on the plantations and also to stabilise the labouring population in Mauritius (for the other labour importing colonies as well) Colonial Authorities fixed the quota of women mandated who could be taken along with the male emigrants, encouraged the family emigration from India. A bounty of £2 was paid to those immigrants who came with 'legitimate' wives. However, this led to another forms of disorder whereby widespread instances were reported of selling of daughters or wives, using marriage ties to bring women to Mauritius and then selling them off to make extra profits by the sirdars and returnees. In 1860s, 'many sirdars and overseers brought two and sometimes three women with them' as their wives who were, as the Protector reported, sold or transferred to other men to make money. ⁸⁴Abuse of indentured women also occurred by the plantation owner and managers leading to numerous offspring who today still be identified through their mixed Asian and European origins. Many of these form part of the Coloured population who form the subject of subsequent chapter.

Reference 333 - 0.01% Coverage

In the initial periods of indentured emigration, the Colonial Authorities had been lenient concerning cohabitation among Indian immigrants. Their primary concern was to secure the supply of labour on plantations, and since women were not employed in Mauritius, they cared the least for them. A Royal Commission reported that before 1853, no law existed in Mauritius specifically providing for celebration and recognition of Indian marriages.⁸⁵ However by 1850s, with the large influx of Indian immigrants and a sizeable number of Indian labourers in the colony, the Colonial Authorities had to ratify marriage legislations. In 1853, provisions were made under Ordinance 21 of 1853 to recognise the marriages solemnised between the members of the Indian immigrant community

Reference 334 - 0.01% Coverage

according to the Civil Code, and the immigrants who wanted to marry had to produce a 'Certificate of non-marriage' to check for polygamy or abduction of already married women.⁸⁶

Reference 335 - 0.01% Coverage

One consequence of indenture, because of the relative scarcity of women and their crucial importance in performing the domestic chores at the plantations, was that the usual custom whereby husbands' families obtained a dowry from their wives' families, was reversed in the diasporic setting, and often the grooms paid a premium to the wife's father or relatives. In one report, an immigrant Doyal of Flacq, paid a huge sum of \$137 to get married to Bagmanea. This practice of paying the bride's price was not limited to any particular section of the Indian immigrants, and another immigrant Virapatim, of South Indian origin, paid several hundred rupees to get married to Taylamen.⁸⁸ However, we need to be extra cautious

Reference 336 - 0.01% Coverage

instances of bride-price as 'women empowerment' and 'source of additional income for the Indian women',⁸⁹

Reference 337 - 0.01% Coverage

underline that these were often forced sales of women,⁹⁰ and considering the fact that the money was often paid to the father or relatives of the brides who, on many occasions, 'sold' their daughters or female relatives, colonial descriptions of women's subjugation appear to be more tenable than those of the revisionist scholars of diasporic women.

Controlling the illegal emigration of women disguised as wives by the sirdars and returnees and then their subsequent sale in the colony remained a primary preoccupation of the Colonial Authorities' marriage related legislations. The other underlying assumption of the administrators' attempts was that by making the registration and declaration compulsory, they would be able to make the matrimonial alliances in the immigrant community more stable, and thus curb sexual immorality. Therefore, the registration and declaration of marriages which was the main thrust of the marriage Ordinance, continued and was reinforced in the form of a double registration in the Marriage Ordinance 17 of 1871. All the immigrants arriving with their wives and children had to declare and obtain certificates for their marriages twice – once at the port of embarkation where the Protector had to verify their claims of being married, and then again upon their arrival in Mauritius where the Protector would give them the certificate, without which their marriages were not legally valid and children legitimate.⁹¹ Considering the ignorance of emigrants and the general aversion among them for the cumbersome registration process, the Government of India made conscious efforts to emphasise the significance of the registration of marriages before embarkation. A. O. Hume, who was Secretary of the Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce Department which administered the indentured emigration, made a special request to the Judicial Secretary of Bengal government to inform intending emigrants that, unless they registered marriages before departure from India and obtained a certificate from the Protector, their marriages would not be held as valid in Mauritius.⁹² Any immigrant, who wanted to get married in Mauritius, had to obtain a certificate from the Protector in Mauritius to testify that he had arrived unmarried in Mauritius.⁹³

Reference 338 - 0.01% Coverage

Another consequence of indenture and of the scarcity of women on the plantations was the resulting instability of marriages. There were reports of wives being enticed away by other immigrants and women moving out of the matrimonial alliances for more attractive options. The Royal Commission noted that Indian immigrants filed 68 complaints in the year 1871-72 about wives being enticed away or harboured. Archival records show that this was one of the primary concerns of the male population in Mauritius who requested the authorities to restore their wives. Such occurrences of the breaking of alliances also hampered the prospects of family emigration from India as husbands were apprehensive about their wives being kidnapped or lured away, once they came to Mauritius.¹⁰⁴

Reference 339 - 0.01% Coverage

Feminist scholars of indenture have asserted the common paternalist nature of the male Indian immigrants and colonial authorities and interpreted this gesture as a desperate attempt to restore control over women and maintain power to decide their partners.¹⁰⁷ There is no denial of the fact that the Indian male psyche was not at all comfortable with Indian women taking decisions about leaving a relationship and/or choosing another partner. The reaction was often extremely violent. The question remains whether the women were making informed decisions or whether they were 'lured' or tricked? Further research is needed. While relationships between Indian men and women are explored totally and official reports abound concerning wife murders, male suicides, unacknowledged by the academic community and by colonial officials at the time, were the abuse of power on the part of all those in the upper hierarchy on the plantation and sexual abuse in the academic scholarships as well as by colonial officials. Within the descendant today, it is widely spoken of but concrete examples are still spoken about in hushed tones, offspring being quire present in Mauritian society. Elsewhere as in Fiji, such stories have become famous.¹⁰⁸

Reference 340 - 0.01% Coverage

Early marriage was common in India despite British attempts to regulate it. In Mauritius, the need to regulate the age of marriages was felt. The 1856 ordinance fixed the marriageable age of men and women at 18 and 15 years respectively and any person getting married before this age had to obtain permission of the Governor.¹⁰⁹ Ordinance 28 of 1912, while fixing the marriageable age as 21 years for intending husbands and 18 years for the intending wives, also gave space for child marriages by allowing the marriages to be celebrated between the couples below the prescribed age if the parents had given their consent to it.¹¹⁰

Reference 341 - 0.01% Coverage

In Indian society, the most prominent site of the working of the caste values was marriage. At this level also, owing to the relative shortage of women, immigrants had to be flexible in terms of their traditional belief in endogamy. But immigrants tried their best to observe the sanctioned deviations in their marriages and in most cases, marriages were of the kind described as hypergamy, in which men from high castes married women from lower castes, a practice which was approved in India also. ¹¹² In the absence of the options of choosing their marital partners from within the same caste, the other criterion adopted by the immigrant community in Mauritius was that of common regional and linguistic origins. This emerged as the most decisive factor in forming the matrimonial alliances, especially among the Tamil and Telugu immigrants.¹¹³

Reference 342 - 0.01% Coverage

between spouses, there was a higher proportion of widows. Many widows suffered from social stigma and often from greedy family members who stole their property. They were an easy prey for the recruiters and agents who were desperately looking for women emigrants to meet the desired quota. Thus, among single women who migrated to Mauritius, there was a significant proportion of widows wishing to forge new matrimonial alliances even in the emigration depots.¹¹⁶

Reference 343 - 0.01% Coverage

Before their actual departures, intending emigrants had to stay at the emigration depots at the ports of embarkation in India for long periods of time to complete several formalities, so that required numbers could be counted. Apart from mostly single men and some married couples, there were a considerable number of single women, as well who

were mobilised by the recruiters to meet the required quota of women for the emigration. As Hugh Tinker has pointed out, despite separate boarding arrangements and strict segregation of sexes, there were enough opportunities available for the immigrants of both sexes to interact. Such relationships served everyone's interests – for male immigrants found a partner in a land where Indian women were scarce, while women felt a sense of security during the voyage to the unknown. For the Colonial Authorities, it offered the promise of stability. Considering those pragmatic advantages, the authorities approved these alliances and certificates of marriage were issued to immigrants, despite the fact that most of these marriages were not in conformity with the social-religious rites.¹¹⁷

Reference 344 - 0.01% Coverage

Between these years, approximately 43,183 women arrived in Mauritius from India under the Indenture system. These women were needed in the colony for purposes of marriage according to most historians as due to the scarcity of women, there was a significant change in the attitude of the Indentured Immigrants. Although marriage was a central feature of their lives, they would discard many of the characteristics of 'typical' Indian culture, norms, customs, values and adapted to the local situation. Concepts of marriage not common in India were accepted by the Indians. Caste, religion, age, widowhood, single life, arranged or religious marriages were no more an issue for these immigrants.

Reference 345 - 0.01% Coverage

In one respect, indenture and strict controls on mobility brought a certain measure of 'cultural and social stability'. Since movement on an estate was restricted, it led immigrants to mix with one another, irrespective of backgrounds, rear their children together, sit under the same tree to sing, talk, perform rituals etc. Their children played together as the women washed clothes in the same river. Despite harsh conditions, this type of 'cocooned' life was experienced on plantations.

Reference 346 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Brij Lal, as far as women are concerned, 'Indenture promoted a new egalitarian ethos and a freer society, which respected individual initiatives. Women were employed on the plantations as individuals in their own right. Control over their own hard-earned income gave them a measure of power and economic and social independence.'¹¹⁸

Reference 347 - 0.01% Coverage

China is better seen today through her Diaspora all across the world. The Chinese men and women, distinctive figures in the regions where they settled, played an important role in the development of commerce and participated in the creation of entire Chinese communities outside China, thereby transforming a part of their host country into a "little China". The history of the Chinese in Mauritius remains widely unknown to a Mauritian audience, and even the Sino-Mauritians (descendants of Chinese immigrants), are not aware of their ancestors' contributions, except only their contributions to the commerce guild. In order to understand the reasons behind the successive flow of Chinese immigrants and how they settled and adapted themselves in Mauritius, it is important to look back at the migration history of China and the history of the Chinese in Mauritius, addressing mainly the 19th and 20th centuries' historiography of the Chinese in Mauritius. This would portray the community which played (still maps) an important role in the development of the country. We will also look at the present situation of the Chinese in Mauritius, taking a glance at the observations of the Sino-Mauritians on their own community. Interviews and meetings with Sino-Mauritians help us to understand the feelings and perception of these people and their past and contemporary history. The experience of this community began in China itself and impacted on the development of Mauritius.

Reference 348 - 0.01% Coverage

Likewise, Huguette Ly-Tio-Fane-Pineo, during her investigations, has found the existence of two Chinese by the name of Gratia and Pauline who were brought from Canton and enfranchised by their owner, Louis Vigoureux, in 1745 at the end of his life. The latter gave Gratia the sum of 500 piastres and 2 slaves and to the child that Pauline was carrying a yearly pension until adulthood.¹⁶² Later, "the census of 1776, lists a Gratia Vigoureux as residing in

Port-Louis at the “Rempart”. She is described as 40 years’ old, a seamstress and the owner of 3 slaves.” Like Gratia and Pauline, “one male Chinese slave was enfranchised. Hyacinth Ambroise described in the 1780 census as a 26 year old Chinese from Macao was the freed slave of Jean Michel Dumont.” He married Marie Jeanne, a Creole of 15 years in Flacq on 2 Fructidor of Year III of the Revolution, at the age of 40.¹⁶³ On Reunion Island (Bourbon), one also knows of the presence of Chinese slaves. The existence of two baptized Chinese women was noted; Denise married in 1760 and Marie Josephe, wife of Francois Ranga in 1765.¹⁶⁴ The manumission of Chinese slaves obviously created a free Chinese community in the Isle de France.¹⁶⁵ However, and somehow, the free Chinese community which existed during the French period “had disappeared, through death and through absorption of descendants into the Creole population.”¹⁶⁶

Reference 349 - 0.01% Coverage

For his part, the Collector of Customs agreed most of the time with the requests and recommended the names of the Liberated Africans to the Governor through the Colonial Secretary. The Collector had to certify that the Government apprentices were fit for freedom. Then, it was up to the Governor to give his approval, which he usually did, and it was only then that the Liberated African was given his or her ‘Act of Freedom’ by the Collector of Customs. It is important to note that some of those who received their freedom were Liberated African women who had several children.²³⁷

In August 1833, there were several Liberated African women, such as Celine Rassoire and her six children, Sammah Chamouniah and her seven children, and Caroline Sampianada and her five children who obtained their freedom. They showed up at the Customs Department and asked to be freed because they were time-expired Liberated Africans or Government apprentices. Within several days, after obtaining Governor Nicolay’s approval, George Cunningham, the Collector of Customs, gave them their ‘Acts of Freedom’ and noted that they were ‘of good character, industrious and capable of earning a livelihood for themselves and their children’.

Reference 350 - 0.01% Coverage

Gradually, during the 1830s, there were several Liberated African men and women who had completed their indenture contracts and were able to earn a living as skilled and semi-skilled workers. At the same time as they were securing their freedom and that of their children, they got married and secured their family ties. As the records of the Office of the Customs Department clearly revealed, some of the time-expired Liberated African men and women had become productive members, of society, and they managed to carve out a place for themselves in mid-19th century Mauritian colonial society.

Reference 351 - 0.01% Coverage

The slave population grew steadily in size during the 18th century, from 2,533 in 1746, to 15,027 in 1767, to 33,832 in 1787, to 60,646 in 1806, to reach 63,821 by 1810, prior to the British conquest.¹² Their occupations consisted of agricultural labourers, household servants, fishermen, artisans, dock workers and sailors. The enslaved people faced a harsh regime. So much so, that the engineer Charpentier-Cossigny in 1753 wrote that “the company was hiring slaves, then starving them to death”.¹³ Just like Labourdonnais before him, Charpentier-Cossigny provided some form of apprenticeship to slave labour. According to him, “for every skilled slave in an ‘atelier’, there were another ten or so manual labourers performing the essential backbreaking tasks of breaking and carrying stones, digging trenches, loading and unloading ships, building roads”. This ‘vast army’ of Government slaves included many women.¹⁴

Reference 352 - 0.01% Coverage

constituted the bulk of the population. In 1826, there were 42,621 male and 26,455 women slaves. By 1835, when slavery was abolished, the slave population was estimated to be at 66,613.

Reference 353 - 0.01% Coverage

The importation of Indian labourers in Mauritius began in earnest in 1834, with the introduction of 36 hill labourers and 39 labourers from Bombay by Arbuthnot. These labourers came to Mauritius on private five-year contracts. They had to pay for their return passage in case they chose to go back to India. In 1835, 1,160 men, 61 women and

33 children were brought in. Between 1836 and 1839, despite Governor Nicolay's ban on further introduction of indentured labourers in the island, 22,615 men, 776 women and 192 children were brought. In the view of the Colonial Authorities and the planters, this early private introduction of Indian labourers on a five-year contract of service worked very well. The Colonial Secretary stated, in 1836, that the experiment, so far as it had been tried, met with great success. The planters praised the character and general disposition of the Indians whom they found to be far more efficient and intelligent at agricultural work than the Africans, despite the fact that a great number of the labourers who were brought in were very raw labourers.

Reference 354 - 0.01% Coverage

Various measures in favour of Labour; repeal of Labour Ordinance of 1922, inspection of Labour, regulation of the work of women and children on sugar estates etc.

Reference 355 - 0.01% Coverage

After the meagre results obtained by industrialization measures, based on import substitution, and as a result of an insightful Report by Professor E. Lim Fat, following his visit to Taiwan and Puerto Rico in November 1969, the possibility of establishing an Export Processing Zone in Mauritius was of immediate appeal to the authorities and the Business Community. The Government produced a White Paper on the 1971-1980 Development Strategy and the 1971-1975 Development Plan, which elaborated on the need to create the appropriate institutional and infrastructural conditions "for a substantial and quick breakthrough in export markets". Starting from a very small manufacturing sector, which employed altogether an estimated 18,400 persons in 1969, the authorities envisaged an increase of 42,000 jobs in that sector by 1980. Of that number, 25,000 jobs were created in that sector. The results far surpassed all expectations. There was a large increase in jobs and a levelling of the island labour force, especially among women who left their former domestic occupations and flocked in large numbers to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the nascent Export Processing Zone.²³⁴

Reference 356 - 0.01% Coverage

Gradually, the intent has been to encourage the younger employees to accept the VRS. In this context, the VRS II was introduced in 2007. It was an improvement on the 2001 VRS in three aspects, namely the lowering of the cut-off age for entitlement to the highest level of compensation per year of service; the increase of the compensation package to younger workers; and the introduction of a re-skilling scheme. The age limit to benefit from a '2 months per year of service' compensation was brought from 50 years for women and 55 years for men to 45 and 50 years respectively. The package for the younger employees has been increased from an average of 1.25 months per year of service to 1.5 months (see Table 31). Employees who accept the VRS are entitled to the early receipt of the contributory retirement pension but at an actuarially calculated reduced rate. Thus, a person aged 50 would receive 60 per cent of his/her retirement pension.

Reference 357 - 0.01% Coverage

The effects of the reduced pension are more pronounced in the case of women for three reasons, namely their basic salary is lower than for men on account of the wage packages and remuneration orders prevailing in the Sugar Industry. Also, they retire younger, at 45 or 50 years, as opposed to 50 or 55 years for men and the actuarial factors used to compute retirement pension are lower. Lastly, they are often widows or are the only bread earner in cases where the husband is unable to work.²⁵⁶ To provide support to women affected by the VRS, an amount of Rs 800 million²⁵⁷

Reference 358 - 0.01% Coverage

A breakdown by gender reveals that 10 per cent of the female VRS beneficiaries are below 50 years, while male beneficiaries below 50 years represent only 1.8 percent of our sample (see Table 32). In fact this confirms that under VRS II, women retire younger 45 or 50 years as opposed to 50 or 55 years for men.

Reference 359 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition, from Figure 6.2, male respondents form 78.8 per cent of our sample and around 21 per cent are women.

Reference 360 - 0.01% Coverage

Further, we observe that the health conditions of women workers were as much affected as those of their male counterparts (Table 42). We note that a higher per centage of women (42 per cent) claim that they now have pains and 5 per cent went through operations compared to 2 per cent for men.

Reference 361 - 0.01% Coverage

actually working and many of them are women. 78 per cent of women have re-entered the labour market, compared to 68 per cent for men. This may confirm the earlier age of voluntary retirement by female sugar workers relative to the male workers, and often these women are widowed and are the heads of households; so they need to have an important source of income, essentially if they have to cater for their dependent children.²⁶⁰

Reference 362 - 0.01% Coverage

We observe that 45 per cent of the VRS beneficiaries were working with contractors of sugar estates and 31 per cent were actually casual workers on the same sugar estates where they were working before the VRS (see Table 44). 11.8 per cent were self-employed and around 5 per cent were working with different planters. Adopting a gender perception, we note that 80 per cent of the women were working with contractors of the sugar estates and only 4.4 per cent are selfemployed compared to 14 per cent for men. Around 9 per cent of women were working with other planters while 3 per cent of men engage in a similar activity.

Reference 363 - 0.01% Coverage

Further, we analyse the income of the VRS beneficiaries after having accepted the Scheme (see Figure 6.8 below). We see that, now, most of them have moved in the lower-income bracket of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 6,000 after the reform which makes them worse off than before the VRS. Women, in particular, are more affected since around 62 per cent of them are now in the income group Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 4,000. Men (29.4 per cent), in turn, found themselves more in the income category of Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 6,000 and that around 17 per cent of them earned more than Rs. 8,000.

Reference 364 - 0.01% Coverage

From Table 46, we note that 45 per cent of women did not benefit from training and 36 per cent did not attend the training sessions, while only 18 per cent were trained in their preferred activity. It is also observed that 32 per cent of male beneficiaries benefitted from training. The different types of training obtained can be shown in Table 47. Most of the VRS beneficiaries (around 22 per cent) received training in gardening, followed by training in cooking, and around 3.2 per cent were interested in plumbing. For those who chose training, they wanted to learn something new or even broaden their existing knowledge, especially in the field of agriculture. For around 17 per cent of them, the training was beneficial and helped them in their daily activities and also to enhance their present work. Overall, the training provided seems not to have satisfied the objective of re-skilling as defined in MAAS.

Reference 365 - 0.01% Coverage

We also analyse their attitudes and thoughts on the VRS package and on the future of the Sugar Industry. 85 per cent of them think that it was a good decision to accept the VRS for a number of reasons. Moreover, there is a higher per centage of women (35%) than men (9.4%) who found that the decision to accept VRS was not good, as per Table 48.

Reference 366 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1970, the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) was established in Mauritius and the Export Processing Zone Act was passed. The Act provided major incentives to manufacturers catering for foreign markets. Moreover, firms within the EPZs equally benefited from the availability of cheap labour which came from unemployed workers and women who were outside the labour force at that time.²⁶² In his paper, Ali Zafar elaborated as follows

“According to interviews with textile executives located in the EPZ, 80 per cent of workers in the EPZs in the 1980s were women. The rate has decreased somewhat in the 1990’s and 2000’s, but women continue to be more than 60 per cent of the workers in the zones. The lower wages that were paid to the workers in the EPZs in the early years allowed the firms to accumulate capital and reinvest the earnings into the firm’s expansion.”

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. As argued in chapter 5, unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

Reference 367 - 0.01% Coverage

The Export Oriented Enterprises (as the EPZ is to be known as from 2006) employed, by March 2001, 93,218 workers of whom 30,783 and 62,435 were respectively males and females, giving a ratio of nearly 1:2 in favour of female workers. With the restructuring of the sector, there were many redundancies so that by June 2009, there were 58,066 workers of whom 24,451 and 33,615 were respectively males and females, giving a ratio of 1:14 or 5:7 in favour of female workers. Of the 35,000 workers made redundant, about 29,000 were women and about 6,000 were men. Thus women are the most vulnerable group in the labour force in that sector.

In the process of restructuring, wages went up compared to the 1980s; but nevertheless, in the textile sector, monthly wages in March 2002 went down from Rs. 7,039 to Rs. 6,236 in March 2008 in real terms (using 2001 as base year). The wages reached its March 2002 level in March 2009. As wages go up, the share of females in the labour force in this sector goes down. The obvious question is: “What happens to the 35,000 workers made redundant and, in particular, to the 29,000 women?”

Reference 368 - 0.01% Coverage

5. Gender Policies: Women and the unemployed are being targeted as reservoirs of cheap labour. Discriminatory wage rates against women and generally occupational segregation should be done away with. Economic structuring, as it has occurred in the Sugar Industry and in the EPZ, is characterized by redundancy, low incomes/wages and high levels of insecurity. Whilst both men and women do suffer from this state of affairs, women workers are much more likely to be the victims.

Reference 369 - 0.01% Coverage

As regards to the period of probation and instruction undergone by Indian catechumens, it would vary. In any case, the request to convert to Christianity came in the wake of an irresistible process of depersonalization. Usually, the Hindu slaves, many of them Gentoos from Bengal (unconquered as yet by the English), were first rigged out by their masters with a French name or nickname that ripped off their external Hindu personality. Next, they were per force subdued to an un-Indian way of life, fed on the slave diet (manioc and so on), clad with the coarse blue denim, holding on to the Creole patois for communication and survival, and prevented by the local environment from professing their ancestral faith. Stripped, to that extent, of their cultural identity, the Indians would look towards Catholicism, the official and exclusive religion. The young male adults would turn all the more easily to Christianity as through scarcity of Indian women, they were left with no alternative but to marry female slaves of other ethnic groups. The Indian children, in all events, were christened in infancy, like all slave-born children, and as is the traditional practice in Catholic families. Musleem Jumeer goes so far as to state that:

Reference 370 - 0.01% Coverage

Clearly, the legal framework and the social environment encompassed those Indian men and women in such a tight set-up that an infallible course of events led them – many of them understandably, and all their offsprings invariably – to the Catholic Church.

Reference 371 - 0.01% Coverage

A number of young Mauritian women joined the community, which prospered under the holy and charismatic leadership of Marie Augustine. The co-founders wanted the nuns to look after the poorest and most destitute. She thus opened a variety of charitable institutions, previously unknown: hospitals, hospices and infirmaries for the sick and for the old people, crèches for abandoned babies, orphanages for boys and girls, a Lazar-house for lepers and, above all, free primary schools for boys and girls in many localities.

Reference 372 - 0.01% Coverage

Clearly, the most popular associations were the confraternities that sprang from the midst of the communities motivated by Father J.-D. Laval and his fellow-missionaries as from 1846. These associations, firmly structured and regulated, assuredly energized the Christian way of life of those neophytes. Lads and men followed the banner of Saint Joseph; young ladies those of Sainte Cecilia or Sainte Lupercile. Married women and mothers gathered around Sainte Anne. A great number of faithful joined the Association of the Rosary. For those black men and women determined to place themselves among the élite of the community, and they were enlisted in the Confrérie du SaintScapulaire.

Reference 373 - 0.01% Coverage

☐ Indigenous catechists: lay men and women, many of them married couples, many of them former slaves and virtually illiterate, but thoroughly well-catechized;

Reference 374 - 0.01% Coverage

In front of the immensity of the task, and not being able to be everywhere, Fr. Laval chose lay men and women, many of them married couples, many of them former slaves and virtually illiterate; his colleagues and he himself directed and supported the apostolate of these lay collaborators who proved to be devoted and competent.⁴² However, whether the catechists had an understanding of what they had to preach, and the fact that they would endeavour to spread the same message to the catechumens, is not certain.

Reference 375 - 0.01% Coverage

The ex-apprentices were mostly illiterate (10 apprentices out of an estimated population of 70,000 were reportedly able to read and write in 1836)⁵¹ but the majority had very good memories. Whether or not they understood what they were memorizing would probably have depended on the individual's ability to do so. Overall, Fr. Laval found it difficult to teach these illiterate and ignorant men and women "who did not know their right hand from their left" and whose minds were not used to stimulation, and that is why he prepared the simple catechism in order to make religion accessible to the ex-slaves. ⁵²

Reference 376 - 0.01% Coverage

The laws governing slaves conferred upon the masters wide powers to punish men and women alike for the slightest offence. A special enactment was provided for the punishment of runaway slaves. This took the form of mutilation and even entailed the execution of the slave after a third offence. Of course, no appeal for any unjustified action of the master was accented.

Reference 377 - 0.01% Coverage

The Constitution of 1885 remained in force up to 1948, when the conditions set for voting insisted only on the ability to sign one's name in any language spoken or written in the colony. It is under this Constitution that voting rights was first conferred on women. The new Constitution allowed 27% of the population to take part and knelled the monopoly of the oligarchy in the Legislative Assembly.

Reference 378 - 0.01% Coverage

Various legislations have been enacted to guarantee equal rights between men and women. Besides, a special Ministry has been set up for Women's Rights Child Development and Family Welfare.

Reference 379 - 0.01% Coverage

8.6.1 The protection of women's rights

The Colony of Mauritius made history when it extended voting rights to women in 1948, at that time when such rights were not even in force in many Western democracies. Over the years, women were empowered; as legal persons, they can act independently of their spouses in matter concerning business, property acquisition, child custody, following Ordinance 50 of 1949 which provides for separate regime of goods and property. Men and women enjoy the same rights under the Constitution and the Law; and the Ministry of Gender Equality, Child Development and Family Welfare promote the rights of women. We can also appreciate the efforts made to change patriarchal attitudes and stereotypes regarding the roles and responsibilities of women and men both in the family unit and in society; and to empower women and promote gender equality and equity.

Nevertheless, these efforts need to be intensified through comprehensive awareness raising and educational campaigns, as sexist advertising, gender job classifications, gender prejudices are still very much present. Women continue to play subordinate roles in society and societal discrimination continues.

Reference 380 - 0.01% Coverage

measures, imposed on women undergoing abortion, must be removed and a review of the circumstances in which abortion could be permitted must be undertaken. Sexual and reproductive health services must be more widely available in Mauritius and reproductive health education and services must be reviewed. Similarly,

Reference 381 - 0.01% Coverage

The slaves from Africa were more strongly-built and more amenable to work than the Malgaches, who often escaped, although they were more intelligent. At sunrise, these slaves were awakened and sent to work till sunset. Their nourishment consisted of boiled maize or manioc. It was the custom to give each slave a shirt on New Year's Day. There are no details about the punishment of slaves. Some said that it was rather cruel. If a woman had to be punished, the husband was ordered to inflict it. To contract marriage, the slave had to obtain the permission of his master, who rarely refused it. They seemed to have preferred the idea of marrying women a good deal older than themselves.

Reference 382 - 0.01% Coverage

9. A form of polygamy was condoned, not to say forced on the population of Rodrigues. This practice may have encouraged prostitution. In Rodrigues, prostitution is mainly referred to as women having more than one partner. of single-parent family (fille-mères).

Reference 383 - 0.01% Coverage

After the departure of the white settlers, commerce on the island came into the hands of Asian settlers; Chinese and Indians. They set-up an all one-sided barter and credit system. The imbalance of the trade was flagrant and the exploitation excruciating. Acacia seed was the great barter commodity, and on Saturday, the day chosen for the barter transactions, procession of men, women and children made their way to Port Mathurin, all carrying sacks of acacia. In exchange, they received cloth, soap, oil, sugar, rice, tea or rum. Fishermen received tackle and gear and sometime the rent of a boat in exchange for fish at a predetermined price, which was always much under the real selling price.

Reference 384 - 0.01% Coverage

Society in Rodrigues is more homogenous than in Mauritius, hence the tensions of inter-racial and inter-communal relations are relatively absent. Rodrigues has its problems, but these are poverty, neglect and under-development by Mauritius, as well as violence, and are always compounded by the more sophisticated social evils of alcohol and substance abuse. It is difficult for gender equality to flourish in this milieu, and it is nevertheless heartening to see that so many teachers are open to the idea, and prepared to learn more. However, gender equality needs some special

attention in Rodrigues, as indeed it does even more so in Mauritius, possibly because strong women in Rodrigues anchor many families, and are mainly responsible for the upbringing of their children and grandchildren.

Reference 385 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodriguans are of mixed origin and fall into two distinct groups; the descendants of the first European settlers and the descendants of the first European settlers, and those of African and Malagasy descents who were ex-slaves on the sugar estates in Mauritius. As Rodrigues never undertook the extensive plantation culture, this explains why the Indian indentured labour never took roots in Rodrigues. The population stands about 37000 and is predominantly Christians, the majority of whom are Roman Catholics. There are a small community of Anglicans, legacy from the British Colonial rule and an even smaller community of Hindus and Muslims who were amongst the latest to arrive in Rodrigues as traders in the late 1890s. The Chinese traders also arrived around this period, but they right at the start fully-integrated the “Creole” community by marrying Rodriguan women. Churches are well attended on Sundays, and it is the main regular occasion for Rodriguans to dress up on an island where leisure activities are rare.

Reference 386 - 0.01% Coverage

existence of cohabitation with ‘darker’ women, he stressed that a ‘mésalliance’ was, at the time of Jean-Baptiste, considered taboo. Such pejorative terms as ‘Mozambique’ and ‘Chevrette grillée’ were used, in the old days, for the ‘Montagnards’, but are no longer in common usage.

Reference 387 - 0.01% Coverage

During British colonisation, even if slavery was proclaimed illegal since 1807 in all British colonies, more slaves were introduced to Mauritius. Berthelot (2002, pp.14-17) recorded that on the 20th August 1809 there were 41 slaves of whom seven belonged to Le Gros and more than 20 to Marragon. The Indians were repatriated to Bombay. In 1826, there were 20 Europeans, 3 Freed and 100 Slaves (49 men and 28 women) on the island. These figures indicate an increase of 59% slaves in 17 years, as a result of births and the introduction of new slaves. In 1838, at the abolition of slavery, the number of apprentices and the total population amounted to 127 and 300 respectively.⁹

Reference 388 - 0.01% Coverage

For Ben, gender imbalances, with the number of women exceeding the number of men, meant that ‘White’ men had priority over Black men for access to women. For a long time, children born out of illegitimate relationships were baptised on a different day (on Fridays) than the legitimate children (who were baptised on Sundays) and the former were, often, not declared by their biological fathers.

Indeed, the population imbalance between the slaves and the Colons, with the former outnumbering the Colons and the lack of Colon women, might surely have encouraged inter-racial sexual relationships and cross-breeding, even if the Code Noir and successive colonial legislations such as the Code Decaen forbade such relationships. Although the island was administered by the Code Noir, since Rodrigues was isolated from Mauritius, the application of the Code Noir was, surely, loose, and it was not applied to the letter.

Reference 389 - 0.01% Coverage

In the first instance, Black women achievers represent upward socio-economic mobility and marriage will ensure that the man will climb up the social ladder. In the second instance, for women to marry a light-skinned man is conceived as a social promotion, whether the man is a social achiever or not. This stereotypical perception and conception of Whiteness as being superior to

Reference 390 - 0.01% Coverage

Net migration figures for the island of Rodrigues uncovered gender imbalances, with women who leave the country outnumbering males. For 1983 to 1990, figures indicated that more females (150) left Rodrigues than males (-100). The 1990-2000 data showed an overrepresentation of women emigrants (-625), while males returned back to their homeland (+19).¹³

Only a rough interpretation of these figures can be provided because of the lack of official disaggregated data on the causes of this emigration of women. Building on Boswell (2006, p.158) social pressures, such as unplanned early pregnancy,¹⁴ and socio-economic inequalities (looking for

Reference 391 - 0.01% Coverage

However, it should be pointed out that serial monogamy concerns both men and women, although extra-conjugal relationship is widespread amongst the men.

Mauritians tend to have a negative stereotypical representation of Rodriguan women as having multiple sexual partners and of being of loose character or 'easy girls'. As Boswell (2006, p. 158) has observed, the early sexual life of Rodriguan girls is often attributed to their precocious nature, thus undermining other social and economic inequalities. Such analysis is a primordialising of the sexual behaviours and sexuality of these girls and implies that they are naturally precocious.

The role of women is still conceived in domestic terms since their role is limited to the private sphere of supplement the family budget. Although more women have entered the public space of work and are active employees, the majority of women are currently housewives as indicated in the statistics below.

Reference 392 - 0.01% Coverage

Statistics for 2000 revealed a substantial increase of 21% in the literacy rate. Literacy increased from 56.5% in 1998 to 68.1% in 2000. The rate for women was slightly higher than that for men with 68.5% for women compared to 67.7% for men. There was no gender disparity for the lower-age groups up to 44 years of age. The disparity was greater for those aged 55 years of age and above (males 3.5% and females 29.5%).

Reference 393 - 0.01% Coverage

In Rodrigues, when the slaves were set free on 4th June 1839, the men were offered a monthly wage of 3 piastres, and the women 2 piastres, as much free food as they could consume according to custom already established, i.e. 1½ pounds of salted fish per week, two coujarons of spirits as before, and the liberty of cultivating their small gardens. They unanimously accepted these conditions (North-Coombes 1971).

Reference 394 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodriguans depended almost entirely on traditional medicine until the late 1960s. The medical service was practically not existent or rudimentary and difficult to access by all the inhabitants of Rodrigues. Hospitals and dispensaries were at Mont Lubin, Port Mathurin, La Ferme especially to those living on the hills, in valleys and gorges. Up to the late 1960s, child birth was the affair of the traditional midwives who were called upon at any time of the day or night. They would walk kilometres to perform this benevolent duty. The sages-femmes (Midwives) without qualifications, but with knowledge and skills acquired from elders, while assisting them in childbirth, assumed the responsibility of child delivery. They depended wholly on traditional medicine and especially tisanes and oil for the recovery of the mother and in baby care. (pp. 90-91). According to Roussety, midwives had multifarious skills which they performed for the community and they were generally paid in kind. Besides child delivery, they were also herbalists, guérisseuses, as well as dress- and mattress-makers. Although babies were vaccinated against smallpox and diphtheria, mothers used, and continue to use, tisanes to cure 'tambave', as was the case in Mauritius. Women knew the secrets of preparing the tisane against 'tambave'. The infusion of the same plants also provide relief from gas or balonnement and allergies that produce skin eruptions and also against itching.

Reference 395 - 0.01% Coverage

As a matter of fact, the process of eviction started in 1967, when the UK stopped the regular supply ship and the return and new inflow of workers. Plantation workers were forced to abandon their homes. Life became miserable for them, when they were uprooted and shipped to Mauritius on board the 'M.V. Nordvoer' in 1971/1972. They had very little belongings with them. The final voyage of 'Nordvoer' was effected on May 1973, transporting 8 men, 9 women and 29 children from Peros Banhos. The displacement from the Chagos was complete.

Reference 396 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition, the Chagossian society is commonly described as being a matriarchal society because women outnumbered men. This normative essentialisation of the Chagos as matriarchal based on, solely, on demographic data can be considered as reductionist and a misnomer. Moreover, even though at the beginning of settlement, women were in a majority, according to the 1931 Census, it seems that by the mid-twentieth century, the gender differential equalised.

Furthermore, although women numerically formed a majority, it does not necessarily imply that the Chagossian society was matriarchal and that women had a dominant status and role. Other social traits have to be considered to classify Chagos as a matriarchal society, such as, non-hierarchical social organisation, consensus, balanced gender relations, non-violence, sexual freedom and other traits.

Reference 397 - 0.01% Coverage

behaviour, that is against Catholic precepts. In addition, historical writings (Vine 2009) report gender differentials in wage pay and promotional prospects (women were underpaid and had a lower job status), incidences of violence, the socio-economic powerlessness of women, and it seems that power resided with men rather than with women. Further research needs to be conducted on the Chagossian society to collect empirical data on, for example, gender relations, gender roles, social hierarchy and to identify how far women were autonomous agents, rather than dependents or subordinates of men to ascertain that the Chagos was a matriarchal society.

Reference 398 - 0.01% Coverage

production of coconuts and its by-products, in spite of hard and primitive work. The copra crusher presented here was used to extract oil and was turned with a transversal pole pushed by five men/women, in place of donkeys.

Reference 399 - 0.01% Coverage

3.2 As soon as Mr. Leduc, the Administrator/Manager (Régisseur), received the “Bill”, he gathered the whole population and communicated the historical event to each and every one. From then on, there were no slaves and no one belonged to a master. He explained to the working population their rights and duties, stipulated by the Bill, as free men and women. No whip would be used but discipline would be maintained. Same punishment (except the whip), would be maintained for those who were found guilty of severe breach of the Law. The case and punishment would be registered in a book and presented to the visiting Magistrate for control.

3.3 The liberated slaves were told that they were not forced to work for the establishment. As against other parts of the world, Agalega has no other source of earning money; so no work, no pay. Before becoming fully-fledged workers, as carpenters, blacksmiths..., they were considered as apprentices. All workers, men and women, would have to enter into a contract with the establishment and would be allowed to return to Mauritius at the end of their contract, if they so wished. However, these men and women knew little of working conditions elsewhere, apart from Agalega, which they considered as their homeland by adoption, their children being born on these islands. The land remained the property of the establishment.

Reference 400 - 0.01% Coverage

encouraged the couples to devote themselves to their families and embellish their environment, as well as take care of their homes and children. They were allowed to do extra duties, such as planting maize, after working hours, in order to better their new social and economical situations. All workers agreed, with enthusiasm, to the Manager’s proposals. The Manager also explained to them that they could strictly abide by the articles set by the Bill and refuse all other advantages. To alleviate their burden, donkeys were introduced to turn the oil extractor. A new mode of living thus started on the islands. Men and women were no longer attached to their masters, but to their families. Mr. Leduc taught moral values through Catechism, in the absence of priest, organised an infirmary, built houses with block of corals for his administration, thatched huts for labourers and other workers, workshop for skilled workers; a real establishment village was created with religious and social life. It was the dawn of a new culture.

Reference 401 - 0.01% Coverage

A few were married, or cohabited with, the local women. They adopted the Catholic religion for their children, and some died in Agalega.

Child Node References to Women

The following section contains references to women from the Mauritius report organized by the child nodes outlined in Coding Women for the Mauritius Report. Some references appear under several subheadings since they contained discussions of multiple themes.

Colonialism

References or discussions of colonialism

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 141 references coded [0.54% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

“The horrendous nature of the enterprise of African slavery is well-known and documented. Around 20 million young people were kidnapped, taken in chains across the Atlantic and sold into slavery in the plantations of the New World. Millions more died in transit in the dungeons of the castles such as Gorée, Elmina and Cape Coast, or in the hell holes under the decks of the slave ships. It was without doubt, in the fullest sense of the term, a crime against humanity. A vast proportion of sub-Saharan Africa from Senegal right around to Angola and on the other side from Mozambique into Malawi and Tanzania was depopulated. Its young men and women were taken away”.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

The slave population grew steadily in size during the 18th century, from 2,533 in 1746 to 15,027 in 1767, to 33,832 in 1787, to 60,646 in 1806, to reach 63,821 by 1810, prior to the British conquest. Their occupations consisted mainly of agricultural labourers, household servants, fishermen, artisans, port workers and sailors. The enslaved people faced a harsh regime. CharpentierCossigny, an Engineer, in 1753, noted that “the company was hiring slaves, then starving them to death”.¹³ According to him, “for every skilled slave in an ‘atelier’, there were another ten or so manual labourers performing the essential back-breaking tasks of breaking and carrying stones, digging trenches, loading and unloading ships, building roads.” This ‘vast army’ of Government slaves included many women.¹⁴

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

There is evidence that the elderly slaves, women and children, considered to be unproductive, were indeed expelled from the plantations.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition, the Company also owned slaves who worked in various capacities. When the King took over the island in 1767, the slaves belonging to the Company were ceded to the King. There were in 1769: 162 Malagasies, 436 Guineans, 345 Creoles, 254 Mozambicans, 25 Indians, 2 Creoles from Bourbon, 1 from Pondicherry and 3 from Macao for a total of 1,228 slaves. They were divided into 662 men, 139 boys, 21 young male children, 271 women, 126 girls and 9 nine female infants.³⁶

French slave trading in the Southwest Indian Ocean was started in Madagascar to supply slaves to Bourbon Island, colonised earlier. The slaves engaged in agriculture and the women among them married, or cohabited with French men, due to the shortage of French women. Indian prisoners were also left there. Distinctions between French on the one hand, and Malagasy and Indian people on the other, appeared some years later in 1674, when an Ordinance of Jacob de la Haye (Article 20) ordered that there would be no marriages between French and négresses or between noirs and white women. The term ‘slave’ also appears for the first time in Bourbon.³⁷ It is there that slavery, as it is understood in Mauritius, became established with maroon hunts, separate Parish Registers and domestic servants being treated as property.³⁸

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

The revolts of slaves on board have been studied to some extent by several authors: Peerthum, Allen, Filliot. Both revolt and escape occurred on board and appeared to have been expected, when the ship was being outfitted for voyage i.e. extra strong fences, more guards etc. were provided. For ships bound for Mauritius, a number have been documented in earlier studies: Allen's database of voyages lists only 23 voyages with revolts. Vernet's transcription of the journal of the *Espérance* also shows that escapes occurred among women as well.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

the slave trade increased in the 1760s onwards, the evidence from the French National Archives shows stereotyping and categorizing of various ethnicities in one group quite early in the slave trade. Thus 'Mozambican' slaves became trusted as were West African slaves; in fact, they were considered trustworthy enough to be recruited for the defence of the island. Women slaves from Mozambique were also appreciated for their reproductive capacity. Statements made at the time smack of breeding attempts: "Nombre trop modique de négresses Mozambique ou Bengalie [...] chaque vaisseau en apporte 12 ou 15 [...] elles peuplent plus et sont moins debauchées."¹²⁸

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Tattoos for Colin represented the 'caste' identity of the different ethnic groups, many of which came to Mauritius. Women of the Sofala group also pierced their upper lip and their tattoos consisted of curved lines from their foreheads to temples, and there were points on the cheeks and body.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

2.3 Women

The section of the C4 series consulted by the TJC is unfortunately silent, for the most part, on the situation of enslaved women. The instances where they appear are when they are cited in criminal cases; e.g. in cases when they refused to bear children or in reference to marriage partners and concubines. They also appear, when accounting of the value of slaves was undertaken. More intense searches in archival records are required. Only a few points will be made here.

□ Categorising women

The same criteria used by colonial society to differentiate between male slaves applied in the case of female slaves: females were categorised according to their capacity for various occupations, based on presumed ethnic traits. Officials also continually complained about women who did not want to bear children and about Malagasy women, in particular, who used traditional medicine to abort. Indian and Guinean slaves were considered better breeders. By the sheer fact of mentioning the reproductive capacity of women slaves, it was clear that officials saw high birth rate as being beneficial since it would reduce the need to obtain more slaves through slave trading. ¹⁴⁹

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

According to reports found in C4 series, there was no decent place for slave women to give birth and many lost their babies during childbirth. ¹⁵⁰

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

In the attempt to reform slavery, to reform administration of the management of concessions to make them more productive, owners were requested to mix men and women and to marry slaves early; pour «accorder des récompenses pour exciter chez eux la propagation». Rewards included getting 2 days off per month, if they bore 6 live children; 4 days off, if they bore 9 children and freedom for the parents, only if they bore 12 children. It was also recommended that heavy loads not be carried by slaves from one district to another. ¹⁵¹ Whether these reforms ever got off the ground remains to be researched by an intensive demographic study. By the 1770s, this may not have succeeded, if it was at all implemented as the slave trade was expanding.

An extraordinary measure was recommended years later to prevent women from performing abortions, thereby indicating that the situation may not have improved. An Act dating from 1556 was introduced in the islands and included the death penalty for those convicted of ending their pregnancies.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Work of women

Women were involved in various tasks related to domestic work and often performing the same work as men. In one unique document relating to the employment of women on Vigoureux's establishment, the Governor doubted whether women should be given the same work as men. In Vigoureux establishment, some women were pregnant, some worked with children on their backs, others were still breastfeeding and others were employed in cooking food for the entire workshop of slaves. He recognized their social value and felt that, although it was desirable to have women in the workforce, it was an additional expense for the Government to pay Vigoureux for the maintenance of the slaves.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Rice was given when other foods were not available. On some estates, rice was given once a week on Sundays, while on weekdays, they were fed manioc. Aside from manioc, slaves received half a herring and 1 lb of salt every Sunday. Disputes with owners occurred over the measurement of rations, with complaints being lodged about smaller measures being used. On large plantations, slaves also received salt, 2 ounces of salted fish or meat (occasionally) and a cup of 'arrack'. On some estates, slaves could take as much cane juice as they liked. Women who were nursing were fed from 'the master's table' for 2-3 months. Slaves also grew their own provisions: brèdes (greens), while those in forest estates could hunt for the tandrak (hedgehog). Coastal estates had many slaves employed as fishermen and others picking 'bambaras' ('sea slug'). If food supplies to slaves on small estates were deficient, it was felt that this was compensated for by the less strenuous work of cultivating manioc, grain and vegetable gardens and transporting these goods to market. Some slaves had access to provision grounds, while others were permitted to engage in petty trade.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Women and children

Males outnumbered females and only a small proportion of adult slaves lived in family groups, with the majority headed by single-parents, overwhelmingly female-headed. Slave women faced immense difficulties to be able to care for, or even feed, their young children. Slave women often complained of ill-treatment and sexual exploitation; they were obliged to work unduly long hours despite having young children to care. And the insecurity of women necessarily increased the vulnerability of children and the impermanence of family life. If babies suffered from inadequate maternal care, they did not remain babies for long. As children, they soon directly faced mistreatment (e.g. they were put in chains, flogged) which had made maternal care so difficult. Clearly, the nature of the power structure meant that children could not rely on support from parents who were themselves so vulnerable to their masters.

Slave women had to carry out their domestic tasks in addition to their agricultural work. According to a study in Nyasaland, on average, every woman spent about 7 hours daily on such routine domestic tasks as preparing cereals, fetching water and collecting fuel and leaves from the bush for food and food preparation.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Canteen ownership was also reserved for Whites at this time; so slaves procured from the Gens de couleur. In 13 Messidor An 10, Babet Vevard, a free Black woman, was condemned because she had given drinks to 2 slaves, Jacmin and Sebastien (MNA: E 102). A new law on 14 Ventose An 6 declared 3 months imprisonment for illicit liquor sale. Babet got 100 piastres fine, as well as having his material confiscated.¹⁶² Many women from the Gens de couleur, who cohabited with poor whites, also opened canteens through their partners who gave them the capital to start the business. Adeline, a Free black woman, was imprisoned for 8 days for having 'kept' the Chevalier Peron and 3 other sailors and given them alcohol to drink in the house of Citoyen Mottel (MNA E 102, p. 32).

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1753, slaves were still building fortifications. Moreover, as Megan Vaughan observes "the slaves placed at Charpentier-Cossigny's disposal for the building, of the fortifications included as many women as men, all of them engaged in hard manual labour."

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

In January 1778, a survey of the state of slaves, who belonged to the King, was made, and details given on the heads of workshops. There were 3,084 slaves among whom were 1,732 males, 765 females, 349 boys and 238 girls. An assessment was made of their exact value: out of the 3,084, there were 381 who were either infirm or unfit to work because of fatigue. No strenuous work could be given to them. Some were old and needed care in order not to worsen their infirmities. They tended to be left to themselves most of the time, and the rest of the time, they were given what was the equivalent of children's work. The boys and girls, up to 9-10 years, were not given any work either. The women, though fit for work, were allowed to stay home and look after their children. It was, therefore, on the male slaves, according to reports, that all the burden of work fell. Even among them, however, some were ill or had marooned. The Government therefore bought 180 more slaves from private persons for the dredging of the Port.²²²

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. Trans. the women whose usefulness, for the most part, is confined to carrying stones on their head during works). "Il y a celles qui sont enceintes ou nourrices, lesquelles ne rendent aucun service toute une partie de l'année, il faut au moins les loger, les nourrir, les habiller et leur donner des ustensiles."

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

Indian men and women were brought both as slaves and as free workers as far back as 1729. Among the free men, were either skilled artisans, poor fishermen, peons (pions) or sailors. It is also reported that those in skilled trades transmitted their knowledge to their children and thus continued in the same trade for generations.²²⁷ The first Indian worker on contract was brought in 1734, although workers had been arriving well before that date (MNA: NA 6/1A, quoted in Jumeer).

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Jumeer, many Indian slaves were women. Many did not declare the fathers of their children because these were European. This situation is explained by Jumeer as resulting from shortage of European women on the island. The children were known as the 'Noirs Libres' (Jumeer: 105-7). Moreover, among the manumitted, many were Indian women. Their children formed a privileged group being 'Eurasian'. Finally, there were also those Indian slave women bought by 'petits blancs' (poor whites). These have been partly studied by Jumeer, but further work is required (Jumeer: 114).

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Among the women, they were among the first to obtain manumission as numerous liaisons existed with European owners and other non-Indian slaves. According to Nagapen, slavery was "un agent pollueur terriblement efficace" (Eng. trans. a very efficient polluting agent).²²⁸

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

Furthermore, they were not all wealthy inhabitants; 50% of Europeans were 'petit blancs', made up of artisans, workers, carpenters, stone-masons. In the rural areas, the men might be overseers, and the women employed as domestics. As the Free Black population emerged, the Whites relinquished

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

Slaves who had hitherto engaged in occupations not requiring hard physical labour were brought into plantation work and many did not survive this shift. Women, who had traditionally stayed at home or were working in domestic service, were also forced to shift to plantation work. Children and the elderly were brought in and given lighter work on the plantation ('petite bande') and in herding cattle. That itself, although not requiring hard physical labour, meant much longer hours of work and a 7-day working week.

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

Concerning women, he observed that many young girls had multiple partners by the age of 12.

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition to free French and Indian engagés, non-slave forced labour was also used in the form of convicts from France and, later in the British period, from India. Women engagées were also recruited, but in smaller numbers. French children, mostly orphaned, were also brought in and placed as apprentices in Isle de France.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

The Commission recommends that further study be undertaken on French engagé labour, men, women and children as well as on the orphaned children brought to Isle de France to work.

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

In his report on Liberated Africans in Mauritius, in 1826, P. Salter, the Ag. Collector of Customs, we learn that between 1813 and 1826, out of 2,998 Liberated Africans brought to Mauritius, some 291 had died even before being apprenticed. Women constituted only ¼ of them. More than 9% of the Liberated Africans died within less than a month after landing, dying of dysentery, cholera, and the small pox, as well as from severe cases of malnutrition and dehydration which prevailed on the slave vessels sailing between Madagascar and East Africa to Mauritius and its dependencies. The state of the ships was confirmed by Captain Dorval, who had commanded one of them, Le Coureur, involved in illegal slave trading. He described the state of the slave vessels which were always extremely overcrowded, with diseases being rampant and the high mortality rate. Thus we find that more had died before reaching Mauritius.

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

Women would be brought in to service male labourers/slaves, to undertake domestic duties, such as cooking and cleaning, and satisfy sexual needs: " In Demerara," Mr. Gladstone stated, "the females are employed in the field as well as the men; and if the female Coolies wilt engage to work there, a larger proportion may be sent, say two women to three men, or, if desired, equal numbers; but if they will not engage to work there, then the proportion sent to the Isle of France, of one female to nine or ten men, for cooking and washing, is enough".²⁴³ Thus numbers of women would only be increased, if their labour was required. It is only when problems arose that more women were allowed to come. As the company named Gillanders needed labour, Gladstone complied.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

However by this time, Mauritian planters represented in the Immigration Committee also wished to have permanent immigrants, and not temporary ones, as 6,000 immigrants had already left Mauritius by 1844. To do this, however, would have necessitated the introduction of a greater number of women and families.²⁴⁸ It was not thought necessary to import much more after that year. It was felt that to undertake Government-controlled recruitment and shipping, this could be more efficiently supervised by a Government Emigration Agent based in Calcutta. Furthermore, this was also where rice supply for Mauritius was procured. By October 1843, the Protector of Emigrants reported that the labour needs of the Colony had been met: about 29,000 labourers would have been introduced of whom 2,700 were women and 700, children.²⁴⁹

□ Emigration of women

After 1842, it appears that officially, about 12 women to every 100 were to be brought, including some children, but in fact, many more were brought. On 23rd January 1843, the first boat load of

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

immigrants with wives and children were disembarked, "a very rare occurrence up to the period of the prohibition."²⁵⁰ Employers preferred women below the age of 20, and up to 30. However, it was not easy to find

more females: according to the European view of Indian women, the tendency was to think that “respectable females of the working class in India will not go abroad.”²⁵¹

However, Hugon had different views: he stated that there was no real objection to women accompanying their husbands, even to work, since women, among the Hill people, had a different attitude to work. Tribal women worked, while those ‘of Hindostan’ did not. But, due to increased landlessness and unemployment, he did not feel that even this would be an obstacle for women. The real obstacle was the fact that in Mauritius, there was no law guaranteeing that the wives would stay with their husbands as religious marriages were not recognized.²⁵²

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

Although many of the first immigrants came from Madras and Bombay, the Indian Government was not agreeable to other ports in India being used by the Mauritian Government because immigration could be better checked, nor could abuses, (‘under the eye of the Supreme Government’). From Calcutta, it was also possible to ensure that more women embarked, as very few women embarked from Madras and Bombay.²⁵³

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

Patna was another of the districts sending large numbers of immigrants to Mauritius. The chief recruiter there was a man named Chunni. Recruiters were encouraged to put up posters showing the advantages of emigration, “in kaithi character and in simple language by thousands throughout the district.”²⁵⁸ However, between 1879 and 1882, when Grierson had visited, only 110 emigrants had left for Mauritius, out of 717 leaving Patna, and emigration was dwindling. Chunni worked alone, according to Grierson and had a pakka sub-depot in Patna. One rarely encounters women in the recruiting process, but Sukhiya deserves mention as she provided food to the emigrants and had lived in Mauritius for 12 years. She set up a ‘Railway refreshment room’ for emigrants. She stated that she encouraged people to go to Mauritius.²⁵⁹

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

The gender ratio must also be mentioned (Fig. 6). Under private importation, no women or children were brought in. Later, of the 512 tribals sampled who came between the years 1843 and 1844, 75% were men and 16% women, the rest being children or unknown. The percentage of women was higher than for other immigrants, since women of other groups, it seems, were reluctant to travel.

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Gender-wise, there was a preponderance of men: out of 441 immigrants, 358 were males and only 83 were women. Immigration, according to the database, was most intense before 1853, with the bulk of immigrants arriving in 1852. Reports do indicate that recruiters found it hard to recruit women.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

It will be observed that, in contrast to other groups, not only were many more women present on board ships but many more were married. The category marked ‘unspecified’ might also contain married persons.

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

Women under indenture

If slavery and indenture as economic systems have received due attention on the part of scholars, the lesser-known aspects deserve also mention. Indentured labourers like slaves, brought with them their cultures, life-styles which they were in varying degrees able to keep. In the case of Indian labourers, how were their cultures and social life transformed by indenture? In other words, what was the impact on their non-working lives? Women have been recognised in Mauritian history as having kept the traditions brought from India. This was possibly because they stayed at home, unlike other labour immigrants and so were able to provide the nurturing roles. The absence of women, for example, in the early years deserve mention, as this was a matter of concern for authorities.

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

“only [British] colony which failed to engage Indian women as indentured labourers. The numbers of women formally employed on estates was consequently never very high, even in the principal sugar-growing districts ... In 1846 9% of the total Indian female population was registered as part of the plantation labour force. At the time of the malaria epidemic in 1867, less than 100 women were reported as working on the sugar estates. By 1871, when the next census was taken, this figure had risen, even so, only 7% of women [or 1,808 Indian females out of a total estate population of 24,425] were officially employed as plantation workers.”²⁸⁷

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

One consequence of indenture, because of the relative scarcity of women, was to raise the ‘marriageable value’ of women and, in so doing, transform their social power. Women were crucial for the early indentured as they were imported solely and clearly to look after men’s needs in the barracks: provision of food and domestic chores. Rather than requesting a dowry, men now paid parents, thus reversing an age-old Indian tradition. Doyal of Flacq paid a huge sum of \$137 to get

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

married to Bagmanea. This practice of paying the bride’s price was not limited to any particular section of the Indian immigrants, and another immigrant Virapatim, of South Indian origin, paid several hundred rupees to get married to Taylamen.²⁸⁸ This should not necessarily be interpreted as an example of women’s emancipation, since there is some evidence of this resembling a ‘sale’ of daughters rather than being a celebration.

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

Instability of marriages was also a consequence of the imbalance in sexes: there were reports of wives being enticed away by other immigrants and women moving out of the matrimonial alliances, according to Mishra, for ‘more attractive’ options.²⁹² Archival records show that this was one of the primary concerns of the male population in Mauritius who requested the Authorities to restore their wives. However, due to the fact they were no ‘legally married’, the Police could not intervene.

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

It is still not that clear whether it is Westernisation or indenture, whether it was self-change or imposed change, which modified/changed Indian traditions in Mauritius. Anthropologists have given their views but there has been little attempt to study the evolution diachronically, in other words over time, since the 19th century. The difficulty has been that, although much historical data is available on material conditions of immigrants, their cultural and social life remains largely unknown. Although in India, reformist movements were also advocating changes, in Mauritius it is not clear whether the changes that occurred were imposed by plantation conditions or Colonial Officials’ intervention through laws or whether the immigrants themselves abandoned them. The practice of sati (widow burning) dowry were understandably no longer practicable in a period of shortage of women but for other practices, the situation is less clear: human sacrifice, polygyny, child marriage etc. There is no indication when these died out, if they ever existed at all. From interviews with elders, it is clear that child marriages existed, as did the heavy expenditure during marriage that parents endured.

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

Estate owners often provided either salted fish or dholl, but not both, saying that Indians preferred dholl to fish. However, this ration did not cover the needs of labourers with families, women and children too young to work. Those who became sick, while at work, received the whole ration, while those who did not attend work at all did not receive any ration. Rations were distributed on Saturdays during the ‘entrecoupe’ (non-harvest) season and on Sundays during the harvest season. Rations and wages were given to labourers who fell sick or had an accident at work. Those who were sick and absent from work did not receive any wages or rations. But working conditions varied widely from estate to estate.

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

It should be noted that, in the 1870s/1880s, although it was compulsory for men (Indian labourers) to attend the estate hospital when ill, women and children often did not, either due to ignorance or cultural norms or poor hospital conditions (including food not being to their liking). Children were often not vaccinated. Women would not deliver in hospitals and gave birth in their huts with the assistance of traditional midwives (dais). They attended hospitals only in case of complications. This resulted in high child and maternal mortality on the estates. But things gradually improved, when medical care and living conditions in estate hospitals improved.

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

“According to interviews with textile executives located in the EPZ, 80 per cent of workers in the EPZs in the 1980s were women. The rate has decreased somewhat in the 1990’s and 2000’s, but women continue to be more than 60 per cent of the workers in the zones. The lower wages that were paid to the workers in the EPZs in the early years allowed the firms to accumulate capital and reinvest the earnings into the firm’s expansion.” History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. Unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

The apprenticeship system has been researched in some depth in Mauritian Historiography, as well as the opposition to it coming from abolitionists who saw it as not being much different from slavery. The complicity of the local Government in creating a system that was no different from slavery and ensured that labour stayed on estates until contract labour system was established, while owners enjoyed the compensation money and invested in their sugar estates. Apprentices were quick to see they had been duped of their freedom. They expressed this disapproval of this ‘new system of slavery’ in several forms. Some marooned and were hunted in exactly the same manner as they had been under slavery. When caught they were flogged in the same manner. Others chose to withdraw from plantation labour (but not from agriculture), knowing full well that this is what would strike at the heart of plantation’s operation. Others still bought their freedom from apprenticeship, just as, when slaves, they had bought their manumission. They were still advertised as slaves for hire, even though slavery had been abolished. While the stereotype of women is that they were downtrodden people, the number of applications for freedom from apprenticeship are very revealing. These women’s history must not be forgotten and deserves further study.

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

As has been stated before, it is important to grasp the mindset of the slave population before the abolition of slavery in order to understand their actions afterwards, given the paucity of information as to their whereabouts, after slavery was abolished. Only, then, can we understand the ex-slave population’s movements after slavery: what did they think of ‘freedom’? Was it individual liberty? Was it their intention to regroup somewhere? Was it education, and what about employment? Was it their wish to be near the former owners of the sugar plantations? Did women want to continue to labour on sugar estates or in the kitchen of the owners? This is all the more necessary as there have been numerous sweeping statements made in public discourse, concerning their movements which continue to impact on public perceptions and discourse. Some of these sweeping statements and perceptions are:

Reference 46 - 0.02% Coverage

This neglect of the rights of female labourers, which probably goes some way towards explaining why they were paid less for doing some of the same types of tasks as men, may also reflect their marginal position in the Mauritian Sugar Industry since the days of indenture. Few women were ‘indentured’ in the 19th century but with the end of indenture, the rate of women’s participation rates in the Sugar Industry’s workforce gradually increased. The Great Depression, widowed women, poverty are some of the reasons cited but this needs to be more fully researched. Surra epidemics may also have been responsible as many women had previously stayed home to rear cattle.

Whatever be the reasons, by the end of the Second World War, female labourers accounted for almost half of the Mauritian Sugar Industry's workforce, or a maximum of 18,126 female labourers at the height of the crop season in 1945 (ARLD 1945:46). It is important to note, however, that more female labourers tended to be employed during the inter-crop period whereas men made up the bulk of field labourers during both the inter-crop and crop periods. The same logic used to determine how much men and women should be paid for the types of tasks which they performed, also seems to account for the Industry's preference to employ more women to do lighter tasks between crops and for men to do heavier tasks such as harvesting cane when the crop has to be harvested.

The most poignant testimonies have been furnished by the elderly female sugar estate workers. For instance, one informant³⁶⁰ complained that she would hurt herself when she had to remove straw from the sugarcane just prior to it being cut by male labourers (the process described as *dépaillage* in the Hooper Commission's summary above). She also says that she used to wear *linz lakaz*, that is, her everyday clothes to work, and that workers were not provided with uniforms, boots, gloves and masks until after Independence. Similarly, in Pamela Sooben's (2009: 16-17) undergraduate dissertation, the elderly female sugar estate workers she interviewed complained of having to remove straw from sugarcane. In order to protect themselves, they wore long socks over their hands, but that still did not prevent the straw from piercing their old socks and drawing blood from their hands: "When the sirdar asked us to remove 'divet' from sugarcane, especially 'canne coulou', we would run away because these 'divet' pierced our old socks, hands and fingers. We also used to get rashes". These women also complained of finding it difficult to cook for themselves after a day's work because of the injuries they sustained to their hands, while working in the cane fields without gloves (Sooben 2009:8).

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: 'Coloured Population', 'Libres de Couleur', 'Gens de Couleur', 'Free Population', 'Creoles Ferblan', 'Mulatres' etc. We have chosen the term *Gens de Couleur* as it implies a certain social status whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins. However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

The mixed traits which created beautiful complexions and features were the bane of European women who did not like the way the mixed women enticed their husbands and men away from them. Rose Freycinet wrote about : 'those pretty and well-shaped girls are kept by the rich men, young and old, of Mauritius. I shall add, to the great shame of men, even fathers lavish on those wretches luxuries which their own children often go without. Can you believe, dear friend, that one would not find two men here who do not keep one of those girls in fine quarters, fine clothes and served by five or six black servants [...]?'...Some men even set up home with these women, have a dozen children by them and have no other house but theirs; these men are not married. By their actions, they are forced to withdraw from society, for these women are never received publicly. They provide a good education for their children, who are almost white; several even send them to England and France [...]³⁷³

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

Many French merchants, settling in the Isle de France, cohabited with female slaves or Coloured women. Some married freed slaves - such later on was the case of Benoît Ollier from the Lyon region, who arrived in 1789 and latter married Julie, a freed slave born in Mauritius; they gave birth to Rémy Ollier, who was to become one of our greatest journalists, in 1816. ³⁷⁴

The *Mésalliances* and *de facto* relationships were also the direct result of an imbalance between settler men and women. In 1778, there were 1,727 white women out of a total white population of 4,417; in 1809, white women numbered 2,671 out of a white population of 6,227. Rampant promiscuity and *mésalliances* led to the emergence of

a mulatto and métis class. Free Indian contractual workers and Indian free settlers as well as freed Indian slaves contracted liaisons or marriages with petits blancs or Coloured individuals.

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

Chinese workers or settlers and individual women belonging to the freed slave or Coloured community, but a detailed study is required on this.

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

Prejudices survived from the French colonial days during the British period; for example, an Ordinance of 1779 prohibited entry by the Whites into the 'Quartier des Libres' and punished any infringement by fines. 378 Yet, Indian women, not deterred by the coloured status of their children, had them baptized, without naming their fathers, according to Jumeer. 379 But, this did not secure access into 'good society'; in fact, these children were ostracized both by the Whites and the Indians. A similar story unfolded, when it came to Coloured children with freed slave mothers. Even though their numbers increased, hostility between the White and 'Coloured Population', as Rose de Freycinet noted, 380 increased in the early nineteenth century. The causes of this white antagonism was, partly, rivalry between the two groups of women, White and Coloured, but, above all, it can be explained by the abolition of the status description in the Ordinance of 1829.

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

Rémy Ollier and Reverend Le Brun left a trail of educated, socially conscious and practically motivated men and women who were to take up battle for liberal reforms. The influence of Rémy Ollier continued long after he had passed away. The first lawyer emerging from this group, significantly, was in post in 1842, Athanase Volcy Hitié, and the first notary, G. Lalandelle, qualified in the same year. By 1852, the Royal College was open to all sections of the population,⁴⁰¹ but very few Indian boys attended. Although in the *Sentinelle* of April 1843, Rémy Ollier pledged to redress injustices borne by whatever class and by people of whatever colour, he was more committed to fighting prejudices that prevailed against the Gens de Couleur, in the first instance. *La Sentinelle*, a new 'political newspaper', was to 'signal abuses' and "call all Mauritians to an intelligent unity." ⁴⁰²

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

In his work on land acquisition by slaves and indentured labour, Richard Allen has highlighted on the ownership of land by the gens de couleur, a majority of whom were free Indians from Pondichery. For the period covering 1766 – 1809, 17,460 arpents were owned by free Africans and Indians classified as gens de couleur.⁴⁹¹ The enactment of the law of Emancipation of 1767 in the code Delaleu gives recognition to the presence of a third category of individuals, as opposed to the whites and the slaves. A majority of the people falling in this category were of Indian origin. Due to gender imbalance, many Indian slaves had no alternative but to marry women slaves, both of Malagasy and Mozambican origins.

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

does not take into consideration the fact that these women might choose to differentiate between themselves on the basis of age, class, caste, interest or home location.

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

Believing that caste belongingness refers to a hierarchy based on natural criteria seems to be losing ground in contemporary Mauritius. The local, more universal, versions of such conceptions appeared when people stated that the only caste is that of 'God', or that there are only two castes, men and women. As a consequence, the most overt and/or violent forms of discrimination, whether physical (low-caste individuals being slapped for entering a temple) or psychological (in-laws refusing food from lower-caste daughter-in-laws) are cited, but only as examples from the past. However, it is to be noted that temples still bar members of certain castes from entering. This must be condemned. However, castes are still, in Mauritian popular beliefs, associated with a certain type of character, which can be described as discriminatory and derogatory. Thus, the stereotype of Chamar is that of an alcoholic and quarrelsome person. When an inter-caste marriage is broken up, one often uses such classifications as a cause. When one criticizes a quarrelsome

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

High alcohol consumption had been the cause of sickness and mortality among slaves, apprentices and troops. During the 1825-40 period of sugar expansion, the widespread distribution of liquor to slaves as an incentive to work proved to be detrimental as slaves turned into alcoholics. The amount and frequency of arrack distribution differed on each estate but ranged from as little as once a week to several glasses a day. Liquor became cheap and freely available as slaves began to distil it in their huts and sell it to other slaves. Alcohol consumption increased dramatically during the crop season and affected both men and women. It led to various social ills, including fighting among slaves, general disorderliness, theft, lateness at work, insubordination, accidents and, even sometimes, suicides. There were also many unlicensed liquor shops in the districts (Teelock, 1998).

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

□ This system and policy of affirmative action must take into account women of slave and indentured descent. While it is acknowledged that it is presently difficult to define who is slave/indentured labour descendant, policy-makers (and Government) should ensure that positive discrimination occurs.

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

Land and slave-ownership were indicators of economic and social status on the island. Besides the French colonists who possessed large areas "concessions", the 'Gens de Couleur', the soldiers (Noirs de Détachement) who participated in "Maroon Detachments", were given 5 Arpents each. Contrary to the French colonists, they were not allowed to cultivate cash crops such as spices (cocoa, cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg or cloves) on their lands. The only cultivation allowed were food crops. The 'Gens de Couleur' gradually developed other activities: buying and selling, renting land and warehouses. They borrowed money to purchase property. As far as slave-ownership was concerned, most of the 'Gens de couleur' owned domestic slaves. Some slave women ended up as partners of the masters.

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

The origins of the Mauritian 'Gens de Couleur' of colour date to 1729 when the first of a small but steady stream of Indian immigrants, many of whom were skilled craftsmen and artisans recruited at Pondichéry on India's Coromandel Coast to work in the colony under contract for specified periods of time, reached the island. Exactly how many of these contractual workers arrived in the colony during the eighteenth century is unknown, but they continued to do so until at least the late 1790s. How many of these craftsmen and artisans chose to remain on the island following completion of their contracts is also unknown, but significant numbers appear to have done so. Small numbers of Indian banians or merchants also reportedly reached the island no later than the mid-eighteenth century.¹ Freeborn Malagasy men and women, including individuals known as marmites who facilitated the rice, cattle, and slave trade from Madagascar

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian Gens de couleur also began to acquire real property during the mid-eighteenth century as gifts and bequests and by private purchase. As noted earlier, the full extent of this activity is impossible to ascertain because many of these transactions were handled sous seing privé. On numerous occasions, however, free persons of colour

called on notaries to formalize these transactions. The survival of tens of thousands of notarial acts executed by Gens de couleur during this era affords a opportunity to chart the general outlines of free coloured land acquisition and ownership and, equally important, to discern how these men and women mobilized the financial resources they need to acquire and develop ever greater quantities of land over time.

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

According to the terms of the Act that abolished slavery in Mauritius in 1835, the colony's new freedmen were required to continue serving their former masters as "apprentices" for a period not to exceed six years. Termination of the apprenticeship system on 31 March 1839 removed the last legal impediments to the colony's former slaves' ability to reap the fruit of their own labor. As the archival records make clear, the economic fortunes of many of these new freedmen and women rested on their ability to mobilize capital, acquire land, and exploit the economic opportunities that existed during the late 1830s and 1840s.

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves as provision grounds, continued control of which was undoubtedly a matter of serious concern to the island's new freedmen and women.

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

The ability of ex-apprentices to acquire such properties stemmed in part from the fact that some of these men and women apparently possessed substantial amounts of cash. Exactly how much money ex-apprentices held cannot be determined with any precision, but considerable sums seem to have been involved. The cost of acquiring an adult apprentice's services between 1835 and 1839 ranged from \$200 to \$250, a fact which suggests that the 9,000 apprentices, who reportedly purchased their freedom before emancipation, spent at least \$1,800,000 to do so. The ability of slaves to accumulate sizeable sums of money is attested to in other ways. Commenting on the demise of a short-lived government-backed Savings Bank in 1831, Protector of Slaves R.H. Thomas not only reported the names of a Government slave and a Government apprentice who had funds in the bank, but also acknowledged that slaves who had saved some money were financially astute enough to appreciate that the 12 percent interest they could expect, when their masters held their funds, was far superior to the 5 percent offered by the Savings Bank.⁴⁴ The notarial records likewise confirm that individual ex-apprentices possessed, or had access to, significant financial resources. During the first two years of the petit morcellement (1839-40), 75 percent of those who purchased land paid the full purchase price at the time of the sale's formal completion, a figure that rose to 83 percent during 1841-42 and then to more than 90 percent during the remaining years of the petit morcellement.⁴⁵

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

For Rodrigues, a local facilitator/research assistant, familiar of local realities was responsible for identifying key informants and only one regional coordinator was responsible for compiling and collecting testimonies. The informants were mainly men and women aged 50 years old and above, Mauritians, Rodriguans, Agaleans and Chagossians who identify themselves as descendants of slaves. The sample was representative of the various occupational activities, both white collar and blue collar workers.

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Whites are seen as being those who were responsible for the fate of slaves. They were cruel and arrogant. They are those who possess 70% of all lands in Mauritius; they have taken lands from Creoles. Médine Sugar Estate is cited as an example. Today Whites are still those who are the masters in hotels. Workers still suffer from them. Many respondents, specially the women, have worked "dan lakour blan". Those who have French or white ancestors acknowledge it.

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Teelock (1998), in 1806, 1826 and 1832, the slave population in the Black River district amounted to 4,687; 5,397 and 4,429 respectively.⁶ In 1831, the number of slaves in Black River amounted to 4,642 slaves of

which 2,926 were men and 1,716 were women. There were 264 French settlers and 588 'Free Blacks'. At the abolition of slavery, in 1835, most inhabitants (French and Coloured) were still living in the region and between 1835 and 1935; about four percent of the exapprentice population of Mauritius lived in Black River.⁷

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

This naming practice dates back to colonial times such as Arthur Townsend born in 1898, the son of Louis Malache, was declared under his mother's name Marie Elizabeth Townsend. This practice might stem from the fact that during slavery, maternity and the nurturing role of women were recognised whereas slave owners undermined paternity and hence only the mother's name was registered in the plantation records.⁵²

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

In keeping with Teelock (1998), these types of relationships seem to date back to slavery when women were convinced that the route to 'material improvement', social mobility, social recognition and a better standard of living was through a man and especially 'free men that could provide for their subsistence' which implies a man with a higher social status. These relationships were also a means for women to build sense of social image and social respect.

The economic dependence of women also was retraced to slave times when few opportunities of socio-economic mobility were available and women 'were for the most part dependent on the men when they wanted to provide additional comforts and necessities to their children and a path to social advancement.'⁵⁶

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, the rape and sexual objectification of slave women and the helplessness of the slave men who watched their wife, sister or daughter being abused are present in the collective memory.

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

The distribution of work duties on the sugar plantations during slavery as well further disrupted gender roles since, slave women were 'forced into male roles', they 'performed almost all the tasks performed by male slaves'⁵⁷ and were, in reality, subject to harsh corporal punishment.

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

Hence, in keeping with Bryne (1978), gender stereotypes that underpin gender discriminations and subsequently the cycle of gender discrimination against women are maintained and reinforced by parents in Cité La Mivoie that perpetuate identity of girls in domestic traditional terms and roles and in relation to men.

However, considering that slave women constituted the main source of unskilled and menial labour whereas slave men performed skilled work⁶⁰, the shift in job patterns with women nowadays being rather blue-collar workers and skilled workers indicate that women have been able to make use of the opportunities of post-slavery for economic advancement. (See Economic Survey Chapter)

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

Osteological studies of slavery have so far been largely confined to slaves of considerably earlier periods such as the Roman Empire and to the Caribbean and North America. Of these, it is likely that the plantation-based slavery of the Caribbean and North America will have more relevance to the present case than examples from the ancient world. Studies of New World slavery have identified a number of characteristics that are commonly associated with slave populations, but it must be acknowledged that there is considerable variability, meaning that a 'shopping list' approach to the osteology of slavery is to be avoided. Given this caveat, some features that might be relevant in the present case are evidence of nutritional deficiency, the development of skeletal features related to heavy manual labour and evidence of high levels of non-specific infections and skeletal trauma. The last three of these are, of course, dependent on the form which slavery takes. Household slaves would have been involved in different kinds of activities to agricultural slaves and this would have been reflected in the kinds of risks to which they were exposed and hence the kinds of conditions that are visible in the skeleton. A further characteristic of slavery in Mauritius was

the over-representation of males. Kuczynsky (1949, cited in Benedict 1976) has calculated that male slaves outnumbered women by two to one until 1826, when the proportion of females began to increase (Benedict 1976: 140). The 1826 registration data records five female slaves and 27 males belonging to the Le Morne Brabant estate (Teelock et al n.d.). Interestingly, these were all adults. The demographic characteristics of the Le Morne sample may therefore also cast some light on this question.

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

In terms of the nature of work, there was continuity with the indentured period in terms of gender and age division in plantation work. Men were doing the *Gran Bann* or harder work, such as cutting the cane, loading it into carts, working in mills etc. while women were supposed to do the *Ti Bann* or lighter work like weeding, separating leaves from the cane, planting, rearing animals, working in the gardens or as domestic help in the estate owner's household. Women were paid less and sometimes, half the wages of male workers. In addition, however they also did the household chores before, and after, this 'light' work: preparing meals, looking after the cattle, preparing children for school or work etc.

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

Mobility was restricted on a sugar estate even after indenture. The majority remained in occupations related to the sugar industry: in the fields or the mill or in associated sectors such as work as mechanics of machines, drivers of lorries etc. Sugar was the only major crop grown at that time. Additional income was derived from cow rearing and selling milk by women, poultry and goat farming, providing domestic help, growing vegetables etc.

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

the patriarchal discourse which does not find women capable of doing several things because of their relative physical 'weakness' compared to men. This was supported by the Colonial Administrators because it ensured relatively cheaper labour. We have several responses to support that women were doing almost the same work as male labourers, and yet they were being paid considerably lower.

Reference 77 - 0.02% Coverage

As the Hooper Commission's description of cultivation and planting techniques in the Mauritian sugar industry in the first half of the twentieth century implies, the main criterion used to distinguish men and women's work is the physical strength required to do arduous tasks. Lighter tasks such as spreading manure, weeding and removing straw from cane was usually performed by women or a third group of workers consisting of women, children and invalids and also appears to have been used as justification for paying them less than men (cf. Hooper 1937:166). However, it would also appear that women were required to perform more physically demanding tasks that men normally performed and were perhaps better suited to doing such as cutting cane, loading it, and the removal of stones. In an undergraduate dissertation by a student of the University of Mauritius who interviewed four elderly female sugar estate workers, some of whom were still working at the time, several of the informants complained about having to perform physically demanding tasks in the past like loading cane. "We had to walk on the 'mardier' [wooden plank] to put the cane in the 'corbeil' [cane barrow]. It was ... very exhausting work for ladies like us. We had to put the cane on our head and walk along the 'mardier', which was very high. We used to fall down too (Sooben 2009:17)." The elderly female sugar estate workers interviewed by the AGTF's research assistants echoed this sentiment, but several of the informants⁵⁴ also claimed they were paid less for doing tasks men normally performed. It is difficult to determine the veracity of this claim. For instance, if we refer to the Annual Report of the Labour Department (ARLD) of 1945, which provides a detailed breakdown of the tasks men and women were supposed to perform and their rates of pay as outlined in an amendment to the Minimum Wage Ordinance of 1934, it states that women who work in the *Grande Bande* were not exempt from doing any tasks "except holing, uprooting, forking, and crowbar work".

In Mauritius, the "*Grande Bande*" and the "*Petite Bande*" is a way of organising workers into teams who are responsible for performing specific tasks going right back to the early days of indenture. These groups are still used in the Mauritian sugar industry today, and as I alluded to above, the main criterion used to distinguish the tasks that each group should perform is based on the physical strength required to perform certain tasks. This criterion has been used as further justification to determine the wage levels of workers in the two groups, with the obvious

ramification that labourers who work in the Grande Bande are paid more than those working in the Petite Bande (or “granban” and “tiban”, as Mauritian sugar estate workers more commonly refer to them in Creole). Yet while it is does not appear that women were exempt from doing physically demanding tasks such as cutting and loading cane for instance, tasks often described by both male and female informants as being the province of men who worked in the Grande Bande and which they accordingly rationalized was the reason men were paid more than women. The ALDR of 1945

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

only [British] colony which failed to engage Indian women as indentured labourers. The numbers of women formally employed on estates was consequently never very high, even in the principal sugar-growing districts ... In 1846 9% of the total Indian female population was registered as part of the plantation labour force. At the time of the malaria epidemic in 1867, less than 100 women were reported as working on the sugar estates. By 1871, when the next census was taken, this figure had risen, even so, only 7% of women [or 1,808 Indian females out of a total estate population of 24,425] were officially employed as plantation workers.⁵⁶

With the end of indenture, however, the rate of women’s participation rates in the Mauritian sugar industry’s workforce gradually increased. According to Vijaya Teelock (2009:360), the Great Depression to a significant extent accounted for this increase. “Another effect of the Depression was to bring more women into wage labour: in 1921, there were for example, 9,373 Indian women working, by 1931 this had jumped to 14,674.” These participation rates continued to increase after the Great Depression as more female labourers joined the ranks of the Mauritian sugar industry.

Probably no singular explanation can account for this dramatic rise in female participation rates in the Mauritian sugar industry as the twentieth century unfolded. The elderly female sugar estate workers who were interviewed by the AGTF’s research assistants provide a number of different reasons as to why they decided to become labourers. Some women for example were forced to work after their husbands were incapacitated by a life-crippling injury, while others stated that after their husbands died, they had little choice but to become labourers in order to look after their children. Many of the informants also indicated that they opted to become labourers after

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

Under colonial rules and in the post-Independence period, child labour was sanctioned and institutionalised. Chokras (Eng. trans. Child labourers) and women were a source of cheap labour for the estates.

Reference 80 - 0.01% Coverage

wishing to ensure their children’s or their mistresses’ future, in the event of their own deaths, buy land in their names. A few women already own substantial properties in their own right.”¹⁹

This tableau of the role of mulatto women sheds light on many aspects of the origins of the ‘Coloured Population’ born during the French colonial period, and after the British occupation of 1810. However, it would be erroneous to claim that libertinage and ‘concubinage’ were the only sources of the emergence of the ‘Coloured Population’, which also arose from mixed marriages between Whites and men or women of Asian and African origins. Yet, libertinage was a fact of life in the 1830s and 1840s, when Mrs. Alfred Bantrum gave a colourful picture of ‘Creole’ ladies – in

Reference 81 - 0.01% Coverage

the sense of mulattoes – at the Champ-de-mars; the seductive ‘Coloured’ women once again became the target of a European lady’s ire and high moral principles.²⁰ Nor did some local intellectuals lag behind visitors in their condemnation of the culture of pleasure promoted, seemingly, by the ‘Coloured women’; in his *Statistiques de l’Ile Maurice* (1838), Baron d’Unienville reflected on the White and ‘Coloured’ Creoles, given “avec abandon, avec passion, aux plaisirs de la société, aux jouissances de luxe.”²¹

Reference 82 - 0.01% Coverage

merchants, settling in the Isle de France, cohabited with female slaves or Coloured women.

Reference 83 - 0.01% Coverage

married freed slaves - such later on was the case of Benoît Ollier from the Lyon region, who arrived in 1789 and later married Julie, a freed slave born in Mauritius; they gave birth to Rémy Ollier, who was to become one of our greatest journalists, in 1816. 24 Mésalliances and de facto relationships were the direct result of an imbalance between settler men and women. Between 1717 and 1770, as noted by J.-M. André, a total of 1,718 contractual workers from France arrived; they were carpenters, bricklayers, masons, blacksmiths and other artisans. 25 Yet, those men generally came alone; families, as a rule, only arrived in Isle de France from French ports from 1743 onwards. There was, thus, a serious disequilibrium between genders at the peaks of La Bourdonnais' efforts to import a workforce (1743: 161; 1744: 128 workers).

Chan Low provides the following statistics: in 1778, there were 1,727 white women out of a total white population of 4,417; in 1809, white women numbered 2,671 out of a white population of 6,227 (27 November, 1994, p. 15). Rampant promiscuity and mésalliances led to the emergence of a mulatto and métis class. De l'Estrac also highlights the arrival from Pondicherry of free Indian contractual workers; others came from Karikal, at La Bourdonnais' instigation, as well as Indian slaves from the Coromandel Coast. 26 At the peak of Dupleix's glory in Pondicherry, there was a population of 70,000, of whom 2,000 were Europeans and 2,000 métis.

Reference 84 - 0.01% Coverage

De l'Estrac, for his part, refers to the presence of many petits blancs who subsisted in poverty and married freed slaves; thus, in 1776, the Census showed that among a White resident population of 3,431, 1,738 were artisans (902 men and 337 women; 305 boys and 194 girls). Half of this White population was made up of what was commonly known as petits blancs who worked as carpenters, ship-builders, masons, stone-cutters, and others as servants on large estates. They married freed slaves, when they could not find White partners.

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

mixed marriages, there were born "those enfants de mille races" [multiracial children], who would later be called "Gens de Couleur". The gap between the so-called pure Whites and the petits blancs and coloured off-springs grew wider. 30 The material conditions in which lived the petits blancs and the shortage of white women in their group, as well as their lack of access to 'Whites', made them succumb easily to the charms of freed slaves or Coloured women.

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

born of Whites and negresses, or Whites and Asiatic women, or White and freed slaves, had emerged. Nagapen, however, points out justifiably that the society of Isle de France/Ile Maurice was "imbued with pigmentocracy". 33 De l'Estrac is right to underline that the Blancs made "a clear distinction between 'mulattoes' and métis. According to this classification, mulattoes were of mixed blood but the products of Whites' relationships with African slaves, while the word métis designated the mixture of White and Indian bloods." 34 So, it is fair to say that, going back to the French colonial period, the very foundation of society in Isle de France, was racist. 35 There existed all nuances of colour, and a very heterogeneous group was born of illicit or unwanted unions.

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

l'Estrac calls a "brassage de toutes les races" which gave rise to the 'Gens de Couleur', "an expression which is also used to designate the totality of the 'Libres'." 39 That the white masters were particularly attracted to Indian slave women in the eighteenth century is known; often, the latter became concubines and wives of their masters, according to statistics provided in Musleem Jumeer's thesis.

Reference 88 - 0.01% Coverage

66,000 Slaves 8,000 Whites 18,000 'Hommes de couleur' 54 The causes of this white antagonism was, partly, rivalry between the two groups of women, Various actions by the 'Coloured Population' to

Reference 89 - 0.01% Coverage

so young at 28) to Eugène Laurent (1910s), another 'Roi créole', in Moutou's estimation, 170 to Emmanuel Anquetil, and on to Sir Gaëtan Duval, the Coloured men and women of Mauritius have reasons enough to feel proud of their 'sons' and 'Tribunes'. From repression and a harsh beginning under the French, a slow and painful struggle for Human and Educational Rights under the British (1810-1885), to Anquetil's political rallies of 30,000 workers at the Champ-de-mars in 1938,

Reference 90 - 0.01% Coverage

Franco-Mauritians were not a homogeneous group. Their distance from the metropole of France, isolation on the islands, the youth of those sent to the island as well as the unequal nature of the society produced an internally differentiated group in which there were continuous efforts to maintain or achieve privilege. Although there appear to be no detailed studies of the gender profile of the early settlers, studies done in Brazil, another place in which slavery thrived, shows that the high ratio of settler men to women resulted in a more brutal system of slavery in that country and also how life chances are linked to skin colour in that society (Lovell & Wood 1998).

Reference 91 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. Trans.:...How got Mulattos? The white 'masters' abused women slave African descendants or Indians and then they mixed. But now they cannot abuse, they get married, it is how this Mulatto population was born. If each one respected its type, there would be only 2 or 3 types, there would have been no Mulattos...)

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

That a system and policy of affirmative action be implemented in Mauritius to address the social and economic imbalances created and fostered under slavery, indenture and colonialism. This system and policy of affirmative action must take into account that slave descendants in particular have been discriminated against in employment, access to land and a range of resources (including for example, bank loans). In the first instance, women of slave and indentured descent should benefit from this system of affirmative action. While it is acknowledged that it is presently difficult to define who is a slave/indentured labour descendant, policy-makers (and Government) should ensure that positive discrimination occurs. This might also require a moratorium on the employment of White and Males for a specified period of years.

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

Hierarchy remains, however, given the fact that in India, as everywhere else, the different parts of the body are not equivalent, in terms of purity and prestige. The head is the noblest part and it is the Brahmins who are born of it. The feet, touching the ground that is potentially impure, are the least noble parts of the body and the Shudra are born of them. Today, in India, turning one's feet towards someone or touching his head is still considered rude and even dangerous for the other one's integrity. In the same way, rivers are believed to have a 'head' (upstream) and 'feet' (downstream). Upstream is always purer. Contrary to women, men bathe upstream, so that they are not contaminated by women's impurities. Similarly, upper castes bathe upstream and lower castes downstream.

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

The caste system inevitably means describing the status of male Hindus. Women belong to the caste of their father and abide by the rules, and especially those concerning marriage. Later, women will belong to the caste of their husbands. Even when a woman marries upward in the caste hierarchy, the risk is high as in-laws may refuse the food she cooks, even in her own house.

But, more generally, women are vectors for 'pollution'. Their assigned place (included as Goddesses in the Brahminic Hindu iconography) is on the left. This is the 'polluting' side in Hindu thought: the left hand is reserved for polluting activities, and the right hand for eating; you circumambulate a shrine clockwise in order to keep your pure right hand close to the Gods. Similarly, women sit at the left of men because of the purity hierarchy not unrelated to caste ideology.

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

• Bengali women used to have a godna on their forehead and also on their hands and arms • A Doosad or Chamar had to marry his/her son/daughter in the same caste not in a higher one

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

- Last but not least, women are secondary in the patriarchal caste system, in Mauritius as in India. They have no individual caste, passing from their father's caste to their husband's caste.
- Devotional practices that, in Mauritius, previously spearheaded by women (at home and at the local kalimaya) allowed them to maintain their pre-marriage beliefs, practices and individual habits or preferences (towards a shrine, a deity or whatever devotional practice).

Reference 97 - 0.01% Coverage

Believing that castes belongingness refers to a hierarchy based on natural criteria seems to be losing ground in contemporary Mauritius. The local, more universal, versions of such conceptions appear when interviewees state that the only caste is that of God, or that there are only two castes, men and women. As a consequence, the most overt and/or violent forms of discrimination, whether physical (low-caste individuals being slapped for entering a temple) or psychological (in-laws refusing food from lower-caste daughter in laws) are cited, but only as examples from the past.

Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

disqualification process. The mother's role was destroyed because, during slavery, a mother could not properly nurture and protect her children from the slave master. Now, slave descendants' women continue to have children at a young age, not knowing how to take care of them, hence perpetuating the cycle of the missing father and the lone mother. The

Reference 99 - 0.01% Coverage

women to 100 men should be adhered to and remained in practice for the rest of the indenture period. The joint family system provided help and support even to distant relatives.

Reference 100 - 0.01% Coverage

progress. Arya Samaj rejected child marriage and purdah, established equality between all human beings and so rejected casteism, and also equality between women and men, thus encouraging the education of girls.

Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian population, e.g. for the poor, particularly girls and women (Bunwaree, 2005). Those who would not have been able to afford education manage to send their children to school. This provoked a big generational shift for some segments of Mauritian society. Education has therefore been an important tool of mobility for some. But the question that needs to be posed are: how and why have working-class children of slave descent been able to benefit to the same extent as working-class children of indenture descent?

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

(occasionally) and a cup of 'arrack'. On some estates, slaves could take as much cane juice as they liked. Women who were nursing were fed from 'the master's table' for 2-3 months.

Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

Women and children Males outnumbered females and only a small proportion of adult slaves lived in family groups, while the majority was single-parent, overwhelmingly female headed. Slave women faced immense difficulties to be able to care for, or even feed, their young children. Slave women often complained of ill-treatment,

sexual exploitation, were obliged to work unduly hours despite having young children to care. And the insecurity of women necessarily increased the vulnerability of children and the impermanence of family life. If babies suffered from inadequate maternal care, they did not remain babies for long. As children, they soon faced directly the mistreatment (e.g. they were put in chains, flogged) which had made maternal care so difficult. Clearly, the nature of

Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

Slave women had to carry out their domestic tasks in addition to their agricultural work.

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

during the crop season and affected both men and women. It led to various social ills including fighting among slaves, general disorderliness, theft, lateness at work, insubordination, accidents and, even sometimes, suicides. There were also many unlicensed liquor shops in the districts (Teelock 1998).

Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

increasing mobilisation of land for sugar cane plantation. Apart from the poor diet of adult slaves, slave women faced immense difficulties to care for, or properly feed, their young children leading to child malnutrition and high mortality.

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves comprised of 27 men, 18 boys and 20 women. Almost immediately, 15 men and 4 boys became maroons. Why? The story of the dark ages of slaves in Mauritius unfolds in all its dimensions.

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition the Company also owned slaves who worked in various capacities. When the King took over the island in 1765, the slaves belonging to the Company were ceded to the King. There were in 1769: 162 Malagasies, 436 Guineans, 345 Creoles, 254 Mozambicans, 25 Indians, 2 Creoles from Bourbon, 1 from Pondichéry and 3 from Macao for a total of 1,228 slaves. They were divided into 662 men, 139 boys, 21 young male children, 271 women, 126 girls and 9 nine female infants.²⁴

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

bbbb. The slaves engaged in agriculture and the women among them married, or cohabited with French men, due to the shortage of French women. Indian prisoners were also left there. Distinctions between French on the one hand, and Malagasy and Indian on the other, appeared some years later in 1674, when an Ordinance of Jacob de la Haye Article 20 ordered that there would be no marriages between French and négresses or between noirs and white women. The term 'slave' also appears for the first time in Bourbon.²⁵

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

The revolts of slaves on board have been studied to some extent by several authors: Peerthum, Allen, Filliot. Both revolt and escape occurred on board and appeared to have been expected, when the ship was being outfitted for voyage i.e., extra strong fences, more guards etc were provided. For ships bound for Mauritian ships, a number have been documented in earlier studies: Allen's database of voyages lists only 23 voyages with revolts. Vernet's transcription of the journal of the *Espérance* also shows escapes occurred among women as well.

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

papers relating to onward of primes for each slave, detailed accounts were kept, and the owner of the slaves was mentioned. In this case, Bonhomme and Frappier and Co. bought 441 slaves from Kilwa. Years later, the slave registration returns reveal that in 1826, Bonhomme is listed as having 186 slaves. Some of them bear 'marques d'inoculation': this is consistent with the period when they were brought since an epidemic had broken out, and

slaves were vaccinated. By 1826 however, there were not only slaves born overseas but a large proportion of locally born slaves, with 90 Creole slaves, 76 slaves from Mozambique or from East Africa. Only 6 slaves were Malagasy, confirming that his cargo was purchased from Kilwa. 57 were women and were to be found mainly in the Creole group.

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus 'Mozambican' slaves became trusted as were West African slaves; they were considered trustworthy enough to be recruited for the defence of the island. Women slaves from Mozambique were also appreciated for their reproductive capacity. Statements made at the time smack of breeding attempts: "Nombre trop modique de négresses Mozambique ou Bengalie [...] chaque vaisseau en apporte 12 ou 15 [...] elles peuplent plus et sont moins debauchées".¹⁶³

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

Some women even led the slave Truth and Justice Commission 68

Reference 114 - 0.01% Coverage

Tattoos for Colin represented the 'caste' identity of the different ethnic groups, many of which came to Mauritius. Women of the Sofala group also pierced their upper lip and their tattoos consisted of curved lines from forehead to temples and there were points on the cheeks and body.

Reference 115 - 0.01% Coverage

Fields would include the several stops made by the ship by numbering the stops e.g., stop1: no. of slaves, no. of men, no. of women, no. of boys, no. of girls/stop no. 2 would include similar details thus, stop2, totalslave2, men2, women2, boys2, girls2. The date of return (Port return), date of return (Date return), no. of Men, Women, Girls, Boys.

Reference 116 - 0.01% Coverage

In conclusion, we have seen that the tribal groups arriving to Mauritius included the Munda, Oraon, Santal, Gond and Khol. The majority of them were young males and came chiefly from the Chota Nagpur region. Between the years 1843 and 1844, there were a few women and children also who arrived in Mauritius. The tribals were found on every ship leaving Calcutta. After 1844, there were fewer immigrants from the tribal group. Their heavy mortality on board the ships which took them to the island and to the estate discouraged the recruiters from recruiting them. However, some tribals continued to arrive on the island, throughout the period of indenture.

Reference 117 - 0.01% Coverage

women immigrants in indentured immigrant population on the plantations led to unstable sexual relationships and affected order on plantations through social instability, sexual promiscuity, high crime rates. This volatility of men-women relationships fostered immoral ways of living, abduction and exploitation of women immigrants.

Reference 118 - 0.01% Coverage

To address the concerns over the disproportion of sexes among the Indian communities on the plantations and also to stabilise the labouring population in Mauritius (for the other labour importing colonies as well) Colonial Authorities fixed the quota of women mandated who could be taken along with the male emigrants, encouraged the family emigration from India. A bounty of £2 was paid to those immigrants who came with 'legitimate' wives. However, this led to another forms of disorder whereby widespread instances were reported of selling of daughters or wives, using marriage ties to bring women to Mauritius and then selling them off to make extra profits by the sirdars and returnees. In 1860s, 'many sirdars and overseers brought two and sometimes three women with them' as their wives who were, as the Protector reported, sold or transferred to other men to make money. ⁸⁴Abuse of indentured women also occurred by the plantation owner and managers leading to numerous offspring who today

still be identified through their mixed Asian and European origins. Many of these form part of the Coloured population who form the subject of subsequent chapter.

Reference 119 - 0.01% Coverage

In the initial periods of indentured emigration, the Colonial Authorities had been lenient concerning cohabitation among Indian immigrants. Their primary concern was to secure the supply of labour on plantations, and since women were not employed in Mauritius, they cared the least for them. A Royal Commission reported that before 1853, no law existed in Mauritius specifically providing for celebration and recognition of Indian marriages.⁸⁵ However by 1850s, with the large influx of Indian immigrants and a sizeable number of Indian labourers in the colony, the Colonial Authorities had to ratify marriage legislations. In 1853, provisions were made under Ordinance 21 of 1853 to recognise the marriages solemnised between the members of the Indian immigrant community

Reference 120 - 0.01% Coverage

One consequence of indenture, because of the relative scarcity of women and their crucial importance in performing the domestic chores at the plantations, was that the usual custom whereby husbands' families obtained a dowry from their wives' families, was reversed in the diasporic setting, and often the grooms paid a premium to the wife's father or relatives. In one report, an immigrant Doyal of Flacq, paid a huge sum of \$137 to get married to Bagmanea. This practice of paying the bride's price was not limited to any particular section of the Indian immigrants, and another immigrant Virapatim, of South Indian origin, paid several hundred rupees to get married to Taylamen.⁸⁸ However, we need to be extra cautious

Reference 121 - 0.01% Coverage

Another consequence of indenture and of the scarcity of women on the plantations was the resulting instability of marriages. There were reports of wives being enticed away by other immigrants and women moving out of the matrimonial alliances for more attractive options. The Royal Commission noted that Indian immigrants filed 68 complaints in the year 1871-72 about wives being enticed away or harboured. Archival records show that this was one of the primary concerns of the male population in Mauritius who requested the authorities to restore their wives. Such occurrences of the breaking of alliances also hampered the prospects of family emigration from India as husbands were apprehensive about their wives being kidnapped or lured away, once they came to Mauritius.¹⁰⁴

Reference 122 - 0.01% Coverage

Feminist scholars of indenture have asserted the common paternalist nature of the male Indian immigrants and colonial authorities and interpreted this gesture as a desperate attempt to restore control over women and maintain power to decide their partners.¹⁰⁷ There is no denial of the fact that the Indian male psyche was not at all comfortable with Indian women taking decisions about leaving a relationship and/or choosing another partner. The reaction was often extremely violent. The question remains whether the women were making informed decisions or whether they were 'lured' or tricked? Further research is needed. While relationships between Indian men and women are explored totally and official reports abound concerning wife murders, male suicides, unacknowledged by the academic community and by colonial officials at the time, were the abuse of power on the part of all those in the upper hierarchy on the plantation and sexual abuse in the academic scholarships as well as by colonial officials. Within the descendant today, it is widely spoken of but concrete examples are still spoken about in hushed tones, offspring being quire present in Mauritian society. Elsewhere as in Fiji, such stories have become famous.¹⁰⁸

Reference 123 - 0.01% Coverage

In Indian society, the most prominent site of the working of the caste values was marriage. At this level also, owing to the relative shortage of women, immigrants had to be flexible in terms of their traditional belief in endogamy. But immigrants tried their best to observe the sanctioned deviations in their marriages and in most cases, marriages were of the kind described as hypergamy, in which men from high castes married women from lower castes, a practice which was approved in India also. ¹¹² In the absence of the options of choosing their marital partners from within the same caste, the other criterion adopted by the immigrant community in Mauritius was that of common regional

and linguistic origins. This emerged as the most decisive factor in forming the matrimonial alliances, especially among the Tamil and Telugu immigrants.¹¹³

Reference 124 - 0.01% Coverage

Between these years, approximately 43,183 women arrived in Mauritius from India under the Indenture system. These women were needed in the colony for purposes of marriage according to most historians as due to the scarcity of women, there was a significant change in the attitude of the Indentured Immigrants. Although marriage was a central feature of their lives, they would discard many of the characteristics of 'typical' Indian culture, norms, customs, values and adapted to the local situation. Concepts of marriage not common in India were accepted by the Indians. Caste, religion, age, widowhood, single life, arranged or religious marriages were no more an issue for these immigrants.

Reference 125 - 0.01% Coverage

In one respect, indenture and strict controls on mobility brought a certain measure of 'cultural and social stability'. Since movement on an estate was restricted, it led immigrants to mix with one another, irrespective of backgrounds, rear their children together, sit under the same tree to sing, talk, perform rituals etc. Their children played together as the women washed clothes in the same river. Despite harsh conditions, this type of 'cocooned' life was experienced on plantations.

Reference 126 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Brij Lal, as far as women are concerned, 'Indenture promoted a new egalitarian ethos and a freer society, which respected individual initiatives. Women were employed on the plantations as individuals in their own right. Control over their own hard-earned income gave them a measure of power and economic and social independence.'¹¹⁸

Reference 127 - 0.01% Coverage

Likewise, Huguette Ly-Tio-Fane-Pineo, during her investigations, has found the existence of two Chinese by the name of Gratia and Pauline who were brought from Canton and enfranchised by their owner, Louis Vigoureux, in 1745 at the end of his life. The latter gave Gratia the sum of 500 piastres and 2 slaves and to the child that Pauline was carrying a yearly pension until adulthood.¹⁶² Later, "the census of 1776, lists a Gratia Vigoureux as residing in Port-Louis at the "Rempart". She is described as 40 years' old, a seamstress and the owner of 3 slaves." Like Gratia and Pauline, "one male Chinese slave was enfranchised. Hyacinth Ambroise described in the 1780 census as a 26 year old Chinese from Macao was the freed slave of Jean Michel Dumont." He married Marie Jeanne, a Creole of 15 years in Flacq on 2 Fructidor of Year III of the Revolution, at the age of 40.¹⁶³ On Reunion Island (Bourbon), one also knows of the presence of Chinese slaves. The existence of two baptized Chinese women was noted; Denise married in 1760 and Marie Josephe, wife of Francois Ranga in 1765.¹⁶⁴ The manumission of Chinese slaves obviously created a free Chinese community in the Isle de France.¹⁶⁵ However, and somehow, the free Chinese community which existed during the French period "had disappeared, through death and through absorption of descendants into the Creole population."¹⁶⁶

Reference 128 - 0.01% Coverage

Gradually, during the 1830s, there were several Liberated African men and women who had completed their indenture contracts and were able to earn a living as skilled and semi-skilled workers. At the same time as they were securing their freedom and that of their children, they got married and secured their family ties. As the records of the Office of the Customs Department clearly revealed, some of the time-expired Liberated African men and women had become productive members, of society, and they managed to carve out a place for themselves in mid-19th century Mauritian colonial society.

Reference 129 - 0.01% Coverage

The slave population grew steadily in size during the 18th century, from 2,533 in 1746, to 15,027 in 1767, to 33,832 in 1787, to 60,646 in 1806, to reach 63,821 by 1810, prior to the British conquest.¹² Their occupations consisted of agricultural labourers, household servants, fishermen, artisans, dock workers and sailors. The enslaved people faced a harsh regime. So much so, that the engineer Charpentier-Cossigny in 1753 wrote that “the company was hiring slaves, then starving them to death”.¹³ Just like Labourdonnais before him, Charpentier-Cossigny provided some form of apprenticeship to slave labour. According to him, “for every skilled slave in an ‘atelier’, there were another ten or so manual labourers performing the essential backbreaking tasks of breaking and carrying stones, digging trenches, loading and unloading ships, building roads”. This ‘vast army’ of Government slaves included many women.¹⁴

Reference 130 - 0.01% Coverage

constituted the bulk of the population. In 1826, there were 42,621 male and 26,455 women slaves. By 1835, when slavery was abolished, the slave population was estimated to be at 66,613.

Reference 131 - 0.01% Coverage

The importation of Indian labourers in Mauritius began in earnest in 1834, with the introduction of 36 hill labourers and 39 labourers from Bombay by Arbuthnot. These labourers came to Mauritius on private five-year contracts. They had to pay for their return passage in case they chose to go back to India. In 1835, 1,160 men, 61 women and 33 children were brought in. Between 1836 and 1839, despite Governor Nicolay’s ban on further introduction of indentured labourers in the island, 22,615 men, 776 women and 192 children were brought. In the view of the Colonial Authorities and the planters, this early private introduction of Indian labourers on a five-year contract of service worked very well. The Colonial Secretary stated, in 1836, that the experiment, so far as it had been tried, met with great success. The planters praised the character and general disposition of the Indians whom they found to be far more efficient and intelligent at agricultural work than the Africans, despite the fact that a great number of the labourers who were brought in were very raw labourers.

Reference 132 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1970, the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) was established in Mauritius and the Export Processing Zone Act was passed. The Act provided major incentives to manufacturers catering for foreign markets. Moreover, firms within the EPZs equally benefited from the availability of cheap labour which came from unemployed workers and women who were outside the labour force at that time.²⁶² In his paper, Ali Zafar elaborated as follows “According to interviews with textile executives located in the EPZ, 80 per cent of workers in the EPZs in the 1980s were women. The rate has decreased somewhat in the 1990’s and 2000’s, but women continue to be more than 60 per cent of the workers in the zones. The lower wages that were paid to the workers in the EPZs in the early years allowed the firms to accumulate capital and reinvest the earnings into the firm’s expansion.” History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. As argued in chapter 5, unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

Reference 133 - 0.01% Coverage

As regards to the period of probation and instruction undergone by Indian catechumens, it would vary. In any case, the request to convert to Christianity came in the wake of an irresistible process of depersonalization. Usually, the Hindu slaves, many of them Gentoos from Bengal (unconquered as yet by the English), were first rigged out by their masters with a French name or nickname that ripped off their external Hindu personality. Next, they were per force subdued to an un-Indian way of life, fed on the slave diet (manioc and so on), clad with the coarse blue denim, holding on to the Creole patois for communication and survival, and prevented by the local environment from professing their ancestral faith. Stripped, to that extent, of their cultural identity, the Indians would look towards Catholicism, the official and exclusive religion. The young male adults would turn all the more easily to Christianity

as through scarcity of Indian women, they were left with no alternative but to marry female slaves of other ethnic groups. The Indian children, in all events, were christened in infancy, like all slave-born children, and as is the traditional practice in Catholic families. Musleem Jumeer goes so far as to state that:

Reference 134 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Indigenous catechists: lay men and women, many of them married couples, many of them former slaves and virtually illiterate, but thoroughly well-catechized;

Reference 135 - 0.01% Coverage

In front of the immensity of the task, and not being able to be everywhere, Fr. Laval chose lay men and women, many of them married couples, many of them former slaves and virtually illiterate; his colleagues and he himself directed and supported the apostolate of these lay collaborators who proved to be devoted and competent.⁴² However, whether the catechists had an understanding of what they had to preach, and the fact that they would endeavour to spread the same message to the catechumens, is not certain.

Reference 136 - 0.01% Coverage

The laws governing slaves conferred upon the masters wide powers to punish men and women alike for the slightest offence. A special enactment was provided for the punishment of runaway slaves. This took the form of mutilation and even entailed the execution of the slave after a third offence. Of course, no appeal for any unjustified action of the master was accented.

Reference 137 - 0.01% Coverage

The Constitution of 1885 remained in force up to 1948, when the conditions set for voting insisted only on the ability to sign one's name in any language spoken or written in the colony. It is under this Constitution that voting rights was first conferred on women. The new Constitution allowed 27% of the population to take part and knelled the monopoly of the oligarchy in the Legislative Assembly.

Reference 138 - 0.01% Coverage

The slaves from Africa were more strongly-built and more amenable to work than the Malgaches, who often escaped, although they were more intelligent. At sunrise, these slaves were awakened and sent to work till sunset. Their nourishment consisted of boiled maize or manioc. It was the custom to give each slave a shirt on New Year's Day. There are no details about the punishment of slaves. Some said that it was rather cruel. If a woman had to be punished, the husband was ordered to inflict it. To contract marriage, the slave had to obtain the permission of his master, who rarely refused it. They seemed to have preferred the idea of marrying women a good deal older than themselves

Reference 139 - 0.01% Coverage

During British colonisation, even if slavery was proclaimed illegal since 1807 in all British colonies, more slaves were introduced to Mauritius. Berthelot (2002, pp.14-17) recorded that on the 20th August 1809 there were 41 slaves of whom seven belonged to Le Gros and more than 20 to Marragon. The Indians were repatriated to Bombay. In 1826, there were 20 Europeans, 3 Freed and 100 Slaves (49 men and 28 women) on the island. These figures indicate an increase of 59% slaves in 17 years, as a result of births and the introduction of new slaves. In 1838, at the abolition of slavery, the number of apprentices and the total population amounted to 127 and 300 respectively.⁹

Reference 140 - 0.01% Coverage

In Rodrigues, when the slaves were set free on 4th June 1839, the men were offered a monthly wage of 3 piastres, and the women 2 piastres, as much free food as they could consume according to custom already established, i.e. 1½ pounds of salted fish per week, two coujarons of spirits as before, and the liberty of cultivating their small gardens. They unanimously accepted these conditions (North-Coombes 1971).

Reference 141 - 0.01% Coverage

3.2 As soon as Mr. Leduc, the Administrator/Manager (Régisseur), received the “Bill”, he gathered the whole population and communicated the historical event to each and every one. From then on, there were no slaves and no one belonged to a master. He explained to the working population their rights and duties, stipulated by the Bill, as free men and women. No whip would be used but discipline would be maintained. Same punishment (except the whip), would be maintained for those who were found guilty of severe breach of the Law. The case and punishment would be registered in a book and presented to the visiting Magistrate for control.

3.3 The liberated slaves were told that they were not forced to work for the establishment. As against other parts of the world, Agalega has no other source of earning money; so no work, no pay. Before becoming fully-fledged workers, as carpenters, blacksmiths..., they were considered as apprentices. All workers, men and women, would have to enter into a contract with the establishment and would be allowed to return to Mauritius at the end of their contract, if they so wished. However, these men and women knew little of working conditions elsewhere, apart from Agalega, which they considered as their homeland by adoption, their children being born on these islands. The land remained the property of the establishment.

Caste

References or discussions of castes or the caste system

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 11 references coded [0.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Tattoos for Colin represented the ‘caste’ identity of the different ethnic groups, many of which came to Mauritius. Women of the Sofala group also pierced their upper lip and their tattoos consisted of curved lines from their foreheads to temples, and there were points on the cheeks and body.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

does not take into consideration the fact that these women might choose to differentiate between themselves on the basis of age, class, caste, interest or home location.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Believing that caste belongingness refers to a hierarchy based on natural criteria seems to be losing ground in contemporary Mauritius. The local, more universal, versions of such conceptions appeared when people stated that the only caste is that of ‘God’, or that there are only two castes, men and women. As a consequence, the most overt and/or violent forms of discrimination, whether physical (low-caste individuals being slapped for entering a temple) or psychological (in– laws refusing food from lower-caste daughter-in-laws) are cited, but only as examples from the past. However, it is to be noted that temples still bar members of certain castes from entering. This must be condemned. However, castes are still, in Mauritian popular beliefs, associated with a certain type of character, which can be described as discriminatory and derogatory. Thus, the stereotype of Chamar is that of an alcoholic and quarrelsome person. When an inter-caste marriage is broken up, one often uses such classifications as a cause. When one criticizes a quarrelsome

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Hierarchy remains, however, given the fact that in India, as everywhere else, the different parts of the body are not equivalent, in terms of purity and prestige. The head is the noblest part and it is the Brahmins who are born of it. The feet, touching the ground that is potentially impure, are the least noble parts of the body and the Shudra are born of them. Today, in India, turning one's feet towards someone or touching his head is still considered rude and even dangerous for the other one's integrity. In the same way, rivers are believed to have a ‘head’ (upstream) and ‘feet’

(downstream). Upstream is always purer. Contrary to women, men bathe upstream, so that they are not contaminated by women's impurities. Similarly, upper castes bathe upstream and lower castes downstream.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

The caste system inevitably means describing the status of male Hindus. Women belong to the caste of their father and abide by the rules, and especially those concerning marriage. Later, women will belong to the caste of their husbands. Even when a woman marries upward in the caste hierarchy, the risk is high as in-laws may refuse the food she cooks, even in her own house.

But, more generally, women are vectors for 'pollution'. Their assigned place (included as Goddesses in the Brahminic Hindu iconography) is on the left. This is the 'polluting' side in Hindu thought: the left hand is reserved for polluting activities, and the right hand for eating; you circumambulate a shrine clockwise in order to keep your pure right hand close to the Gods. Similarly, women sit at the left of men because of the purity hierarchy not unrelated to caste ideology.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

- Bengali women used to have a godna on their forehead and also on their hands and arms • A Doosad or Chamar had to marry his/her son/daughter in the same caste not in a higher one

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

- Last but not least, women are secondary in the patriarchal caste system, in Mauritius as in India. They have no individual caste, passing from their father's caste to their husband's caste.
- Devotional practices that, in Mauritius, previously spearheaded by women (at home and at the local kalimaya) allowed them to maintain their pre-marriage beliefs, practices and individual habits or preferences (towards a shrine, a deity or whatever devotional practice).

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

Believing that castes belongingness refers to a hierarchy based on natural criteria seems to be losing ground in contemporary Mauritius. The local, more universal, versions of such conceptions appear when interviewees state that the only caste is that of God, or that there are only two castes, men and women. As a consequence, the most overt and/or violent forms of discrimination, whether physical (low-caste individuals being slapped for entering a temple) or psychological (in-laws refusing food from lower-caste daughter in laws) are cited, but only as examples from the past.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

progress. Arya Samaj rejected child marriage and purdah, established equality between all human beings and so rejected casteism, and also equality between women and men, thus encouraging the education of girls.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Tattoos for Colin represented the 'caste' identity of the different ethnic groups, many of which came to Mauritius. Women of the Sofala group also pierced their upper lip and their tattoos consisted of curved lines from forehead to temples and there were points on the cheeks and body.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

In Indian society, the most prominent site of the working of the caste values was marriage. At this level also, owing to the relative shortage of women, immigrants had to be flexible in terms of their traditional belief in endogamy. But immigrants tried their best to observe the sanctioned deviations in their marriages and in most cases, marriages were of the kind described as hypergamy, in which men from high castes married women from lower castes, a practice which was approved in India also. 112 In the absence of the options of choosing their marital partners from within the same caste, the other criterion adopted by the immigrant community in Mauritius was that of common regional

and linguistic origins. This emerged as the most decisive factor in forming the matrimonial alliances, especially among the Tamil and Telugu immigrants.¹¹³

Indenture

References or discussions of indenture or indentured servants

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 25 references coded [0.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Women under indenture

If slavery and indenture as economic systems have received due attention on the part of scholars, the lesser-known aspects deserve also mention. Indentured labourers like slaves, brought with them their cultures, life-styles which they were in varying degrees able to keep. In the case of Indian labourers, how were their cultures and social life transformed by indenture? In other words, what was the impact on their non-working lives? Women have been recognised in Mauritian history as having kept the traditions brought from India. This was possibly because they stayed at home, unlike other labour immigrants and so were able to provide the nurturing roles. The absence of women, for example, in the early years deserve mention, as this was a matter of concern for authorities.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

“only [British] colony which failed to engage Indian women as indentured labourers. The numbers of women formally employed on estates was consequently never very high, even in the principal sugar-growing districts ... In 1846 9% of the total Indian female population was registered as part of the plantation labour force. At the time of the malaria epidemic in 1867, less than 100 women were reported as working on the sugar estates. By 1871, when the next census was taken, this figure had risen, even so, only 7% of women [or 1,808 Indian females out of a total estate population of 24,425] were officially employed as plantation workers.”²⁸⁷

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

One consequence of indenture, because of the relative scarcity of women, was to raise the ‘marriageable value’ of women and, in so doing, transform their social power. Women were crucial for the early indentured as they were imported solely and clearly to look after men’s needs in the barracks: provision of food and domestic chores. Rather than requesting a dowry, men now paid parents, thus reversing an age-old Indian tradition. Doyal of Flacq paid a huge sum of \$137 to get

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

married to Bagmanea. This practice of paying the bride’s price was not limited to any particular section of the Indian immigrants, and another immigrant Virapatim, of South Indian origin, paid several hundred rupees to get married to Taylaman.²⁸⁸ This should not necessarily be interpreted as an example of women’s emancipation, since there is some evidence of this resembling a ‘sale’ of daughters rather than being a celebration.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Instability of marriages was also a consequence of the imbalance in sexes: there were reports of wives being enticed away by other immigrants and women moving out of the matrimonial alliances, according to Mishra, for ‘more attractive’ options.²⁹² Archival records show that this was one of the primary concerns of the male population in Mauritius who requested the Authorities to restore their wives. However, due to the fact they were no ‘legally married’, the Police could not intervene.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

It is still not that clear whether it is Westernisation or indenture, whether it was self-change or imposed change, which modified/changed Indian traditions in Mauritius. Anthropologists have given their views but there has been little attempt to study the evolution diachronically, in other words over time, since the 19th century. The difficulty has been that, although much historical data is available on material conditions of immigrants, their cultural and social life remains largely unknown. Although in India, reformist movements were also advocating changes, in Mauritius it is not clear whether the changes that occurred were imposed by plantation conditions or Colonial Officials' intervention through laws or whether the immigrants themselves abandoned them. The practice of sati (widow burning) dowry were understandably no longer practicable in a period of shortage of women but for other practices, the situation is less clear: human sacrifice, polygyny, child marriage etc. There is no indication when these died out, if they ever existed at all. From interviews with elders, it is clear that child marriages existed, as did the heavy expenditure during marriage that parents endured.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

“According to interviews with textile executives located in the EPZ, 80 per cent of workers in the EPZs in the 1980s were women. The rate has decreased somewhat in the 1990's and 2000's, but women continue to be more than 60 per cent of the workers in the zones. The lower wages that were paid to the workers in the EPZs in the early years allowed the firms to accumulate capital and reinvest the earnings into the firm's expansion.”

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. Unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

This neglect of the rights of female labourers, which probably goes some way towards explaining why they were paid less for doing some of the same types of tasks as men, may also reflect their marginal position in the Mauritian Sugar Industry since the days of indenture. Few women were 'indentured' in the 19th century but with the end of indenture, the rate of women's participation rates in the Sugar Industry's workforce gradually increased. The Great Depression, widowed women, poverty are some of the reasons cited but this needs to be more fully researched.

Surra epidemics may also have been responsible as many women had previously stayed home to rear cattle.

Whatever be the reasons, by the end of the Second World War, female labourers accounted for almost half of the Mauritian Sugar Industry's workforce, or a maximum of 18,126 female labourers at the height of the crop season in 1945 (ARLD 1945:46). It is important to note, however, that more female labourers tended to be employed during the inter-crop period whereas men made up the bulk of field labourers during both the inter-crop and crop periods. The same logic used to determine how much men and women should be paid for the types of tasks which they performed, also seems to account for the Industry's preference to employ more women to do lighter tasks between crops and for men to do heavier tasks such as harvesting cane when the crop has to be harvested.

The most poignant testimonies have been furnished by the elderly female sugar estate workers. For instance, one informant³⁶⁰ complained that she would hurt herself when she had to remove straw from the sugarcane just prior to it being cut by male labourers (the process described as *dépaillage* in the Hooper Commission's summary above). She also says that she used to wear *linz lakaz*, that is, her everyday clothes to work, and that workers were not provided with uniforms, boots, gloves and masks until after Independence. Similarly, in Pamela Sooben's (2009: 16-17) undergraduate dissertation, the elderly female sugar estate workers she interviewed complained of having to remove straw from sugarcane. In order to protect themselves, they wore long socks over their hands, but that still did not prevent the straw from piercing their old socks and drawing blood from their hands: “When the sirdar asked us to remove ‘divet’ from sugarcane, especially ‘cane coulou’, we would run away because these ‘divet’ pierced our old socks, hands and fingers. We also used to get rashes”. These women also complained of finding it difficult to cook for themselves after a day's work because of the injuries they sustained to their hands, while working in the cane fields without gloves (Sooben 2009:8).

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

In terms of the nature of work, there was continuity with the indentured period in terms of gender and age division in plantation work. Men were doing the Gran Bann or harder work, such as cutting the cane, loading it into carts, working in mills etc. while women were supposed to do the Ti Bann or lighter work like weeding, separating leaves from the cane, planting, rearing animals, working in the gardens or as domestic help in the estate owner's household. Women were paid less and sometimes, half the wages of male workers. In addition, however they also did the household chores before, and after, this 'light' work: preparing meals, looking after the cattle, preparing children for school or work etc.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Mobility was restricted on a sugar estate even after indenture. The majority remained in occupations related to the sugar industry: in the fields or the mill or in associated sectors such as work as mechanics of machines, drivers of lorries etc. Sugar was the only major crop grown at that time. Additional income was derived from cow rearing and selling milk by women, poultry and goat farming, providing domestic help, growing vegetables etc.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

women to 100 men should be adhered to and remained in practice for the rest of the indenture period. The joint family system provided help and support even to distant relatives.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian population, e.g. for the poor, particularly girls and women (Bunwaree, 2005). Those who would not have been able to afford education manage to send their children to school. This provoked a big generational shift for some segments of Mauritian society. Education has therefore been an important tool of mobility for some. But the question that needs to be posed are: how and why have working-class children of slave descent been able to benefit to the same extent as working-class children of indenture descent?

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

In conclusion, we have seen that the tribal groups arriving to Mauritius included the Munda, Oraon, Santal, Gond and Khol. The majority of them were young males and came chiefly from the Chota Nagpur region. Between the years 1843 and 1844, there were a few women and children also who arrived in Mauritius. The tribals were found on every ship leaving Calcutta. After 1844, there were fewer immigrants from the tribal group. Their heavy mortality on board the ships which took them to the island and to the estate discouraged the recruiters from recruiting them. However, some tribals continued to arrive on the island, throughout the period of indenture.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

women immigrants in indentured immigrant population on the plantations led to unstable sexual relationships and affected order on plantations through social instability, sexual promiscuity, high crime rates. This volatility of men-women relationships fostered immoral ways of living, abduction and exploitation of women immigrants.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

To address the concerns over the disproportion of sexes among the Indian communities on the plantations and also to stabilise the labouring population in Mauritius (for the other labour importing colonies as well) Colonial Authorities fixed the quota of women mandated who could be taken along with the male emigrants, encouraged the family emigration from India. A bounty of £2 was paid to those immigrants who came with 'legitimate' wives. However, this led to another forms of disorder whereby widespread instances were reported of selling of daughters or wives, using marriage ties to bring women to Mauritius and then selling them off to make extra profits by the sirdars and returnees. In 1860s, 'many sirdars and overseers brought two and sometimes three women with them' as their wives who were, as the Protector reported, sold or transferred to other men to make money. 84Abuse of indentured women also occurred by the plantation owner and managers leading to numerous offspring who today still be identified through their mixed Asian and European origins. Many of these form part of the Coloured population who form the subject of subsequent chapter.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

In the initial periods of indentured emigration, the Colonial Authorities had been lenient concerning cohabitation among Indian immigrants. Their primary concern was to secure the supply of labour on plantations, and since women were not employed in Mauritius, they cared the least for them. A Royal Commission reported that before 1853, no law existed in Mauritius specifically providing for celebration and recognition of Indian marriages.⁸⁵ However by 1850s, with the large influx of Indian immigrants and a sizeable number of Indian labourers in the colony, the Colonial Authorities had to ratify marriage legislations. In 1853, provisions were made under Ordinance 21 of 1853 to recognise the marriages solemnised between the members of the Indian immigrant community

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

One consequence of indenture, because of the relative scarcity of women and their crucial importance in performing the domestic chores at the plantations, was that the usual custom whereby husbands' families obtained a dowry from their wives' families, was reversed in the diasporic setting, and often the grooms paid a premium to the wife's father or relatives. In one report, an immigrant Doyal of Flacq, paid a huge sum of \$137 to get married to Bagmanea. This practice of paying the bride's price was not limited to any particular section of the Indian immigrants, and another immigrant Virapatim, of South Indian origin, paid several hundred rupees to get married to Taylamen.⁸⁸ However, we need to be extra cautious

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

Another consequence of indenture and of the scarcity of women on the plantations was the resulting instability of marriages. There were reports of wives being enticed away by other immigrants and women moving out of the matrimonial alliances for more attractive options. The Royal Commission noted that Indian immigrants filed 68 complaints in the year 1871-72 about wives being enticed away or harboured. Archival records show that this was one of the primary concerns of the male population in Mauritius who requested the authorities to restore their wives. Such occurrences of the breaking of alliances also hampered the prospects of family emigration from India as husbands were apprehensive about their wives being kidnapped or lured away, once they came to Mauritius.¹⁰⁴

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Feminist scholars of indenture have asserted the common paternalist nature of the male Indian immigrants and colonial authorities and interpreted this gesture as a desperate attempt to restore control over women and maintain power to decide their partners.¹⁰⁷ There is no denial of the fact that the Indian male psyche was not at all comfortable with Indian women taking decisions about leaving a relationship and/or choosing another partner. The reaction was often extremely violent. The question remains whether the women were making informed decisions or whether they were 'lured' or tricked? Further research is needed. While relationships between Indian men and women are explored totally and official reports abound concerning wife murders, male suicides, unacknowledged by the academic community and by colonial officials at the time, were the abuse of power on the part of all those in the upper hierarchy on the plantation and sexual abuse in the academic scholarships as well as by colonial officials. Within the descendant today, it is widely spoken of but concrete examples are still spoken about in hushed tones, offspring being quire present in Mauritian society. Elsewhere as in Fiji, such stories have become famous.¹⁰⁸

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Between these years, approximately 43,183 women arrived in Mauritius from India under the Indenture system. These women were needed in the colony for purposes of marriage according to most historians as due to the scarcity of women, there was a significant change in the attitude of the Indentured Immigrants. Although marriage was a central feature of their lives, they would discard many of the characteristics of 'typical' Indian culture, norms, customs, values and adapted to the local situation. Concepts of marriage not common in India were accepted by the Indians. Caste, religion, age, widowhood, single life, arranged or religious marriages were no more an issue for these immigrants.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

In one respect, indenture and strict controls on mobility brought a certain measure of ‘cultural and social stability’. Since movement on an estate was restricted, it led immigrants to mix with one another, irrespective of backgrounds, rear their children together, sit under the same tree to sing, talk, perform rituals etc. Their children played together as the women washed clothes in the same river. Despite harsh conditions, this type of ‘cocooned’ life was experienced on plantations.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Brij Lal, as far as women are concerned, ‘Indenture promoted a new egalitarian ethos and a freer society, which respected individual initiatives. Women were employed on the plantations as individuals in their own right. Control over their own hard-earned income gave them a measure of power and economic and social independence.’¹¹⁸

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

Gradually, during the 1830s, there were several Liberated African men and women who had completed their indenture contracts and were able to earn a living as skilled and semi-skilled workers. At the same time as they were securing their freedom and that of their children, they got married and secured their family ties. As the records of the Office of the Customs Department clearly revealed, some of the time-expired Liberated African men and women had become productive members of society, and they managed to carve out a place for themselves in mid-19th century Mauritian colonial society.

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

The importation of Indian labourers in Mauritius began in earnest in 1834, with the introduction of 36 hill labourers and 39 labourers from Bombay by Arbuthnot. These labourers came to Mauritius on private five-year contracts. They had to pay for their return passage in case they chose to go back to India. In 1835, 1,160 men, 61 women and 33 children were brought in. Between 1836 and 1839, despite Governor Nicolay’s ban on further introduction of indentured labourers in the island, 22,615 men, 776 women and 192 children were brought. In the view of the Colonial Authorities and the planters, this early private introduction of Indian labourers on a five-year contract of service worked very well. The Colonial Secretary stated, in 1836, that the experiment, so far as it had been tried, met with great success. The planters praised the character and general disposition of the Indians whom they found to be far more efficient and intelligent at agricultural work than the Africans, despite the fact that a great number of the labourers who were brought in were very raw labourers.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1970, the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) was established in Mauritius and the Export Processing Zone Act was passed. The Act provided major incentives to manufacturers catering for foreign markets. Moreover, firms within the EPZs equally benefited from the availability of cheap labour which came from unemployed workers and women who were outside the labour force at that time.²⁶² In his paper, Ali Zafar elaborated as follows “According to interviews with textile executives located in the EPZ, 80 per cent of workers in the EPZs in the 1980s were women. The rate has decreased somewhat in the 1990’s and 2000’s, but women continue to be more than 60 per cent of the workers in the zones. The lower wages that were paid to the workers in the EPZs in the early years allowed the firms to accumulate capital and reinvest the earnings into the firm’s expansion.” History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. As argued in chapter 5, unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

Slavery

References or discussions of slavery

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 74 references coded [0.27% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

“The horrendous nature of the enterprise of African slavery is well-known and documented. Around 20 million young people were kidnapped, taken in chains across the Atlantic and sold into slavery in the plantations of the New World. Millions more died in transit in the dungeons of the castles such as Gorée, Elmina and Cape Coast, or in the hell holes under the decks of the slave ships. It was without doubt, in the fullest sense of the term, a crime against humanity. A vast proportion of sub-Saharan Africa from Senegal right around to Angola and on the other side from Mozambique into Malawi and Tanzania was depopulated. Its young men and women were taken away”.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

The slave population grew steadily in size during the 18th century, from 2,533 in 1746 to 15,027 in 1767, to 33,832 in 1787, to 60,646 in 1806, to reach 63,821 by 1810, prior to the British conquest. Their occupations consisted mainly of agricultural labourers, household servants, fishermen, artisans, port workers and sailors. The enslaved people faced a harsh regime. CharpentierCossigny, an Engineer, in 1753, noted that “the company was hiring slaves, then starving them to death”.¹³ According to him, “for every skilled slave in an ‘atelier’, there were another ten or so manual labourers performing the essential back-breaking tasks of breaking and carrying stones, digging trenches, loading and unloading ships, building roads.” This ‘vast army’ of Government slaves included many women.¹⁴

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

There is evidence that the elderly slaves, women and children, considered to be unproductive, were indeed expelled from the plantations.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition, the Company also owned slaves who worked in various capacities. When the King took over the island in 1767, the slaves belonging to the Company were ceded to the King. There were in 1769: 162 Malagasies, 436 Guineans, 345 Creoles, 254 Mozambicans, 25 Indians, 2 Creoles from Bourbon, 1 from Pondicherry and 3 from Macao for a total of 1,228 slaves. They were divided into 662 men, 139 boys, 21 young male children, 271 women, 126 girls and 9 nine female infants.³⁶

French slave trading in the Southwest Indian Ocean was started in Madagascar to supply slaves to Bourbon Island, colonised earlier. The slaves engaged in agriculture and the women among them married, or cohabited with French men, due to the shortage of French women. Indian prisoners were also left there. Distinctions between French on the one hand, and Malagasy and Indian people on the other, appeared some years later in 1674, when an Ordinance of Jacob de la Haye (Article 20) ordered that there would be no marriages between French and négresses or between noirs and white women. The term ‘slave’ also appears for the first time in Bourbon.³⁷ It is there that slavery, as it is understood in Mauritius, became established with maroon hunts, separate Parish Registers and domestic servants being treated as property.³⁸

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

The revolts of slaves on board have been studied to some extent by several authors: Peerthum, Allen, Filliot. Both revolt and escape occurred on board and appeared to have been expected, when the ship was being outfitted for voyage i.e. extra strong fences, more guards etc. were provided. For ships bound for Mauritius, a number have been documented in earlier studies: Allen’s database of voyages lists only 23 voyages with revolts. Vernet’s transcription of the journal of the Espérance also shows that escapes occurred among women as well.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

the slave trade increased in the 1760s onwards, the evidence from the French National Archives shows stereotyping and categorizing of various ethnicities in one group quite early in the slave trade. Thus 'Mozambican' slaves became trusted as were West African slaves; in fact, they were considered trustworthy enough to be recruited for the defence of the island. Women slaves from Mozambique were also appreciated for their reproductive capacity. Statements made at the time smack of breeding attempts: "Nombre trop modique de négresses Mozambique ou Bengalie [...] chaque vaisseau en apporte 12 ou 15 [...] elles peuplent plus et sont moins debauchées."¹²⁸

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

2.3 Women

The section of the C4 series consulted by the TJC is unfortunately silent, for the most part, on the situation of enslaved women. The instances where they appear are when they are cited in criminal cases; e.g. in cases when they refused to bear children or in reference to marriage partners and concubines. They also appear, when accounting of the value of slaves was undertaken. More intense searches in archival records are required. Only a few points will be made here.

□ Categorising women

The same criteria used by colonial society to differentiate between male slaves applied in the case of female slaves: females were categorised according to their capacity for various occupations, based on presumed ethnic traits.

Officials also continually complained about women who did not want to bear children and about Malagasy women, in particular, who used traditional medicine to abort. Indian and Guinean slaves were considered better breeders. By the sheer fact of mentioning the reproductive capacity of women slaves, it was clear that officials saw high birth rate as being beneficial since it would reduce the need to obtain more slaves through slave trading. 149

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

According to reports found in C4 series, there was no decent place for slave women to give birth and many lost their babies during childbirth. 150

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

In the attempt to reform slavery, to reform administration of the management of concessions to make them more productive, owners were requested to mix men and women and to marry slaves early; pour «accorder des récompenses pour exciter chez eux la propagation». Rewards included getting 2 days off per month, if they bore 6 live children; 4 days off, if they bore 9 children and freedom for the parents, only if they bore 12 children. It was also recommended that heavy loads not be carried by slaves from one district to another. 151 Whether these reforms ever got off the ground remains to be researched by an intensive demographic study. By the 1770s, this may not have succeeded, if it was at all implemented as the slave trade was expanding.

An extraordinary measure was recommended years later to prevent women from performing abortions, thereby indicating that the situation may not have improved. An Act dating from 1556 was introduced in the islands and included the death penalty for those convicted of ending their pregnancies.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Work of women

Women were involved in various tasks related to domestic work and often performing the same work as men. In one unique document relating to the employment of women on Vigoureux's establishment, the Governor doubted whether women should be given the same work as men. In Vigoureux establishment, some women were pregnant, some worked with children on their backs, others were still breastfeeding and others were employed in cooking food for the entire workshop of slaves. He recognized their social value and felt that, although it was desirable to have women in the workforce, it was an additional expense for the Government to pay Vigoureux for the maintenance of the slaves.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Rice was given when other foods were not available. On some estates, rice was given once a week on Sundays, while on weekdays, they were fed manioc. Aside from manioc, slaves received half a herring and 1 lb of salt every Sunday. Disputes with owners occurred over the measurement of rations, with complaints being lodged about smaller measures being used. On large plantations, slaves also received salt, 2 ounces of salted fish or meat (occasionally) and a cup of 'arrack'. On some estates, slaves could take as much cane juice as they liked. Women who were nursing were fed from 'the master's table' for 2-3 months. Slaves also grew their own provisions: brèdes (greens), while those in forest estates could hunt for the tandrac (hedgehog). Coastal estates had many slaves employed as fishermen and others picking 'bambaras' ('sea slug'). If food supplies to slaves on small estates were deficient, it was felt that this was compensated for by the less strenuous work of cultivating manioc, grain and vegetable gardens and transporting these goods to market. Some slaves had access to provision grounds, while others were permitted to engage in petty trade.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Women and children

Males outnumbered females and only a small proportion of adult slaves lived in family groups, with the majority headed by single-parents, overwhelmingly female-headed. Slave women faced immense difficulties to be able to care for, or even feed, their young children. Slave women often complained of ill-treatment and sexual exploitation; they were obliged to work unduly long hours despite having young children to care. And the insecurity of women necessarily increased the vulnerability of children and the impermanence of family life. If babies suffered from inadequate maternal care, they did not remain babies for long. As children, they soon directly faced mistreatment (e.g. they were put in chains, flogged) which had made maternal care so difficult. Clearly, the nature of the power structure meant that children could not rely on support from parents who were themselves so vulnerable to their masters.

Slave women had to carry out their domestic tasks in addition to their agricultural work. According to a study in Nyasaland, on average, every woman spent about 7 hours daily on such routine domestic tasks as preparing cereals, fetching water and collecting fuel and leaves from the bush for food and food preparation.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Canteen ownership was also reserved for Whites at this time; so slaves procured from the Gens de couleur. In 13 Messidor An 10, Babet Vevard, a free Black woman, was condemned because she had given drinks to 2 slaves, Jacmin and Sebastien (MNA: E 102). A new law on 14 Ventose An 6 declared 3 months imprisonment for illicit liquor sale. Babet got 100 piastres fine, as well as having his material confiscated.¹⁶² Many women from the Gens de couleur, who cohabited with poor whites, also opened canteens through their partners who gave them the capital to start the business. Adeline, a Free black woman, was imprisoned for 8 days for having 'kept' the Chevalier Peron and 3 other sailors and given them alcohol to drink in the house of Citoyen Mottel (MNA E 102, p. 32).

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1753, slaves were still building fortifications. Moreover, as Megan Vaughan observes "the slaves placed at Charpentier-Cossigny's disposal for the building, of the fortifications included as many women as men, all of them engaged in hard manual labour."

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

In January 1778, a survey of the state of slaves, who belonged to the King, was made, and details given on the heads of workshops. There were 3,084 slaves among whom were 1,732 males, 765 females, 349 boys and 238 girls. An assessment was made of their exact value: out of the 3,084, there were 381 who were either infirm or unfit to work because of fatigue. No strenuous work could be given to them. Some were old and needed care in order not to worsen their infirmities. They tended to be left to themselves most of the time, and the rest of the time, they were given what was the equivalent of children's' work. The boys and girls, up to 9-10 years, were not given any work either. The women, though fit for work, were allowed to stay home and look after their children. It was, therefore, on the male slaves, according to reports, that all the burden of work fell. Even among them, however, some were ill or had marooned. The Government therefore bought 180 more slaves from private persons for the dredging of the Port.²²²

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. Trans. the women whose usefulness, for the most part, is confined to carrying stones on their head during works). "Il y a celles qui sont enceintes ou nourrices, lesquelles ne rendent aucun service toute une partie de l'année, il faut au moins les loger, les nourrir, les habiller et leur donner des ustensiles.

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

Indian men and women were brought both as slaves and as free workers as far back as 1729. Among the free men, were either skilled artisans, poor fishermen, peons (pions) or sailors. It is also reported that those in skilled trades transmitted their knowledge to their children and thus continued in the same trade for generations.²²⁷ The first Indian worker on contract was brought in 1734, although workers had been arriving well before that date (MNA: NA 6/1A, quoted in Jumeer).

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Jumeer, many Indian slaves were women. Many did not declare the fathers of their children because these were European. This situation is explained by Jumeer as resulting from shortage of European women on the island. The children were known as the 'Noirs Libres' (Jumeer: 105-7). Moreover, among the manumitted, many were Indian women. Their children formed a privileged group being 'Eurasian'. Finally, there were also those Indian slave women bought by 'petits blancs' (poor whites). These have been partly studied by Jumeer, but further work is required (Jumeer: 114).

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Among the women, they were among the first to obtain manumission as numerous liaisons existed with European owners and other non-Indian slaves. According to Nagapen, slavery was "un agent pollueur terriblement efficace" (Eng. trans. a very efficient polluting agent).²²⁸

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Slaves who had hitherto engaged in occupations not requiring hard physical labour were brought into plantation work and many did not survive this shift. Women, who had traditionally stayed at home or were working in domestic service, were also forced to shift to plantation work. Children and the elderly were brought in and given lighter work on the plantation ('petite bande') and in herding cattle. That itself, although not requiring hard physical labour, meant much longer hours of work and a 7-day working week.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

In his report on Liberated Africans in Mauritius, in 1826, P. Salter, the Ag. Collector of Customs, we learn that between 1813 and 1826, out of 2,998 Liberated Africans brought to Mauritius, some 291 had died even before being apprenticed. Women constituted only ¼ of them. More than 9% of the Liberated Africans died within less than a month after landing, dying of dysentery, cholera, and the small pox, as well as from severe cases of malnutrition and dehydration which prevailed on the slave vessels sailing between Madagascar and East Africa to Mauritius and its dependencies. The state of the ships was confirmed by Captain Dorval, who had commanded one of them, Le Coureur, involved in illegal slave trading. He described the state of the slave vessels which were always extremely overcrowded, with diseases being rampant and the high mortality rate. Thus we find that more had died before reaching Mauritius.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

Women would be brought in to service male labourers/slaves, to undertake domestic duties, such as cooking and cleaning, and satisfy sexual needs: " In Demerara," Mr. Gladstone stated, "the females are employed in the field as well as the men; and if the female Coolies wilt engage to work there, a larger proportion may be sent, say two

women to three men, or, if desired, equal numbers; but if they will not engage to work there, then the proportion sent to the Isle of France, of one female to nine or ten men, for cooking and washing, is enough".²⁴³

Thus numbers of women would only be increased, if their labour was required. It is only when problems arose that more women were allowed to come. As the company named Gillanders needed labour, Gladstone complied.

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

However by this time, Mauritian planters represented in the Immigration Committee also wished to have permanent immigrants, and not temporary ones, as 6,000 immigrants had already left Mauritius by 1844. To do this, however, would have necessitated the introduction of a greater number of women and families.²⁴⁸ It was not thought necessary to import much more after that year. It was felt that to undertake Government-controlled recruitment and shipping, this could be more efficiently supervised by a Government Emigration Agent based in Calcutta.

Furthermore, this was also where rice supply for Mauritius was procured. By October 1843, the Protector of Emigrants reported that the labour needs of the Colony had been met: about 29,000 labourers would have been introduced of whom 2,700 were women and 700, children.²⁴⁹

□ Emigration of women

After 1842, it appears that officially, about 12 women to every 100 were to be brought, including some children, but in fact, many more were brought. On 23rd January 1843, the first boat load of

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

The apprenticeship system has been researched in some depth in Mauritian Historiography, as well as the opposition to it coming from abolitionists who saw it as not being much different from slavery. The complicity of the local Government in creating a system that was no different from slavery and ensured that labour stayed on estates until contract labour system was established, while owners enjoyed the compensation money and invested in their sugar estates. Apprentices were quick to see they had been duped of their freedom. They expressed this disapproval of this 'new system of slavery' in several forms. Some marooned and were hunted in exactly the same manner as they had been under slavery. When caught they were flogged in the same manner. Others chose to withdraw from plantation labour (but not from agriculture), knowing full well that this is what would strike at the heart of plantation's operation. Others still bought their freedom from apprenticeship, just as, when slaves, they had bought their manumission. They were still advertised as slaves for hire, even though slavery had been abolished. While the stereotype of women is that they were downtrodden people, the number of applications for freedom from apprenticeship are very revealing. These women's history must not be forgotten and deserves further study.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

As has been stated before, it is important to grasp the mindset of the slave population before the abolition of slavery in order to understand their actions afterwards, given the paucity of information as to their whereabouts, after slavery was abolished. Only, then, can we understand the ex-slave population's movements after slavery: what did they think of 'freedom'? Was it individual liberty? Was it their intention to regroup somewhere? Was it education, and what about employment? Was it their wish to be near the former owners of the sugar plantations? Did women want to continue to labour on sugar estates or in the kitchen of the owners? This is all the more necessary as there have been numerous sweeping statements made in public discourse, concerning their movements which continue to impact on public perceptions and discourse. Some of these sweeping statements and perceptions are:

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

Many French merchants, settling in the Isle de France, cohabited with female slaves or Coloured women. Some married freed slaves - such later on was the case of Benoît Ollier from the Lyon region, who arrived in 1789 and latter married Julie, a freed slave born in Mauritius; they gave birth to Rémy Ollier, who was to become one of our greatest journalists, in 1816. ³⁷⁴

The Mésalliances and de facto relationships were also the direct result of an imbalance between settler men and women. In 1778, there were 1,727 white women out of a total white population of 4,417; in 1809, white women numbered 2,671 out of a white population of 6,227. Rampant promiscuity and mésalliances led to the emergence of a mulatto and métis class. Free Indian contractual workers and Indian free settlers as well as freed Indian slaves contracted liaisons or marriages with petits blancs or Coloured individuals.

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

High alcohol consumption had been the cause of sickness and mortality among slaves, apprentices and troops. During the 1825-40 period of sugar expansion, the widespread distribution of liquor to slaves as an incentive to work proved to be detrimental as slaves turned into alcoholics. The amount and frequency of arrack distribution differed on each estate but ranged from as little as once a week to several glasses a day. Liquor became cheap and freely available as slaves began to distil it in their huts and sell it to other slaves. Alcohol consumption increased dramatically during the crop season and affected both men and women. It led to various social ills, including fighting among slaves, general disorderliness, theft, lateness at work, insubordination, accidents and, even sometimes, suicides. There were also many unlicensed liquor shops in the districts (Teelock, 1998).

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

Land and slave-ownership were indicators of economic and social status on the island. Besides the French colonists who possessed large areas “concessions”, the ‘Gens de Couleur’, the soldiers (Noirs de Détachement) who participated in “Maroon Detachments”, were given 5 Arpents each. Contrary to the French colonists, they were not allowed to cultivate cash crops such as spices (cocoa, cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg or cloves) on their lands. The only cultivation allowed were food crops. The ‘Gens de Couleur’ gradually developed other activities: buying and selling, renting land and warehouses. They borrowed money to purchase property. As far as slave-ownership was concerned, most of the ‘Gens de couleur’ owned domestic slaves. Some slave women ended up as partners of the masters.

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

According to the terms of the Act that abolished slavery in Mauritius in 1835, the colony’s new freedmen were required to continue serving their former masters as “apprentices” for a period not to exceed six years. Termination of the apprenticeship system on 31 March 1839 removed the last legal impediments to the colony’s former slaves’ ability to reap the fruit of their own labor. As the archival records make clear, the economic fortunes of many of these new freedmen and women rested on their ability to mobilize capital, acquire land, and exploit the economic opportunities that existed during the late 1830s and 1840s.

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves as provision grounds, continued control of which was undoubtedly a matter of serious concern to the island’s new freedmen and women.

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

The ability of ex-apprentices to acquire such properties stemmed in part from the fact that some of these men and women apparently possessed substantial amounts of cash. Exactly how much money ex-apprentices held cannot be determined with any precision, but considerable sums seem to have been involved. The cost of acquiring an adult apprentice’s services between 1835 and 1839 ranged from \$200 to \$250, a fact which suggests that the 9,000 apprentices, who reportedly purchased their freedom before emancipation, spent at least \$1,800,000 to do so. The ability of slaves to accumulate sizeable sums of money is attested to in other ways. Commenting on the demise of a short-lived government-backed Savings Bank in 1831, Protector of Slaves R.H. Thomas not only reported the names of a Government slave and a Government apprentice who had funds in the bank, but also acknowledged that slaves who had saved some money were financially astute enough to appreciate that the 12 percent interest they could

expect, when their masters held their funds, was far superior to the 5 percent offered by the Savings Bank.⁴⁴ The notarial records likewise confirm that individual ex-apprentices possessed, or had access to, significant financial resources. During the first two years of the petit morcellement (1839-40), 75 percent of those who purchased land paid the full purchase price at the time of the sale's formal completion, a figure that rose to 83 percent during 1841-42 and then to more than 90 percent during the remaining years of the petit morcellement.⁴⁵

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

For Rodrigues, a local facilitator/research assistant, familiar of local realities was responsible for identifying key informants and only one regional coordinator was responsible for compiling and collecting testimonies. The informants were mainly men and women aged 50 years old and above, Mauritians, Rodriguans, Agaleans and Chagossians who identify themselves as descendants of slaves. The sample was representative of the various occupational activities, both white collar and blue collar workers.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Whites are seen as being those who were responsible for the fate of slaves. They were cruel and arrogant. They are those who possess 70% of all lands in Mauritius; they have taken lands from Creoles. Médine Sugar Estate is cited as an example. Today Whites are still those who are the masters in hotels. Workers still suffer from them. Many respondents, specially the women, have worked "dan lakour blan". Those who have French or white ancestors acknowledge it.

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

According to Teelock (1998), in 1806, 1826 and 1832, the slave population in the Black River district amounted to 4,687; 5,397 and 4,429 respectively.⁶ In 1831, the number of slaves in Black River amounted to 4,642 slaves of which 2,926 were men and 1,716 were women. There were 264 French settlers and 588 'Free Blacks'. At the abolition of slavery, in 1835, most inhabitants (French and Coloured) were still living in the region and between 1835 and 1935; about four percent of the exapprentice population of Mauritius lived in Black River.⁷

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

This naming practice dates back to colonial times such as Arthur Townsend born in 1898, the son of Louis Malache, was declared under his mother's name Marie Elizabeth Townsend. This practice might stem from the fact that during slavery, maternity and the nurturing role of women were recognised whereas slave owners undermined paternity and hence only the mother's name was registered in the plantation records.⁵²

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

In keeping with Teelock (1998), these types of relationships seem to date back to slavery when women were convinced that the route to 'material improvement', social mobility, social recognition and a better standard of living was through a man and especially 'free men that could provide for their subsistence' which implies a man with a higher social status. These relationships were also a means for women to build sense of social image and social respect.

The economic dependence of women also was retraced to slave times when few opportunities of socio-economic mobility were available and women 'were for the most part dependent on the men when they wanted to provide additional comforts and necessities to their children and a path to social advancement.'⁵⁶

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, the rape and sexual objectification of slave women and the helplessness of the slave men who watched their wife, sister or daughter being abused are present in the collective memory.

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

The distribution of work duties on the sugar plantations during slavery as well further disrupted gender roles since, slave women were 'forced into male roles', they 'performed almost all the tasks performed by male slaves'⁵⁷ and were, in reality, subject to harsh corporal punishment.

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

Hence, in keeping with Bryne (1978), gender stereotypes that underpin gender discriminations and subsequently the cycle of gender discrimination against women are maintained and reinforced by parents in Cité La Mivoie that perpetuate identity of girls in domestic traditional terms and roles and in relation to men.

However, considering that slave women constituted the main source of unskilled and menial labour whereas slave men performed skilled work⁶⁰, the shift in job patterns with women nowadays being rather blue-collar workers and skilled workers indicate that women have been able to make use of the opportunities of post-slavery for economic advancement. (See Economic Survey Chapter)

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

Osteological studies of slavery have so far been largely confined to slaves of considerably earlier periods such as the Roman Empire and to the Caribbean and North America. Of these, it is likely that the plantation-based slavery of the Caribbean and North America will have more relevance to the present case than examples from the ancient world. Studies of New World slavery have identified a number of characteristics that are commonly associated with slave populations, but it must be acknowledged that there is considerable variability, meaning that a 'shopping list' approach to the osteology of slavery is to be avoided. Given this caveat, some features that might be relevant in the present case are evidence of nutritional deficiency, the development of skeletal features related to heavy manual labour and evidence of high levels of non-specific infections and skeletal trauma. The last three of these are, of course, dependent on the form which slavery takes. Household slaves would have been involved in different kinds of activities to agricultural slaves and this would have been reflected in the kinds of risks to which they were exposed and hence the kinds of conditions that are visible in the skeleton. A further characteristic of slavery in Mauritius was the over-representation of males. Kuczynsky (1949, cited in Benedict 1976) has calculated that male slaves outnumbered women by two to one until 1826, when the proportion of females began to increase (Benedict 1976: 140). The 1826 registration data records five female slaves and 27 males belonging to the Le Morne Brabant estate (Teelock et al n.d.). Interestingly, these were all adults. The demographic characteristics of the Le Morne sample may therefore also cast some light on this question.

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

merchants, settling in the Isle de France, cohabited with female slaves or Coloured women.

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

married freed slaves - such later on was the case of Benoît Ollier from the Lyon region, who arrived in 1789 and later married Julie, a freed slave born in Mauritius; they gave birth to Rémy Ollier, who was to become one of our greatest journalists, in 1816. 24 *Mésalliances* and de facto relationships were the direct result of an imbalance between settler men and women. Between 1717 and 1770, as noted by J.-M. André, a total of 1,718 contractual workers from France arrived; they were carpenters, bricklayers, masons, blacksmiths and other artisans. 25 Yet, those men generally came alone; families, as a rule, only arrived in Isle de France from French ports from 1743 onwards. There was, thus, a serious disequilibrium between genders at the peaks of La Bourdonnais' efforts to import a workforce (1743: 161; 1744: 128 workers).

Chan Low provides the following statistics: in 1778, there were 1,727 white women out of a total white population of 4,417; in 1809, white women numbered 2,671 out of a white population of 6,227 (27 November, 1994, p. 15). Rampant promiscuity and *mésalliances* led to the emergence of a mulatto and métis class. De l'Estrac also highlights the arrival from Pondicherry of free Indian contractual workers; others came from Karikal, at La Bourdonnais' instigation, as well as Indian slaves from the Coromandel Coast. 26 At the peak of Dupleix's glory in Pondicherry, there was a population of 70,000, of whom 2,000 were Europeans and 2,000 métis.

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

De l'Estrac, for his part, refers to the presence of many petits blancs who subsisted in poverty and married freed slaves; thus, in 1776, the Census showed that among a White resident population of 3,431, 1,738 were artisans (902 men and 337 women; 305 boys and 194 girls). Half of this White population was made up of what was commonly known as petits blancs who worked as carpenters, ship-builders, masons, stone-cutters, and others as servants on large estates. They married freed slaves, when they could not find White partners.

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

mixed marriages, there were born "those enfants de mille races" [multiracial children], who would later be called "Gens de Couleur". The gap between the so-called pure Whites and the petits blancs and coloured off-springs grew wider. 30 The material conditions in which lived the petits blancs and the shortage of white women in their group, as well as their lack of access to 'Whites', made them succumb easily to the charms of freed slaves or Coloured women.

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

l'Estrac calls a "brassage de toutes les races" which gave rise to the 'Gens de Couleur', "an expression which is also used to designate the totality of the 'Libres'." 39 That the white masters were particularly attracted to Indian slave women in the eighteenth century is known; often, the latter became concubines and wives of their masters, according to statistics provided in Musleem Jumeer's thesis.

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

66,000 Slaves 8,000 Whites 18,000 'Hommes de couleur' 54 The causes of this white antagonism was, partly, rivalry between the two groups of women, Various actions by the 'Coloured Population' to

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

Franco-Mauritians were not a homogeneous group. Their distance from the metropole of France, isolation on the islands, the youth of those sent to the island as well as the unequal nature of the society produced an internally differentiated group in which there were continuous efforts to maintain or achieve privilege. Although there appear to be no detailed studies of the gender profile of the early settlers, studies done in Brazil, another place in which slavery thrived, shows that the high ratio of settler men to women resulted in a more brutal system of slavery in that country and also how life chances are linked to skin colour in that society (Lovell & Wood 1998).

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. Trans.:...How got Mulattos? The white 'masters' abused women slave African descendants or Indians and then they mixed. But now they cannot abuse, they get married, it is how this Mulatto population was born. If each one respected its type, there would be only 2 or 3 types, there would have been no Mulattos...)

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

disqualification process. The mother's role was destroyed because, during slavery, a mother could not properly nurture and protect her children from the slave master. Now, slave descendants' women continue to have children at a young age, not knowing how to take care of them, hence perpetuating the cycle of the missing father and the lone mother. The

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

(occasionally) and a cup of 'arrack'. On some estates, slaves could take as much cane juice as they liked. Women who were nursing were fed from 'the master's table' for 2-3 months.

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

Women and children Males outnumbered females and only a small proportion of adult slaves lived in family

groups, while the majority was single-parent, overwhelmingly female headed. Slave women faced immense difficulties to be able to care for, or even feed, their young children. Slave women often complained of ill-treatment, sexual exploitation, were obliged to work unduly hours despite having young children to care. And the insecurity of women necessarily increased the vulnerability of children and the impermanence of family life. If babies suffered from inadequate maternal care, they did not remain babies for long. As children, they soon faced directly the mistreatment (e.g. they were put in chains, flogged) which had made maternal care so difficult. Clearly, the nature of

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

Slave women had to carry out their domestic tasks in addition to their agricultural work.

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

during the crop season and affected both men and women. It led to various social ills including fighting among slaves, general disorderliness, theft, lateness at work, insubordination, accidents and, even sometimes, suicides. There were also many unlicensed liquor shops in the districts (Teelock 1998).

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

increasing mobilisation of land for sugar cane plantation. Apart from the poor diet of adult slaves, slave women faced immense difficulties to care for, or properly feed, their young children leading to child malnutrition and high mortality.

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves comprised of 27 men, 18 boys and 20 women. Almost immediately, 15 men and 4 boys became maroons. Why? The story of the dark ages of slaves in Mauritius unfolds in all its dimensions.

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

In addition the Company also owned slaves who worked in various capacities. When the King took over the island in 1765, the slaves belonging to the Company were ceded to the King. There were in 1769: 162 Malagasies, 436 Guineans, 345 Creoles, 254 Mozambicans, 25 Indians, 2 Creoles from Bourbon, 1 from Pondichéry and 3 from Macao for a total of 1,228 slaves. They were divided into 662 men, 139 boys, 21 young male children, 271 women, 126 girls and 9 nine female infants.²⁴

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

bbbb. The slaves engaged in agriculture and the women among them married, or cohabited with French men, due to the shortage of French women. Indian prisoners were also left there. Distinctions between French on the one hand, and Malagasy and Indian on the other, appeared some years later in 1674, when an Ordinance of Jacob de la Haye Article 20 ordered that there would be no marriages between French and *négresses* or between *noirs* and white women. The term 'slave' also appears for the first time in Bourbon.²⁵

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

The revolts of slaves on board have been studied to some extent by several authors: Peerthum, Allen, Filliot. Both revolt and escape occurred on board and appeared to have been expected, when the ship was being outfitted for voyage i.e., extra strong fences, more guards etc were provided. For ships bound for Mauritian ships, a number have been documented in earlier studies: Allen's database of voyages lists only 23 voyages with revolts. Vernet's transcription of the journal of the *Espérance* also shows escapes occurred among women as well.

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

papers relating to onward of primes for each slave, detailed accounts were kept, and the owner of the slaves was mentioned. In this case, Bonhomme and Frappier and Co. bought 441 slaves from Kilwa. Years later, the slave

registration returns reveal that in 1826, Bonhomme is listed as having 186 slaves. Some of them bear 'marques d'inoculation': this is consistent with the period when they were brought since an epidemic had broken out, and slaves were vaccinated. By 1826 however, there were not only slaves born overseas but a large proportion of locally born slaves, with 90 Creole slaves, 76 slaves from Mozambique or from East Africa. Only 6 slaves were Malagasy, confirming that his cargo was purchased from Kilwa. 57 were women and were to be found mainly in the Creole group.

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

Thus 'Mozambican' slaves became trusted as were West African slaves; they were considered trustworthy enough to be recruited for the defence of the island. Women slaves from Mozambique were also appreciated for their reproductive capacity. Statements made at the time smack of breeding attempts: "Nombre trop modique de négresses Mozambique ou Bengalie [...] chaque vaisseau en apporte 12 ou 15 [...] elles peuplent plus et sont moins debauchées".¹⁶³

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

Some women even led the slave Truth and Justice Commission ⁶⁸

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

Fields would include the several stops made by the ship by numbering the stops e.g., stop1: no. of slaves, no. of men, no. of women, no. of boys, no. of girls/stop no. 2 would include similar details thus, stop2, totalslave2, men2, women2, boys2, girls2. The date of return (Port return), date of return (Date return), no. of Men, Women, Girls, Boys.

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

Likewise, Huguette Ly-Tio-Fane-Pineo, during her investigations, has found the existence of two Chinese by the name of Gratia and Pauline who were brought from Canton and enfranchised by their owner, Louis Vigoureux, in 1745 at the end of his life. The latter gave Gratia the sum of 500 piastres and 2 slaves and to the child that Pauline was carrying a yearly pension until adulthood.¹⁶² Later, "the census of 1776, lists a Gratia Vigoureux as residing in Port-Louis at the "Rempart". She is described as 40 years' old, a seamstress and the owner of 3 slaves." Like Gratia and Pauline, "one male Chinese slave was enfranchised. Hyacinth Ambroise described in the 1780 census as a 26 year old Chinese from Macao was the freed slave of Jean Michel Dumont." He married Marie Jeanne, a Creole of 15 years in Flacq on 2 Fructidor of Year III of the Revolution, at the age of 40.¹⁶³ On Reunion Island (Bourbon), one also knows of the presence of Chinese slaves. The existence of two baptized Chinese women was noted; Denise married in 1760 and Marie Josephe, wife of Francois Ranga in 1765.¹⁶⁴ The manumission of Chinese slaves obviously created a free Chinese community in the Isle de France.¹⁶⁵ However, and somehow, the free Chinese community which existed during the French period "had disappeared, through death and through absorption of descendants into the Creole population."¹⁶⁶

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

The slave population grew steadily in size during the 18th century, from 2,533 in 1746, to 15,027 in 1767, to 33,832 in 1787, to 60,646 in 1806, to reach 63,821 by 1810, prior to the British conquest.¹² Their occupations consisted of agricultural labourers, household servants, fishermen, artisans, dock workers and sailors. The enslaved people faced a harsh regime. So much so, that the engineer Charpentier-Cossigny in 1753 wrote that "the company was hiring slaves, then starving them to death".¹³ Just like Labourdonnais before him, Charpentier-Cossigny provided some form of apprenticeship to slave labour. According to him, "for every skilled slave in an 'atelier', there were another ten or so manual labourers performing the essential backbreaking tasks of breaking and carrying stones, digging trenches, loading and unloading ships, building roads". This 'vast army' of Government slaves included many women.¹⁴

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

constituted the bulk of the population. In 1826, there were 42,621 male and 26,455 women slaves. By 1835, when slavery was abolished, the slave population was estimated to be at 66,613.

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

As regards to the period of probation and instruction undergone by Indian catechumens, it would vary. In any case, the request to convert to Christianity came in the wake of an irresistible process of depersonalization. Usually, the Hindu slaves, many of them Gentoos from Bengal (unconquered as yet by the English), were first rigged out by their masters with a French name or nickname that ripped off their external Hindu personality. Next, they were per force subdued to an un-Indian way of life, fed on the slave diet (manioc and so on), clad with the coarse blue denim, holding on to the Creole patois for communication and survival, and prevented by the local environment from professing their ancestral faith. Stripped, to that extent, of their cultural identity, the Indians would look towards Catholicism, the official and exclusive religion. The young male adults would turn all the more easily to Christianity as through scarcity of Indian women, they were left with no alternative but to marry female slaves of other ethnic groups. The Indian children, in all events, were christened in infancy, like all slave-born children, and as is the traditional practice in Catholic families. Musleem Jumeer goes so far as to state that:

Reference 68 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Indigenous catechists: lay men and women, many of them married couples, many of them former slaves and virtually illiterate, but thoroughly well-catechized;

Reference 69 - 0.01% Coverage

In front of the immensity of the task, and not being able to be everywhere, Fr. Laval chose lay men and women, many of them married couples, many of them former slaves and virtually illiterate; his colleagues and he himself directed and supported the apostolate of these lay collaborators who proved to be devoted and competent.⁴² However, whether the catechists had an understanding of what they had to preach, and the fact that they would endeavour to spread the same message to the catechumens, is not certain.

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

The laws governing slaves conferred upon the masters wide powers to punish men and women alike for the slightest offence. A special enactment was provided for the punishment of runaway slaves. This took the form of mutilation and even entailed the execution of the slave after a third offence. Of course, no appeal for any unjustified action of the master was accented.

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

The slaves from Africa were more strongly-built and more amenable to work than the Malgaches, who often escaped, although they were more intelligent. At sunrise, these slaves were awakened and sent to work till sunset. Their nourishment consisted of boiled maize or manioc. It was the custom to give each slave a shirt on New Year's Day. There are no details about the punishment of slaves. Some said that it was rather cruel. If a woman had to be punished, the husband was ordered to inflict it. To contract marriage, the slave had to obtain the permission of his master, who rarely refused it. They seemed to have preferred the idea of marrying women a good deal older than themselves

Reference 72 - 0.01% Coverage

During British colonisation, even if slavery was proclaimed illegal since 1807 in all British colonies, more slaves were introduced to Mauritius. Berthelot (2002, pp.14-17) recorded that on the 20th August 1809 there were 41 slaves of whom seven belonged to Le Gros and more than 20 to Marragon. The Indians were repatriated to Bombay. In 1826, there were 20 Europeans, 3 Freed and 100 Slaves (49 men and 28 women) on the island. These figures indicate an increase of 59% slaves in 17 years, as a result of births and the introduction of new slaves. In 1838, at the abolition of slavery, the number of apprentices and the total population amounted to 127 and 300 respectively.⁹

Reference 73 - 0.01% Coverage

In Rodrigues, when the slaves were set free on 4th June 1839, the men were offered a monthly wage of 3 piastres, and the women 2 piastres, as much free food as they could consume according to custom already established, i.e. 1½ pounds of salted fish per week, two coujarons of spirits as before, and the liberty of cultivating their small gardens. They unanimously accepted these conditions (North-Coombes 1971).

Reference 74 - 0.01% Coverage

3.2 As soon as Mr. Leduc, the Administrator/Manager (Régisseur), received the “Bill”, he gathered the whole population and communicated the historical event to each and every one. From then on, there were no slaves and no one belonged to a master. He explained to the working population their rights and duties, stipulated by the Bill, as free men and women. No whip would be used but discipline would be maintained. Same punishment (except the whip), would be maintained for those who were found guilty of severe breach of the Law. The case and punishment would be registered in a book and presented to the visiting Magistrate for control.

3.3 The liberated slaves were told that they were not forced to work for the establishment. As against other parts of the world, Agalega has no other source of earning money; so no work, no pay. Before becoming fully-fledged workers, as carpenters, blacksmiths..., they were considered as apprentices. All workers, men and women, would have to enter into a contract with the establishment and would be allowed to return to Mauritius at the end of their contract, if they so wished. However, these men and women knew little of working conditions elsewhere, apart from Agalega, which they considered as their homeland by adoption, their children being born on these islands. The land remained the property of the establishment.

Discrimination

References or discussions of discrimination and racism

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 23 references coded [0.12% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

These friendships are, however, mostly still masculine, as it is men who tend to occupy the public spheres in Mauritius. With regard to the complex issue of gender, racial myths and stereotypes have permeated gendered categories. For Franco-Mauritian women, there is pressure to maintain a high level of propriety and morality. They participate in a range of charity work, not only because they are fully aware of poverty in Mauritius, but also because this validates their position in the social hierarchy as pure, moral beings. In this sense, they are juxtaposed to the Creole or black women, who are deemed to occupy the lowest rung of the society, being stereotyped as drug dealers and sex workers. Assumptions about the nature of Indian descendants are legion. For instance, women of Hindu origin were being employed, and Creole women were not being employed, at one factory because the idea was that there was inevitable ethnic solidarity among Hindu women. This view

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Believing that caste belongingness refers to a hierarchy based on natural criteria seems to be losing ground in contemporary Mauritius. The local, more universal, versions of such conceptions appeared when people stated that the only caste is that of 'God', or that there are only two castes, men and women. As a consequence, the most overt and/or violent forms of discrimination, whether physical (low-caste individuals being slapped for entering a temple) or psychological (in-laws refusing food from lower-caste daughter-in-laws) are cited, but only as examples from the past. However, it is to be noted that temples still bar members of certain castes from entering. This must be condemned. However, castes are still, in Mauritian popular beliefs, associated with a certain type of character, which can be described as discriminatory and derogatory. Thus, the stereotype of Chamar is that of an alcoholic and quarrelsome person. When an inter-caste marriage is broken up, one often uses such classifications as a cause. When one criticizes a quarrelsome

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

unmarried women who often face difficulties in obtaining an adequate income. The causes of the women's income poverty were attributed to a lack of employment opportunities for women in Rodrigues, large families, lack of education and problems in accessing land. In addition, single female heads of households are often marginalised in terms of not being involved in the extensive network of associations and movements that exist in Rodrigues.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Sexual activity among teenagers in Rodrigues is reported to start as early as the age of 12 – 13 for some girls, and 14 – 15 for some boys. Since pre-marital sexual activity is severely condemned by parents and the society at large, it occurs surreptitiously. A notion of sexuality as a taboo subject prevails and the topic is rarely one that parents discuss with their children. The school system also appears to provide insufficient information on reproductive processes, and there is as a result a lack of, or confused, knowledge about procreation among teenagers (Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development, 2001).

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

The Situation Analysis of Children and Women (1998) and a report on the present socioeconomic status and support services in Rodrigues (Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development, 2001) point out that, with a few exceptions, there are not many support services and facilities available for disabled persons in Rodrigues. Nationwide, disability is a main area of vulnerability which has not received adequate attention. While developments have taken place in the area in recent years, there is much that remains to be done in terms of support facilities for disabled persons and mechanisms to enhance their employability.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

□ This system and policy of affirmative action must take into account women of slave and indentured descent. While it is acknowledged that it is presently difficult to define who is slave/indentured labour descendant, policy-makers (and Government) should ensure that positive discrimination occurs.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

227. Discriminatory wage rates against women and generally occupational segregation should be done away with.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

R14 Creoles are despised because they voted against Independence but this must be analysed in context. The Labour Party was founded by slave descendants. My father was member of the Labour Party. Because of the struggle of port workers, social and work laws have progressed. In Free Zone and tourism, black women were called “p” because they dared to work in these sectors.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...I will not hide, mostly Marathis. In the socio-cultural organisations they want Marathis only, they do not want neither Hindis nor Catholics. I also happened to me, I am the president of the Women Association that is opened to all women irrespective of their race [and] caste. You understand...majority were the Marathis, minority there were some Creoles, they told me to take the Creole women out of the association. I did not agree, I said no...hence, since I disagreed they took me out of the association. Hence, I organised [meetings] at my place. Because I organise them midday they expelled me from over there, they told me, if I want to stay I need to take out all the Creoles. But you understand I did not want to do that...)

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite the Annual Reports of the Labour Department and Ministry of Labour prior to 1973, analysed by Couacaud, indicating that women should be paid equal wages for doing equal work, differential wages between men and women persisted. This discriminatory practice was corroborated by testimonies which revealed that women and children were paid less than men and even half less.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

construction that was introduced by the feminists who were exposed to European values (many went to study in Europe and came back to Mauritians). Even if gender struggle is inherent in the history of society, in Mauritius gender issues, and especially women/girls issues took on a greater visibility in the 21st century.

Reference 13 - 0.02% Coverage

Owing to some problems which she was facing on Bonne Veine Sugar Estate, Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah went to work at Trianon where she worked as a sirdarine, an uncommon occurrence in the Mauritian sugar industry. She did this work for four years (1955-1958) and was required to supervise the work of both women and children. She said that she always treated the labourers under her supervision well. Working as a sirdarine gave her experience in

measuring the workload labourers had to perform, and it was also during this time that she first started to become involved with the trade union movement. After Trianon Sugar Estate was sold to Mr. Hardy, the latter renamed the latter Sugar Estate as Highlands Sugar Estate and appointed a new manager: Mr. Coombes. On noticing her intelligence the new manager gave her a job in the office and provided her with accommodation in the camp of Bagatelle given that since Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah joined Trianon Sugar Estate, she had to rent a house. As part of her responsibilities, she used to arrange the shop, check books and rams bann let ki vini. She worked on Highlands Sugar Estate for 14 years. She used to go to work at 5 a.m. and return home at 4 p.m. She said that it was difficult for her to perform such a hard work for such long hours given that she had to take care of her small children and husband. By 11 a.m./12 p.m. she no longer felt like working. Despite these difficulties, she was still able to seize the opportunity of being a camp resident to cultivate some vegetables and sell them at the market of Rose-Hill to generate an additional income.

While she was working on Highlands Sugar Estate, that is, in 1968, Plantation Workers Union sent her a letter asking her to become a member of trade unions. Despite resistance from her husband because of fears concerning problems it would create with her employers, she accepted. Her main motivation behind joining Plantation Workers Union was the various injustices that women were subject to on the Sugar Estate. She said that she learnt about some of these injustices during her childhood itself by overhearing the conversations of her parents. But by working on different Sugar Estates she could witness all of them and she herself suffered from some of these discriminations. It was very painful for her. She revealed that sirdars used to beat women with sticks. She mentioned a case whereby a female worker of Bonne Veine Sugar Estate was beaten by a sirdar. The woman was hurt and Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah had to accompany her to hospital. Men and women were assigned their load of work on an unequal basis. For example if men were assigned 125 “golet”, women received 115 “golet”. In their wage rate too there was disparity, that is, if a woman was paid 5 cent per “golet”, a man earned 15 cents per “golet”. When a woman work more than her work load she was not paid for that surplus work. Instead, the entrepreneur used to give the extra money that the women should have earned to other people with whom he was well acquainted. Women were not given proper treatment and proper medicine at the hospital. When they got hurt only a small medicine was applied to their wounds and they were asked to go to work on the next day. Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah had witnessed male nurses sexually harassing female patients. Women were also exploited sexually by Sugar Estate workers, namely the administrator and sirdars. But women could not protest against all these injustices.

Hardy was an Anglo-Ceylon. Whatever happened on his Sugar Estate had to remain within the Sugar Estate and only “bann sef” could solve the problem. But on noticing Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah’s way of talking and acting the white people understood that they could not ask her to leave trade unions. So the kolom told her that when she wanted to go to trade unions he would allow her to go because women were being mistreated too much. As a member of trade union she attended many seminars. She used to meet with representatives of different places in Port Louis to discuss.

In 1970, Sir Sewoosagur Ramgoolam introduced the system of card whereby her job on the Sugar Estate was secure. All male labourers were assigned the same workload, she as all the other women

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

During the Prime Ministership of Jugnauth she and the other members of the Plantation Workers Union organised a press conference on Louis Lechelle Street at Port Louis. During the conference she raised the issue of the inequality in the wage rate of men and women.

On 19 August 1984 she talked on trade unions and on 4 September they talked about that on television. After her speech: Mrs. Bappoo sent her a letter on 7 Jan 1985 for an interview following which she appointed Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah as a member of the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund to represent female labourers. She was determined more than ever since now she had someone to back her in her endeavour. After less than 2-3 months she brought a team of “inspector travail” on Bonne Veine Sugar Estate. Misie Jacques Carey was furious. She used to note down all the injustices inflicted to women and submit the paper to Mrs. Dubois when she went to committees. Mrs. Dubois raised these issues in

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah also expressed her views on the condition of women nowadays. She said that although the situation of women has improved, they are still discriminated against in the workplace and are exposed to sexual exploitation. For instance, she reiterated the fact that in the Mauritian sugar industry, men still earn a higher wage than women.

Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah also discussed what she believes women in Mauritius must do to further improve their conditions. She said women have to stand on their own feet and must fight for their rights. She also advised them to seek advice from their predecessors, be sincere as far as their married life is concerned, to be honest in their life, and to always be courageous.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritius in 1928 appeared to pave the way for a more racially-integrated society. However, and despite this important change, racism remained institutionalised or at least a very salient feature in Mauritius. Politicians remained largely male, white and wealthy. Businesses in the 1930s remained mostly white-owned and male-run. It was only in 1947 that the vote was extended to the literate in Mauritius and this saw the gradual transformation of a racially-oriented political system. But even so, the underlying discourse then was that only literate people could understand the meaning of equality and of democracy. Women were largely excluded from this newly-enfranchised population and the many illiterate slave descendants and descendants of indentured labourers were excluded.

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

It was our intention to fully investigate the cross-cutting implications of gender relations and racism. Our research encompassed both women and men. However, given the scale of this project and the fact that we did not have sufficiently qualified personnel to initiate the research on gender, we were not able to obtain significant observations or interviews on the subject. However, we have noted the following issues, especially as they pertain to young Creole or slave descendant women. First, black skinned women in Mauritius experience the worst of racism. They are often the ones to be harassed and harangued. They receive the poorest levels of service. They are most discriminated against in public and government spaces. They experience racism from family members and in their marriage (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 so as to appear more white. Extracting and summarising from the interim monthly reports of our replacement researchers (Ms. Teelwah and Ms. Chacoory), it was found that at hair salons in Mauritius, black skinned Creoles are likely to receive very poor treatment and inferior

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

Ethnic solidarity also perpetuates racist practice. This was also found among women of Indian descent. It was found in one textile factory that the majority of employees were Hindus because the Manager believed that this was good for cohesion and productivity in the factory.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

With regard to the complex issue of gender, we found that racial myths and stereotypes permeated gendered categories. For Franco-Mauritian women, there was pressure to maintain a high level of propriety and morality, almost as if they were women still living in the Victorian times! They participated in a range of charity work, not only because they are fully aware of poverty in Mauritius, but also because this validated their position in the social hierarchy as pure, moral beings. In this sense, they are juxtaposed to the Creole or black women, who are deemed to be on the lowest rung of the society, stereotyped as drug dealers and sex workers. Assumptions about the nature of Indian descendants are legion. For instance, as we noted, women of Hindu origins were being employed and Creole women were not being employed at one factory because the idea is that there is inevitable ethnic solidarity among Hindu women. This view does not take into consideration the fact that these women might choose to differentiate between themselves on the basis of age, class, caste, interest or home location.

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

The researchers on this project also found that there are organisational decisions which may foster the development of racist events. We noted this example earlier in our discussion on gender and race (in Section 3 of this report) but it is worth re-analysing here. In one 'mostly women only' textile factory, the Manageress said that although she did not want to employ only members of a particular ethnic group (Hindu), she felt that this was the best policy because it promoted 'plus de coh rence' (more integration). If she did not, there would be more infighting. She also said that

she noted that when it came to the ‘protection’ and advancement of one’s own group, some of the women were willing to tell ‘little lies’ to protect members of their ethnic group from sanction by the boss. The same women would not do this for members of other ethnic groups or people whom they perceived to be racially different from them.

The same Manageress also relayed a story regarding reverse racism which she witnessed at BelleMare beach on the East coast of the Island. She suggested that even victims are capable of initiating racist events. She explained that she was taking a group of colleagues and visitors to the beach and she came upon a group of young Creole men offloading beer crates from a truck. Amongst them was a Franco-Mauritian youth also assisting with the offloading of the crates. It appeared to the Manageress that the sight of white man doing hard labour was so unusual that one of the Creole men said: “Hey, we have just commemorated the 1st February (abolition of slavery), now we have a white guy working for us, lifting things. Hey, are you gonna flog us?” The haranguing of the Franco-Mauritian and reminiscence of the role of ‘his ancestors’ as slave owners, carried on for a quite a while and the Manageress was astonished at the intensity of the abuse. However, as she was with tourists and people who did not understand Kreol however, she did not feel that it was her place to intervene and left the young men to their own devices. It is our view, however, that even if the Manageress had been on her own, it would have been near impossible (and unadvisable) for her intervene, as she is of a different ethnic and racial group to the men and she is woman. As we discuss further on, race and gender converge to produce a particularly volatile mix in Mauritius where women of colour (in particular) experience higher levels of discrimination.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

During their narration, my respondents, about a hundred men and women, told us about events that have marked their lives or their parents’ lives. They also told us about the numerous prejudices and intolerances that shattered so many lives in a discriminating manner until the first half of the Twentieth Century.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

5. Gender Policies: Women and the unemployed are being targeted as reservoirs of cheap labour. Discriminatory wage rates against women and generally occupational segregation should be done away with. Economic structuring, as it has occurred in the Sugar Industry and in the EPZ, is characterized by redundancy, low incomes/wages and high levels of insecurity. Whilst both men and women do suffer from this state of affairs, women workers are much more likely to be the victims.

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

8.6.1 The protection of women’s rights

The Colony of Mauritius made history when it extended voting rights to women in 1948, at that time when such rights were not even in force in many Western democracies. Over the years, women were empowered; as legal persons, they can act independently of their spouses in matter concerning business, property acquisition, child custody, following Ordinance 50 of 1949 which provides for separate regime of goods and property. Men and women enjoy the same rights under the Constitution and the Law; and the Ministry of Gender Equality, Child Development and Family Welfare promote the rights of women. We can also appreciate the efforts made to change patriarchal attitudes and stereotypes regarding the roles and responsibilities of women and men both in the family unit and in society; and to empower women and promote gender equality and equity.

Nevertheless, these efforts need to be intensified through comprehensive awareness raising and educational campaigns, as sexist advertising, gender job classifications, gender prejudices are still very much present. Women continue to play subordinate roles in society and societal discrimination continues.

Domestic and Sexual Violence

References or discussions of domestic and sexual violence

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 9 references coded [0.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

women who mostly cared about the future of the children. They were the ones who would really bother sending the children to school to acquire education, at times without the support of the husbands. Women used to cumulate jobs (maids, field-workers, cleaners, cane-cutters, etc.) and very often had to face domestic violence.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

education, at times without the support of the husband. Women used to cumulate jobs (maids, field-workers, cleaners, cane-cutters, etc.) and very often had to face domestic violence.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

The testimonies revealed that some women do not even know the name of the father of their child and thus do not receive any alimony for their children. These women sometimes are unemployed and live in abusive relationships with domestic violence being widespread in the Cité.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

restraining them to leave abusive relationships entrap these women in the vicious cycle of domestic violence. The main barriers are: (i) lack of financial means and affordable housing facilities, (ii) fear of loneliness and violent reprisal, (iii) limited access to resources, training and education for women; (iv) children and (v) fear of social stigma.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

We tend to forget that ‘black female’ identity was shattered under slavery. Slave women were treated as sexual objects that imply that they were denied sexual integrity and they were the property of their slave master. They had no control over their sexuality and bodies.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, the rape and sexual objectification of slave women and the helplessness of the slave men who watched their wife, sister or daughter being abused are present in the collective memory.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Women endured domestic violence in silence as they were trapped in the cycle of violence and were not empowered to leave abusive relationships for various reasons. such as religious, economic and cultural oppression. One female respondent testified that she was abused by her husband who was an alcoholic. She left him twice but returned eventually. The first time she abandoned the matrimonial roof, she went to live at her mother’s with her baby daughter. He asked her to return home and she did so. She gave birth to two daughters, and when she was pregnant of her son, he was once more abusive with her. She let home again and went to live at her sister’s. When she gave birth to her son, he again asked her to return.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

The Ministry of Women Rights: Child Development and Family Welfare have a total of eight Psychologists thus including professionals in the field of Psychology; they are posted in seven centres named Family Support Bureaus.

These centres are 24-hour facilities. Their huge clientele is victims of sexual assault and domestic violence; they deal with children and families. As part of their duties the counselling staff (thus Psychologists, Social Workers) in these centres provides services to shelters as well. They are said to work long hours since they work on calls too and have a high work load¹.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

labourers and even the murders of wives or men involved in the relationships.⁸⁰ Murders of wives by the husbands occurred mostly because of distrust, jealousy or betrayal by the women partners which was considered 'rampant' in Mauritius, although it was often termed an 'epidemic' in the colonial lexicon. As late as in 1880s, among the Indian population, 21 wives were murdered by the husbands.⁸¹ Indenture in this respect undermined the institution of marriage.

The Royal Commission noted that the custom of polyandry was an accepted custom in Mauritius and often a group of immigrant men would keep one woman in their housing unit who would cook their food and satisfy them physically. The most disturbing effect of this custom, according to the Royal Commission, was that it led to much quarrelling among the immigrants, and sometimes even murders. This prejudiced view of Colonial Authorities, based on Victorian notions of social order and moral standards, has been shared by the majority of scholars of indentured Diasporas of the old type who study indentured emigration in terms of the continuation of slavery. These scholars argue that 'the disproportion between men and women was the main factor in shaping the life of the coolie lines'⁸² and 'Indian social life in Mauritius presented a disquieting spectacle.'⁸³

Since the relative scarcity of women was related to disorder on the plantations, for the purpose of maintaining order on the plantations and encourage a structured/stable settlement in some kind of family pattern, the Colonial Authorities adopted a double-pronged strategy: first, they tried to increase the numbers of immigrant women by legally fixed quotas and second, they put a close guard and legislative regulation over the marriages among the immigrant indentured community.

Drugs and Alcohol

References or discussions of alcohol and drug use

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 8 references coded [0.04% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Alcoholism is one of the main social problems in the Cité and is one of the causes of collateral socio-economic problems and disturbances such as noise pollution, insecurity, poverty and unemployment. Feminisation of alcoholism was also noted. For some people, daily excessive alcohol consumption is 'normal' and not a social problem. For them, alcoholism is a trivial issue. In the past shops were meeting places where men gathered in the evening after working hours. Shops are still socialising places but now both men and women as from a young age meet at the shop and drink with friends the whole daylong.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Every day during fieldwork, we saw people on the roadside drinking and playing cards and dominos and in the evening's music playing loudly. One day during daytime, we even saw two women that were drunk and screaming on the road. The situation has worsened with children starting to drink from age of 13 and people being drunk early in the morning. With the exception of the nearby sea and the churchyard used as leisure grounds, lack of leisure and recreational activities and

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

- Chrysalide situated in Bambous, on the main road close to the stadium in a well-secured building. It caters for women substance abusers who are addicted to a range of drugs from alcohol to other drugs such as heroine. It is a residential centre providing treatment and rehabilitation. Although it initially catered for women from diverse groups, ages and socioeconomic backgrounds, it has extended its services to include transvestite men. According to its Director, their clients are mostly Creoles, then Muslims and Indians.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

the centre, the clients attend pre-admission educational programme with his or her family. Most of the clients are said to come from poor socio-economic background. • Centre D' Accueil de Terre Rouge located in Terre Rouge. The premises are secure and accessible. It is close to the main road. It is a male residential centre which offers a 9-week programme. Most of the staff is ex-drug addicts who have been free from drugs for many years. The centre does not provide Codeine/Methadone substitution therapy as do the above two. The Director, in an interview, reported that the problem of substance addiction has no skin colour and no money, implying that the centre has served people who are doctors, accountants and well as relatives of politicians. • Etoile D'Espérance in Moka, caters only for women alcoholics. The centre is housed in a well-maintained house, which provides a therapeutic environment with its garden and trees that complement each other to provide a private home and homely environment. According to the Director, the centre has served mostly Hindus and Creoles ... "we have had Muslim, no Chinese. We have had Whites and foreigners". • Mahatma Gandhi Ayurveda Centre found in Calebasses is an outpatient centre and has four branches in Paillote, Goodlands and Rose-Belle Sugar Estate. It offers counselling for smoking, alcohol and drug abuse. According to the Director, services are offered by Physicians who provide consultation and dispensation of Ayurvedic Medicine- natural medicine and Massage therapist. • Kinouete situated in Port Louis, and works mostly with detainees, while they are in prison and follows them up until discharge. Both Kinouete and Mahatma Gandhi Ayurveda do not house residential clients. Of all centers visited, Kinoune has most counsellors (Social Workers and Psychologists/Psychotherapists and volunteers). They work a lot with the prison-system and have recently been stopped by the Government.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

In an interview⁴⁹ conducted by the Clinical Psychologist on this research team, her interviewee said that there were many women approaching the drug rehabilitation NGO (Natresa). Many of these were very poor women who had turned to dealing in drugs as a way to survive and also as part of their work as sex workers. Since sex work is illegal in Mauritius (and therefore unregulated), these women were often at the mercy of unscrupulous 'pimps' (controllers) and also clients who abused them. A large number of the women coming to the centre and also those found in the jails were Creoles – a good number of which (exactly what number was not established), are from Rodrigues Island. The argument is that these women easily fall prey to the promises of the drug dealers on the island because they are desperate for a better life and feel that they can dramatically improve their circumstances, if they participate in the trade. It is also our view that because these women occupy the lowest rung of the socioeconomic hierarchy, it is easier for them to be drawn into sex work and drug dealing. This is because they have fewer options open to them, especially as they seek to achieve their goals:

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

ML: The creoles from Mauritius, it is because they are in prostitution or the partner was a dealer. Because here in Mauritius the partner, the dealer and the pimp is the same person. And it's why most of the women here are still in drug. The men, they put the women in drugs because afterwards the women can go into prostitution to bring money for the drug.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

With regard to the complex issue of gender, we found that racial myths and stereotypes permeated gendered categories. For Franco-Mauritian women, there was pressure to maintain a high level of propriety and morality, almost as if they were women still living in the Victorian times! They participated in a range of charity work, not only because they are fully aware of poverty in Mauritius, but also because this validated their position in the social hierarchy as pure, moral beings. In this sense, they are juxtaposed to the Creole or black women, who are deemed to be on the lowest rung of the society, stereotyped as drug dealers and sex workers. Assumptions about the nature of Indian descendants are legion. For instance, as we noted, women of Hindu origins were being employed and Creole women were not being employed at one factory because the idea is that there is inevitable ethnic solidarity among Hindu women. This view does not take into consideration the fact that these women might choose to differentiate between themselves on the basis of age, class, caste, interest or home location.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

The prevalence of abusive alcohol intake in males was 19.1% in 1992; this level dropped to 9.8% in 1999 and since then it has shown a dramatic increase to attain 40.9% in 2004. Among women, although the levels are relatively much lower, there has been a significant increase during the period 1999 to 2004 to reach 5% in 2004 from 0% in 1999. Abusive alcohol intake remains a major health problem despite health education and a number of measures (legislative, fiscal and others) taken to discourage people from drinking excessively.

Economy and Labour

References or discussions of the economy or labour

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 113 references coded [0.46% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

While the above may be seen as an analysis of society from a political economy perspective, this is not to say that the human, individual agency or perspective is being ignored. 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.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

From a sample survey conducted early in 2011 among 283 labourers who participated in the VRS II scheme, 70.3% of the labourers are working, with 78.3% among the women and 68.2% among the men. It is to be noted that the number of men and women labourers in the sample is respectively 183 and 60 given a ratio of 3:1 as per the population of labourers having opted for VRS II. Further, among those working and the 150 men and 45 women who responded to the required question, 74% of the men and 84.4% of the women are on contract with the sugar estates or with the job contractors of sugar estates, thus going back to a system that existed under indenture.

References 3-4 - 0.01% Coverage

The prevailing income among the respondents is very low indeed. About 62% of them earn between Rs 1,000 to Rs 6000; and women labourers are worse off with 68% of them being in that income bracket.

A 're-skilling programme' had also been planned for the labourers. From the sample, 72% of men and 82% of women either had not benefitted from any training whatsoever or did not attend the training session. Among those who did attend, only 17% found it beneficial. It is obvious that the training provided did not satisfy the objective of re-skilling as defined in MAAS.

It was also noted that among the retired labourers, the women face a particularly difficult situation. The reduced pension, referred to earlier on, impacts more severely on them for three reasons. Firstly, their basic salary is lower than that of men on account of wage packages and remuneration orders prevailing in the Sugar Industry. Secondly, they retire at a younger age than the men, at 45 or 50 years and the actuarial factors used to compute retirement pension are lower. Thirdly, they may be widows or are the only bread earner in cases where the husband is unable to work.

To provide support to women affected by the VRS, an amount of Rs. 800 million was included in the Action Plan 2006-2015 for adaptation and empowerment. These funds were destined for the safety nets, possibly in a revamped Social Aid Programme. However, this specific project has not been implemented.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1970, the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) was established in Mauritius and the Export Processing Zone Act was passed. The Act provided major incentives to manufacturers catering for foreign markets. Moreover, firms within the EPZs equally benefited from the availability of cheap labour which came from unemployed workers and women who were outside the labour force at that time.³¹¹ In his paper, Ali Zafar elaborated as follows

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

"According to interviews with textile executives located in the EPZ, 80 per cent of workers in the EPZs in the 1980s were women. The rate has decreased somewhat in the 1990's and 2000's, but women continue to be more than 60

per cent of the workers in the zones. The lower wages that were paid to the workers in the EPZs in the early years allowed the firms to accumulate capital and reinvest the earnings into the firm's expansion."

History has repeated itself. About one hundred and thirty years ago, the plantocracy recruited indentured labourers from a vast reservoir of cheap labour found in British India. As a result, the plantocracy accumulated capital which was partly siphoned off to financiers/ investors abroad (Britain and France mainly) and partly reinvested in modernising the sugar factories. The new dimension, this time, lies in the fact that the reservoir of cheap labour came from within Mauritius: women and the unemployed. Unemployment and poverty were the direct consequences of policies of free trade by British Imperial Government and of cheap labour policy of the Colonial Government and the plantocracy.

References 7-8 - 0.01% Coverage

The Export Oriented Enterprises (as the EPZ is to be known as from 2006) employed, by March 2001, 93,218 workers of whom 30,783 and 62,435 were respectively males and females, giving a ratio of nearly 1:2 in favour of female workers. With the restructuring of the sector, there were many redundancies so that by June 2009, there were 58,066 workers of whom 24,451 and 33,615 were respectively males and females, giving a ratio of 1:14 or 5:7 in favour of female workers. Of the 35,000 workers made redundant, about 29,000 were women and about 6,000 were men. Thus women are the most vulnerable group in the labour force in that sector.

In the process of restructuring, wages went up compared to the 1980s; but nevertheless, in the textile sector, monthly wages in March 2002 went down from Rs. 7,039 to Rs. 6,236 in March 2008 in real terms (using 2001 as base year). The wages reached its March 2002 level in March 2009. As wages go up, the share of females in the labour force in this sector goes down. The obvious question is: "What happened to the 35,000 workers made redundant and, in particular, to the 29,000 women?"

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

For Port Louis, there is a far greater variety of occupations engaged in by the ex-apprentice population. There are a large number of women employed as seamstresses in skilled work, but twice as many working as domestics.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

For the average sugar estate worker living in an estate camp in the earlier part of the twentieth century, the day began like most other days, rising at 5-6 a.m. to go to work, after being awakened by the "Lappel", a man charged with waking up all the workers, or even as early as 1-2 a.m., if it was the harvest season. How early they rose depended not only on how far the estate camp was from the field where they had to work, but also on whether the estate provided a lorry to transport them, or if they had to walk there or were lucky enough to hitch a ride on a passing bullock-drawn cart. Most workers took breakfast before they set off for work, usually consisting of tea and bread, and sometimes a little left over curry, and if they had sufficient time, they would offer a prayer for the hard day of work ahead. Women normally woke up somewhat earlier than men did, as they also had to prepare breakfast for their husbands and the other members of the family. After brushing their teeth either with charcoal, or by using either their fingers or a piece of guava stick for this purpose, they would set off for work, came back after midday and ate something prior to commencing their daily chores. Women and children were the ones who were primarily responsible for carrying out these household chores, which normally consisted of fetching water and washing clothes, and collecting wood for cooking and grass for any cows or livestock that they kept.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

camp. Camp inhabitants describe "polishing" earthen floors with cow dung every week or once a fortnight, and red clay was particularly sought after with women prepared to walk several miles in order to collect it. It is conceivable that some of the camp inhabitants would have built these structures themselves, and there is also evidence that they kept livestock in close proximity to their dwellings, much like their forefathers had done during the days of indenture. Of course, back in those days, there was no electricity to begin with, so most camp inhabitants relied on candles and kerosene lamps for lighting, and if the camp inhabitants were fortunate enough, a regular supply of water could be accessed through a public tap or a well in the camp. Cooking facilities varied, with some camp inhabitants opting to cook on their verandahs, or even inside their own dwellings over a pile of stones referred to as a "foyer" by the informants, sometimes resulting in fires that destroyed dwellings. While others preferred to cook in

a makeshift kitchen located outside their dwellings and used either wood or sugarcane for these purposes. The informants also state that toilets and bathing facilities were usually not attached to their dwellings and were at some distance from where they lived and were used by all of the camp's inhabitants. Some estates had schools, medical dispensaries, crèches, and transported workers to the nearest district hospital if required, or failing, that camp inhabitants were forced to walk to school and the nearest hospital by foot, or gave birth with the help of a midwife in their own dwellings.³³⁹

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

The more 'lavish' type of housing could be found in some villages as "lakaz tol vitrinn"³⁴⁹ and the people who owned it as living like "tourists". Yet it would also appear there were not all that many differences between most village dwellings and the type of housing found on estate camps prior to the 1960s. As Benedict (1961:55) points out, huts made of wattle and daub were quite common, as were earthen floors laid over stone foundations, and while poor families did their cooking on verandahs, others did it in a "separate hut of sheet iron located in the yard", and apparently housing in villages was also crowded (cf. Benedict 1961:12).³⁵⁰ Similarly, although most village dwellings had their own yards, something that estate camp inhabitants could not claim to have was pit latrines, and the bucket system were the most common methods of conservancy, and it is likely that in the absence of these, villagers would have used nearby cane fields. Benedict also states that household chores were primarily the responsibility of women and children,³⁵¹ and that these included doing such things as replastering earthen floors with red clay and cow dung, collecting water from the village fountain or nearby rivers and streams, if fountains were lacking (cf. ARLD 1945:3), and walking long distances to collect wood for cooking and fodder for livestock. Rearing cows and selling milk in order to generate additional sources of income also seem to have been quite common in villages and were primarily the responsibility of women,

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

The first task to be performed in connection with ratoon canes is that of revelage, which consists of arranging the straw in the interlines separating two lines of canes after the crop has been cut. This is a task usually performed by women. It is not regarded as a task making very severe demands upon the physical powers of the workers. This task is followed by that of manuring, which consists of spreading pen or chemical manure, or both, according to the estimated needs of the soil. The spreading of chemical fertilizers is frequently performed by small boys, and is an operation that can be finished at any time.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

VOLUME 1: REPORT OF THE TRUTH AND JUSTICE COMMISSION 7. WOMEN LABOURERS

The treatment of gender differences must be mentioned as it is an issue that women have felt strongly about but which has been ignored.

The main criterion used to distinguish men's and women's work is the physical strength required to do arduous tasks. Lighter tasks such as manuring, weeding and removing straw from cane was usually performed by women or a third group of workers consisting of women, children and invalids and was used as justification for paying them less than men (cf. Hooper 1937:166). However, in practice (confirmed by oral testimonies), women were required to perform more physically demanding tasks that men normally performed and were perhaps better suited to doing such as cutting cane, loading it, and the removal of stones. Thus although paid less, women have had to work in equally physically demanding tasks: "We had to walk on the 'mardier' [wooden plank] to put the cane in the 'corbeil' [cane barrow]. It was ... very exhausting work for ladies like us. We had to put the cane on our head and walk along the 'mardier', which was very high. We used to fall down too (Sooben 2009:17)."

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Yet while it does not appear that women were exempt from doing physically demanding tasks such as cutting and loading cane for instance, tasks often described by both male and female informants, as being the province of men who worked in the Grande Bande and which they accordingly rationalized was the reason men were paid more than women. The ALDR of 1945 indicates that women who worked in the Grande Bande were being paid less for doing tasks that appear to be little different to that which men who worked in the Petite Bande performed (ARLD 1945:24-26). According to the ARLD of 1945 men who work in the Grande Bande are "required to perform any sort of

unskilled or semi-skilled labour on a sugar estate”, while men who work in the Petite Bande are “required to perform the same sort of labour [...] but with a reduced task and not bound to do holing”. This sounds like the same type of tasks that women who worked in the Grande Bande were expected to perform, and indeed if we compare the ARLD of 1956, which reproduces a copy of a collective agreement reached between the Mauritius Amalgamated Labourer’s Association and the Mauritius Sugar Producer’s Association, it states that women working in this group were not expected to cut or load cane.

Women, Class, I, Grande Bande.-Labourers capable of performing and required to perform any task appertaining to unskilled labour, but not bound to do holing, uprooting, forking, crowbar work, loading, cutting, heaving cleaning, heavy buttage, [and] manuring involving the carrying of a load of more than 18 kilos of manure per basket” (ARLD 1956:21-22).

Reference 16 - 0.02% Coverage

This neglect of the rights of female labourers, which probably goes some way towards explaining why they were paid less for doing some of the same types of tasks as men, may also reflect their marginal position in the Mauritian Sugar Industry since the days of indenture. Few women were ‘indentured’ in the 19th century but with the end of indenture, the rate of women’s participation rates in the Sugar Industry’s workforce gradually increased. The Great Depression, widowed women, poverty are some of the reasons cited but this needs to be more fully researched. Surra epidemics may also have been responsible as many women had previously stayed home to rear cattle.

Whatever be the reasons, by the end of the Second World War, female labourers accounted for almost half of the Mauritian Sugar Industry’s workforce, or a maximum of 18,126 female labourers at the height of the crop season in 1945 (ARLD 1945:46). It is important to note, however, that more female labourers tended to be employed during the inter-crop period whereas men made up the bulk of field labourers during both the inter-crop and crop periods. The same logic used to determine how much men and women should be paid for the types of tasks which they performed, also seems to account for the Industry’s preference to employ more women to do lighter tasks between crops and for men to do heavier tasks such as harvesting cane when the crop has to be harvested.

The most poignant testimonies have been furnished by the elderly female sugar estate workers. For instance, one informant³⁶⁰ complained that she would hurt herself when she had to remove straw from the sugarcane just prior to it being cut by male labourers (the process described as *dépaillage* in the Hooper Commission’s summary above). She also says that she used to wear *linz lakaz*, that is, her everyday clothes to work, and that workers were not provided with uniforms, boots, gloves and masks until after Independence. Similarly, in Pamela Sooben’s (2009: 16-17) undergraduate dissertation, the elderly female sugar estate workers she interviewed complained of having to remove straw from sugarcane. In order to protect themselves, they wore long socks over their hands, but that still did not prevent the straw from piercing their old socks and drawing blood from their hands: “When the sirdar asked us to remove ‘divet’ from sugarcane, especially ‘cane coulou’, we would run away because these ‘divet’ pierced our old socks, hands and fingers. We also used to get rashes”. These women also complained of finding it difficult to cook for themselves after a day’s work because of the injuries they sustained to their hands, while working in the cane fields without gloves (Sooben 2009:8).

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

This industry employed a considerable number of persons, mostly Creoles and mostly women for the cutting of leaves and processing of these into fibre. Men were used at the level of the spinning plants, *filatures d’aloës*. By 1979, there were still some 80 aloe fibre factories in operation, employing quite a considerable number of workers.⁴²⁵

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

All employees in the aloe fibre industry, whether on the plantations or at the Central factory, located in Quatre-Bornes, were laid off; with little or no compensation. The closure of the aloe fibre industry has been a great blow to this category of workers, and especially to Creole women.

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

The rise of the Tourist Industry and the setting up of Export Processing Zones were a boon to the Creole proletariat in late 1970s and 1980s. Many Creole workers, more especially Creole women, found employment in both

industries, although their male counterparts were less fortunate in this respect. Illiteracy, which was still prevalent in their milieu, however, impeded accessibility to secretarial and administrative jobs.⁴²⁸

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Work in the port was, and still is, male-centered. It was not until the 1990s that the port authorities hired women in administration. This section was written based on interviews of port workers and represents their thoughts about their lives.⁴⁴¹ This is as yet the unwritten history of the port.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

unmarried women who often face difficulties in obtaining an adequate income. The causes of the women's income poverty were attributed to a lack of employment opportunities for women in Rodrigues, large families, lack of education and problems in accessing land. In addition, single female heads of households are often marginalised in terms of not being involved in the extensive network of associations and movements that exist in Rodrigues.

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

In line with the trend for the Republic of Mauritius, the population structure in Rodrigues is gradually changing towards an increasingly larger number of elderly persons. The age structure in the Republic has changed considerably in the past four decades. In Rodrigues, the number of persons aged 60 or above increased by 65% from 1990 to 2004. At the same time, the share of population above the age of 60 grew from 5.9% to 9.1%. The ageing population poses new challenges to the society, particularly in terms of care arrangements. Wider societal changes, such as the abandoning of the extended family system, increasing labour market participation of women and the gradual disappearance of the female care-giver model, all add impetus to the need for society to arrange for care of the elderly. In view of these changes and given the growth in the elderly population, it is important to set up facilities that can accommodate elderly persons who are not able to live with the family or on their own and elderly who are in need of day care services. The population projections, detailed below, indicate that the elderly population in Rodrigues will grow rapidly over the next 40 years and that the elderly population will come to constitute an increasingly larger share of the islands inhabitants.

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

With a growing elderly population, appropriate planning needs to be initiated to ensure that care arrangements can be offered to elderly persons in need of these services. As elderly persons live longer, it is also important to cater for the essential and recreational needs of this age group who will have more spare time. A particular challenge in the care of elderly is to cater for the social and economic needs of elderly women who constitute the majority of elderly persons, but who are often in a disadvantaged position with lower income than their male counterparts.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

The Situation Analysis of Children and Women (1998) and a report on the present socioeconomic status and support services in Rodrigues (Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development, 2001) point out that, with a few exceptions, there are not many support services and facilities available for disabled persons in Rodrigues. Nationwide, disability is a main area of vulnerability which has not received adequate attention. While developments have taken place in the area in recent years, there is much that remains to be done in terms of support facilities for disabled persons and mechanisms to enhance their employability.

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

The overarching goal is to move towards greater equality by empowering both women and men to reach fully their potential and use their creativity and entrepreneurial spirit through the provision of adequate infrastructure services, opportunities and training, thereby enabling them to move away from low-productivity agriculture and fisheries sectors to other more productive activities thereby raising their incomes.

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

“a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated.”

Doing so would imply making significant progress towards ensuring that equality between men and women is fair and right.

- Increasing economic participation and the likelihood that women would find decent and productive jobs so as to increase their economic autonomy, hence allowing them to escape poverty;
- Deliberate promotion of women empowerment so as to enable them to:

References 28-29 - 0.01% Coverage

227. Discriminatory wage rates against women and generally occupational segregation should be done away with.

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

basis or verbal contracts that did not appear in the official figures. She also points out that those women who were not officially employed often helped their male partners to complete set tasks or spent their time sowing vacoas bags or rearing livestock for their families.

References 31-32 - 0.01% Coverage

359 See the amendment to the Regulation of Wages and Conditions of Employment Ordinance 1961, as enshrined in Government Notice No. 134 of 1973. This is despite the fact that the Annual Reports of the Labour Department and Ministry of Labour prior to 1973 indicate that women should be paid “equal wages for doing equal work” in their various labour ordinances.

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

Under Mahé de Labourdonnais, many plants were introduced in the country. He also reactivated agricultural development, and revived the Sugar Industry. He encouraged settlement and provided women with a dowry to marry settlers. The value of land appreciated greatly with new grants.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

These sources demonstrate the ability of Gens de couleur libres, ex-apprentices, and Old Immigrants to participate actively in the local real estate market depended on various factors: the talents, abilities, and initiative of individual men and women; the ability of these individuals to acquire, or generate the money needed to purchase or

Reference 35 - 0.02% Coverage

maintenance of personal, business, and other socio-economic relationships with others of the island’s inhabitants, both within and across different communities; their willingness to exploit economic opportunities; and the consequences of the island’s dependency on sugar as the mainstay of its economy from the mid-1820s until well into the twentieth century. The sugar industry’s heavy reliance on domestically-generated capital not only played a crucial role in shaping major developments such as the grand morcellement,⁷⁴ but also highlights the extent to which access to investment and working capital and financial services influenced the extent to which the colony’s

residents were able to acquire, and retain control of, land. Changes in the composition of the colony's "gardener" population during the late 1840s and 1850s illustrate the consequences that could flow from an inability to amass, or have access to, capital resources. More specifically, the notarial records indicate that many of the small plots sold during the *petit morcellement* remained undeveloped and were subsequently sold to Old Immigrants by their original purchasers because they possessed only limited financial resources, an economic fact of life that left many of these men and women struggling to hold their own during the increasingly difficult economic times that characterized the late 1840s and early 1850s.⁷⁵ Access to working capital would be equally crucial to the success of the class of Indian/Indo-Mauritian small planters that came into existence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a result of the *grand morcellement*.⁷⁶

The extent to which access to capital is central to understanding the history of landownership in colonial Mauritius is revealed in other ways. The increasing incidence of sharecropping during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may be traced, in so small measure, to the financial problems facing the local sugar industry at this time. Economic considerations also compelled men and women to squat on publically, or privately-owned land. Many ex-apprentices did so because they lacked the money needed to secure legal title to land. The illegal occupation of public lands, especially mountain and river reserves and the *pas géométriques*, by impoverished men and women of all ethno-cultural backgrounds remained a problem for the Colonial Government throughout the nineteenth century. Information on the extent of this activity and those who engaged in it remains frustratingly scarce, but in 1906, the colony's Conservator of Forests noted some of factors that made dealing with the alienation of these lands so problematic: the absence of detailed and accurate maps of the lands in question; the passage of laws such as Ordinance No. 30 of 1895 which essentially destroyed the inalienability of the *pas géométriques*; and the difficulties that arose from the fact that Indian and Creole small proprietors, many if not most of whom were illiterate, had often purchased land in Government reserves "in ignorance and good faith."⁷⁷ In so doing, he underscores the need for scholars, Government officials, and the general public to appreciate the complexities – social, economic, and political – that coming to grips with the nature, dynamics, and problems of land ownership in Mauritius, both past and present, entails.

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

PORT LOUIS NORTH AND SOUTH R1-R4 – Most of the respondents worked at two or three jobs at the same time. The women could be housemaids, social workers, women labourers etc. For the men-folk, too, working at two jobs simultaneously is not rare. The most common jobs are manual work; tailor, blacksmith, carpenter, charcoal maker, docker, sugar cane labourer. The grandparents had been labourers, stockbreeders, etc.

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

All of them – men as well as women - have done different jobs, mostly because they were not employed on a regularly basis, but on a seasonal basis especially those who worked as labourers or *kouper kann* in the sugar-cane estates. They have not known security of employment.

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

Some have been married once, others have had children without being married, others have been married more than once. Women have their own stories to recall. Some of them have educated their children without the support of a husband (widows or single mothers). They have worked very hard for very low wages and show a great sense of sacrifice. They have been forced to leave their children with family members to find better paid jobs, either in places other than their living places or abroad. Some of them have worked as maids, embroiderers, in textile factories.

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

servants had another parallel job (R21, R28). The women, for the most, were and some are still are housemaids, nurses, cooks, women labourers.

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

For those who have not been in the civil service or on sugar estates, we find that they (both men and women) have changed jobs throughout their lives. Most of the time, this was dictated by the need to feed the family and primarily

the children. We have accounts of men having to cycle for long distances to go for work when they could find work in neighbouring area. It was driven by the

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

Women have played a crucial role within the family. They were the ones who faced the pressure of feeding the family. They would go far in the woods to cut wood to cook food. They would collect vegetables (brède), fruits (Jack fruit, fruits à pain) and roots (maize, manioc, sweet potato, “arouille”) that were available to feed the family. For New Year, they could hardly afford meat and “saumon”, i.e. canned pilchards were the best they could have once or twice a year.

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

women who mostly cared about the future of the children. They were the ones who would really bother sending the children to school to acquire education, at times without the support of the husbands. Women used to cumulate jobs (maids, field-workers, cleaners, cane-cutters, etc.) and very often had to face domestic violence.

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

occupations vary from drivers, fishermen, masons, brick-layers, tailleurs roche, labourers, tailors, wood-cutters, carpenters, gardeners, civil servants, plumbers, electricians, etc. for the men. Women used to cumulate jobs (maids, field-workers, cleaners, cane-cutters, etc.) housemaids, nurses, cooks, women labourers. All had known poverty and had often taken parallel jobs to survive. They had thus never known job security for the work was seasonal. Life was not, or could simply not be, planned as families had to struggle for food.

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

Women have their own stories to tell. Some of them have educated their children without the support of a husband (widow or single mother). Women have played a crucial role within the family. They were the ones who faced the pressure of feeding the family. They would go far in the woods to cut wood and to cook food. They would collect vegetables (brède), fruits (Jack fruit, fruits à pain) and roots (maize, manioc, sweet potato, “arouille”) that were available to feed the family.

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

education, at times without the support of the husband. Women used to cumulate jobs (maids, field-workers, cleaners, cane-cutters, etc.) and very often had to face domestic violence.

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

Many had worked «dan lakour blan» (as domestic servants of the whites) and lived in dépendances. Women were housemaids, «nenenn».

Reference 47 - 0.01% Coverage

slaves. Women were servants and worked 24/7 for their masters, going to “campements” with them, taking care of their children, but were ill treated for some of them. They slept under the table and when their family lived in dependence, their children had to be shut in the house so as not to disturb the masters

Reference 48 - 0.01% Coverage

The parents were metal workers, labourers, wood cutters, fishermen, ‘toiler’, ‘chaudronnier’, drivers, masons, stone cutters, seasonal workers on sugar estates. Women were maids, housewives (but often seasonal workers). Many worked for the whites and the respondents remember their dominant attitude.

Reference 49 - 0.01% Coverage

peanuts. Mothers worked as maids, sewers, worked in aloe factories, planted peanuts. Many had worked «dan lakour blan» and lived in dépendances. Women were housemaids, «nenenn».

The other jobs: Seamstress, cabinetmaker, joiner, labourer, mason, woodcutter, bus driver, sacristain, railwayman, cook, vacoas bag and mat maker. The parents were metal workers, labourers, wood cutters, fishermen, 'toiler', 'chaudronnier', drivers, masons, stone cutters, seasonal workers on sugar estates. Women were maids, housewives (but often seasonal workers). Many worked for the whites and the respondents remember their dominant attitude. The parents were metal workers, labourers, wood cutters, fishermen, 'toiler', 'chaudronnier', drivers, masons, stone cutters, seasonal workers on sugar estates. Women were maids, housewives (but often seasonal workers). Many worked for the whites and the respondents remember their dominant attitude

Reference 50 - 0.01% Coverage

The economic contribution is tremendous in the plantation sector, in sugar cane estates and textile and other factories (sack). In Free Zone and tourism, black women were called "putes" because they dared to work in these sectors.

Reference 51 - 0.01% Coverage

R6 Mauritius should evolve. University and the employment market are not easily accessible to Creoles. Their efforts are not rewarded. They are discouraged. Many have to emigrate. Things must change in education and in the work market. Manual work should have a better social status. People work hard but cannot cope because everything is expensive. My children must work during the week-end also; otherwise they cannot cope with their salary to repay the loan for their house. To have a table or chairs, we have to get indebted and then work to repay. If we spare some money, it is for our health problems. Those in the low class cannot progress. It is very slow. Everyone is doing effort but little progress. I think training, formation is very important for manual work also. We need to have a part of the cake. Women want to better the life of their family. When young people don't have opportunities, they fall in drug, prostitution etc. We need to help them. Government should help. Families with young people in drugs cannot progress. It is not easy for those young to find help. Government should work for all the people, not for some people only. All should work together for our country. All children should have equal rights, food etc.

Reference 52 - 0.01% Coverage

After working hours and during their free time, the farmers who were essentially the Bombaye²⁰ worked in the fields whereas the Creoles went fishing. The women were responsible for the household chores. The forest provided them with cooking wood and they did their laundry in the river.

Reference 53 - 0.01% Coverage

Indeed, during fieldwork, women with their buckets on their head walking to the river were observed. It is to be noted that the scene of women, commonly referred to as dhobi, carrying their basket full of clothes on their head and doing their washing at river, is perceived as a folkloric scene. 'Dhobi' are considered as being inherent to Mauritian folklore and the Indo Mauritians might probably name these places 'dhobi ghat'.

Reference 54 - 0.01% Coverage

In keeping with Teelock (1998), these types of relationships seem to date back to slavery when women were convinced that the route to 'material improvement', social mobility, social recognition and a better standard of living was through a man and especially 'free men that could provide for their subsistence' which implies a man with a higher social status. These relationships were also a means for women to build sense of social image and social respect.

The economic dependence of women also was retraced to slave times when few opportunities of socio-economic mobility were available and women 'were for the most part dependent on the men when they wanted to provide additional comforts and necessities to their children and a path to social advancement.'⁵⁶

Reference 55 - 0.01% Coverage

Alcoholism is one of the main social problems in the Cité and is one of the causes of collateral socio-economic problems and disturbances such as noise pollution, insecurity, poverty and unemployment. Feminisation of alcoholism was also noted. For some people, daily excessive alcohol consumption is 'normal' and not a social problem. For them, alcoholism is a trivial issue. In the past shops were meeting places where men gathered in the evening after working hours. Shops are still socialising places but now both men and women as from a young age meet at the shop and drink with friends the whole daylong.

Reference 56 - 0.01% Coverage

Some respondents had heard about problems of child prostitution in Cité La Mivoie but they had no proof. Poverty and lack of educational and employment opportunities seem to be the reason why women engage in prostitution.

Reference 57 - 0.01% Coverage

Gender differences in occupational distributions can be observed with men being mostly fishermen and gardeners whereas women are paid domestic and blue-collar workers. The skilled and qualified workers are mainly women as well.

Reference 58 - 0.01% Coverage

Similarly, a matrilineal occupational transmission was observed with women working as domestic workers across generations. For example, Sylvia Malegasse was domestic worker and her two daughters, Marie Jenika Albert and Jenilo Albert also.

Reference 59 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...Long ago people worked [in the] Aloes Mill women worked in the Aloes Mill...He was fisherman yes he worked [as] fisherman...there are fishermen, labourer cut sugarcane at that time my father cut cane my husband [was] fisherman...)

Reference 60 - 0.01% Coverage

Indeed, the public perception of domestic work is often that it is undignified work, and the workers in this sector should be pitied because they are unqualified and unskilled¹⁵⁶. This social representation of domestic labour is rooted on the colonial mentality whence domestic slaves and particularly slave women fulfilled such occupations. After the abolition of slavery, based on the 1871 Census, the 'Indian Population' outnumbered the 'General Population' in the domestic class and men preponderated over women as indicated in Chart 10 below

Reference 61 - 0.01% Coverage

In fact, paid domestic labour is still commonly perceived as unskilled work and this perception is based on a dominant construction of paid domestic work as replacing unpaid family duties that were initially fulfilled by slave women and after by female family members. When paid domestic workers substituted these unpaid domestic jobs, the social and economic value of domestic employment was and is still undermined and under-estimated.

Reference 62 - 0.01% Coverage

The Millennium Development Goal Report (2010) targets to achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all, including women and young people by 2015. The poverty gap is widening as a backlash of the economic downturn. The already historically vulnerable groups as if the residents of Cité La Mivoie live below the poverty line are facing

Reference 63 - 0.01% Coverage

The death of Sookbassea was a huge blow to Chandraduth, his children and his siblings, since she was the only person who provided them with emotional and financial support for more than a quarter century. I grew up hearing stories about the personality and achievements of Sookbassea Peerthum. She was a unique woman who led an extraordinary life and could serve as an epitome to all modern Mauritian women.

Reference 64 - 0.01% Coverage

In terms of the nature of work, there was continuity with the indentured period in terms of gender and age division in plantation work. Men were doing the Gran Bann or harder work, such as cutting the cane, loading it into carts, working in mills etc. while women were supposed to do the Ti Bann or lighter work like weeding, separating leaves from the cane, planting, rearing animals, working in the gardens or as domestic help in the estate owner's household. Women were paid less and sometimes, half the wages of male workers. In addition, however they also did the household chores before, and after, this 'light' work: preparing meals, looking after the cattle, preparing children for school or work etc.

Reference 65 - 0.01% Coverage

The first half of the 20th century, thus was quite difficult for most of those interviewed. For women, particularly, working life actually became harder for them. In their grandparents' and parents' time (i.e. indentured period and one generation after), women did not work as labourers. They reared cattle, cut grass and undertook gardening jobs. However, gradually with the pressures of large families, which increased requirements and expenses, a desire to earn more to move upwards forced more and more women to take up regular jobs as labourers. What made things much more strenuous for them was that they continued to do cattle-rearing and cutting grass etc.,

Reference 66 - 0.01% Coverage

along with new job as labourers, and they also had to look after the families and do the household chores. There were not many opportunities of mobility available for these women. In some rare cases, women remained as labourers throughout their working lives, primarily because in the sugar production, most of the occupations, except labour on the fields, were male activities.

Reference 67 - 0.01% Coverage

Wage levels always remained low, resulting in economic pressure on the families. Poverty forced women to work as labourers and even forced children to work at an early age, pushing them to leave school as they could not afford to pay for their education. In this context, large families in labouring classes thus faced a critical situation. Many respondents have stated that their parents had 8-10 children, several about 12, and some respondents even had 18 siblings.¹⁰ In the labouring classes, human beings were considered as capital – more members in the family meant more income; but then, it severely restricted the growth of the younger generations – more children meant more expenditure on their education and general well being. Since the parents did not earn enough, larger families forced, not only the women, but also most of the children into work at a very early age, depriving them of a natural childhood and overall growth.

References 68-69 - 0.01% Coverage

Women were always paid less for their labour, and the standard rationale was that as women performed lighter jobs, they were paid less. In several cases it was found that the wages paid to women were actually half (or almost half) of the men's wages.¹²

Reference 70 - 0.01% Coverage

the patriarchal discourse which does not find women capable of doing several things because of their relative physical 'weakness' compared to men. This was supported by the Colonial Administrators because it ensured relatively cheaper labour. We have several responses to support that women were doing almost the same work as male labourers, and yet they were being paid considerably lower.

Reference 71 - 0.01% Coverage

The first task to be performed in connection with ratoon canes is that of 'revelage', which consists of arranging the straw in the inter-lines separating two lines of canes after the crop has been cut. This is a task usually performed by women. It is not regarded as a task making very severe demands upon the physical powers of the workers. This task is followed by that of spreading manure, which consists of spreading pen or chemical manure, or both, according to the estimated needs of the soil. The spreading of chemical fertilizers is frequently performed by small boys, and is an operation that can be finished at any time.

Reference 72 - 0.02% Coverage

As the Hooper Commission's description of cultivation and planting techniques in the Mauritian sugar industry in the first half of the twentieth century implies, the main criterion used to distinguish men and women's work is the physical strength required to do arduous tasks. Lighter tasks such as spreading manure, weeding and removing straw from cane was usually performed by women or a third group of workers consisting of women, children and invalids and also appears to have been used as justification for paying them less than men (cf. Hooper 1937:166). However, it would also appear that women were required to perform more physically demanding tasks that men normally performed and were perhaps better suited to doing such as cutting cane, loading it, and the removal of stones. In an undergraduate dissertation by a student of the University of Mauritius who interviewed four elderly female sugar estate workers, some of whom were still working at the time, several of the informants complained about having to perform physically demanding tasks in the past like loading cane. "We had to walk on the 'mardier' [wooden plank] to put the cane in the 'corbeil' [cane barrow]. It was ... very exhausting work for ladies like us. We had to put the cane on our head and walk along the 'mardier', which was very high. We used to fall down too (Sooben 2009:17)." The elderly female sugar estate workers interviewed by the AGTF's research assistants echoed this sentiment, but several of the informants⁵⁴ also claimed they were paid less for doing tasks men normally performed. It is difficult to determine the veracity of this claim. For instance, if we refer to the Annual Report of the Labour Department (ARLD) of 1945, which provides a detailed breakdown of the tasks men and women were supposed to perform and their rates of pay as outlined in an amendment to the Minimum Wage Ordinance of 1934, it states that women who work in the Grande Bande were not exempt from doing any tasks "except holing, uprooting, forking, and crowbar work".

In Mauritius, the "Grande Bande" and the "Petite Bande" is a way of organising workers into teams who are responsible for performing specific tasks going right back to the early days of indenture. These groups are still used in the Mauritian sugar industry today, and as I alluded to above, the main criterion used to distinguish the tasks that each group should perform is based on the physical strength required to perform certain tasks. This criterion has been used as further justification to determine the wage levels of workers in the two groups, with the obvious ramification that labourers who work in the Grande Bande are paid more than those working in the Petite Bande (or "granban" and "tiban", as Mauritian sugar estate workers more commonly refer to them in Creole). Yet while it is does not appear that women were exempt from doing physically demanding tasks such as cutting and loading cane for instance, tasks often described by both male and female informants as being the province of men who worked in the Grande Bande and which they accordingly rationalized was the reason men were paid more than women. The ALDR of 1945

References 73-74 - 0.01% Coverage

indicates that women who worked in the Grande Bande were being paid less for doing tasks that appear to be little different to that which men who worked in the Petite Bande performed (ARLD 1945:24-26). According to the ARLD of 1945 men who work in the Grande Bande are "required to perform any sort of unskilled or semi-skilled labour on a sugar estate", while men who work in the Petite Bande are "required to perform the same sort of labour ... but with a reduced task and not bound to do holing". This sounds like the same type of tasks that women who worked in the Grande Bande were expected to perform, and indeed if we compare the ARLD of 1956, which reproduces a copy of a collective agreement reached between the Mauritius Amalgamated Labourers' Association and the Mauritius Sugar Producer's Association, it states that women working in this group were not expected to cut or load cane.

Women, Class, I, Grande Bande-Labourers capable of performing and required to perform any task appertaining to unskilled labour, but not bound to do holing, uprooting, forking, crowbar work, loading, cutting, heaving cleaning,

heavy buttage, [and] spreading manure involving the carrying of a load of more than 18 kilos of manure per basket” (ARLD 1956:21-22).

Reference 75 - 0.01% Coverage

only [British] colony which failed to engage Indian women as indentured labourers. The numbers of women formally employed on estates was consequently never very high, even in the principal sugar-growing districts ... In 1846 9% of the total Indian female population was registered as part of the plantation labour force. At the time of the malaria epidemic in 1867, less than 100 women were reported as working on the sugar estates. By 1871, when the next census was taken, this figure had risen, even so, only 7% of women [or 1,808 Indian females out of a total estate population of 24,425] were officially employed as plantation workers.⁵⁶

With the end of indenture, however, the rate of women’s participation rates in the Mauritian sugar industry’s workforce gradually increased. According to Vijaya Teelock (2009:360), the Great Depression to a significant extent accounted for this increase. “Another effect of the Depression was to bring more women into wage labour: in 1921, there were for example, 9,373 Indian women working, by 1931 this had jumped to 14,674.” These participation rates continued to increase after the Great Depression as more female labourers joined the ranks of the Mauritian sugar industry.

Probably no singular explanation can account for this dramatic rise in female participation rates in the Mauritian sugar industry as the twentieth century unfolded. The elderly female sugar estate workers who were interviewed by the AGTF’s research assistants provide a number of different reasons as to why they decided to become labourers. Some women for example were forced to work after their husbands were incapacitated by a life-crippling injury, while others stated that after their husbands died, they had little choice but to become labourers in order to look after their children. Many of the informants also indicated that they opted to become labourers after

Reference 76 - 0.01% Coverage

getting married, though without always providing a succinct explanation for their actions. One is tempted to ascribe this decision to the need for women to play their part in contributing financially to the upkeep of poorer families, in view of the fact that there would be more mouths to feed after getting married and having children. But as tempting as it might be to point to rising levels of poverty as a way of accounting for these increases in female workforce participation rates, one has to temper this possibility against the knowledge that many women did not feel compelled to enter the workforce but instead preferred to stay at home in order to raise children or to work on their own land and to rear livestock (cf. ARLD 1950:30). One also has to ask why it is that sugar estates in Mauritius, which previously had shown an aversion to employing female labourers during the indentured labour period, increasingly opted to employ more female labourers over the course of the twentieth century. These numbers continued to increase such that by the end of the Second World War, female labourers accounted for almost half of the Mauritian sugar industry’s workforce, or a maximum of 18,126 female labourers at the height of the crop season in 1945 (ARLD 1945:46). It is important to note, however, that more female labourers tended to be employed during the inter-crop period whereas men made up the bulk of field labourers during both the inter-crop and crop periods. The same logic used to determine how much men and women should be paid for the types of tasks they performed, also seems to account for the industry’s preference to employ more women to do lighter tasks between crops and for men to do heavier tasks such as harvesting cane when the crop has to be harvested.

Reference 77 - 0.01% Coverage

herself when she had to remove straw from the sugarcane just prior to it being cut by male labourers (the process described as *dépaillage* in the Hooper Commission’s summary above). She also says that she used to wear “linz lakaz”, that is, her everyday clothes to work, and that workers were not provided with uniforms, boots, gloves and masks until after independence. Similarly, in Pamela Sooben’s (2009: 16-17) undergraduate dissertation referred to earlier, the elderly female sugar estate workers she interviewed complained of having to remove straw from sugarcane. In order to protect themselves, they wore long socks over their hands, but that still did not prevent the straw from piercing their old socks and drawing blood from their hands. “When the sirdar asked us to remove ‘divet’ from sugarcane, especially ‘canne coulou’, we would run away because these “divet” pierced our old socks, hands and fingers. We also used to get rashes”. These women also complained of finding it difficult to cook for themselves after a day’s work because of the injuries they sustained to their hands while working in the cane fields without gloves (Sooben 2009:8).

Reference 78 - 0.01% Coverage

slippers of some sort and sandals made of wood. Apparently, these types of footwear were not suitable for working in the cane fields and the informants usually opted to work bare-footed instead. Yet in spite of their lack of financial means, poverty did not prevent labourers from finding ways to protect themselves while working in the cane fields. Once again, the oral testimonies of female labourers are highly instructive in this respect. Some women wore long-sleeved shirts that they borrowed from either their husbands or a male relative in order to protect their arms from the sun and insects in the field, and many female labourers wore an apron made of “goni”⁶¹ which they wrapped around their skirts to protect the outer layer of their clothing from wear and tear. Also, as Pamela Sooben (2009:8) points out in her undergraduate dissertation, female labourers used old socks to protect their hands when they had to remove straw from sugarcane, and as time passed more female labourers wore “chapeau la paille” or straw hats to protect their heads from the sun.

Reference 79 - 0.01% Coverage

The passing of the 1922 Labour Ordinance marks an important turning point in the history of Mauritius as it finally did away with the use of penal sanctions in civil contracts between planters and labourers and coincided with the end of the indenture labour system. However, it only covered immigrants and did not theoretically apply to Mauritian-born labourers and the forfeit of wages for breaches of contract was still allowed under this ordinance. It was only with the passing of the 1938 Labour Ordinance, which sought to implement the recommendations of the Hooper Commission of enquiry into the 1937 strikes, that fining labourers for bad or negligent work was finally disallowed. This ordinance was applicable not only to monthly but also casual workers and was responsible for introducing a raft of changes such as a six day working week and eight hour day, legislating for over-time work, the registration of trade unions, maternity allowances for women, the regulation of sanitary conditions on estate camps, and paved the way for a transferral of power from the Protector of Immigrants to the newly created Labour Department. Yet in spite of these legislative changes, there is evidence that job-contractors, sirdars and estate managerial staff were still marking labourers as absent when they failed to complete a set task or forced them to redo tasks they designated as unfinished. The use of the double-cut, or fining labourers two days wages for everyday they were absent, seems to have been discontinued with the end of the indenture labour system, although Daniel North-Coombes (1987:30) claims it was still being enforced in 1938. But that does not mean that the practice of marking labourers as absent when they had done a day’s work, or “maron”, in the words of the elderly sugar estate workers themselves,⁶³ and making illegal deductions from the wages of labourers was itself discontinued.

Reference 80 - 0.02% Coverage

For the average sugar estate worker living in an estate camp in the earlier part of the twentieth century, the day began like most other days, rising at 5-6am in the morning to go to work after being awoken by the “Lappel”, a man charged with waking up all the workers, or even as early as 1-2am if it was the harvest season. How early they rose depended on not only how far the estate camp was from the field where they had to work, but also if the estate provided a lorry to transport them, or if they had to walk there by foot or were lucky enough to hitch a ride on a passing bullock cart. Most workers took some breakfast before they set off for work usually consisting of tea and bread, and sometimes a little left over curry, and if they had sufficient time they would offer a prayer for the hard day of work ahead. Women normally woke up somewhat earlier than men did, as they also had to prepare breakfast for their husbands and the other members of the family. After brushing their teeth with charcoal and using either their fingers or a piece of guava stick for this purpose, they would set off for work and came back after midday sometime and ate something prior to commencing their daily chores. Women and children were the ones who were primarily responsible for carrying out these household chores, which normally consisted of fetching water and washing clothes, and collecting wood for cooking and grass for any cows or livestock that they kept. Going by the oral testimonies of the informants, these chores took up most of their afternoons, as the estate camps often lacked potable water and bathing facilities, thus forcing them to walk several miles in order to collect it from a river or to bath in. This can be seen in the photographs on the opposite page depicting scenes from estate camps showing children about to set off or returning from collecting water in metal cans. And then there are also images of women washing their clothes by the side of rivers and streams on volcanic stone outcrops, an indelible image which is perhaps one of the most iconic images of Mauritian life.

The camps themselves, or “langar”, as the informants describe them, which is a Creole term for barracks, were usually made of ravenal and had thatch roofs and earthen floors.⁷⁹ They might also be made of a combination of materials, consisting, for example, of wood, stonewalls and corrugated iron. Over the course of the twentieth century though, concrete housing and semidetached dwellings became more common in estate camps. Camp inhabitants describe “polishing” earthen floors with cow dung every week or once a fortnight, and red clay was particularly sought after with women being prepared to walk several miles in order to collect it. It is conceivable that some of the camp inhabitants would have built these structures themselves, and there is also evidence that they kept livestock in close proximity to their dwellings, much like their forefathers had done during the days of indenture. Of course, back in those days, there was no electricity to begin with, so most camp inhabitants relied on candles and kerosene lamps for lighting, and if the camp inhabitants were fortunate enough, a regular supply of water could be accessed through a public tap or well in the camp. Cooking facilities varied, with some camp inhabitants opting to cook on their verandas, or even inside their own dwellings over a pile of stones referred to as a “foyer” by the informants, sometimes resulting in fires that destroyed dwellings. While others preferred to cook in a makeshift kitchen located outside their dwellings and used either wood or sugarcane for these purposes. The informants also state that toilets and bathing facilities were usually not attached to their dwellings and were at some distance from where they lived and were used by all of the camp’s inhabitants. Some estates had schools, medical dispensaries,

References 81-82 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite the Annual Reports of the Labour Department and Ministry of Labour prior to 1973, analysed by Couacaud, indicating that women should be paid equal wages for doing equal work, differential wages between men and women persisted. This discriminatory practice was corroborated by testimonies which revealed that women and children were paid less than men and even half less.

References 83-84 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans: if you were cutting cane and they were cutting cane, did you earn same salary? No, the men earned more money for the day’s work. Why? I do not know it was the White’s law women did light work men did arduous work)

The nature of the work performed by women and children and the differences in their physical predisposition justified unequal wages. Women and children were supposed to do lighter tasks such as spreading manure, weeding and depaiaz (Eng. trans. removing straw from sugar cane) that demanded less physical strength, whilst men did arduous work, such as loading and unloading sugar cane and stone-breaking because they were physically stronger than the former. In other words, women were paid less because their work output were supposedly less compared to that of men.

Reference 85 - 0.01% Coverage

Under colonial rules and in the post-Independence period, child labour was sanctioned and institutionalised. Chokras (Eng. trans. Child labourers) and women were a source of cheap labour for the estates.

Reference 86 - 0.01% Coverage

Both men and women could be a labourer supervisor. Yet, Sirdars outnumbered Sirdarine (Female labourer supervisor). Some respondents mentioned that the Sirdar was a literate¹¹⁰ person, but it seems that literacy was not a core promotional criterion, given that some Sirdars were illiterate.

Reference 87 - 0.01% Coverage

For instance, when Bawol arrived at the field, he recorded the names of the labourers who were present and absent, the time they arrived and the number of labourers present. He gave the records to the Kolom. There were approximately 4 to 5 groups of labourers, both men and women.

References 88-89 - 0.01% Coverage

The testimonies on wages paid varied, but these discrepancies arose from different working periods. Furthermore, when comparing the estate remunerations practices, slight differences were identified in the remuneration of labourers. Nevertheless, overall, wages remained low as illustrated in the examples below. Minimal wages kept the estate workers in poverty and had various collateral consequences. Low wages fostered child labour, forced women to work and promoted small-scale farming.

References 90-91 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1962, when Satianand worked for FUEL Estate, he earned 15 rupees per full working-day and was paid 39.90 rupees per full working week as Sirdar. He stated that a labourer earned approximately 4.10 rupees per full working day. During his trial period, he was paid in kind with 13 pieces of bananas. When he started working in 1949, women were paid 2.75 rupees per full working day and later they were paid 3.15 to 3.30 rupees per full working day.

Reference 92 - 0.01% Coverage

The respondents' life was conditioned by their work. They had limited free time, since they spent their time working for survival. They woke up in the early morning, but women woke up before their husbands (usually at three or four in the morning) and came back from work in the early afternoon (between two and four in the afternoon) depending on the work load and the distance between their places of work and residence. During their free time, those who were small planters, especially men, worked in their fields. Women and children did household chores and masone (Eng. trans. Glazed) the walls and floor of their houses with cow dung mixed with white and red soil.

Reference 93 - 0.01% Coverage

Housekeeping has always been the primary responsibility of women whose primary roles have, for years, been limited to the private sphere of the family. Women were seen as housewives and mothers first. Living in relative poverty, and because of the resulting feeling of deprivation, women were forced to work to help their family make ends meet. Women worked either as labourers or as domestic workers. Before and after going to work, they had to fulfil their as wives and mothers duties. Women carried a disproportionate share of everyday-life burdens. They had to juggle household chores, child-rearing, social life and their work life. Hence, they faced, and continue to face, the triple burden of job, childcare, and housework with little and even no support, either from their partners or the Government especially since, long ago, the Colonial Government did not offer social welfare to ease their load.

Reference 94 - 0.01% Coverage

It should be noted that because of their financial situation, in keeping with the testimonies, weddings lasted one or two days only and women did not wear jewels. They did not receive jewels as dowry. Given that culture is not part of the scope of this research, we shall not concentrate on cultural dimension of camp life.

Reference 95 - 0.01% Coverage

Government Notice No. 134 of 1973. This is despite the fact that the Annual Reports of the Labour Department and Ministry of Labour, prior to 1973, indicate that women should be paid "equal wages for doing equal work" in their various Labour Ordinances. 56

In her later work, Carter (1994, 1995) states that a number of female indentured labourers were employed on a temporary basis or verbal contracts that did not appear in the official figures. She also points out that those women who were not officially employed often helped their male partners to complete set tasks or spent their time sewing vacoas bags or rearing livestock for their families. 57

Reference 96 - 0.01% Coverage

A female sirdar, Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah led an extraordinary life that very few other Mauritian women experienced. She was actively involved in the trade union movement during the 1970s and 1980s, and has always

been particularly concerned with fighting for the rights of female Sugar Estate workers. Upon retiring she became a social worker, offering her services to the handicapped, the sick and the elderly. Now 80 years of age, Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah offers words of advice for today's generation of Mauritian women.

Reference 97 - 0.02% Coverage

Owing to some problems which she was facing on Bonne Veine Sugar Estate, Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah went to work at Trianon where she worked as a sirdarine, an uncommon occurrence in the Mauritian sugar industry. She did this work for four years (1955-1958) and was required to supervise the work of both women and children. She said that she always treated the labourers under her supervision well. Working as a sirdarine gave her experience in measuring the workload labourers had to perform, and it was also during this time that she first started to become involved with the trade union movement. After Trianon Sugar Estate was sold to Mr. Hardy, the latter renamed the latter Sugar Estate as Highlands Sugar Estate and appointed a new manager: Mr. Coombes. On noticing her intelligence the new manager gave her a job in the office and provided her with accommodation in the camp of Bagatelle given that since Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah joined Trianon Sugar Estate, she had to rent a house. As part of her responsibilities, she used to arrange the shop, check books and ramas bann let ki vini. She worked on Highlands Sugar Estate for 14 years. She used to go to work at 5 a.m. and return home at 4 p.m. She said that it was difficult for her to perform such a hard work for such long hours given that she had to take care of her small children and husband. By 11 a.m./12 p.m. she no longer felt like working. Despite these difficulties, she was still able to seize the opportunity of being a camp resident to cultivate some vegetables and sell them at the market of Rose-Hill to generate an additional income.

While she was working on Highlands Sugar Estate, that is, in 1968, Plantation Workers Union sent her a letter asking her to become a member of trade unions. Despite resistance from her husband because of fears concerning problems it would create with her employers, she accepted. Her main motivation behind joining Plantation Workers Union was the various injustices that women were subject to on the Sugar Estate. She said that she learnt about some of these injustices during her childhood itself by overhearing the conversations of her parents. But by working on different Sugar Estates she could witness all of them and she herself suffered from some of these discriminations. It was very painful for her. She revealed that sirdars used to beat women with sticks. She mentioned a case whereby a female worker of Bonne Veine Sugar Estate was beaten by a sirdar. The woman was hurt and Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah had to accompany her to hospital. Men and women were assigned their load of work on an unequal basis. For example if men were assigned 125 "golet", women received 115 "golet". In their wage rate too there was disparity, that is, if a woman was paid 5 cent per "golet", a man earned 15 cents per "golet". When a woman work more than her work load she was not paid for that surplus work. Instead, the entrepreneur used to give the extra money that the women should have earned to other people with whom he was well acquainted. Women were not given proper treatment and proper medicine at the hospital. When they got hurt only a small medicine was applied to their wounds and they were asked to go to work on the next day. Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah had witnessed male nurses sexually harassing female patients. Women were also exploited sexually by Sugar Estate workers, namely the administrator and sirdars. But women could not protest against all these injustices.

Hardy was an Anglo-Ceylon. Whatever happened on his Sugar Estate had to remain within the Sugar Estate and only "bann sef" could solve the problem. But on noticing Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah's way of talking and acting the white people understood that they could not ask her to leave trade unions. So the kolom told her that when she wanted to go to trade unions he would allow her to go because women were being mistreated too much. As a member of trade union she attended many seminars. She used to meet with representatives of different places in Port Louis to discuss.

In 1970, Sir Sewoosagur Ramgoolam introduced the system of card whereby her job on the Sugar Estate was secure. All male labourers were assigned the same workload, she as all the other women

Reference 98 - 0.01% Coverage

During the Prime Ministership of Jugnauth she and the other members of the Plantation Workers Union organised a press conference on Louis Lechelle Street at Port Louis. During the conference she raised the issue of the inequality in the wage rate of men and women.

On 19 August 1984 she talked on trade unions and on 4 September they talked about that on television. After her speech: Mrs. Bappoo sent her a letter on 7 Jan 1985 for an interview following which she appointed Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah as a member of the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund to represent female labourers. She was determined more than ever since now she had someone to back her in her endeavour. After less than 2-3

months she brought a team of “inspector travail” on Bonne Veine Sugar Estate. Misie Jacques Carey was furious. She used to note down all the injustices inflicted to women and submit the paper to Mrs. Dubois when she went to committees. Mrs. Dubois raised these issues in

References 99-100 - 0.01% Coverage

receiving their lump-sum she brought the matter to the office and helped them to get their lumpsum. When labourers were mistreated and that they absented themselves without leaving any paper, she went to Mon Desert Alma to discuss their case and help them to get their work back. As a member of trade unions she also asked for a female nurse who could attend female patients, that men and women be given the same load of work and that there should be no disparity as far as their wage rate was concerned. But she said that the disparity between the wage rate of men and women still persist. She and the other members of trade unions also asked that women should retire at the age of 58 and men 60. Their demand was approved. After 2-3 years they asked that women should retire at the age of 55 and men 58. But she retired at the age of 58 instead of 55 because the manager told her that she should continue to work since there was no one to represent labourers and give her a favour by making her work somewhat less. On retiring in 1988 she also left Plantation Workers Union. When Navin Ramgoolam became Prime Minister in 1995 the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund was dissolved.

Reference 101 - 0.01% Coverage

Mr. Cyril started to work at the age of 19 on Le Val Sugar Estate. He worked as a sirdar and had to supervise the work of about seven or eight women who used to apply salt and plant canes. Initially, another sirdar taught him his work. He said it was not difficult for him to learn since he was the son of a Sugar Estate worker and was often on sugarcane fields. If he had to complain about the workers under his supervision, he made the complaint to the “assistant”. But he said he did not have to complain about the workers very often because in his opinion people in the past were more respectful. He said the workers under his supervision were very good. When they failed to do their work properly, he used to ask them to redo it until they did it properly.

Reference 102 - 0.01% Coverage

When Mr. Ramlall Ramduth started to work on his parents’ plot of land he used to wake up at 5 a.m., brush his teeth, have his bath, do his prayer, drink tea and leave for the fields. He used to bring food-farata/rice with curry, which was prepared by his mother, to work. Initially he found the work difficult. But he had a positive attitude since he said that any work is difficult at the beginning but it becomes easier as one gets used to it. His wife also worked with him. He used to plant sugarcane and vegetables, cut canes during harvest, and after two and a half months or 3 months he used to pick the vegetables. When there was a lot of work he used to recruit women to plant canes and pick vegetables. The women started to work at 6.30/7 a.m. and finished at 2 p.m. He paid them Rs. 2 per day. If a woman was absent on 1 day she had to complete her pending work on the following day.

Reference 103 - 0.01% Coverage

Economic alliances took place, mostly by way of inter-group mixing and wedlock. Some white merchants married ‘Coloured’ women, which allowed the ‘Coloured’ to enter into the profession of merchant, while they were at that time excluded from the professions of ‘négociant’ and planter, which remained monopolized by the Whites. For instance, Benoît Ollier, a white merchant arrived on the island in 1789, married a freed slave born on the island, called Julie. They gave birth to the first ‘Coloured’ political activist, Rémy Ollier (1816-1845).

Reference 104 - 0.01% Coverage

7.3.8 Comparison between women and men There are no significant differences between men and women in their interviews, except that women have proved to be able to cumulate domestic tasks as well as professional ones, even if they were not fully employed. All men interviewed argued that women had played a great role in their families, in the past and at present, as already said, but what we have seen is that women interviewed all worked, and even men interviewed think it is normal for women to work. The education of children in the families of our interviewees has been influenced by decision-taking by women in order to bring them up or to choose a certain type of education. The

following examples illustrate, in the first case, a woman bringing up alone her six children and, in the second case, a young woman brought up alone by her mother:-

Reference 105 - 0.01% Coverage

i) Restructuration in the labour market gives birth to growing concerns about future means of living among unemployed youngsters and those, coping with the educational system. Young married adults facing precarious jobs as “journaliers, cé qui pé gagné” are compelled to live with parents/ in-laws. The value of education, already low in the social environment is decreasing rapidly “a quoi bon travail, quand pas sire gagne travail”. Parents, having made the necessary efforts and sacrifices, obliged to cope with changing conditions of entrance on stable labour market feel cheated. With the rising costs of living, this unexpected change gives rise to frustration and feelings that “pli ça va, pli vinne difficile pou débatta”. Formerly, “ti capave trace, tracé” through a succession of casual jobs before proper entrance on stable labour market, and setting up families of their own. Additional family tensions, inactivity among youngsters and young adults breed high consumption of alcohol, drug addiction and prostitution among young women.

Reference 106 - 0.01% Coverage

common among the lower wage-earners of the colony. Those affected were mostly labourers of Indian origin, children and adolescents, pregnant and nursing women. A majority considered that malnutrition had increased during the war period (i.e. up to April 1943), and that there had been deterioration in the health of the working class in the past 25 years (i.e. 1918-43). A majority of doctors

Reference 107 - 0.01% Coverage

Various measures in favour of Labour; repeal of Labour Ordinance of 1922, inspection of Labour, regulation of the work of women and children on sugar estates etc.

Reference 108 - 0.01% Coverage

After the meagre results obtained by industrialization measures, based on import substitution, and as a result of an insightful Report by Professor E. Lim Fat, following his visit to Taiwan and Puerto Rico in November 1969, the possibility of establishing an Export Processing Zone in Mauritius was of immediate appeal to the authorities and the Business Community. The Government produced a White Paper on the 1971-1980 Development Strategy and the 1971-1975 Development Plan, which elaborated on the need to create the appropriate institutional and infrastructural conditions “for a substantial and quick breakthrough in export markets”. Starting from a very small manufacturing sector, which employed altogether an estimated 18,400 persons in 1969, the authorities envisaged an increase of 42,000 jobs in that sector by 1980. Of that number, 25,000 jobs were created in that sector. The results far surpassed all expectations. There was a large increase in jobs and a levelling of the island labour force, especially among women who left their former domestic occupations and flocked in large numbers to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the nascent Export Processing Zone.²³⁴

Reference 109 - 0.01% Coverage

Further, we observe that the health conditions of women workers were as much affected as those of their male counterparts (Table 42). We note that a higher percentage of women (42 per cent) claim that they now have pains and 5 per cent went through operations compared to 2 per cent for men.

Reference 110 - 0.01% Coverage

actually working and many of them are women. 78 per cent of women have re-entered the labour market, compared to 68 per cent for men. This may confirm the earlier age of voluntary retirement by female sugar workers relative to the male workers, and often these women are widowed and are the heads of households; so they need to have an important source of income, essentially if they have to cater for their dependent children.²⁶⁰

Reference 111 - 0.01% Coverage

We observe that 45 per cent of the VRS beneficiaries were working with contractors of sugar estates and 31 per cent were actually casual workers on the same sugar estates where they were working before the VRS (see Table 44). 11.8 per cent were self-employed and around 5 per cent were working with different planters. Adopting a gender perception, we note that 80 per cent of the women were working with contractors of the sugar estates and only 4.4 per cent are selfemployed compared to 14 per cent for men. Around 9 per cent of women were working with other planters while 3 per cent of men engage in a similar activity.

Reference 112 - 0.01% Coverage

The Export Oriented Enterprises (as the EPZ is to be known as from 2006) employed, by March 2001, 93,218 workers of whom 30,783 and 62,435 were respectively males and females, giving a ratio of nearly 1:2 in favour of female workers. With the restructuring of the sector, there were many redundancies so that by June 2009, there were 58,066 workers of whom 24,451 and 33,615 were respectively males and females, giving a ratio of 1:14 or 5:7 in favour of female workers. Of the 35,000 workers made redundant, about 29,000 were women and about 6,000 were men. Thus women are the most vulnerable group in the labour force in that sector.

In the process of restructuring, wages went up compared to the 1980s; but nevertheless, in the textile sector, monthly wages in March 2002 went down from Rs. 7,039 to Rs. 6,236 in March 2008 in real terms (using 2001 as base year). The wages reached its March 2002 level in March 2009. As wages go up, the share of females in the labour force in this sector goes down. The obvious question is: "What happens to the 35,000 workers made redundant and, in particular, to the 29,000 women?"

Reference 113 - 0.01% Coverage

5. Gender Policies: Women and the unemployed are being targeted as reservoirs of cheap labour. Discriminatory wage rates against women and generally occupational segregation should be done away with. Economic structuring, as it has occurred in the Sugar Industry and in the EPZ, is characterized by redundancy, low incomes/wages and high levels of insecurity. Whilst both men and women do suffer from this state of affairs, women workers are much more likely to be the victims.

Trade Unions

References or discussions of trade unions

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_.Report-FULL> - § 1 reference coded [0.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

receiving their lump-sum she brought the matter to the office and helped them to get their lumpsum. When labourers were mistreated and that they absented themselves without leaving any paper, she went to Mon Desert Alma to discuss their case and help them to get their work back. As a member of trade unions she also asked for a female nurse who could attend female patients, that men and women be given the same load of work and that there should be no disparity as far as their wage rate was concerned. But she said that the disparity between the wage rate of men and women still persist. She and the other members of trade unions also asked that women should retire at the age of 58 and men 60. Their demand was approved. After 2-3 years they asked that women should retire at the age of 55 and men 58. But she retired at the age of 58 instead of 55 because the manager told her that she should continue to work since there was no one to represent labourers and give her a favour by making her work somewhat less. On retiring in 1988 she also left Plantation Workers Union. When Navin Ramgoolam became Prime Minister in 1995 the Sugar Industry Labour Welfare Fund was dissolved.

Wages

References or discussions of wages and paid

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

The prevailing income among the respondents is very low indeed. About 62% of them earn between Rs 1,000 to Rs 6000; and women labourers are worse off with 68% of them being in that income bracket.

A 're-skilling programme' had also been planned for the labourers. From the sample, 72% of men and 82% of women either had not benefitted from any training whatsoever or did not attend the training session. Among those who did attend, only 17% found it beneficial. It is obvious that the training provided did not satisfy the objective of re-skilling as defined in MAAS.

It was also noted that among the retired labourers, the women face a particularly difficult situation. The reduced pension, referred to earlier on, impacts more severely on them for three reasons. Firstly, their basic salary is lower than that of men on account of wage packages and remuneration orders prevailing in the Sugar Industry. Secondly, they retire at a younger age than the men, at 45 or 50 years and the actuarial factors used to compute retirement pension are lower. Thirdly, they may be widows or are the only bread earner in cases where the husband is unable to work.

To provide support to women affected by the VRS, an amount of Rs. 800 million was included in the Action Plan 2006-2015 for adaptation and empowerment. These funds were destined for the safety nets, possibly in a revamped Social Aid Programme. However, this specific project has not been implemented.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

The Export Oriented Enterprises (as the EPZ is to be known as from 2006) employed, by March 2001, 93,218 workers of whom 30,783 and 62,435 were respectively males and females, giving a ratio of nearly 1:2 in favour of female workers. With the restructuring of the sector, there were many redundancies so that by June 2009, there were 58,066 workers of whom 24,451 and 33,615 were respectively males and females, giving a ratio of 1:14 or 5:7 in favour of female workers. Of the 35,000 workers made redundant, about 29,000 were women and about 6,000 were men. Thus women are the most vulnerable group in the labour force in that sector.

In the process of restructuring, wages went up compared to the 1980s; but nevertheless, in the textile sector, monthly wages in March 2002 went down from Rs. 7,039 to Rs. 6,236 in March 2008 in real terms (using 2001 as base year). The wages reached its March 2002 level in March 2009. As wages go up, the share of females in the labour force in this sector goes down. The obvious question is: "What happened to the 35,000 workers made redundant and, in particular, to the 29,000 women?"

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

227. Discriminatory wage rates against women and generally occupational segregation should be done away with.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

359 See the amendment to the Regulation of Wages and Conditions of Employment Ordinance 1961, as enshrined in Government Notice No. 134 of 1973. This is despite the fact that the Annual Reports of the Labour Department and Ministry of Labour prior to 1973 indicate that women should be paid "equal wages for doing equal work" in their various labour ordinances.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Women were always paid less for their labour, and the standard rationale was that as women performed lighter jobs, they were paid less. In several cases it was found that the wages paid to women were actually half (or almost half) of the men's wages.¹²

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

indicates that women who worked in the Grande Bande were being paid less for doing tasks that appear to be little different to that which men who worked in the Petite Bande performed (ARLD 1945:24-26). According to the

ARLD of 1945 men who work in the Grande Bande are “required to perform any sort of unskilled or semi-skilled labour on a sugar estate”, while men who work in the Petite Bande are “required to perform the same sort of labour ... but with a reduced task and not bound to do holing”. This sounds like the same type of tasks that women who worked in the Grande Bande were expected to perform, and indeed if we compare the ARLD of 1956, which reproduces a copy of a collective agreement reached between the Mauritius Amalgamated Labourers’ Association and the Mauritius Sugar Producer’s Association, it states that women working in this group were not expected to cut or load cane.

Women, Class, I, Grande Bande-Labourers capable of performing and required to perform any task appertaining to unskilled labour, but not bound to do holing, uprooting, forking, crowbar work, loading, cutting, heaving cleaning, heavy buttage, [and] spreading manure involving the carrying of a load of more than 18 kilos of manure per basket” (ARLD 1956:21-22).

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Despite the Annual Reports of the Labour Department and Ministry of Labour prior to 1973, analysed by Couacaud, indicating that women should be paid equal wages for doing equal work, differential wages between men and women persisted. This discriminatory practice was corroborated by testimonies which revealed that women and children were paid less than men and even half less.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans: if you were cutting cane and they were cutting cane, did you earn same salary? No, the men earned more money for the day’s work. Why? I do not know it was the White’s law women did light work men did arduous work)

The nature of the work performed by women and children and the differences in their physical predisposition justified unequal wages. Women and children were supposed to do lighter tasks such as spreading manure, weeding and depaiaz (Eng. trans. removing straw from sugar cane) that demanded less physical strength, whilst men did arduous work, such as loading and unloading sugar cane and stone-breaking because they were physically stronger than the former. In other words, women were paid less because their work output were supposedly less compared to that of men.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

The testimonies on wages paid varied, but these discrepancies arose from different working periods. Furthermore, when comparing the estate remunerations practices, slight differences were identified in the remuneration of labourers. Nevertheless, overall, wages remained low as illustrated in the examples below. Minimal wages kept the estate workers in poverty and had various collateral consequences. Low wages fostered child labour, forced women to work and promoted small-scale farming.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

In 1962, when Satianand worked for FUEL Estate, he earned 15 rupees per full working-day and was paid 39.90 rupees per full working week as Sirdar. He stated that a labourer earned approximately 4.10 rupees per full working day. During his trial period, he was paid in kind with 13 pieces of bananas. When he started working in 1949, women were paid 2.75 rupees per full working day and later they were paid 3.15 to 3.30 rupees per full working day.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

5. Gender Policies: Women and the unemployed are being targeted as reservoirs of cheap labour. Discriminatory wage rates against women and generally occupational segregation should be done away with. Economic structuring, as it has occurred in the Sugar Industry and in the EPZ, is characterized by redundancy, low incomes/wages and high levels of insecurity. Whilst both men and women do suffer from this state of affairs, women workers are much more likely to be the victims.

Education

References or discussions of education, training, etc.

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 21 references coded [0.07% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Teenage mothers in Rodrigues are reported to come from varied backgrounds and all parts of the island and have different levels of education ranging from no formal schooling to upper levels of secondary school (Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development, 2001). Interviews carried out as part of the Baseline study conducted on behalf of the Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development in 2001, however, revealed that the problem of teenage pregnancy is perceived to be more prevalent in the poorest areas, among girls who lack education and job prospects. The participant views from the Baseline Study also suggest that many cases of teenage pregnancy are linked to prostitution and that many teenage pregnancies occur in families where the girl's mother also had a teenage pregnancy. The authors of the Qualitative Study of family problems in Rodrigues judged it difficult to test the validity of a correlation between mother and daughter teenage pregnancy, but report that interviewed teenage mothers, in many cases, came from families where there was instability in terms of the mother not having a steady partner.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Sexual activity among teenagers in Rodrigues is reported to start as early as the age of 12 – 13 for some girls, and 14 – 15 for some boys. Since pre-marital sexual activity is severely condemned by parents and the society at large, it occurs surreptitiously. A notion of sexuality as a taboo subject prevails and the topic is rarely one that parents discuss with their children. The school system also appears to provide insufficient information on reproductive processes, and there is as a result a lack of, or confused, knowledge about procreation among teenagers (Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development, 2001).

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

The overarching goal is to move towards greater equality by empowering both women and men to reach fully their potential and use their creativity and entrepreneurial spirit through the provision of adequate infrastructure services, opportunities and training, thereby enabling them to move away from low-productivity agriculture and fisheries sectors to other more productive activities thereby raising their incomes.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

157. land settlement □ Democratising access to property ownership through the construction of low-cost residential developments/Morcellement for the working classes. It also implies implementing measures to protect and defend the land rights of the vulnerable groups, such as women and working-class families. The land allocated should contain sufficient space for agricultural activities with the accompanying training.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

Some have been married once, others have had children without being married, others have been married more than once. Women have their own stories to recall. Some of them have educated their children without the support of a husband (widows or single mothers). They have worked very hard for very low wages and show a great sense of sacrifice. They have been forced to leave their children with family members to find better paid jobs, either in places other than their living places or abroad. Some of them have worked as maids, embroiderers, in textile factories.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

women who mostly cared about the future of the children. They were the ones who would really bother sending the children to school to acquire education, at times without the support of the husbands. Women used to cumulate jobs (maids, field-workers, cleaners, cane-cutters, etc.) and very often had to face domestic violence.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Women have their own stories to tell. Some of them have educated their children without the support of a husband (widow or single mother). Women have played a crucial role within the family. They were the ones who faced the pressure of feeding the family. They would go far in the woods to cut wood and to cook food. They would collect vegetables (brède), fruits (Jack fruit, fruits à pain) and roots (maize, manioc, sweet potato, “arouille”) that were available to feed the family.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

From everything that was said during the interviews, the contribution of Creole women has been underlined and it is tremendous. Women are in the forefront when it comes to acquiring land and houses, to provide for the basic needs of children, to make sure (as best they can) that their children get education.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

R6 Mauritius should evolve. University and the employment market are not easily accessible to Creoles. Their efforts are not rewarded. They are discouraged. Many have to emigrate. Things must change in education and in the work market. Manual work should have a better social status. People work hard but cannot cope because everything is expensive. My children must work during the week-end also; otherwise they cannot cope with their salary to repay the loan for their house. To have a table or chairs, we have to get indebted and then work to repay. If we spare some money, it is for our health problems. Those in the low class cannot progress. It is very slow. Everyone is doing effort but little progress. I think training, formation is very important for manual work also. We need to have a part of the cake. Women want to better the life of their family. When young people don't have opportunities, they fall in drug, prostitution etc. We need to help them. Government should help. Families with young people in drugs cannot progress. It is not easy for those young to find help. Government should work for all the people, not for some people only. All should work together for our country. All children should have equal rights, food etc.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

Some respondents had heard about problems of child prostitution in Cité La Mivoie but they had no proof. Poverty and lack of educational and employment opportunities seem to be the reason why women engage in prostitution.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

In fact, based on the Millennium Development Goal Report (2010), rural children are twice as likely to be out of school as urban children are. The biggest obstacle to education is poverty and the rural-urban gap is slightly wider for girls than for boys since girls and women are, often, the first victims of poverty.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Wage levels always remained low, resulting in economic pressure on the families. Poverty forced women to work as labourers and even forced children to work at an early age, pushing them to leave school as they could not afford to pay for their education. In this context, large families in labouring classes thus faced a critical situation. Many respondents have stated that their parents had 8-10 children, several about 12, and some respondents even had 18 siblings.¹⁰ In the labouring classes, human beings were considered as capital – more members in the family meant more income; but then, it severely restricted the growth of the younger generations – more children meant more expenditure on their education and general well being. Since the parents did not earn enough, larger families forced, not only the women, but also most of the children into work at a very early age, depriving them of a natural childhood and overall growth.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

For women, the level of education was very low. Only one respondent went up to standard VI, one up to standard IV and a few up to standard III and it had no links with the educational levels of the parents as R/272 points out.²⁷ Even in the informal institutions of instruction (like Madarsa or Maktab) and Baithka (or temples) their presence was very low, depriving them of almost all the advantages of education. Some of them could not go because there were no schools nearby, or had no proper dress; or had to drop out because of a lack of resources or some casualty like the death of the father or mother. But for many of them, it was the parental/ societal perception that 'it was not required for the girls to go to school because their place was at home' and general apathy that deprived them of education. In some cases, it was also opposed to maintaining control over girls' activities: 'if the girls are educated, they will write letters to boys' and therefore it was not good for them to go to school.²⁸ In several cases, male siblings went to school but girls were not allowed to go to school. It is interesting to note that these patriarchal/moralistic stereotypes were not limited to one ethnic community or only to Indic religions – respondents from Hindu, Tamil, Muslim and Christian all thought alike on the matter of depriving the girls of education.²⁹ A closer look at the responses suggests that there was an interest among the women in education and it is significant to note that some of the female respondents regretted the fact that they did not go to school, and had they been educated, life would have been different for them.³⁰

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, in the evening Satianand's father went to the local Baithka that was a building of approximately 10 ft long and 10 ft. large that could contain 20 to 25 people. Women did not go except to teach the children and to learn Hindi. He went to the Baithka as well where he learnt Hindi.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Women were socialized to accept their roles as wives and mothers as 'natural'. The socialization process in the school made the girls highly refined in their manners, while their academic knowledge remained scant. The one female school run by M. Deaubonne, during the French colonial period, closed in 1809. We can well imagine that the vast majority of slave women and girls did not have access to education. Had there been any form of education, it was left to some individual initiatives limited to the generosity of the slave masters. Some Parish priests of the Lazarist Congregation also catered for the education of slaves. However, the forms of exclusion were reinforced with the Napoleonic rule and the restoration of slavery.

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

of Port Louis, imported the Victorian image of a woman and perpetuated the patriarchal order by reinforcing the traditional gender roles that subordinated women. Education programmes for girls entailed knowledge of how to be good wives, how to cook well, and instruction in maintaining an hygienic home environment. This was further pursued in the 20th century with the setting up of 'Les Ecoles Ménagères'. Although over the years, changes in curriculum bridged the gender divide, yet, girls of the working class were limited in their ambition by this predominant bourgeois ideology of charity which confined girls to their future gendered defined roles of care-givers and home-makers. It was mostly girls of the Creole community who fell victims of this situation, whereas girls of the Indian community benefited from the emancipation work engaged by the Arya Samaj movement in the 20th

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

progress. Arya Samaj rejected child marriage and purdah, established equality between all human beings and so rejected casteism, and also equality between women and men, thus encouraging the education of girls.

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian population, e.g. for the poor, particularly girls and women (Bunwaree, 2005). Those who would not have been able to afford education manage to send their children to school. This provoked a big generational shift for some segments of Mauritian society. Education has therefore been an important tool of mobility for some. But the question that needs to be posed are: how and why have working-class children of slave descent been able to benefit to the same extent as working-class children of indenture descent?

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

Non Christians made a very big effort in propagating education by voluntary work, especially concerning the education of girls. Literacy of girls in the non Christian community had a social repercussion in liberating women who started going out to work for a salary. They were no longer cloistered at home while the rate of literacy kept going up.

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

From Table 46, we note that 45 per cent of women did not benefit from training and 36 per cent did not attend the training sessions, while only 18 per cent were trained in their preferred activity. It is also observed that 32 per cent of male beneficiaries benefitted from training. The different types of training obtained can be shown in Table 47. Most of the VRS beneficiaries (around 22 per cent) received training in gardening, followed by training in cooking, and around 3.2 per cent were interested in plumbing. For those who chose training, they wanted to learn something new or even broaden their existing knowledge, especially in the field of agriculture. For around 17 per cent of them, the training was beneficial and helped them in their daily activities and also to enhance their present work. Overall, the training provided seems not to have satisfied the objective of re-skilling as defined in MAAS.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

measures, imposed on women undergoing abortion, must be removed and a review of the circumstances in which abortion could be permitted must be undertaken. Sexual and reproductive health services must be more widely available in Mauritius and reproductive health education and services must be reviewed. Similarly,

Ethnicity

References or discussions of ethnicity and ethnic lines or tensions

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 46 references coded [0.18% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Tattoos for Colin represented the 'caste' identity of the different ethnic groups, many of which came to Mauritius. Women of the Sofala group also pierced their upper lip and their tattoos consisted of curved lines from their foreheads to temples, and there were points on the cheeks and body.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Several terms have been used throughout Mauritian History to describe this group: 'Coloured Population', 'Libres de Couleur', 'Gens de Couleur', 'Free Population', 'Creoles Ferblan', 'Mulatres' etc. We have chosen the term Gens de Couleur as it implies a certain social status whether neither of the other terms do. Their ethnic and social composition was varied: European, Indian, Malagasy, African, Chinese as well as having slave, free and indentured origins. However, not all these origins have been recognized equally by them and the tendency has been to be Westernised and reject the non-European ancestry. In the 18th, 19th and part of the 20th centuries, when relationships between different groups were forbidden or frowned upon, their relationships were not hidden from public view. However, painful this is for the population to admit, it must also be stated that some were the product of sexual exploitation and rape of slave and indentured women on plantations and in urban areas by owners and employers and heads of establishments. They occupied a unique social and economic status which, only in the past few years, is being uncovered, as more and more family histories are brought to light.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

The mixed traits which created beautiful complexions and features were the bane of European women who did not like the way the mixed women enticed their husband and men away from them. Rose Freycinet wrote about : 'those pretty and well-shaped girls are kept by the rich men, young and old, of Mauritius. I shall add, to the great shame of men, even fathers lavish on those wretches luxuries which their own children often go without. Can you believe, dear friend, that one would not find two men here who do not keep one of those girls in fine quarters, fine clothes and served by five or six black servants [...]?'...Some men even set up home with these women, have a dozen children by them and have no other house but theirs; these men are not married. By their actions, they are forced to withdraw from society, for these women are never received publicly. They provide a good education for their children, who are almost white; several even send them to England and France [...].373

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Prejudices survived from the French colonial days during the British period; for example, an Ordinance of 1779 prohibited entry by the Whites into the 'Quartier des Libres' and punished any infringement by fines. 378 Yet, Indian women, not deterred by the coloured status of their children, had them baptized, without naming their fathers, according to Jumeer. 379 But, this did not secure access into 'good society'; in fact, these children were ostracized both by the Whites and the Indians. A similar story unfolded, when it came to Coloured children with freed slave mothers. Even though their numbers increased, hostility between the White and 'Coloured Population', as Rose de Freycinet noted, 380 increased in the early nineteenth century. The causes of this white antagonism was, partly, rivalry between the two groups of women, White and Coloured, but, above all, it can be explained by the abolition of the status description in the Ordinance of 1829.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

An elite mystique was maintained among Franco-Mauritians and some Gens de Couleur. This was an intangible aspect of being white or nearly white that others, despite class mobility, could not achieve. White Franco-Mauritian women also practised a particular kind of racism, one involving association and dissociation. Specifically, the

women participate actively in charity and volunteer work with the poor, but often do so as a way of achieving a particular identity, one which valorises charitable acts among women as a sign of morality. Charity is also a way of dissociating from the poor (and ultimately the blacks) because it structures the relationship with them, without allowing them to fully engage with the self (i.e., Whites). Furthermore, it also stereotypes the poor because it publicly constructs them as people in need and as dependents who are unable to help themselves. While not all philanthropic acts are done with such motives, we argue that there is a powerful religious-racial discourse at play in Mauritius, one which socially constructs the white woman as the epitome of physical and moral purity. By participating in such acts of moral purification (charity) and doing this in defined social spaces, the white woman manages to support and perpetuate this discourse of purity and also controls the purity of home space – as she does not ‘recevoir’ or receive blacks as equals into this home space. It would seem to us (as a general trend) that, as far as the white Franco-Mauritian men were concerned, it was important for them to maintain the purity of spaces in the public sphere. Thus, they tend to control access to leisure spaces and to jobs and opportunities, by doing so in various ways, consciously (deliberate barring of access) and unconsciously (through micro-aggressions or in references to the prospective black employee in the company not being suitable for the job).

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

These friendships are, however, mostly still masculine, as it is men who tend to occupy the public spheres in Mauritius. With regard to the complex issue of gender, racial myths and stereotypes have permeated gendered categories. For Franco-Mauritian women, there is pressure to maintain a high level of propriety and morality. They participate in a range of charity work, not only because they are fully aware of poverty in Mauritius, but also because this validates their position in the social hierarchy as pure, moral beings. In this sense, they are juxtaposed to the Creole or black women, who are deemed to occupy the lowest rung of the society, being stereotyped as drug dealers and sex workers. Assumptions about the nature of Indian descendants are legion. For instance, women of Hindu origin were being employed, and Creole women were not being employed, at one factory because the idea was that there was inevitable ethnic solidarity among Hindu women. This view

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

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.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

R14 Creoles are despised because they voted against Independence but this must be analysed in context. The Labour Party was founded by slave descendants. My father was member of the Labour Party. Because of the struggle of port workers, social and work laws have progressed. In Free Zone and tourism, black women were called “p” because they dared to work in these sectors.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Whites are seen as being those who were responsible for the fate of slaves. They were cruel and arrogant. They are those who possess 70% of all lands in Mauritius; they have taken lands from Creoles. Médine Sugar Estate is cited as an example. Today Whites are still those who are the masters in hotels. Workers still suffer from them. Many respondents, specially the women, have worked “dan lakour blan”. Those who have French or white ancestors acknowledge it.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

The population of Indian origins in the Black River region came essentially from Madras and Calcutta and the men outnumbered the women. Some of them were living on estate land while others were not living on Sugar Estates (Tables 2 and Table 3).

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...I will not hide, mostly Marathis. In the socio-cultural organisations they want Marathis only, they do not want neither Hindis nor Catholics. I also happened to me, I am the president of the Women Association that is opened to all women irrespective of their race [and] caste. You understand...majority were the Marathis, minority there were some Creoles, they told me to take the Creole women out of the association. I did not agree, I said no...hence, since I disagreed they took me out of the association. Hence, I organised [meetings] at my place. Because I organise them midday they expelled me from over there, they told me, if I want to stay I need to take out all the Creoles. But you understand I did not want to do that...)

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...you just said that women are more active in the region...how you explain that?...you hear fathers say ayo this is not of my concern I will not get involved in that I do not say all, they are fathers you feel they can do things but in the PTA there are 12 members there is one man amongst 11 women...would you say that in the housing estate it is the woman who is the head of the household?...yes yes easily clear and straight...)
Even though, at the surface, women seem to be empowered, yet, field research uncovered that female residents have internalised low self-esteem and low self-confidence that result from negative self-images and self-representations. They believe that they are socially and economically dependent on men and that their social and individual identity can only be constructed through a man.
The generational transmission of these beliefs perpetuate serial monogamy and multiple sexual partners among both men and women. For example, Stephane Lahache, the father of Emilienne Faron, had three three wives.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans:...they respect Indian women...yes sometimes an Indian woman will pass by, they will say stop swearing there is a woman passing by but sometimes they you pass by they continue swearing. If they need urinate in the open air for you to see, they urinate. They behave like that when we pass by...but Chinese women, white women and mulatto women? No they will know these people they will leave her, they will wait, they will let her pass by then they will do what they have to do or the other will say stay quiet...as if for them Creoles have to always remain (backwards)...sometimes way of talking...But what they say, what you have heard on Creoles? Creoles thieves, Creoles drunkards, Creoles whore...)
Gender differences in academic achievement and occupational distributions as well was observed with men being mostly fishermen and gardeners whereas women are housemaids and blue collar workers which means that the skilled and qualified workers are mainly women.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

investigated. Callie House was particularly stung by the allegation of fraud and misappropriation of funds; she wrote a very stern letter to Barrett explaining her rights as an American and she made apologies for her work. She provided a detailed explanation of the movement's mission and actions. "We tell them we don't know whether they will ever get anything or not but there is something due them and if they are willing to risk their money in defraying the expenses of getting up the petition to Congress they are at liberty to do so." She explained to Barrett: "First, we are organizing ourselves together as a race of people who feels that they have been wronged. They had a perfect right as ex-slaves to gather and organize our race together to petition the government for a compensation to alleviate our old decrepit men and women who are bent up with rheumatism from the exposure they undergone (underwent) in the dark days of slavery. I am an American born woman and was born in the proud old state of Tennessee and I am considered a law abiding citizen of that state anyone that work honestly and earnestly for the up building of their own race would like for it to be recognize that way let it be a white man or whit woman are a black man or a black woman.". She went on to denounce the accusation of money fraud : "My face is black is true but it's not my fault but I love my name and my honesty in dealing with my fellow man....My whole soul and body are for this slave movement and are (am) willing to sacrifices (sacrifice) for it.". Page 128.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. trans: Baithka there was one in each region there was Baithka association so people gathered there they talk sometime there a Ramayana¹³²; they do Ramayana at each festival...there were men the men only there were women rarely went to the Baithka just for children to read)

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

As for mulatto women, he draws an even clearer racial distinction, by indirectly criticizing them for wishing to cross the social frontiers and for their lack of morality:

Reference 17 - 0.01% Coverage

“There is between White and mulatto women a demarcation line which the latter try to cross. However, those dangerous mulattoes avenge the contempt with which they are treated, by stealing the White mother’s sons, as soon as they are susceptible to their charms.” ¹⁴

Reference 18 - 0.01% Coverage

libertinage of mulatto women; they are described by him as ‘Vénus noires’, beautiful, with the most enticing eyes, long and rather curly hair. They reportedly reached the age of puberty early and were passionate and seductive in their love-making.¹⁷ Moreover, abortions were frequent among black and coloured women, as was syphilis, yet further proof, in his eyes, of their immorality. (p. 386).

Reference 19 - 0.01% Coverage

letters to her cousin, Caroline, after she had stowed away illegally in the Uranie in 1817. Those letters were published in 1927, as the *Journal de Madame Rose de Saulces de Freycinet*. ¹⁸ In her diary, Rose is even less sympathetic to the complex nature of Mauritian society; she uses the strongest language to condemn the ‘concubinage’ that is rife on the island largely because of the loose morals of mulatto women; at the Champ-de-mars, she remarks:
“A

Reference 20 - 0.01% Coverage

Some men even set up home with these women, have a dozen children by them and have no other house but theirs; these men are not married. By their actions, they are forced to withdraw from society, for these women are never received publicly. They provide a good education for their children, who are almost white; several even send them to England and France [...]
What is to become of this population? Will they always be completely segregated from the Whites? Creole women generally abhor those women who cause the ruin of their families and the breakdown of so many marriages.

Reference 21 - 0.01% Coverage

wishing to ensure their children’s or their mistresses’ future, in the event of their own deaths, buy land in their names. A few women already own substantial properties in their own right.” ¹⁹
This tableau of the role of mulatto women sheds light on many aspects of the origins of the ‘Coloured Population’ born during the French colonial period, and after the British occupation of 1810. However, it would be erroneous to claim that libertinage and ‘concubinage’ were the only sources of the emergence of the ‘Coloured Population’, which also arose from mixed marriages between Whites and men or women of Asian and African origins. Yet, libertinage was a fact of life in the 1830s and 1840s, when Mrs. Alfred Bantrum gave a colourful picture of ‘Creole’ ladies – in

Reference 22 - 0.01% Coverage

the sense of mulattoes – at the Champ-de-mars; the seductive ‘Coloured’ women once again became the target of a European lady’s ire and high moral principles. ²⁰ Nor did some local intellectuals lag behind visitors in their condemnation of the culture of pleasure promoted, seemingly, by the ‘Coloured women’; in his *Statistiques de l’Ile*

Maurice (1838), Baron d'Unienville reflected on the White and 'Coloured' Creoles, given "avec abandon, avec passion, aux plaisirs de la société, aux jouissances de luxe." 21

Reference 23 - 0.01% Coverage

mixed marriages, there were born "those enfants de mille races" [multiracial children], who would later be called "Gens de Couleur". The gap between the so-called pure Whites and the petits blancs and coloured off-springs grew wider. 30 The material conditions in which lived the petits blancs and the shortage of white women in their group, as well as their lack of access to 'Whites', made them succumb easily to the charms of freed slaves or Coloured women.

Reference 24 - 0.01% Coverage

born of Whites and negresses, or Whites and Asiatic women, or White and freed slaves, had emerged. Nagapen, however, points out justifiably that the society of Isle de France/Ile Maurice was "imbued with pigmentocracy". 33 De l'Estrac is right to underline that the Blancs made "a clear distinction between 'mulattoes' and métis. According to this classification, mulattoes were of mixed blood but the products of Whites' relationships with African slaves, while the word métis designated the mixture of White and Indian bloods." 34 So, it is fair to say that, going back to the French colonial period, the very foundation of society in Isle de France, was racist. 35 There existed all nuances of colour, and a very heterogeneous group was born of illicit or unwanted unions.

Reference 25 - 0.01% Coverage

l'Estrac calls a "brassage de toutes les races" which gave rise to the 'Gens de Couleur', "an expression which is also used to designate the totality of the 'Libres'." 39 That the white masters were particularly attracted to Indian slave women in the eighteenth century is known; often, the latter became concubines and wives of their masters, according to statistics provided in Musleem Jumeer's thesis.

Reference 26 - 0.01% Coverage

1789, out of 347 freed slaves, 188 gained their freedom from their white masters; of those 188 women, 138 had given birth to 244 children. They are known also to have acquired land and properties, and métis Indian concubines seem to have played a significant role in the emergence of the 'Coloured community' in the eighteenth century. This was the direct result, according to Jumeer, once more of the imbalance between genders; in 1776, for each woman, there were three men on the island. 41

Reference 27 - 0.01% Coverage

Lim Fat have pointed out that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a reluctance, on the part of Chinese women, to accompany their emigrating partners. 42 De l'Estrac, for his part, drew attention to the fact that there were a number of Chinese artisans, marine carpenters and sailors, who had settled in Isle de France before, and during, La Bourdonnais' governorship. 43 Very early on, only "a few Chinese had married local women, hence the majority of the immigrants had to evolve a mode of life devoid of the soothing presence of womenfolk," concluded Ly Tio Fane and Lim Fat. 44 It is reported by Joseph Tsang Man King (viva voce) that the very first Chinese settler in the 1720s married a Monty, probably of Tamil origins, giving rise to a mixed family. No doubt, despite the absence of archival evidence, there were mixed marriages or various degrees of cohabitation between early Chinese workers or settlers and individual women belonging to the freed slave or Coloured community, but a detailed study is required on this.

Reference 28 - 0.01% Coverage

to as 'Coloured population', did not attempt to acquire more land and often failed to hold on to the few (156) arpents they were given as concessions. Prejudices survived from the French colonial days during the British period; for example, an Ordinance of 1779 prohibited entry by the Whites into the 'Quartier des Libres' and punished any infringement by fines.⁵¹ Yet, Indian women, not deterred by the coloured status of their children, had them

baptized, without naming their fathers, according to Jumeer. 52 But, this did not secure access into 'good society'; in fact, these children were ostracized both by the Whites and the Indians.

Reference 29 - 0.01% Coverage

Economic alliances took place, mostly by way of inter-group mixing and wedlock. Some white merchants married 'Coloured' women, which allowed the 'Coloured' to enter into the profession of merchant, while they were at that time excluded from the professions of 'négociant' and planter, which remained monopolized by the Whites. For instance, Benoît Ollier, a white merchant arrived on the island in 1789, married a freed slave born on the island, called Julie. They gave birth to the first 'Coloured' political activist, Rémy Ollier (1816-1845).

Reference 30 - 0.01% Coverage

existence of cohabitation with 'darker' women, he stressed that a 'mésalliance' was, at the time of Jean-Baptiste, considered taboo. Such pejorative terms as 'Mozambique' and 'Chevrette grillée' were used, in the old days, for the 'Montagnards', but are no longer in common usage.

Reference 31 - 0.01% Coverage

Translation : « I must say that Independence by itself has not caused emigration to go far from the consequences not the consequences but the effect of the consequences where there was a fear that the Hindu the Mauritian of Indian origin treat creoles the way Whites had mistreated them this we have feared this even Indians threatened others saying that after Independence all women would be theirs there was a woman who was the step-mother of my daughter who has heard someone say that after Independence all women would be theirs this is true it is not exaggerated they believed this would happen”.

Reference 32 - 0.01% Coverage

Franco-Mauritians were not a homogeneous group. Their distance from the metropole of France, isolation on the islands, the youth of those sent to the island as well as the unequal nature of the society produced an internally differentiated group in which there were continuous efforts to maintain or achieve privilege. Although there appear to be no detailed studies of the gender profile of the early settlers, studies done in Brazil, another place in which slavery thrived, shows that the high ratio of settler men to women resulted in a more brutal system of slavery in that country and also how life chances are linked to skin colour in that society (Lovell & Wood 1998).

Reference 33 - 0.01% Coverage

The research on the youth offered better prospects for the allocated researcher. This was a segment of the Mauritian population which was relatively open and candid about their experiences of racism in Mauritius. Again, we noted the salience of skin colour to the research process. As a black woman from South Africa, the researcher was better able to access the Creole youth and women of Mauritius. Most of this work, yielded rich data on racial experiences among the youth.

Reference 34 - 0.01% Coverage

College, there was the opportunity to speak to eight young women from Creole, Indian, Chinese and Muslim backgrounds. There the researcher was able to engage students of different religious and racial backgrounds in focus groups which proved to be informative on race discourse amongst youth.

Reference 35 - 0.01% Coverage

(Eng. Trans.: ... I think for us the Chinese it was easier. Whether (it is) in gastronomy or in every-day life. We integrate in another community easily; Hindu, Creole, honestly maybe with Muslims a little less, we say it now with a little suspicion given their lifestyle, religion etc. Otherwise ok...on the contrary there is more opening, there is the practical side. At that time as you said, the first Chinese that came were not only in search of a partner but of an assistant too...and at that time I remind you there were more men than women that came...it is replicating itself now.

In that there are fewer boys for girls. There are more girls than boys. The boys leave and they take an English, French...)

Reference 36 - 0.01% Coverage

It was our intention to fully investigate the cross-cutting implications of gender relations and racism. Our research encompassed both women and men. However, given the scale of this project and the fact that we did not have sufficiently qualified personnel to initiate the research on gender, we were not able to obtain significant observations or interviews on the subject. However, we have noted the following issues, especially as they pertain to young Creole or slave descendant women. First, black skinned women in Mauritius experience the worst of racism. They are often the ones to be harassed and harangued. They receive the poorest levels of service. They are most discriminated against in public and government spaces. They experience racism from family members and in their marriage (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 so as to appear more white. Extracting and summarising from the interim monthly reports of our replacement researchers (Ms. Teelwah and Ms. Chacoory), it was found that at hair salons in Mauritius, black skinned Creoles are likely to receive very poor treatment and inferior

Reference 37 - 0.01% Coverage

Ethnic solidarity also perpetuates racist practice. This was also found among women of Indian descent. It was found in one textile factory that the majority of employees were Hindus because the Manager believed that this was good for cohesion and productivity in the factory.

Reference 38 - 0.01% Coverage

tended to 'stick together' to defend the interests of their co-ethnics, if there was a quarrel or dispute regarding a work matter. Creoles, on the other hand, were mostly part-time workers who supplied the factory with semi-finished goods produced from home. The impact of this on the individual development or career/income prospects of the Creole woman may need to be assessed. It would seem to us that this arrangement disadvantages Creole women because they are not really protected by Labour Laws of our country and may not fully understand the implications of the work contracts to which they agree. As noted previously, not only are Creoles stereotyped, but they are also compelled to become invisible and are isolated, so as to avoid potential ethnic or racial conflict in the workplace. In the following, we document the experience of a young Creole woman with racism in Mauritius:

Reference 39 - 0.01% Coverage

ML: Most of them are Creole. And secondly, Muslim and afterward Indian. And you will see because here we have prisoners, the ex-prisoners who have come here. And also in the Women prison you will see the same thing. Most of the women in the prison are Creole, secondly Muslim and then Indian. Because here in Mauritius, most of the prisoner they have been linked to drug, they are in prison because of drug trafficking or for the women sex work. Because they are on a soliciting ground. And most of them are Creole. Now they are Creole and most of the women they came from Rodrigues. They came directly from Rodrigues or the mother, father or grandmother they came from Rodrigues. And here we have made a survey analysis to know why most of them are from Rodrigues and here there are drugs and at Rodrigues we don't have drugs, hard drugs we don't have. In Mauritius we have drugs, we think here it is poverty and the dealers have a good population for exploitation to sell drug and a good field for exploitation. We think that it is for this reason but I don't...

Reference 40 - 0.01% Coverage

With regard to the complex issue of gender, we found that racial myths and stereotypes permeated gendered categories. For Franco-Mauritian women, there was pressure to maintain a high level of propriety and morality, almost as if they were women still living in the Victorian times! They participated in a range of charity work, not only because they are fully aware of poverty in Mauritius, but also because this validated their position in the social hierarchy as pure, moral beings. In this sense, they are juxtaposed to the Creole or black women, who are deemed to be on the lowest rung of the society, stereotyped as drug dealers and sex workers. Assumptions about the nature of

Indian descendants are legion. For instance, as we noted, women of Hindu origins were being employed and Creole women were not being employed at one factory because the idea is that there is inevitable ethnic solidarity among Hindu women. This view does not take into consideration the fact that these women might choose to differentiate between themselves on the basis of age, class, caste, interest or home location.

Reference 41 - 0.01% Coverage

Tattoos for Colin represented the 'caste' identity of the different ethnic groups, many of which came to Mauritius. Women of the Sofala group also pierced their upper lip and their tattoos consisted of curved lines from forehead to temples and there were points on the cheeks and body.

Reference 42 - 0.01% Coverage

After the departure of the white settlers, commerce on the island came into the hands of Asian settlers; Chinese and Indians. They set-up an all one-sided barter and credit system. The imbalance of the trade was flagrant and the exploitation excruciating. Acacia seed was the great barter commodity, and on Saturday, the day chosen for the barter transactions, procession of men, women and children made their way to Port Mathurin, all carrying sacks of acacia. In exchange, they received cloth, soap, oil, sugar, rice, tea or rum. Fishermen received tackle and gear and sometime the rent of a boat in exchange for fish at a predetermined price, which was always much under the real selling price.

Reference 43 - 0.01% Coverage

Society in Rodrigues is more homogenous than in Mauritius, hence the tensions of inter-racial and inter-communal relations are relatively absent. Rodrigues has its problems, but these are poverty, neglect and under-development by Mauritius, as well as violence, and are always compounded by the more sophisticated social evils of alcohol and substance abuse. It is difficult for gender equality to flourish in this milieu, and it is nevertheless heartening to see that so many teachers are open to the idea, and prepared to learn more. However, gender equality needs some special attention in Rodrigues, as indeed it does even more so in Mauritius, possibly because strong women in Rodrigues anchor many families, and are mainly responsible for the upbringing of their children and grandchildren.

Reference 44 - 0.01% Coverage

Rodriguans are of mixed origin and fall into two distinct groups; the descendants of the first Europeans settlers and the descendants of the first European settlers, and those of African and Malagasy descents who were ex-slaves on the sugar estates in Mauritius. As Rodrigues never undertook the extensive plantation culture, this explains why the Indian indentured labour never took roots in Rodrigues. The population stands about 37000 and is predominantly Christians, the majority of whom are Roman Catholics. There are a small community of Anglicans, legacy from the British Colonial rule and an even smaller community of Hindus and Muslims who were amongst the latest to arrive in Rodrigues as traders in the late 1890s. The Chinese traders also arrived around this period, but they right at the start fully-integrated the "Creole" community by marrying Rodriguan women. Churches are well attended on Sundays, and it is the main regular occasion for Rodriguans to dress up on an island where leisure activities are rare.

Reference 45 - 0.01% Coverage

existence of cohabitation with 'darker' women, he stressed that a 'mésalliance' was, at the time of Jean-Baptiste, considered taboo. Such pejorative terms as 'Mozambique' and 'Chevrette grillée' were used, in the old days, for the 'Montagnards', but are no longer in common usage.

Reference 46 - 0.01% Coverage

In the first instance, Black women achievers represent upward socio-economic mobility and marriage will ensure that the man will climb up the social ladder. In the second instance, for women to marry a light-skinned man is conceived as a social promotion, whether the man is a social achiever or not. This stereotypical perception and conception of Whiteness as being superior to

Land

References or discussions of land and land ownership

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 15 references coded [0.07% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

157. land settlement □ Democratising access to property ownership through the construction of low-cost residential developments/Morcellement for the working classes. It also implies implementing measures to protect and defend the land rights of the vulnerable groups, such as women and working-class families. The land allocated should contain sufficient space for agricultural activities with the accompanying training.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

Land and slave-ownership were indicators of economic and social status on the island. Besides the French colonists who possessed large areas “concessions”, the ‘Gens de Couleur’, the soldiers (Noirs de Détachement) who participated in “Maroon Detachments”, were given 5 Arpents each. Contrary to the French colonists, they were not allowed to cultivate cash crops such as spices (cocoa, cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg or cloves) on their lands. The only cultivation allowed were food crops. The ‘Gens de Couleur’ gradually developed other activities: buying and selling, renting land and warehouses. They borrowed money to purchase property. As far as slave-ownership was concerned, most of the ‘Gens de couleur’ owned domestic slaves. Some slave women ended up as partners of the masters.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Under Mahé de Labourdonnais, many plants were introduced in the country. He also reactivated agricultural development, and revived the Sugar Industry. He encouraged settlement and provided women with a dowry to marry settlers. The value of land appreciated greatly with new grants.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Mauritian Gens de couleur also began to acquire real property during the mid-eighteenth century as gifts and bequests and by private purchase. As noted earlier, the full extent of this activity is impossible to ascertain because many of these transactions were handled sous seing privé. On numerous occasions, however, free persons of colour called on notaries to formalize these transactions. The survival of tens of thousands of notarial acts executed by Gens de couleur during this era affords a opportunity to chart the general outlines of free coloured land acquisition and ownership and, equally important, to discern how these men and women mobilized the financial resources they need to acquire and develop ever greater quantities of land over time.

Ta

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

population tripled in size. However, population growth was not the only factor that contributed to this development. The notarial records indicate that growing numbers of Gens de couleur ventured into the local real estate market because they possessed the capital resources to do so. The increasing regularity with which these men and women paid the full purchase price for land at the time of a sale’s formal completion suggests more specifically that, especially after the 1780s, more and more Gens de couleur controlled greater economic resources and enjoyed a certain degree of financial independence.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

Census data from this era highlight the extent to which a free coloured household’s control of financial resources and ability to acquire land depended, at least to a certain extent, on whether the household in question was headed by a man or a woman. Femmes de couleur, who frequently outnumbered Hommes de couleur by a substantial

margin, not only acquired a disproportionately small number of the public lands granted or sold to free persons of colour before 1810 but also often received substantially smaller tracts than did free coloured men.¹⁵ The subdivision of the Grande Réserve during the first decade of the nineteenth century graphically illustrates this fact of economic life; only seven of the twenty-four tracts sold to Gens de couleur were purchased by women. Data from the 1825 Plaines Wilhems census confirm that male-headed households probably controlled a disproportionately large percentage of free coloured economic resources in the island's rural districts by the mid-1820s, if not before.¹⁶

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

According to the terms of the Act that abolished slavery in Mauritius in 1835, the colony's new freedmen were required to continue serving their former masters as "apprentices" for a period not to exceed six years. Termination of the apprenticeship system on 31 March 1839 removed the last legal impediments to the colony's former slaves' ability to reap the fruit of their own labor. As the archival records make clear, the economic fortunes of many of these new freedmen and women rested on their ability to mobilize capital, acquire land, and exploit the economic opportunities that existed during the late 1830s and 1840s.

Reference 8 - 0.02% Coverage

maintenance of personal, business, and other socio-economic relationships with others of the island's inhabitants, both within and across different communities; their willingness to exploit economic opportunities; and the consequences of the island's dependency on sugar as the mainstay of its economy from the mid-1820s until well into the twentieth century. The sugar industry's heavy reliance on domestically-generated capital not only played a crucial role in shaping major developments such as the grand morcellement,⁷⁴ but also highlights the extent to which access to investment and working capital and financial services influenced the extent to which the colony's residents were able to acquire, and retain control of, land. Changes in the composition of the colony's "gardener" population during the late 1840s and 1850s illustrate the consequences that could flow from an inability to amass, or have access to, capital resources. More specifically, the notarial records indicate that many of the small plots sold during the petit morcellement remained undeveloped and were subsequently sold to Old Immigrants by their original purchasers because they possessed only limited financial resources, an economic fact of life that left many of these men and women struggling to hold their own during the increasingly difficult economic times that characterized the late 1840s and early 1850s.⁷⁵ Access to working capital would be equally crucial to the success of the class of Indian/Indo-Mauritian small planters that came into existence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a result of the grand morcellement.⁷⁶

The extent to which access to capital is central to understanding the history of landownership in colonial Mauritius is revealed in other ways. The increasing incidence of sharecropping during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may be traced, in so small measure, to the financial problems facing the local sugar industry at this time. Economic considerations also compelled men and women to squat on publically, or privately-owned land. Many ex-apprentices did so because they lacked the money needed to secure legal title to land. The illegal occupation of public lands, especially mountain and river reserves and the *pas géométriques*, by impoverished men and women of all ethno-cultural backgrounds remained a problem for the Colonial Government throughout the nineteenth century. Information on the extent of this activity and those who engaged in it remains frustratingly scarce, but in 1906, the colony's Conservator of Forests noted some of factors that made dealing with the alienation of these lands so problematic: the absence of detailed and accurate maps of the lands in question; the passage of laws such as Ordinance No. 30 of 1895 which essentially destroyed the inalienability of the *pas géométriques*; and the difficulties that arose from the fact that Indian and Creole small proprietors, many if not most of whom were illiterate, had often purchased land in Government reserves "in ignorance and good faith."⁷⁷ In so doing, he underscores the need for scholars, Government officials, and the general public to appreciate the complexities – social, economic, and political – that coming to grips with the nature, dynamics, and problems of land ownership in Mauritius, both past and present, entails.

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

Those living in cité (R6 and R10) have bought the house and even extended the premises. The women have played an important role in saving money to buy the house and land.

Most of the respondents owned their house, having through either purchase or inheritance. Those living in cité have bought the house and even extended the premises. But some own the "cité" house but are still "paying for the land.

They all are aware of the importance of being a house owner. The women have played an important role in saving money to buy the house and land.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

From everything that was said during the interviews, the contribution of Creole women has been underlined and it is tremendous. Women are in the forefront when it comes to acquiring land and houses, to provide for the basic needs of children, to make sure (as best they can) that their children get education.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

1. Whites are seen as being those who were responsible for the fate of slaves. They were cruel and arrogant. They are those who possess 70% of all lands in Mauritius; they have taken lands from Creoles. Médine Sugar Estate is cited as an example. Today Whites are still those who are the masters in hotels. Workers still suffer from them. Many respondents, specially the women, have worked “dan lakour blan”. Those who have French or white ancestors acknowledge it.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

Democratising access to property ownership through the construction of low cost residential developments/Morcellement for the low and middle classes. It also implies implementing measures to protect and defend the land rights of the vulnerable groups such as women and working class families.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

getting married, though without always providing a succinct explanation for their actions. One is tempted to ascribe this decision to the need for women to play their part in contributing financially to the upkeep of poorer families, in view of the fact that there would be more mouths to feed after getting married and having children. But as tempting as it might be to point to rising levels of poverty as a way of accounting for these increases in female workforce participation rates, one has to temper this possibility against the knowledge that many women did not feel compelled to enter the workforce but instead preferred to stay at home in order to raise children or to work on their own land and to rear livestock (cf. ARLD 1950:30). One also has to ask why it is that sugar estates in Mauritius, which previously had shown an aversion to employing female labourers during the indentured labour period, increasingly opted to employ more female labourers over the course of the twentieth century. These numbers continued to increase such that by the end of the Second World War, female labourers accounted for almost half of the Mauritian sugar industry's workforce, or a maximum of 18,126 female labourers at the height of the crop season in 1945 (ARLD 1945:46). It is important to note, however, that more female labourers tended to be employed during the inter-crop period whereas men made up the bulk of field labourers during both the inter-crop and crop periods. The same logic used to determine how much men and women should be paid for the types of tasks they performed, also seems to account for the industry's preference to employ more women to do lighter tasks between crops and for men to do heavier tasks such as harvesting cane when the crop has to be harvested.

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

When Mr. Ramlall Ramduth started to work on his parents' plot of land he used to wake up at 5 a.m., brush his teeth, have his bath, do his prayer, drink tea and leave for the fields. He used to bring food-farata/rice with curry, which was prepared by his mother, to work. Initially he found the work difficult. But he had a positive attitude since he said that any work is difficult at the beginning but it becomes easier as one gets used to it. His wife also worked with him. He used to plant sugarcane and vegetables, cut canes during harvest, and after two and a half months or 3 months he used to pick the vegetables. When there was a lot of work he used to recruit women to plant canes and pick vegetables. The women started to work at 6.30/7 a.m. and finished at 2 p.m. He paid them Rs. 2 per day. If a woman was absent on 1 day she had to complete her pending work on the following day.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

to as 'Coloured population', did not attempt to acquire more land and often they failed to hold on to the few (156) arpents they were given as concessions. Prejudices survived from the French colonial days during the British period; for example, an Ordinance of 1779 prohibited entry by the Whites into the 'Quartier des Libres' and punished any infringement by fines.⁵¹ Yet, Indian women, not deterred by the coloured status of their children, had them baptized, without naming their fathers, according to Jumeer.⁵² But, this did not secure access into 'good society'; in fact, these children were ostracized both by the Whites and the Indians.

Legacy

References or discussions of the legacy, impact or effects

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 16 references coded [0.05% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

Although anaemia was a serious problem during the 1900s until the 1960s, generally affecting the lower-income groups of the population, it was particularly common among the Indian section of the population and affected mostly women of child-bearing age and young children. The disease was generally associated with malaria as well as hookworm infection. With the eradication of malaria, improved sanitation, public health measures (including iron supplementation and free shoes or boots to school children and labourers) and improved nutrition, anaemia ceased to be a major public health problem by the end of the 20th century.

In

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

High alcohol consumption had been the cause of sickness and mortality among slaves, apprentices and troops. During the 1825-40 period of sugar expansion, the widespread distribution of liquor to slaves as an incentive to work proved to be detrimental as slaves turned into alcoholics. The amount and frequency of arrack distribution differed on each estate but ranged from as little as once a week to several glasses a day. Liquor became cheap and freely available as slaves began to distil it in their huts and sell it to other slaves. Alcohol consumption increased dramatically during the crop season and affected both men and women. It led to various social ills, including fighting among slaves, general disorderliness, theft, lateness at work, insubordination, accidents and, even sometimes, suicides. There were also many unlicensed liquor shops in the districts (Teelock, 1998).

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

The problem of poverty is associated with social exclusion and marginalisation of some sections of the society. In Rodrigues, family poverty among groups, such as single women heads of households and teenage mothers, is accentuated by their lack of association with formal networks in the society. A Qualitative Study on Family Problems in Rodrigues, undertaken by the University of Mauritius, Ministry for Rodrigues and UNICEF in 1993, found that these groups of women, in most cases, do not belong to any associations, movements or community groupings. Some 20 years after that study, it should be noted that an extensive network of associations and organisations exists in Rodrigues and that these actively participate in the development of the island and cooperate in the identification and execution of community-based projects. Single women heads of households and teenage mothers are, however, not widely integrated into this network of organisations. The Study noted that the absence of single women heads of households could partly be attributed to feelings of uneasiness in taking part and a concern with being socially looked down upon by other association members.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Single-headed female households are among the poorest in Rodrigues. Some studies also seem to indicate that external circumstances often result in such households finding themselves in a vicious circle of poverty from one generation to another. Teenage pregnancy also leads to unstable relations and poverty. Once again, it is only through education, sensitisation and direct empowerment that the vicious circle of early pregnancy, lack of education, poverty and unstable family relationships can be broken. It is to be acknowledged that the Commission for Child Development, Family Welfare and Women's Rights is currently implementing its action plan relating to the sensitisation and direct empowerment of vulnerable groups, especially teenage mothers. The action plan addresses the recommendations of the Report on Teenage Pregnancy under three headings, that is, Prevention, Empowerment, and Integration.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

□ Teenage mothers in Rodrigues are reported to come from varied backgrounds and all parts of the island and have different levels of education ranging from no formal schooling to upper levels of secondary school (Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development, 2001). Interviews carried out as part of the Baseline study conducted on behalf of the Ministry of Women, Family Welfare and Child Development in 2001, however, revealed that the problem of teenage pregnancy is perceived to be more prevalent in the poorest areas, among girls who lack education and job prospects. The participant views from the Baseline Study also suggest that many cases of teenage pregnancy are linked to prostitution and that many teenage pregnancies occur in families where the girl's mother also had a teenage pregnancy. The authors of the Qualitative Study of family problems in Rodrigues judged it difficult to test the validity of a correlation between mother and daughter teenage pregnancy, but report that interviewed teenage mothers, in many cases, came from families where there was instability in terms of the mother not having a steady partner.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

□ This system and policy of affirmative action must take into account women of slave and indentured descent. While it is acknowledged that it is presently difficult to define who is slave/indentured labour descendant, policy-makers (and Government) should ensure that positive discrimination occurs.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

The testimonies revealed that some women do not even know the name of the father of their child and thus do not receive any alimony for their children. These women sometimes are unemployed and live in abusive relationships with domestic violence being widespread in the Cité.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

In keeping with Teelock (1998), these types of relationships seem to date back to slavery when women were convinced that the route to 'material improvement', social mobility, social recognition and a better standard of living was through a man and especially 'free men that could provide for their subsistence' which implies a man with a higher social status. These relationships were also a means for women to build sense of social image and social respect.

The economic dependence of women also was retraced to slave times when few opportunities of socio-economic mobility were available and women 'were for the most part dependent on the men when they wanted to provide additional comforts and necessities to their children and a path to social advancement.'⁵⁶

Reference 9 - 0.01% Coverage

We tend to forget that 'black female' identity was shattered under slavery. Slave women were treated as sexual objects that imply that they were denied sexual integrity and they were the property of their slave master. They had no control over their sexuality and bodies.

Reference 10 - 0.01% Coverage

This sexual stereotyping that was perpetuated in post-colonial times such as in the post-colonial literature, has impacted on the 'black female' psyche with women across generations internalising that their body and sexuality were just a 'bartering tool for love and affection' and social status.

Reference 11 - 0.01% Coverage

For example, the rape and sexual objectification of slave women and the helplessness of the slave men who watched their wife, sister or daughter being abused are present in the collective memory.

Reference 12 - 0.01% Coverage

The distribution of work duties on the sugar plantations during slavery as well further disrupted gender roles since, slave women were 'forced into male roles', they 'performed almost all the tasks performed by male slaves'⁵⁷ and were, in reality, subject to harsh corporal punishment.

Reference 13 - 0.01% Coverage

Hence, in keeping with Bryne (1978), gender stereotypes that underpin gender discriminations and subsequently the cycle of gender discrimination against women are maintained and reinforced by parents in Cité La Mivoie that perpetuate identity of girls in domestic traditional terms and roles and in relation to men.

However, considering that slave women constituted the main source of unskilled and menial labour whereas slave men performed skilled work⁶⁰, the shift in job patterns with women nowadays being rather blue-collar workers and skilled workers indicate that women have been able to make use of the opportunities of post-slavery for economic advancement. (See Economic Survey Chapter)

Reference 14 - 0.01% Coverage

Some respondents had heard about problems of child prostitution in Cité La Mivoie but they had no proof. Poverty and lack of educational and employment opportunities seem to be the reason why women engage in prostitution.

Reference 15 - 0.01% Coverage

Even though the Catholic Church, the Ministry of Gender Equality Child Development and Family Welfare and the NGO MAM (Mouvement D'Aide à La Maternité) are present on the field with family planning programmes and organise sensitisation and information campaigns, yet, it seems there is a generational transmission of teenage pregnancy among the women in the Cité with mothers and daughters giving birth to their first child at a young age. Once pregnant the girls often do not resume schooling. (See Chapter on Social Survey)

Reference 16 - 0.01% Coverage

Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah also expressed her views on the condition of women nowadays. She said that although the situation of women has improved, they are still discriminated against in the workplace and are exposed to sexual exploitation. For instance, she reiterated the fact that in the Mauritian sugar industry, men still earn a higher wage than women.

Mrs. Chendradoo Lachamamah also discussed what she believes women in Mauritius must do to further improve their conditions. She said women have to stand on their own feet and must fight for their rights. She also advised them to seek advice from their predecessors, be sincere as far as their married life is concerned, to be honest in their life, and to always be courageous.

Migration

References or discussions of migration or displacement

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_.Report-FULL> - § 1 reference coded [0.01% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

More importantly, among this population, the imagined ‘fear’ of being ‘swamped’ by Indian or the ‘ti Kreol’ no longer exists in the same manner that led to the massive exodus of Gens de Couleur in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, towards Australia, the U.K., Canada and South Africa, even though social mingling may still be problematical for some. Although a cultural and social void was created, the emerging Gens de Couleur today have, according to Rivière, abandoned their former spirit of ghettos, or ‘cloisonnement’ (erecting barriers), against this imagined invasion by other communities, especially Ti-Créoles. The young envision the future with optimism and an openness that augur well for a multicultural and unified nation. Professions are open to all, and the persons interviewed by the Commission were not in dread of ‘cultural nepotism’ that their ancestors deplored. Women appear more open and more enlightened in respect of inter-communal marriages and socialising with other communities.

Socialization

References or discussions of socializing

<Files\\Truth Commission Reports\\Africa\\Mauritius.TJC_Report-FULL> - § 8 references coded [0.03% Coverage]

Reference 1 - 0.01% Coverage

The problem of poverty is associated with social exclusion and marginalisation of some sections of the society. In Rodrigues, family poverty among groups, such as single women heads of households and teenage mothers, is accentuated by their lack of association with formal networks in the society. A Qualitative Study on Family Problems in Rodrigues, undertaken by the University of Mauritius, Ministry for Rodrigues and UNICEF in 1993, found that these groups of women, in most cases, do not belong to any associations, movements or community groupings. Some 20 years after that study, it should be noted that an extensive network of associations and organisations exists in Rodrigues and that these actively participate in the development of the island and cooperate in the identification and execution of community-based projects. Single women heads of households and teenage mothers are, however, not widely integrated into this network of organisations. The Study noted that the absence of single women heads of households could partly be attributed to feelings of uneasiness in taking part and a concern with being socially looked down upon by other association members.

Reference 2 - 0.01% Coverage

There are both male and female heritage spaces, so far unrecognised on heritage lists: washing places became 'socialising' spaces, spaces where women could express themselves freely without being constrained by their husband's presence and where they could 'gossip'. Developments have negatively impacted on the continued availability of these spaces for inhabitants of Cite La Mivoie.

Reference 3 - 0.01% Coverage

Women are the pillar of the Cité in that based on the respondent's testimonies, the women residents are more active than men are and they are the pillar of the family as they play a crucial role in the formation of community life. But, the Cité inner-structure remains patriarchal.

Reference 4 - 0.01% Coverage

Mr. Cyril explained why nowadays some children tend to deviate from the right path. He said that in the past, women did not go to work. They looked after their children. Consequently, children benefited from a close family life. But nowadays, while some children's parents are at home when they return from school, for others none of their parents are there when they reach home. Or at night only one of their parents is at home. He believes this is enough for some children to lose selfcontrol and to become drug addicts. He thinks people should be giving this issue more consideration.

Reference 5 - 0.01% Coverage

interviewees are not in dread of 'cultural nepotism' that their ancestors deplored. Women, as Chapter 7 underlines, appear more open and more enlightened in respect of inter-communal marriages and socialising with other communities.

Reference 6 - 0.01% Coverage

It was also found, interestingly not in the actual data on gender and race but on the data dealing with psychological consequences of racism, that white Franco-Mauritian women also perpetuated a form of racism – one involving association and dissociation. Specifically (and this was gleaned from the interview data of an NGO Manager), the women participate actively in charity and volunteer work with the poor but often do so as a way of attaining a particular identity, one which valorises charitable acts among women as a sign of morality. Charity, as we have

noted in the research, is also a way of dissociating from the poor (and ultimately the blacks) because it structures the relationship with them without allowing them to fully engage with the self (i.e. whites). Furthermore, it also stereotypes the poor because it publicly constructs them as people in need, as dependents who are unable to help themselves. That is not to say that all charity work falls within these parameters or that all women involved in charity rationally pursue charitable acts in order to appear moral. What we can argue, however, is that there is a powerful religious-racial discourse at play in Mauritius, one which socially constructs the white woman as the epitome of physical and moral purity.

Reference 7 - 0.01% Coverage

Women were socialized to accept their roles as wives and mothers as 'natural'. The socialization process in the school made the girls highly refined in their manners, while their academic knowledge remained scant. The one female school run by M. Deaubonne, during the French colonial period, closed in 1809. We can well imagine that the vast majority of slave women and girls did not have access to education. Had there been any form of education, it was left to some individual initiatives limited to the generosity of the slave masters. Some Parish priests of the Lazarist Congregation also catered for the education of slaves. However, the forms of exclusion were reinforced with the Napoleonic rule and the restoration of slavery.

Reference 8 - 0.01% Coverage

culture, particularly music (samgit), folk songs, story-telling and theatre. Women have played an important role in preserving and transmitting this village oral tradition, reflecting an interesting part of Mauritian culture, both in preserving and in creating new elements. Measures should be devised to introduce elements of the language within the Hindi classes, this being considered as more economically and socially viable in the present context.