



**Promotion of peace and peace education through schooling:
Perspectives and experiences of girls and boys in Mauritius**

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B.S.C. (Hons); MA

**Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy.**

3rd August 2018

Declaration

I declare that this thesis represents my own work, except where due acknowledgement is made, and that it has not been previously included in a thesis, dissertation or report submitted to this University or to any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualifications.

Signed:

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Abstract

This thesis explores young boys' and girls' perceptions and experiences of their schooling in the small island developing state of Mauritius. It brings to the forefront problems related to cultural and structural violence that can hamper a peaceful schooling in three state secondary schools: a single-sex girls' school, a single-sex boys' school and a mixed school which also promote the educational theories of M.K. Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. The findings reveal that there can be a 'fideistic' attitude to Gandhi and Tagore in this context, which highlight the need for a critical peace education that question taken-for-granted assumptions. It also shows that in schools, problems can be hidden and not discussed.

The methodology was based on a participatory worldview that asserts the importance of a 'holistic inquiry' and learning from the 'Other' for peaceful coexistence. In this regard, there can be serious ethical challenges for a 'native' researcher to conduct participatory research with young people in a small-connected community like Mauritius.

The research also brings together various philosophies of education and peace for the promotion of peace education. It builds on commonalities from the East and West to highlight the importance of the 'holistic' in peace education. It promotes the concept of 'wholeness' as much emphasised in the East. The research was informed by M.K. Gandhi's, Rabindranath Tagore's and Maria Montessori's educational theories for peace. It was also gender-sensitive and promoted a 'peace-focused-feminism', which is grounded in the Eastern philosophies of 'Yin' and 'Yang', 'Shakti' and 'Shiva' and 'Prakriti' and 'Purusha'.

Acknowledgement

I thank my main supervisors Professor John Morgan, Professor Simon McGrath and second supervisors Mr Gary Mills and Dr Kay Haw for their feedback on my work. I started my PhD under the supervision of Professor Morgan and Dr Haw. After their retirement at different stages of the PhD, Professor McGrath and Mr Mills took over the supervision.

I also thank the team of tutors and administrative staff within the School of Education for their support during the research. My colleagues in the department have motivated me in moments of trials. I am grateful for that. Moreover, I acknowledge the contribution of my participants in this research project and thank the Mauritius Ministry of Education and Human Resources for giving me permission to conduct research in state secondary schools.

I further acknowledge the support of my husband Iswaraja Lutchmiah and my in-laws. They have been very patient with me. Finally, I thank my mother Jeya Luxmee Baligadoo, my father Devarajoo Baligadoo for their outstanding support in terms of financing the PhD, helping me to actualise my potential and to achieve my dreams. Together with my brother Sailendra Baligadoo, they have made many sacrifices for me to reach the end stage of the PhD. A special thanks to Professor Richard Ennals and Mrs Alisson McRobb for their support. A silent thankful prayer also goes to the Almighty whom I see as residing in all those persons who have been helped me one way or the other.

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Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BEC	Bureau de L'Education Catholique
BERA	British Education Research Association
BKWSU	Brahma Kumaris World Spiritual University
BPOA	Barbados Programme of Action
BREDA	Regional Bureau for Education in Africa
CATs	Civic Action Teams
CMS	City Montessori School
COPRED	Consortium on Peace, Research, Education and Development
CPE	Certificate of Primary Education
DEPFE	Department of Educational Psychology and Foundations of Education
EFA	Education for All
EFP	Education for Peace
EP	Enhancement Project
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
FIDH	International Federation of Human Rights
GBS	Gandhian Basic School
GPI	Global Peace Index
HIC	High Income Country
HIPP	Help Increase the Peace Program
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSC	Higher School Certificate
IBE	International Bureau of Education
ICSQCC	International Convention on Students' Quality Control Circles
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
ICTA	Information and Communications Technology Authority
IEP	Institute for Economics and Peace
IPE	International Institute on Peace Education
IOC	Indian Ocean Commission
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Rim - Association for Regional Cooperation
IPW	International Projects Week
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
JEC	Joint Economic Council
LSV	Life-Skills and Values
LSVE	Life-Skills and Values Education
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MGI/RTI	Mahatma Gandhi Institute and Rabindranath Tagore Institute
MGSS	Mahatma Gandhi Secondary School
MID	Maurice Ile Durable
MIE	Mauritius Institute of Education
MITD	Mauritius Institute of Training and Development
MOEHR	Ministry of Education and Human Resources

MoEHRTESR	Ministry of Education and Human Resources, Tertiary Education and Scientific Research
MUN	Model United Nations
NAPLAN	National Assessment Program-Literacy and Numeracy
NATReSA	National Agency for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Substance Abusers
NCERT	National Council of Educational Research and Training
NCF	National Curriculum Framework
NESC	National Economic and Social Council
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NICE	National Institute for Citizenship Education
NPCC	National Productivity and Competitiveness Council
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
NYCBE	Nine Year Continuous Basic Education
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PDCA	Plan-Do-Check-Act
PNQ	Private Notice Question
PPE	Postcolonial Peace Education
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
PSAC	Primary School Achievement Certificate
PSHE	Personal, Social, Cultural, and Economic education
PSSA	Private Secondary Schools Authority
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
QEC	Queen Elizabeth College
RCA	Roman Catholic School
RE	Religious Education
RTSS	Rabindranath Tagore Secondary School
SADC	South African Development Community
SARC	South African Resource Centre
SC	School Certificate
SIDS	Small Island Developing State
SMS	Social and Modern Studies
SMSC	Spiritual Moral Social and Cultural
SQCs	Students Quality Circles
SRE	Sex and Relationship Education
TEC	Tertiary Education Commission
TT	Trinidad and Tobago
TVET	Technical, Vocational Education and Training
UIA	Union of International Associations
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VBE	Values-Based Education

WCTQEE	World Council for Total Quality and Excellence in Education
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZEP	Zone Education Prioritaire

Abbreviations

ALIVE	Association for Living Values Education International
ASPnet	Associated Schools Project Network
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
GSHS	Global School-based Student Health Survey
MACOSS	Mauritius Council of Social Services
MGIEP	Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

CHAPTER ONE

EXPLAINING THE THESIS

Introduction

This critical qualitative and participatory research focuses on the practice of peace education. It considers how peace education or ‘peace-focused education’ (Carter, 2008) can be promoted in a context like Mauritius, a small island developing state (SIDS). Younger (2009: 48) describes it as ‘an amazing human experiment in which people from Europe, Africa, and Asia met and tried to figure out how each could find personal and cultural satisfaction’. The island was formerly colonised by the Dutch, the French and the British. It reflects a plethora of cultures. Within the Diasporic literature, it is also referred to as ‘Little India’ (Eisonlohr, 2006a). Indo-Mauritians (people of Indian descent) form a large majority of the population, amounting to almost 70%. Technically considered as part of Sub-Saharan Africa due to its geographical location, the island is further regarded as relatively the most peaceful country in that region, followed by Botswana (IEP, 2017). It is one of the only four countries that neither currently has tensions with neighbouring countries nor has been recently involved in any domestic or international conflicts. This study, then, is concerned with peace education in a relatively peaceful and stable country. However, I show in the thesis that it is important to be proactive and focus more on ‘peace’ in education.

Peace Education

The practice of peace education within societies in conflict, post-conflict societies and stable societies is acknowledged to achieve peaceful problem-solving (Sakade, 2009). In Mauritius, peace education was introduced in the National Secondary Curriculum

Framework in 2009. The emphasis was on ‘...developing knowledge, skills and attitudes to live together peacefully, constructive management of conflicts, cooperative and constructive problem solving’ (MOEHR, 2009a: 175). Harris (2004:6) refers to peace education as ‘teachers teaching about peace: what it is, why it does not exist, and how to achieve it’. At an international level, organisations such as the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) see education as a viable means to promote universal values of peace and non-violence, human rights, intercultural dialogue, mutual understanding and social justice. Education is linked to a range of activities that address the root causes of violence, from human security to global citizenship and sustainable development. It adopts a multi-dimensional approach while promoting peace education:

The learning objectives of peace education include an understanding of manifestations of violence, the development of capacities to respond constructively to that violence and specific knowledge of alternatives to violence (UNESCO, 2008:3).

The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) also promotes peace education as an essential component of quality basic education. Basic learning needs are not restricted to knowledge about numeracy and literacy, but encompass knowledge, skills and attitudes to live and work in a dignified way and participate in development. Peace Education in UNICEF is referred:

...as the process of promoting the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values needed to bring about behaviour changes that will enable children, youth and adults to prevent conflict and violence, both overt and structural; to resolve conflict peacefully; and to create the conditions conducive to peace, whether at an intrapersonal, interpersonal, intergroup, national or international level (Fountain, 1999: i).

UNICEF aligns peace education with its concept of child's friendly learning environment and a rights-based approach which is gender sensitive. It considers peace as necessary for children's survival, development, protection and participation in society. It recommends learning outcomes such as successful problem-solving. Peace education is seen as a possibility of bringing a behavioural change that shows more awareness and knowledge about peace and enables the acquisition of conflict resolution skills.

However, peace education is not without controversies. It is a contested area of practice. While it is emphasised by UNESCO and UNICEF, various researchers (Bajaj & Brantmeier, 2011; Brown & Morgan, 2008; Cremin, 2016; Cremin & Bevington, 2017; Danesh, 2006; Gur-Ze'ev, 2001; Page, 2008; Vriens, 1997; Zembylas, 2018) have discussed problems with it. Danesh (2006) describes peace education as an 'elusive concept'. Brown and Morgan (2008) state that the various approaches towards peace education remain disjointed and inconsistent. 'Peace education is a diverse, complicated, and controversial area of educational practice' (ibid: 283). Gur Ze'ev (2001) argues that the field reflects little theoretical coherence and philosophical elaboration. Page (2008) highlights that there seems to be an almost 'fideistic' approach to peace education, taking for granted that it is important to believe in peace and peace education. He mentions, for example, the legitimacy of peace education within international organisations such as UNESCO and UNICEF.

Cremin and Bevington (2017) highlight how, in the UK, peace education has been vilified over the past decades as either 'hippy nonsense' or 'political propaganda'. Cremin (2016:15) also argues that whether it is peace, education, peace education,

research and peace education research, ‘all face inter-connected issues of legitimation, representation and praxis’. Within the academic literature, there is moreover increasing awareness that a Western paradigm dominates peace education. Bajaj and Hantzopoulos (2016), Zembylas and Bekerman (2013) and Zembylas (2018) emphasise the need to decolonise the practice from its Eurocentric perspective. In the current research then, I adopt a critical approach to its practice in a similar way to other researchers such as Bajaj and Brantmeier (2011). I bring to the forefront problems that tend to remain hidden and can subsequently affect the promotion of sustainable peace.

Research Rationale

When I reviewed the literature, I found large documentation on peace education programmes in countries with intractable conflicts and those recovering from conflicts such as Israel, Palestine, Northern Ireland, Sierra Leone, Iran, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cyprus, Sri Lanka, Kenya and Columbia (see, for instance, Berents, 2014; Drummond-Mundal & Cave: 2007; Hartland, 2011; Hashemi & Sharanav, 2000; Hirsch, 2006; Jenkins & Jenkins, 2010; Leonard, 2013; McEvoy, 2000; McIntyre & Thusi, 2003; Prisca, Kandagor & Kiprono, 2012; Pruitt, 2011; Ungerleider, 2012; Zakharia, 2016; Zelizer, 2003). In comparison with that, there was a paucity of research on peace education in relatively more peaceful countries and especially in SIDS.

According to Maebuta (2011, 115-159):

...many peace education programmes are targeted to address violent conflicts, however, very little attention is paid to the silent psychological stresses of crises such as those arising from the global economic.

He reports on the Technical and Vocational Education and Training programmes (TVET) as a form of peace education in the Solomon Islands. Maebuta asserts that peace education must permeate all forms, levels and education systems in all societies and that it is not an intervention only for countries undergoing conflicts. There are major differences between the promotion of peace education in conflict-affected areas and regions of relative tranquillity. For instance, Salomon (2002) states that the focus on the latter will be on education emphasising cooperation and harmony. Within regions of conflict and tension, emphasis will be on violence prevention and greater quality and practical coexistence with adversaries. Peace education programmes then may take different forms depending on the context. As stated by Bar-Tal (2002:29):

The nature of peace education is dictated by the issues that preoccupy a specific society, because it has to be perceived as being relevant and functional to the societal needs, goals, and concerns.

Bickmore, Kaderi and Guerra-Sua (2017:283) also argue that ‘education for peace cannot occur in a vacuum but in response to its contexts’. Brantmeier (2007a) further recommends the need to consider peace education principles that guide practices in multicultural contexts. This is particularly relevant for the multicultural Mauritius. However, I could not find much research within Mauritius on peace education or its ‘co-disciplines’ (Bajaj & Chui, 2009). In addition, the lack of evaluation on the effectiveness of peace education programmes is an issue of concern by peace education scholars (e.g. Nevo & Brem, 2002; Harris, 2003; Sakade, 2009).

Further, while referring to Barbados and Tobago and Trinidad, Lam (2011) discusses the problem of sharing and incorporating best practices among SIDS from outside. She draws attention to the intricacies of ‘borrowing’ and dissemination of global policies

especially those created by the international community to ‘benefit’ small states and developing countries. She states that:

The challenge of quality may be attributed to remnants of the colonial educational system in which pedagogy was expository and teacher-centered (ibid: 26).

Harber and Sakade (2009) discuss how in colonised states this model of education was a means of social control to create order and stability and to promote compliance. They show that peace education can be different from normal schooling that is based on an authoritarian model. In the post-colonial context of Trinidad and Tobago (TT), Williams (2016) discusses ‘lingering colonialities’ that can affect education. In Mauritius, it is also possible to see remnants of colonial education. I discuss this in Chapter Two.

Within the thesis, I also highlight other problems that can affect the promotion of a culture of peace, such as school bullying and violence, the influence of a neoliberal economy, increased accountability and competitive schooling. I contend that these problems need to be brought into the open and discussed for sustainable peace. It is not impossible that problems of ‘structural and cultural violence’ as highlighted by Galtung (1990) remain hidden. By cultural violence, Galtung (1990: 291) means those ‘...aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence exemplified by religion and ideology, religion and art, empirical science and formal science’. He also argues that cultural violence can be used to support direct violence and structural violence, which he explicitly links to social justice. For instance, in the past decade, there has been increasing evidence of ethnic and religious fundamentalism. European countries such

as France, UK, Belgium and Germany have been the target of various terrorist attacks, and neither has the United States or Canada been sheltered from these.

In 2015, a video was released showing a Mauritian asking Muslims from Mauritius to join the Islamic State. The person was speaking in French and Creole, urging other Mauritians to travel to the Middle East. His wife and children had settled there. The fighter was Abu Shuaib Al Afriqui¹, identified by local media as Yogen Sundrun, a 35-year old Mauritian who had left the island more than a decade ago. He was a Hindu who converted into a Muslim. Following this, in October 2016, the news was reported in the local media that two young people, a brother and sister, fled to Syria to fight for ISIS (see, Moonien, 2016). These were well-educated individuals who attended ‘Star’ or elite schools in Mauritius. The matter was discovered when their uncle and aunt, residing in the UK, revealed that they had sent money to their nephew Zafirr Golamaully, who they knew joined ISIS (see, *The Guardian*, 2016). These few examples show that Mauritius is not invulnerable to terrorism.

Moreover, Carroll and Carroll (2000) have discussed the 1999 violent upheavals among different ethnic groups. Violence erupted when an Afro-Mauritian singer (nicknamed Kaya) died in police custody. This led to inter-ethnic violence between Christian Creoles and the Hindus/Muslims. It was, in fact, the second major riot following independence. It caused the deaths of many civilians, paralysed the island and revealed the fragility of Mauritius, the ‘rainbow nation’ (Bunwaree, 2002). Boswell (2005:201) has subsequently argued that:

¹ Abu Shuaib Al Afriqui urging Mauritians to join the Islamic State: <http://defimedia.info/etat-islamique-radio-plus-revele-lidentite-mauricien-video-de-propagande-9838/>

...in my view peaceful social relations in Mauritius are but a veneer. Beneath this façade, there is competition and struggle between the various ethnic groups in attempts to establish political hierarchy, hegemony and control.

She has discussed the *'Malaise Creole'*, the felt sense of marginalisation by the Creole community. Laville (2000) has also stated that, for example, a short trip to the outskirts of Port-Louis (the Capital of Mauritius) might reveal the impoverished state of some of the black Creoles. He has argued that democracy is becoming shallower in Mauritius as the Creole, the significant minority on the island, feels that their participation in civil society and national politics is restricted. In his view, 'while attempts are being made to bring about national reconciliation, the wounds of ethnic distrust is still there' (ibid:291). The perception then, among some scholars, is that possible marginalisation of the minority must not be undermined, and the relative peacefulness of the island must not be taken for granted. It is true that compared to its African counterparts, Mauritius is relatively peaceful, yet the literature shows that there may be forms of violence that are not visible. During my literature review, I could not find much research that highlights problems that can hamper the promotion of a culture of peace especially within schools in Mauritius. This research was meant to fill this gap, and subsequently, provide recommendations for long-term peace through the schooling process.

Overview of the research

Purpose, aim, and objective

The main purpose of the research was to gain an insight into the practice of peace education and seek ways to promote it in a context like Mauritius, which is relatively peaceful and diverse. The immediate objective was to provide a platform for boys and girls to share their perspectives and experiences on the promotion of peace through

schooling. The research was gender-sensitive, responding to the call to fill the gap of ‘gender apartheid’ (Reardon, 2001) in peace education and promoting attention to the role girls can play in building peace (Pruitt, 2013). Other research also increasingly shows that young people, whether boys or girls, want to take an active role in bringing developmental change. Youth are not apolitical (Ardizzone, 2003; Drummond-Mundal & Cave 2007; Leonard, 2013; McIntyre & Thusi, 2003; Quaynor, 2015). Thus, the voices and experiences of both boys and girls were included in the study. I show what is possible to learn from their individual and collective stories. The research was carried out in an exploratory mode, to understand the problems that can hamper the promotion of a culture of peace through formal schooling in Mauritius. The aim was to improve practice and subsequently be able to provide a groundwork for future policy decisions, and a springboard for further research. The research was guided by two main research questions.

Research Questions

1. What are young girls’ and boys’ perspectives and experiences on the promotion of peace through schooling in Mauritius?
2. How can peace education be promoted in Mauritius?

These were further guided by three sub-research questions:

- a. What are the problems that affect the promotion of a culture of peace in the single-sex and mixed state secondary schools in Mauritius?
- b. What is being done to curb the problem of violence?
- c. How effective they are, and how can these problems be resolved?

To answer these questions, I adopted a hybrid methodology. I provide an outline of it below.

Methodology

The methodology was influenced by the practice of ‘co-operative inquiry’ (Heron, 1996), a form of action research. I worked alongside the concept of group-inquiries where participants can be involved in a study as co-researchers. Data was collected in three state secondary schools: a single-sex girls’ school, a single-sex boys’ school and a mixed school which is also governed by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute/ Rabindranath Tagore Institute². I used a ‘group process inside inquiry’ supported by group-diagramming and built around the concept of circle processes for the collection of data. I also conducted individual interviews with young girls and boys and individuals involved in policy-making.

Throughout the research, I take a ‘reflexive’ approach, asking questions that can ground practice and develop theorising considering feedback both from my supervisors and the research community. This is increasingly recommended to help reclaim a critical approach to peace education (Cremin, 2016; Kester & Cremin, 2017; Zembylas, 2018). I adopt an ‘attitude of inquiry’, which according to Marshall and Reason (2007:369) implies ‘opening our purposes, assumptions, sense-making and patterns of action to reflection’. They advise that the inquirer needs to possess certain qualities, namely curiosity, a willingness to articulate and explore purposes, humility, participation and radical empiricism.

²The MGI/RTI operates in the secondary, tertiary and cultural sector. It is a parastatal organisation, partly controlled by the government. The MGI was inaugurated on 9th October 1976 and RTI in December 2002. They operate under one council.

Theoretical frame

The research was informed by the theories of education and peace of the Italian Maria Montessori, and the Indians, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. Within the thesis, I show how they have adopted an interdisciplinary approach to the promotion of peace through education. They have also criticised the Western traditional authoritarian form of education in a similar way to the Brazilian peace educator Paolo Freire. They have stressed upon an education that stimulates critical understanding, confronts taken-for-granted assumptions, and brings social change. Their approach to education was unconventional, having themselves fought throughout their life against the shackles of orthodoxy and stereotypes. I found their theories on education and peace highly relevant to the particular context of Mauritius. There is also evidence in the literature that the three of them sought to learn from each other and bridge the gap between East and West.

Interest to readers

The research will be of interest to peace educators, academicians, practitioners and policy-makers working to promote a culture of peace through education. It will also appeal to those who are involved in peace education in a context like Mauritius, a relatively stable and diverse country. Moore (1984) previously stated that the case of Mauritius could illuminate debates on education in European nations more newly conscious of their multiculturalism. It is possible to learn from its struggles, successes, and failures. Educators, researchers and practitioners who are seeking to bridge the divide between East and West may find the study useful.

I also show from this case study that it is important to be proactive regarding the promotion of peace and emphasise not only education *about* peace but *for* peace. While the first one lays much emphasis on the content, the second one focuses on the process (Jenkins, 2007). Education *for* peace is further a ‘holistic’ process which recognizes that for human beings to move towards a less violent and more cooperative, and caring mode of existence, the broad development of their potentialities is required (Shapiro, 2010).

In the thesis, I further discuss the ethical dilemmas that I faced while researching in a ‘small-connected community’ like Mauritius. These can intensify in participatory research with young people. In many respects, I was also an ‘insider’. I grappled with methodological concerns and tensions. I found myself in the ‘messy’ real world of research (Robson, 2002). One can learn from these. Finally, the study has highlighted the importance of a ‘holistic ethics’ that includes an ‘ethics of care’ (Noddings, 2003). Researchers concerned about conducting research ethically may develop an interest in it.

Personal background, research, and initiatives

I have chosen to share with readers my family and educational background, and also my career pathways. I believe this is important as it can make visible any bias that may have arisen unintentionally within the study. This section also reveals my research interests and interdisciplinary studies, which to a certain extent have influenced my decision to undertake the current research, and the way it has subsequently unfolded. It also gives an idea of the extent to which I was an ‘insider’.

First of all, I was born and brought up in a somewhat unconventional *Telugu*³ family in Mauritius. My parents have a liberal attitude towards religion. From childhood, I was taught that all religions are pathways to divinity and there is none that is superior or inferior. At home, it was not surprising to find scriptures and symbols of different religions side by side. I grew up in an atmosphere where different cultures, values and religions were celebrated. Perhaps due to this upbringing, I developed over the years an interest in understanding world religions and philosophy.

I studied Philosophy at Higher Education level in India. I finished my undergraduate studies in 2001, and in 2003, I started a Master of Arts in Philosophy, funded by the Government of India. Back in Mauritius, I worked as an educator, first in private schools, and then from 2006 onwards in state secondary schools as an employee of the Mauritius Ministry of Education and Human Resources (MOEHR). I used to teach 'Hinduism' to students taking part in the Cambridge School Certificate (SC) and Higher School Certificate (HSC). Students learn about the works of various reformers in India like Mahatma Gandhi. They get to analyse the basic tenets of Hinduism, scriptures like the Vedas, Bhagavad-Gita, Ramayana and the Upanishads. They are also taught about Buddhism, Jainism and Indian schools of philosophy. Somehow, though, this interest in religion and philosophy was for me coupled with educational and social activism.

While in India, I completed a Diploma course in Journalism and Communication with the University of Pune. It gave me the opportunity to work in the media and as an intern for the Educational Media and Research Centre on educational and social

³ The Telugu people are a South Asian ethnic group. The majority of them reside in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana in India. People belonging to this ethnicity speak Telugu. It is the third most spoken language in India.

documentaries. One such documentary on girls' education led me to visit and interact with people living in one of the slums in India. I could see the unhygienic conditions in which people were living and the difficulties that some young girls were facing in order to study. From a young age, children were coerced into labour. Another project brought me to work with orphan victims of HIV/AIDS. In both cases, the sights of sufferings were heart-wrenching. All these affected me, and thus, side by side with teaching, I was involved in various community projects mainly with young people. I have now nearly fifteen years' experience working with both girls and boys in schools and the community.

At the community level, I have volunteered as the organiser of the National Youth Task Force of the National Agency for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Substance Abusers (NATReSA) and acted as a facilitator for the training programme on substance abuse prevention among youth. I became a peer educator of HIV/AIDS for the Mauritius Ministry of Youth and Sports. I was enrolled in Life-Skills Education⁴, project piloted by the Ministry of Youth and Sports in collaboration with the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA). I further conducted training workshops on 'Convention of the Rights of the child' and child's participation for the National Children's Council working under the aegis of the Ministry of Gender Equality, Child Development and Family Welfare.

At the school level, I was initially a facilitator and then became a trainer for the project Civic Action Team (CATs), another denominator for Students Quality Circles (SQCs)

⁴ This is a non-formal type of education helping young people in schools and the community to face life's challenges. See, <http://mys.govmu.org/English/deptorg/departments/youth/Pages/Family-Life-Education.aspx>.

in Mauritius (Baligadoo, 2012a). It was implemented in both primary and secondary schools. It was rooted in the productivity culture. The project was a collaboration between MOEHR and the National Productivity and Competitiveness Council (NPCC), the parastatal⁵ body now operating under the aegis of the Ministry of Finance. The aim was to empower students to develop problem-solving skills and a sense of civic responsibility. In this field, I have facilitated award-winning projects on environmental education and promotion of girls' literacy.

In 2007 and 2008, I was sponsored by the NPCC to attend the International Convention on Students' Quality Control Circles (ICSQCC) in India and Turkey respectively. I visited the City Montessori School in Lucknow, India and learnt about its initiatives for peace. In 2002, the school obtained the UNESCO prize for peace education:

...in recognition of its efforts to promote the universal values of education for peace and tolerance and to renew the principles of secularism at a time when these values and principles are increasingly being challenge (UNESCO, 2002b).

Gradually I started developing a keen interest in the promotion of peace education, and this was heightened when peace education was introduced in the Mauritius National Secondary Curriculum in 2009. I became a facilitator of the 'Peace Culture and Sharing Programme' of the Rotary Club of Port Louis⁶. Debates, essay competitions, drama and cultural programs were organised at the school level to sensitise students about the importance of having a peaceful school culture. The club facilitated networking

⁵ It is owned and controlled by the Government.

⁶ It is linked to the Rotary International which is dedicated to the promotion of international understanding, a sense of fellowship, and peace. It engages in various activities for the eradication of poverty, fighting diseases and supporting education. In Mauritius, the Rotary of Port Louis works in partnership with the Ministry of Education in the organisation of various activities to help in the development of the child.

between schools and a few of them worked together to celebrate the International Peace Day. This interest in peace education was further enhanced when in 2010, I was granted the UNESCO/KEIZO OBUCHI Fellowship for research in peaceful conflict resolution at Kingston University, UK. The research was funded by the Government of Japan and facilitated by the Mauritius National Commission for UNESCO. I conducted an evaluation of the work of SQCs and World Council for Total Quality and Excellence in Education (see, Baligadoo, 2012a).

After my fellowship, I started working closely with colleagues from MOEHR to promote a culture of peace in schools. One of the projects I facilitated 'Education for Peace with the youth' won the first prize in the category of 'Human Values' at the National Youth Excellence Award organised by the Ministry of Youth and Sports in 2011 (see, *Le Mauricien*, 2011a). In 2012, I set up a Girls' Peace Circle in a single-sex state school in Mauritius. The core members were students of Lower Six, aged between sixteen to seventeen years old. Various activities were organised namely training workshops for parents, staff and students, sensitisation through mural paintings, peace songs, anti-bullying campaigns, inspirational talks during the assembly and composition of slam poetry on prevention of school violence. By then I had started to realise that the problem of school bullying and violence could dampen efforts for peace and it was important to raise awareness of its detrimental effects on children and adolescents. I could see that the problems affected not only boys but also girls.

However, a major report on *'Discipline/Indiscipline and violence in secondary schools in Mauritius'* acknowledged girls' violence but did not consider it a serious problem. The report stated that '...bullying is more common in boys' schools' (Ramharai et al.,

2006, 183). Research, though, had been focusing on boys' indiscipline and violence (Dhondea, 1997; Mewasingh, 2003). Four years later, Lutchmun (2010) argued that boys and girls alike lashed out with violence in Mauritian schools. In 2011, the World Health Organisation also conducted the Global School-based Student Health Survey (GSHS) with students in secondary schools aged thirteen to fifteen years old. The findings revealed that the percentage of girls who were bullied on one or more days over a period of 30 days in Mauritius was 29.5%. For boys, it was 42.1 %. The reports showed that the percentage of girls who were seriously injured one or more times through violence or unintentional injury over a period of 12 months was 31.2 % and that of boys was 47.9 % (WHO, 2011). As the figures indicate, the problem affects both boys and girls. I started researching this issue, and it became the focus of my dissertation for a second Master in Education from the University of Brighton, UK.

My research findings confirmed the existence of girls' bullying and violence in a case study of one school in Mauritius. It further showed that girls were not seeking help from adults but building on their sense of autonomy and self-reliance to solve problems. Some of them were taking an excessive amount of some pills available at pharmacies and hospitals in attempts to commit suicide. Though not many, yet these were alarming. There were also instances of girls cutting themselves with blades at school. It is important to note that a recent study by the Mauritius Research Council (2015) shows that there is an increase in the number of suicide attempts among teenagers. The majority of the respondents said it was a serious issue among young people. The research shows a great gender imbalance, with girls being systematically over-represented in these cases. Within my research dissertation, I argued:

Girls are not necessarily learning the right ways to solve problems. They are also not learning how to live peacefully together. This, in effect, prevents the implementation of the Delors (1998:37) pillars of ‘learning to be’ and ‘learning to live together’. It further perpetuates a culture of violence (Baligadoo, 2013: 56).

The findings showed that there was a need to provide parents, staff and students with effective support strategies to deal with girls’ bullying and violence. The National Economic and Social Council (NESC) had in the meantime produced a report *‘Indiscipline and Violence at Schools’*. It stated, ‘...this issue is taking an escalating proportion’ (NESC, 2012:4). It further showed that the problem was not to be ignored by referencing press coverage of both boys’ and girls’ bullying and violence (ibid: 17-18). Another report by the Mauritius Council of Social Service (MACOSS, 2013) showed that:

Girls and boys are not only exposed to schoolyard fighting but also to threats, verbal abuse, sexual violence, gang violence and assault with weapon by their own peers.

This *‘Civil Society Position Paper on Violence in Schools’* revealed that violence in and out of schools was rising and we should not be complacent about it. There were reasons to believe that the problems of school bullying and violence in Mauritius were not to be underestimated. Further research indicates details of disruptive behaviour, learners’ indiscipline in secondary schools, and difficulties that principals and teachers face (Louis, 2017, 2018).

While the Mauritius National Youth Policy highlighted that one of the responsibilities of youth was to ‘promote peace, security and development’ (Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2009: 9), this seemed not to be happening. Thus, one question recurrently came

to my mind: ‘How do I teach peace to children and young people?’ There was not much literature about how peace education was to be enacted in countries like Mauritius, and it was not easy to incorporate best practices from outside in the Mauritian context. My practice was showing that there was a need to ground peace education programmes with the daily realities of young people. Otherwise, we could well miss the goal of sustainable peace. The training and skills that I acquired at national and international level with different organisations certainly did help me, but they were insufficient. I felt the need for a deeper investigation into the field of peace education. I wanted to improve practice and reconcile it with theory. At the same time, I believed that I could make an intellectual contribution to the field of peace education. Hence my enrolment in January 2013 as a self-funded PhD student at the School of Education, University of Nottingham.

Frankly speaking, it will not be wrong to say that I started as a peace activist, became a peace educator and the need for theory drew me into researching peace education. While no doubt peace research, peace action and peace education overlap in that they all aim for peace, yet peace education performs a distinctive role. It is concerned with the ‘learning process’ that culminates in peace (Reardon, 1988). As an educator, I was interested in investigating this process further.

The organisation of the thesis

The thesis has been organised in three parts. The first part consisting of Chapter One, Two and Three focuses on the literature review portion of the study. In Chapter One, I have given an overview of the thesis and what led me to undertake the research. In Chapter Two, I elaborate on the research context, forms of peace education and discuss

challenges that can impede its practice, such as the remnants of colonial education, a neoliberal economy and the secular and religious divide.

In Chapter Three, I consider briefly the historical development of peace education. I review the literature on the philosophical and theoretical foundations of peace education. The need to consider other 'critical' perspectives to the Western paradigm that dominates the field is discussed as well as the importance of decolonising the practice. I also consider the educational theories of Maria Montessori in the West, and Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore in the East. I highlight how in the East there is an emphasis on the 'spiritual' and 'holistic' aspect of life. There is an endeavour to unify the mind, body and spirit for peace which is in sharp contrast with the Cartesian mind-body dualism and its emphasis on reason. The meaning of peace transcends the conventional interpretation in the West as the 'absence of conflict and war'. In Chapter Four, I explain how I have proceeded with the collection of data and the analysis. I also provide a critical review of the ethical issues that have arisen during the study. The limitations are further discussed. Chapter Four concludes the second part of the thesis with the emphasis on methodology, methods and ethics.

In Chapter Five, I report on the findings in the three state secondary schools. The perspectives and experiences of students about their schooling are analysed. I consider what they identified as obstacles to peace and their recommendations. This is juxtaposed with the views of adults who were interviewed for a more 'holistic' understanding of the situation. Current strategies for peace are reviewed, and I argue about the need for a paradigm shift from peacekeeping and peacemaking to peacebuilding in Mauritius. Peacekeeping helps to maintain peace. It addresses mainly

direct violence. Peacemaking tries to make peace between people after a conflict arises. It can address structural violence. Peacebuilding responds to cultural and structural violence. It lays out longer-term strategies to prevent the recurrence of violence and ensure sustainable peace. It is a 'holistic' approach to build peace.

Chapter Six precludes the conclusion. I found it relevant to consider in greater details the modelling of the MGI/RTI and how it is possible to learn from its weaknesses and successes. I show that it is not impossible that there is a 'fideistic' approach to Gandhi and Tagore in Mauritius. I also consider the case of the mixed schooling of the MGI/RTI. Based on the overall findings, I make some recommendations. In Chapter Seven, I discuss the contribution of the study to knowledge growth. I summarise the major findings. I argue that while there are certain limitations to the study, this must not deviate from its contribution.

Before concluding this chapter, I believe it is important to explain how I have proceeded with the review of the literature. I conducted the relevant electronic searches in several databases including Google Scholar, Scopus, Eric and relevant development agencies like the United Nations, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank. I then selected studies that were related to 'peace', 'peace education', peacebuilding, gender and youth, ethics of care, research with children and young people. The selected literature for review has emerged from diverse sources like the *Journal of Peace Education*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice*, *Children's Geographies*, and *Children and Society*. The research has also drawn on books published by academic researchers. As

the research progressed and emergent themes appeared, other relevant literature from practitioners and aid agencies was reviewed.

One difficulty that I encountered was the lack of academic research in Mauritius within the framework in which I was working. Sometimes it was necessary to refer to press articles or to open the aperture considering contexts somehow similar to Mauritius such as Trinidad and Tobago, Solomon Islands, India, United Kingdom, United States, Australia and Canada. At other times it was necessary to redefine the search by scanning for peace education in the East and West, Global North and Global South. The use of the term 'Indian Diaspora' also generated articles. The thematic review has then emerged from various fields. As far as possible, I have included references relevant to the study and maintained the focus on peace education, though I have at times referred to the practice of Citizenship Education, Human Rights Education, Values Education, Education for sustainable development and Restorative Practices. As Harris (2004) has highlighted, peace education can, in fact, be seen as an umbrella term for many activities including international education, human rights education, development education, environmental education and conflicts resolution education. They have a family resemblance in that they all try to explain different forms of violence and alternatives to them. As I also show in the next chapter, peace education in Mauritius can take different forms.

CHAPTER TWO

Mauritius, peace education and challenges

Introduction

In this chapter, I elaborate on the research context. I believe this is an important task, given that some readers may not be familiar with Mauritius, its demographic, culture and educational system. I also highlight different forms of peace education in Mauritius and discuss challenges to their implementation. I mentioned in Chapter One that what brought me initially to start a PhD were the problems that I faced as a peace educator working in this particular context. As I also show in this chapter, some of these problems are not specific to Mauritius.

Mauritius

Demographics and language

The demographics of Mauritius reflect great diversity. As of July 2014, the population of the Republic of Mauritius was 1,261,721 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, 2014). The island reflects an ethnically diverse population: Indo-Mauritian (people of Indian descent) 68%, Creole (people of African descent) 27%, Sino-Mauritian (Hakka and other Chinese groups) 3% and Franco-Mauritian (People of French Ancestry) 2%. The 2011 census made by Statistics Mauritius reveals that Hinduism is the major religion at 49%, followed by Christianity at 32 %, Islam 17 % and Buddhists 0.4 % regarding the number of adherents. The people of Indian descent or the Indo-Mauritians follow mostly Hinduism and Islam. The Franco-Mauritians, Creoles and Sino-Mauritians follow Christianity. A small number of Sino-Mauritians follow Buddhism and other Chinese-related religions (see, Ministry of Finance and

Economic Development, 2011). The Franco-Mauritians and Creoles are included in the category of General Population. Laville (2000) remarks that this category is a residual one that includes all those who acknowledge mixed physiological and cultural heritage.

Mauritians speak different languages according to the required situations. Mauritian Creole is spoken by approximately 90% of the population. It is close to French because of its pronunciation and vocabulary. It is used mostly in informal settings. French and English languages are common in offices and professional settings. Mauritius is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and La Francophonie. The official language of the National Assembly (Parliament) is English, though French can also be used. In the media French is the dominant language. This includes newspapers and television. English and French are compulsory subjects in primary and secondary schools. English is the medium of instruction, though now French and Creole can also be used to support learning. In 2012, the teaching of ‘Mauritian Kreol’ and ‘Bhojpuri’ (Hindi dialect) were also introduced as optional subjects in primary schools. Other languages spoken by some Mauritians are Hindi, Urdu, Arabic, Tamil, Telugu, Hakka (a Chinese dialect), Gujarati and Mandarin. Years of colonisation and ancestral heritage have evidently influenced the personal, social, educational, and professional lives of Mauritians.

Colonial past and collaborative advantage

Mauritius was successively a Dutch, French and later a British colony. The island was named after the Dutch Prince Maurice Van Nassau. The Dutch established a colony on the island from 1638 to 1710. After it was abandoned, the French occupied it from the year 1710 to 1810. Under the French occupancy, it was known as ‘*Isle de France*’. The British captured it in 1810 during the Napoleonic war for strategic reasons: ‘...to

deprive the French of a base from which to harass her shipping and challenge her position in India' (Houbert, 1981: 76). Under the British rule, the island was renamed as Mauritius. It gradually lost its military significance, and all possible cultivable land was used for sugarcane plantation. Following the abolition of slavery in 1835, Indian immigrants were brought to the island to work as indentured labourers. My ancestors were part of them. The administration of the island was mostly run by the revenue gained through the exportation of sugar. In 1968, Mauritius gained its independence and became a Republic in 1992. As early as in the 1960's Britain was not against Mauritius becoming politically independent like Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. At that time, Mauritius had severe problems of population and unemployment. The country was relatively poor.

It is important to note that the island had no indigenous population before the Dutch found it, and it has for, instance, not encountered such revolt as in Fiji where the natives have continuously fought against the Indian immigrants over political power (Biman, 2014). As remarked by Eriksen (1994), the island's independence was negotiated and never fought for. 'Mauritius never went through a period of intense resentment and anti-colonial political mobilisation' (ibid: 556). It has no pre-colonial history, and its post-colonial period was also very short. At the same time, it was too far from America, geographically and perhaps culturally to have been influenced by the Black movement that affected the Caribbean and the United States. Eriksen (1992) argues that the Indian influence is much greater in Mauritius than for instance in Trinidad, where Indians tend to be more creolised.

Outside India and Nepal, Mauritius is the next country in the world where Indo-Mauritians (people of Indian descent) form a large majority of the population, amounting to almost 70%. Some scholars such as Eisonlohr (2006a) even refer to it as 'Little India'. Others such as Claveyrolas (2017) draw attention to how the term 'Indo-Mauritian' misleadingly refers to a homogeneous community when it is not really the case. For instance, the category of 'Indo-Mauritian' includes Hindus from North India, Telugus and Tamils⁷ who are of South Indian descent, the Marathi (Hindus from the state of Maharashtra), and Muslims who are of Indian descent. Arguably then, Hindus continue to form a large majority of the population and Mauritius presents a complex plethora of cultures and traditions with links to the East and West.

Srebnik (1999) also shows that Mauritius has connections with three global 'diasporic' communities- Chinese, Indian and to a lesser extent French. Over the years it has created networks that transcend the territorial state. According to Srebnik (1999), there are also attempts among Muslims to differentiate themselves from the larger 'Indo-Mauritian' grouping and to create ties with the Middle East. Claveyrolas (2017) describes Mauritius as a node in transnational networks. Located at the crossroads between Asia and Africa, Mauritius has easy access to both continents. This strategic position in the Indian Ocean makes it a trading hub of the eastern and southern African region with a highly effective Freeport, excellent infrastructure and transshipment facilities. Mauritius is currently a member of the SADC (South African Development Community)⁸,

⁷ Tamils are a Dravidian ethnic group who trace their ancestry to the Indian State of Tamil Nadu.

⁸ The Declaration and Treaty establishing the SADC was signed by Heads of State or Government of the Majority ruled Southern African States on 17th August 1992, Windhoek, Republic of Namibia. Its objectives are: to achieve development and economic growth, alleviate poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the peoples of Southern Africa and support the socially disadvantaged through regional integration.

COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa)⁹, Indian Ocean Commission (IOC)¹⁰ and the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC)¹¹. The ambitious agenda of the Government is now to make Mauritius a High-Income Country (HIC) based on growth that is sustainably and equitably distributed by 2025¹². Following independence, it diversified its economy to include Information and Communications Technology (ICT), garment, tourism, finance and the seafood hub. With the revenue from sugar, it established the Export Processing Zone (EPZ) in the 1980's, securing capital and foreign investment in manufacturing. With astute governance, expansion of the welfare state and the promotion of a cohesive society, political leaders were able to give a vital boost to the economy. It has subsequently become a success story in the Indian Ocean and Sub-Saharan Africa. Figure 2.1 on the next page shows the location of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean.

⁹ COMESA was formed in December 1994 to replace the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) which had existed in the earlier days of 1981.

¹⁰ It was created in 1982 in Mauritius to strengthen the ties of friendship between different countries in the Indian Ocean. IOC comprises of 5 countries: Mauritius, Reunion, Seychelles, Madagascar and Union of the Comoros.

¹¹ It was officially launched in Mauritius to enhance economic cooperation among countries of the Indian Ocean Rim.

¹² African Development Bank, Mauritius Country Strategy Paper 2014-2018, South African Resource Centre (SARC) January 2014.



Figure 2.1 Location of Mauritius Source: Google

Mauritius is situated at a distance of 2000 km from the southeast coast of Africa and 900 km from Madagascar. The Republic of Mauritius has a total area of 2,040 sq. Km. This includes the outer island of Mauritius: Rodrigues, Agalega and Saint-Brandon (Cargados Carajos). Rodrigues is situated about 560 km east of Mauritius. It gained autonomous status on 10th December 2010 and is governed by Rodrigues Regional Assembly. Mauritius, Rodrigues and Reunion are collectively known as the Mascarene Islands after the Portuguese navigator Pedro Mascarenhas visited them in the early 16th century. The three of them are of volcanic origin. Reunion Island is one of the overseas Departments of France, about 200 km southwest of Mauritius.

In the next section, I consider peace education in Mauritius.

Peace Education in Mauritius

I mentioned in Chapter One that peace education was introduced in the National Secondary School Curriculum Framework in 2009. However, within the Primary School Curriculum Framework (MOEHR, 2009b), peace education was not included, though there was an emphasis on ‘Values Education’. This was linked to notions of citizenship, civic responsibility, child’s rights, environmental care and awareness, development of empathy and good relationships. Fountain (1999) previously highlighted that there is overlapping of various educational initiatives with peace education in Mauritius as, for instance, its link with education for development and promotion of child’s rights. I also showed in Chapter One that I was myself involved in various activities for the promotion of a culture of peace, and this even before the introduction of peace education.

It is important to note, however, that while no doubt there may be overlapping between various thematic areas in peace education, their specific objectives may be different. As Harris (2004) highlights, they all try to explain different forms of violence and alternatives to them. For example, peace educators engage in ‘Human Rights Education’ address issues of injustice, political repression and the rights and dignity of people. The ‘Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ becomes an important educational tool for them. Those working within the framework of ‘Environmental Education’ encourage protection of natural resources, and care for the planet, and promote the need for sustainable lifestyle and development. Conflict resolution educators specifically teach students the skills of problem-solving, techniques for anger management and the ability to respond to adversity and deal with conflicts peacefully. According to Cremin and Bevington (2017), justice and equality, conflict resolution,

global citizenship and human rights have made up the bulk of the content of peace education in the last century. However, less has been written on affect and care, spirituality and aesthetics and postmodern education. Within the thesis, my focus is more on care and spirituality. The reasons behind this will become clearer as the chapters unfold. For now, my purpose is to provide an overview of the educational system in Mauritius and the different forms of peace education.

Forms of peace education

Recently there have been new educational reforms in Mauritius with the introduction of the Nine Year Continuous Basic Education (NYCBE). Within the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) Grades 1-6 (implemented since January 2016), there is an emphasis not only on core subjects such as Mathematics, English, French, Science but also on Values and Citizenship Education, Life Skills, Intercultural Education and Education for Sustainable Development. Within the lower secondary school curriculum framework (Grades 7-9) which has been implemented in January 2018, the History curriculum, included under Social and Modern Studies (SMS) reveals the intent of teaching students about the process of colonisation and decolonisation. They have to learn the meaning of terms such as ‘empires’, ‘colony’ and ‘decolonisation’ and their relatedness to Mauritius. They are also required to study the socio-economic conditions of people at the end of World War I and the condition of Mauritius at that time. Having also an understanding of the process of decolonisation after World War II is seen as relevant. These can be seen as attempts to educate the young citizens about their relation to the outer world and to be aware of the struggles of their past generations towards, for instance, the independence of Mauritius.

Further analysis reveals that citizenship education, human rights education, values education, sustainable development and principles of democracy have been interwoven within the SMS curriculum. Interestingly, it is pointed out in the NCF developed by the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE, 2016:121) that:

Values in the SMS curriculum will be all-encompassing. It will enable learners to consider the importance of the proper values and attitudes necessary for shaping the future. It intends to create a school ethos that enhances the academic attainment and develops students' ability to cope with social and emotional relationships that would serve them throughout their lives.

What is noticeable also is that cross-cutting issues, such as Intercultural Education, Values Education and Social and Emotional Well-being have been incorporated under '*Life Skills and Values*' (LSV) curriculum. Sexuality Education and Road Safety Education have also been included under this category. Students have now one period of LSV per week, taught ideally by the Form Teacher. It is seen as important in helping learners to 'build resilience, develop self-regulation, increase self-awareness, practise positive relationships, and strengthen problem-solving skills' (MIE, 2016: 121).

Through 'Intercultural Education', the objective is to build social cohesion and maintain peaceful coexistence. Within 'Social and Emotional Well-being', the emphasis is on helping learners to manage their emotions, behaviours and relationships with others. As can be seen then, promoting the culture of peace through education in Mauritius can take different forms. In Diagram 2.1 on page 33, I illustrate the cross-cutting issues in the primary and secondary school curriculum since 2009. The diagram also gives an indication of issues that seem increasingly relevant to the Mauritian context according

to the curriculum developers and policy-makers (see MIE, 2015a & 2016). The Pre-vocational stream will phase out with the new reforms.

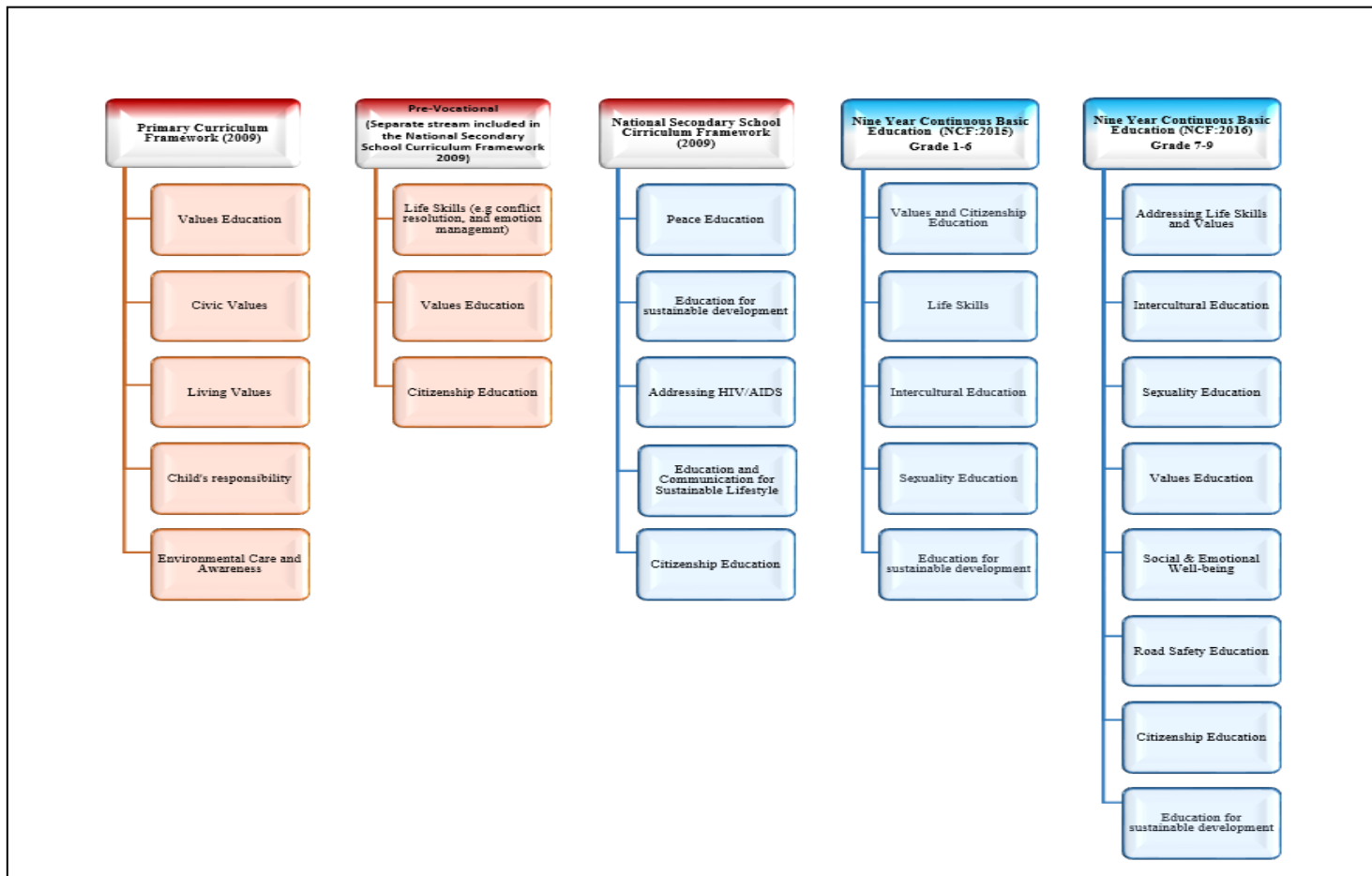


Diagram 2.1 Cross-cutting issues in the primary and secondary curriculum in Mauritius

While the list of cross-cutting issues is increasing within the curriculum, yet there is not much research in Mauritius to show how in practice they are being implemented and how it is possible to learn from their successes and failures. I have shown in Chapter One criticisms against the field, and also the concern in academia about a lack of evaluation of such programmes (e.g. Nevo & Brem, 2002; Harris, 2003 and Sakade, 2009). The almost ‘fideistic’ approach to peace education has also been criticised (Page, 2008). I have not, however, come across much research that highlights problems that can hamper the promotion of peace in such a context. As I also showed in Chapter One, there are increasing arguments among scholars that the relative peacefulness of the island must not be taken for granted. Hence, I contend that the research is justified. Given the lack of research that fails to bring to the forefront problems that can affect peaceful schooling in Mauritius, the current research seeks to fill this gap. At the same time, it is not indifferent to contemporary dialogues on peace education such as decolonising the practice from its Eurocentric perspective (Zembylas, 2018).

In the post-colonial context of Trinidad and Tobago, Williams (2016) describes the blockades to peace education in schools as emanating from ‘lingering colonialities’, an ethos of hierarchy, control, docilization and exclusion. He also brings to the forefront problems like school violence which I have highlighted in Chapter One. He discusses exclusionary practices and top-down processes in schools. Harber and Sakade (2009) have shown how the authoritarian model of education in colonised states was a means of social control to create order, stability and promote compliance. While it was spread to colonised states, it was subsequently retained by Governments even in post-colonial societies as a means to maintain political control. It was gradually imitated by other countries as a modern model of mass education. Mauritius like Trinidad and Tobago is

a former British colony. Though the island celebrated its fifty years of independence on 12th March 2018, it is possible to see remnants of colonisation in the education sector. I discuss this in the next section.

Colonial Education

The British colonial education has impacted considerably on the Mauritian educational system with ‘transmission’ being the mode of knowledge production. It has also created an elitist and competitive education. Foondun (1992:25) argues that:

Weak pupils are thus neglected and cannot keep up with the teaching-learning process because the classes prepare the high flyers for entrance to the elite schools. The emphasis is on specific examination skills so that non-examinable subjects are given only a nominal presence in the actual teaching.

Foondun (1992) further discusses how the competitive schooling system has created a culture of private tutoring in Mauritius. After school hours, most students take private tuition with the hope that they can succeed better in their examinations. This starts from the primary school to the upper secondary school. However, since 2011, the government has banned private tuition for pupils from Standard 1 to Standard IV. In *Le Mauricien* (2011b), an article ‘*Abolition of private tuition in Mauritius: Will it meet the same fate as the previous bills on private tuition?*’ shows the controversies surrounding this issue and its detrimental effects on students.

Over the years, the major problem has been the cut-throat competition at the level of the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) when children are just eleven years old. In

2010, ‘the Enhancement Programme’¹³ was launched in primary school. As shown by Crossley, Bray and Packer (2011), it was meant to reduce inequalities within the primary education sector, promote a child-centred pedagogy and eventually lead to the dissolution of the CPE. However it could not survive long. With regard to this, the President of the Government Teacher’s Union stated:

Depuis le début, je le répète, l’EP était voué à l’échec! Ce projet encourageait une éducation à deux vitesses, les enfants riches prenaient des leçons particulières alors que ceux qui n’avaient pas les moyens restaient à l’école pour participer à ces activités qui souvent se résumaient à des jeux.

Since the beginning, I have been repeating that the Enhancement Project would not work. It was encouraging a two-streams education where children of the rich were taking the private tuition while those who did not have the financial means remained at school to participate in what often turned out to be mere play activities (translated from l’Express, 2014a).

This in itself can be seen as leading to more marginalisation. Hence, there was controversy concerning its implementation and relevance in the primary education sector.

Caroll and Caroll (2000:38) argue that ‘Mauritians learn from childhood to view life as a competition’. They state that the educational system continues to marginalise the disadvantaged. In 2001, the Government in power introduced regionalisation and the grading system. It was reported that ranking at the level of CPE is ‘...pedagogically unsound, totally arbitrary and unfair’ (Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, 2001: 5). There was more investment regarding upgrading of colleges and building new ones. Students were given access to colleges in their vicinity. According to statistics

¹³ It was an after-school programme for students and teachers that integrated group-work, outdoor activities, creative arts and technology.

revealed in the *'National EFA 2015 Review Report: Mauritius'*¹⁴, thirty-two colleges were built between the years 2000 to 2004. Unfortunately not many people were in favour of that change. The succeeding government came up with a new system that added the 'A+' to the existing grading system. Those students who obtained 'A+' could have access to the 'Star' colleges though they still had the option of choosing a college near their homes. For instance, one of the girls' 'Star' secondary schools is Queen Elizabeth College (QEC), an appellation that demonstrates the colonial influence. The competition was mainly for admission to the 'Star' secondary schools that produce a greater number of laureates at the level of the Cambridge Higher School Certificate. These laureates are granted bursaries to pursue higher studies not only in Mauritius but in overseas universities including the UK. Today, one of the major reasons behind the educational reform and the NYCBE is about reducing this competitive edge at the level of CPE and promote more equitable quality education, with provision also made for special education needs. Figure 2.2 on the next page, reflects the new education structure and learning pathways in Mauritius.

¹⁴ For the report, see <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002310/231077e.pdf>

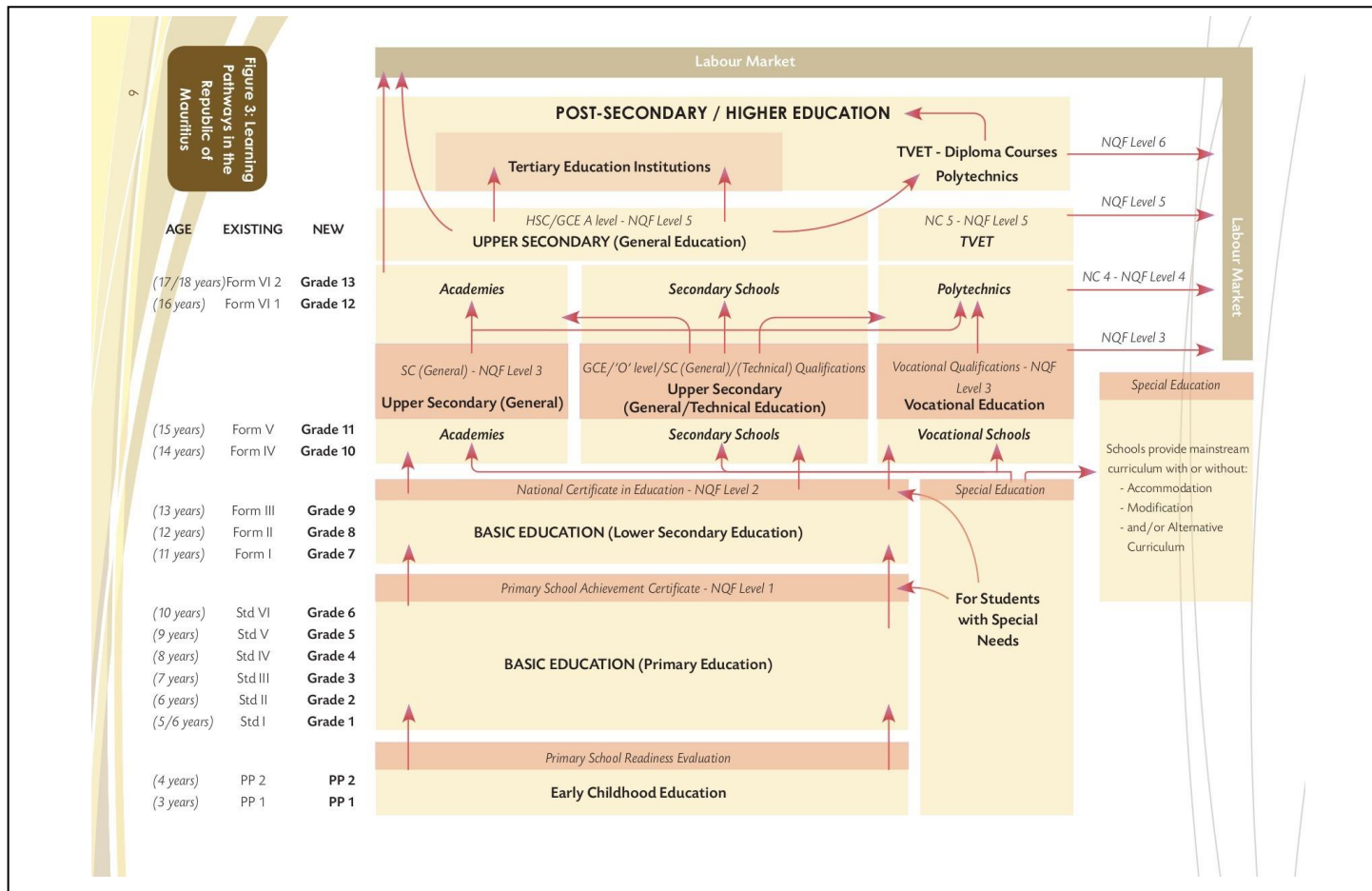


Figure 2.2 Structure of the educational system in Mauritius and learning pathways (MIE, 2015a)

As can be seen from Figure 2.2, at Grade 6, students now take the Primary School Achievement Certificate (PSAC). There is a further national assessment at Grade 9, after which they move to the Upper Secondary Schools and academies. After Grade 11, they can also choose to enter in Polytechnics. No doubt the coming years will be crucial in evaluating whether this new educational reform has reduced competition and marginalisation and improved the quality of education. Griffiths (2000) has questioned the quality of education in primary schooling in Mauritius. She has argued that there has been a tendency to neglect the ‘human development perspective’ of education that is based on the principle that people are born with certain potential capabilities. She makes a distinction between the ‘economic development perspective’ and the ‘human development perspective’ that is relevant to highlight in this analysis.

In the economic development perspective, production and material gains are the target of development. In contrast, the human development perspective takes people and the quality of their lives as its first priority (ibid: 787).

It will not be wrong to say that within the former approach, the tendency is to forget, for instance, the importance of the moral and spiritual development of the individual. While within the NCF (MIE, 2015ab & 2016), there is an endeavour to ‘humanise’ the curriculum, yet the question that comes to my mind is: ‘how to balance education for economic growth, development, and education for peace?’ Without doubt, peace and development are linked (*Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*¹⁵). The NCF is also said to be ‘value-driven’, and ‘education for sustainable development’ is said to permeate the curriculum. Bajaj and Chiu (2009) also contend that while

¹⁵ Report of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, 3rd to 14th June 1992 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14 and corrigendum), chap. I .It established 27 principles. According to the 25th principle, ‘peace, development and environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible.

environmental and peace education may exist separately as co-disciplines, with their respective sub-themes and concerns, the intersection between the two is emerging as education for sustainable development. Its increasing importance within the Mauritius NCF is evident. However, as highlighted by Hursh and Henderson (2011) neoliberalism has elevated the market and profit above considerations of climate change and environmental sustainability. Moreover, within the ‘instrumental commodity-oriented model of education’, there is increased competition, standardised curriculum, privatisation, high-stakes tests, cost-efficiency accountability, performance-based pay, race to the top mentality, and tightened external inspection to control teachers’ and schools’ achievements’ (Aloni & Weintrob, 2017:7). Mauritius, as well as many countries around the world, is not invulnerable to the discourse on the marketisation of education and neoliberalism (Bunwaree, 2001). I discuss this below.

Neoliberalism and marketisation of education

Neoliberalism has reinforced individual tendencies and has stifled the ‘human’. Baltodano (2012) discusses how, with the ascendance of neoliberalism in the US, schools were blamed for the inequalities created by the unregulated market. The impact on Teacher Education was felt with managerialism being greatly emphasised. The latter highlights the demise of education as a public good. Connell (2013) also discusses how in Australia the neoliberal tendency within education has led to competitive testing, privatisation, a commodification of knowledge and destitution of care. She refers to the National Assessment Program-Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) which is run at the direction of the Educational Council. She argues that with the increased focus on what is testable, teachers’ capacity to develop curricula appropriate to their actual pupils is undermined. Bickmore (2006: 360) further draws attention to the fact that ‘formal

guidelines by no means determine classroom practice'. She refers to teachers' agency and the smaller time allocation for citizenship education in Canada.

In their study in primary schools in England and Wales, Adams, Monahan and Wills (2015) find that time devoted to spiritual, moral, social and cultural (SMSC) development is relatively low compared with other subjects. Personal, social, health and economic education (PSHE) and citizenship education also appear within the Secondary Curriculum in Key Stages three and four as compulsory subjects. All schools, primary and secondary, are advised to make provision for them. Sex and Relationship Education (SRE)¹⁶ is also an important part of the PSHE. However, Adams, Monahan and Wills (2015:213) argue that: '...the high stakes inherent in the performativity discourse can mean that the holistic takes second place in practice, even if it is held in high value by trainers, trainees and teachers alike'.

Cremin and Bevington (2017) also discuss how high stakes, test-based accountability regimes enacted through league tables and Ofsted's¹⁷ inspections in the UK can have harmful effects on young people and teachers. Under the guise of the school improvement discourse, they mask an ideology that can contribute to cultural and structural violence. Harber and Sakade (2009:177) argue that:

The key purpose of such tests is not diagnostic for the benefit of the pupils but to provide statistical information about schools so that they can be ranked in league tables and parents can choose between schools in a quasi-market.

¹⁶ It is compulsory from age 11 onwards.

¹⁷ Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills is a non-ministerial department of Government that carry out school inspections, rate schools and performances and publish reports of their findings to subsequently improve the quality of education.

They also discuss problems with this high-stakes testing in the UK and pressures on teachers to complete the curriculum. In a *'Longitudinal Survey of Young People in England'* with more than 9000 students, Foliano, Meschi and Vignoles (2010) show that a heightened emphasis on test performance can contribute to student disengagement, increase stress level and affect well-being. Behr, Megoran and Carnaffan (2018) show how neoliberalism and also militarism have narrowed the possibilities of peace education. Where is the place then for peace education, its 'co-disciplines' (Bajaj & Chui, 2009) or any 'peace-focused education' (Carter, 2008)?

In Mauritius, 'Performance Management System' was introduced in the education sector in 2009. It was linked to performance-based budgeting to increase standards and performance. It has subsequently added pressure on teachers to produce measurable outcomes, and account for the performances of their respective students. Under the performativity regime, testing, grading, benchmarking, monitoring and accountability have gained prominence in education. This has brought the work of teachers, students and their institutions under greater scrutiny. Schools and teachers have to set targets, devise strategies, and demonstrate improved performances and measurable outcomes. Teachers also have to prepare for the appraisal meeting, the annual review, report writing, inspections, and their prospect of promotion. Their downfall or success lies in their own hands. Neoliberalism is all about the individual and how much performant he/she can be.

Ball (2003) has discussed the terrors of performativity and its consequences on the lives of teachers. Their work has become more demanding and stressful. Today, central to their practice is 'care of performances'.

Even so, while we may not be expected to care about each other, we are expected to ‘care’ about performances and the performances of the team and the organization and to make our contribution to the construction of convincing institutional spectacles and ‘outputs’. We are expected to be passionate about excellence. Our performances and those of the organization cannot be constructed without ‘care’ (Ball, 2003: 224).

Ball (2003) argues that one of the outcomes of the performativity agenda is inauthentic practice and relationships.

I have previously discussed high-stakes testing at the level of CPE and the culture of private tuition. There is competition to secure a seat in the ‘Star’ schools, which produce a greater number of laureates at the level of the HSC examinations. Bursaries are granted to these students to also study at overseas universities. The pressure to perform academically can result in the neglect of other aspects of development. Mariaye (2009) refers to instrumental schooling in Mauritius fitted to prepare students for the labour market. Increasingly, policies on education and training emphasise the development of key skills, knowledge and competencies to make the island a *Knowledge-based economy*¹⁸ and sustainable society (Ministry of Environment, 2010). There is an endeavour to make Mauritius the knowledge hub of the African Region. Economic and infrastructure investments alone are also not seen as sufficient with economies becoming virtual and global based on knowledge rather than manual skills. Soobratty (2015) discusses how in the twenty-first century, the quality of the human resources in SIDS will largely affect their success. Especially for SIDS, investing in human capital is paramount (Pillay & Elliot, 2005).

¹⁸ Knowledge is considered the driver of productivity and economic growth. Individuals evolving in the knowledge-based economy are expected to be highly educated and possess multi-skills.

Mauritians do consider education as an important aspect in the development of their country. Primary education has always been free. In 1977, the government further extended free education to the secondary level to those up to the age of 20 and to a limited few in 1988 for Higher Education. Since 2005, secondary education also became compulsory until the age of 16. Under the French rule, there were no great efforts in regards to education. Even when the British captured the island in 1810, the situation continued to stagnate. It was only after 1948 with new constitutional and electoral reforms that some progress was made. By then, power was transferred to some of the Indians and non-whites on the island. Attempts were made to increase the rate of literacy when a simple literary test became the criterion of eligibility to vote. Education was seen as a way to overcome poor working conditions and increase social mobility (see, Parsuramen, 2001).

In the late 1970s, there was a restructuring of the educational system with the help of the World Bank and UNESCO. Educational policies were determined by socio-economic factors and the need to promote a greater sense of equity. Emphasis was on:

...democratisation of the education system, the spreading out of schools and colleges evenly over the country so as to balance the educational facilities between the urban and rural areas and the diversification of the curricula (Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, 1979: 2).

Discrimination based on colour, race and ethnicity was ruled out from the educational system. The political leaders had realised that with the depletion of their natural resources under the colonisation of the Dutch, French and the British, it was important for the Government to invest in human capital. I have shown that Griffiths (2000) also

highlights that within Mauritius the ‘human development perspective’ of education has been neglected and that of the economic development prioritised.

However within international policy-making, there is now greater impetus to bring the focus in education to more humanistic ideals.

The economic functions of education are undoubtedly important, but we must go beyond the strictly utilitarian vision and the human capital approach that characterizes much of international development discourse. (UNESCO, 2015a:37).

UNESCO (2015a) states that while stepping in the 21st century, there is a need to promote education as a public common good. It highlights how the liberalisation of the market and privatisation has contributed to inequalities in education. It argues that the ‘shadow education’ such as private tutoring has infiltrated education systems around the world. I have also discussed the problems with private tuition in Mauritius. While a more humanistic focus in education is being emphasised, this is not an easy job especially for SIDS, which are vulnerable to global economic policies and financial crisis.

A study initiated by UNDP to analyse the ‘*Social Implications of the Global Economic Crisis in Caribbean Small Island Developing States*’ revealed that this gave rise to unemployment and illegal activities, affected the agricultural exportation, caused a fall in tourism, impacted negatively on healthcare and education and led to increased social deviance (see, UNDP, 2009). Elsewhere, in (Baligadoo, 2012b), I have discussed that projects like the Civic Action Teams (CATs) in Mauritius can see a cut in their funding. The project was also brought to an end. Its benefits such as developing a sense of civic

responsibility among young people and engaging people of different communities, gender and ethnicities to come together to solve problems, were sidelined. This, in itself, can be seen as a setback of the global market economy where productivity and competitiveness drive quality education.

I wonder if the new reforms will not shift the academic pressure to the National Assessment at Grade 9 and increase the culture of private tutoring from Grade 7-9 which can subsequently impact on the implementation of cross-cutting issues like citizenship education, values education and peace education. Previously, students have been subjected to high-stakes testing at the level of CPE. Little attention was paid to other aspects of their development apart from their academic excellence. While this is perhaps an assumption for the time being and future evaluation will have to be conducted, yet it brings to the forefront problems, tensions and challenges of promoting peace education and its co-disciplines in a neoliberal economy. Apple (2006) contends that while neoliberal and neoconservative movements have aggressively altered teachers' jobs and schools, there is a need to be optimistic about the future. He highlights that in some parts of the world, teachers, students, communities and social activists have come together to build more critically democratic schools, as the example he gave in Brazil.

Nevertheless, the question that comes to my mind is that in-built in institutions are values, cultures and people's beliefs. They have much to do with dreams, aspirations and visions of individuals. They are, moreover, not playthings that can be dismantled instantaneously without psychological barriers. In a paper entitled '*Twelve Friendly quarrels with Johan Galtung*', the eminent peace researcher Kenneth Boulding (1977: 80) remarked:

That there are inefficiencies and pathologies of hierarchy, nobody can doubt. These must be dealt, however, within the structure of hierarchy itself and cannot be dealt with by abolishing it.

I agree here with Boulding. Vertical structures exist in organisations and societies all over the world. Trying to eradicate them will be like waging war with the various institutions. This only shows the difficulty of promoting a culture of peace. In the next section, I elaborate more on the problem of cultural and structural violence in education.

Structural and cultural violence

Harber and Sakade (2009) highlight how peace education can be different from normal schooling that is based on an authoritarian model of education that has its roots in the Enlightenment. However within peace education, the focus is more on relationality, as is depicted in their case study research on the West Midlands Quaker Peace Education Project¹⁹ and an urban primary school. Within the context of peer-mediation in schools, Sellman (2011) also shows that school structures may not be conducive to democratic participation. Harber (2002) explores such tensions within citizenship education. Both draw from experiences within the UK. In Baligadoo (2012a), I discuss how in Mauritius the project CATs, based on a bottom-up process of management became a problem in schools, with students being given a greater platform to voice out their views on problems that affect their schooling. Problems that were unheard before came into the open. Teachers and rectors who practised an authoritarian approach in education were not in favour of that.

¹⁹ The emphasis on peaceful relationships in WMQPEP is underpinned by the Quaker philosophy, in particular the view that God is present in every person and hence the importance of respecting and valuing each individual equally.

Interestingly, while reviewing the literature, I could not find much research in Mauritius, which explores young girls' and boys' perspectives and experiences on the problems they encounter in schools or on the promotion of a culture of peace. However, according to the latest statistics, the population of youth in Mauritius amounts to 422,535 (Ministry of Youth and Sports, 2016). This includes 213,396 males and 209,139 females, constituting an overall 33% of Mauritius. This indeed is a problem. Continuous neglect of the feelings, perceptions and needs of young girls and boys can result in a situation where they feel marginalised. For instance, in a study conducted in New York City with young people from 2000 to 2001, Ardizzone (2003) found that involvement in activities in youth organisations helped them to make their voices heard. Before that, they felt marginalised and believed that they did not have a say in society. In Ardizzone's view, it is important to give a voice to young people and make them feel part of the solution. She states:

This research clearly demonstrates that young people are agents of change. Rather than being the cause of society's ills, they can serve as a great resource to address social problems. It is time to stop scapegoating youth and to take notice that they are looking for ways to become involved (Ardizzone, 2003: 442).

She points out that the value of young people is often overlooked and educational reforms that are implemented via top-down models do not necessarily incorporate their voices. Her participants were between 15 to 22 years old and came from different ethnic backgrounds.

Through two other case studies conducted this time in Australia and Northern Ireland respectively, Pruitt (2013) shows how girls are often excluded in activities for peace

due to the dominance of a neoliberalist discourse that ascribes girls' non-participation as a failure by individual girls. She also states:

A key gap in the existing literature is the lack of attention given to the role girls can play in building peace. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 calls for gender equality in peace processes, specifically emphasizing the need for participation of women and girls. Yet girls are often neglected in UN peace process and in related scholarly research (Pruitt, 2013: 3).

Pruitt discusses the challenges and difficulties faced by girls who participate in youth community programmes. According to her, it is necessary to investigate the gender-barriers preventing girls' participation in activities for peace. Reardon (2001) has also emphasised the importance of gender-sensitivity and gender-responsibility within the field of peace education and criticised the 'gender apartheid' that has existed for decades. She has argued that the teacher of peace must be gender-responsible, aiming to illuminate positively the complementarity that exists between men and women and their distinct, but significant contributions to the learning community and society. Similarly, Brock-Utne (1985, 1989) has argued that in the process of educating young people for peace, it is important not to treat them as a homogenous group. As remarked by her, they are young girls and boys belonging to two different sexes. To treat them alike as if they receive a unisex education becomes rather unscientific.

Some research such as Bitona and Salomon (2006), Hashemi and Sharanav (2000), McEnvoy (2000) and Prisca, Kandagor and Kipronon (2012) have included the voices of girls with regard to their perceptions and experiences of peace. And there are examples of other endeavours to include girls in decisions related to policy-making. For example, a training programme by UNESCO Jakarta's Office focusing on youth civic engagement and consultation of youth in the Post-2015 Development Agenda gave the

opportunity to girls and boys to act as agents of change. A participatory policy-making approach was advocated so that young people could have a chance to make their voices heard and be listened to by policy-makers and decision-makers. One recommendation made by girls and boys was to consider youth as active role-players rather than mere beneficiaries of development as enunciated by the Millennium Developmental Goals (UNESCO, 2013). According to the United Nations Populations Fund (UNFPA, 2014), there are slightly less than 1.8 billion of young people aged between fifteen to twenty-four years around the world. Indeed, their voices cannot be ignored. In the next section, I consider the problem in Mauritius with the secular and religious divide.

Religious and secular divide

Mauritius, like India, promotes a secular approach to education. Religion has been kept out of the NCF. Students whether in primary or secondary schools do not have ‘Religious Studies’ (RE). However, an ‘Asian Language Department’ in secondary schools includes under its banner various ancestral languages and subjects like Islamic Studies, Hinduism and Bible Knowledge. In primary schools, the emphasis is laid for example, on ancestral languages, such as Hindi, Urdu, Modern Chinese and Tamil. It is believed that these languages can help to secure greater integration and comprehension in the multi-ethnic Mauritius (Soobratty, 2015). Figure 2.3 on the next page illustrates the organisation of the curriculum across Grades 1 and 6 and shows the integration of the various ancestral languages within the curriculum.

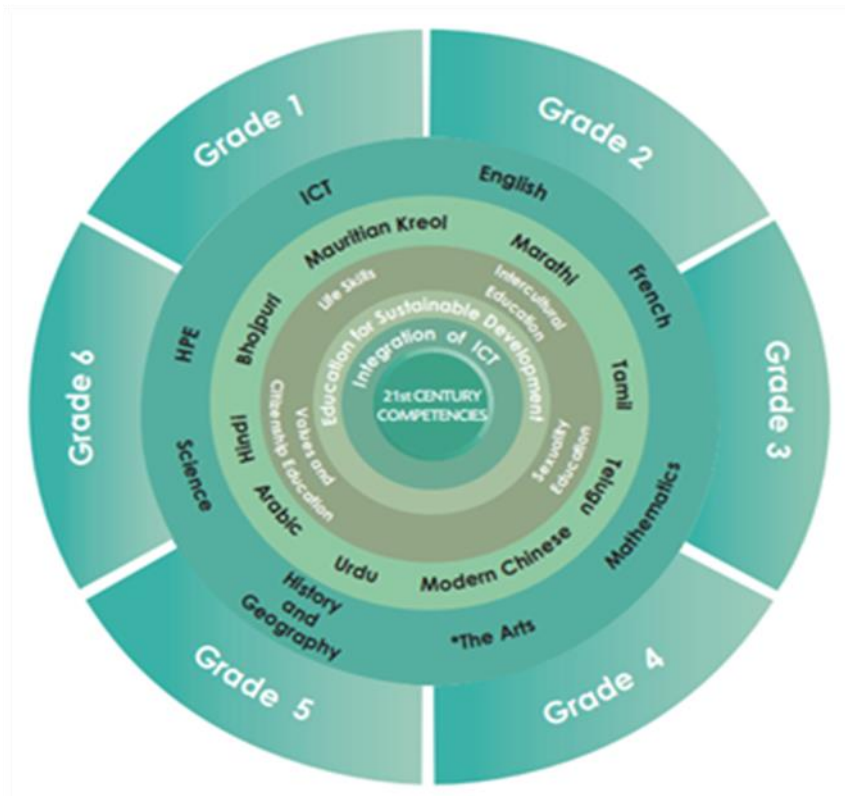


Figure 2.3 Organisation of the curriculum across Grades 1 and 6 (MIE, 2015b)

Further examination of the NCF reveals reference made to Mahatma Gandhi and his view of the universal person: ‘A curriculum that accommodates different cultures and languages is the best platform to create Gandhi’s universal person’ (MIE, 2016:56). It is important to note that within the secondary schooling sector in Mauritius, seven schools operate under the Mahatma Gandhi Institute and Rabindranath Tagore Institute (MGI/RTI). These are the MGI Secondary School, Mahatma Gandhi Secondary School (MGSS) Moka, MGSS Flacq, MGSS Solferino, MGSS Nouvelle France, Rabindranath Tagore Secondary School (RTSS) and the Gandhian Basic School (GBS). Students in these schools follow a broader curriculum that takes into account Gandhi’s and Tagore’s views on education. The schools are also listed as state secondary schools by the Ministry of Education and Human Resources. The Indian influence cannot be dismissed

so easily within the Mauritian context. Nevertheless, there seems to be an attempt to transcend this sense of Indian identity as with other Diasporas through the promotion of Citizenship Education where learners are encouraged to:

develop a sense of national identity and belonging, develop a sense of patriotism, love and pride for the country, develop positive attitudes for nation-building, develop an appreciation of the common characteristics of all citizens of the Republic of Mauritius and understand the value of unity in diversity (MIE, 2015a: 39).

It is important to note that Gandhi also advocated the concept of ‘Unity in Diversity’: ‘...a society in which all individuals have to play their part for the good of their whole without losing their individual character’ (Patel, 1956: 52). At the core of the Education for Peace (EFP) curriculum, the unity-based worldview also has its roots in this concept of ‘Unity in Diversity’. Danesh (2006) characterises this worldview as the age of maturity when one comes to the consciousness of the oneness of humankind. However, Soobratty (2015) has argued that the official Mauritian slogan of ‘Unity in Diversity’ has not helped much in creating a true sense of unity among different communities. In her view, ‘it has contributed to present the various cultures in a mosaic structure instead of being integrated into one society’ (ibid: 89). She has also contended that the Mauritius education system is producing new generations of Mauritians who are ‘foreigners with their borders’.

Interestingly, Bhowan (2006) has also remarked that though four major cultures from India, China, Europe and Africa prevail in Mauritius, it must not be taken for granted that Mauritian understands all of them. He does acknowledge, however, that education, in particular, has been a critical factor in forging ties with different communities and fostering a culture of peace. In Mauritius children from different backgrounds do grow

up together quite naturally in shared educational, cultural and religious institutions.

However, Bunwaree (2002:16) has also argued that:

The Mauritian educational system is intercultural but only in the sense that it accepts people from diverse backgrounds on the same premises – it gives them a chance to rub shoulders but it has a long way to go in teacher training, devising new curricula and syllabi and most important of all in bridging the gap between intent and reality in order to make interculturality become real.

She states that there is much to be done in Mauritius to improve interculturality in the education sector. She has also remarked that while in globalising times, ethnic revivalism and fundamentalism are becoming frequent, there is a greater need for national identity and a sense of solidarity (Bunwaree, 2001). Soobratty (2015) is also of the view that more attention needs to be given to interculturality among the different ethnic groups. From her perspective, so far, genuinely sustainable peace is not deeply rooted in the society. She echoes the views of Bunwaree (2002) and Boswell (2005) and advances that the current strategies of promoting ancestral languages to secure greater integration and comprehension may not be working.

It is important to note that in Mauritius subjects like Islamic Studies, Hinduism and Bible Knowledge, which are offered in Upper Secondary Schools from Form IV (Grade 8) onwards, are optional. Moreover, it is normally a trend that the Muslim student will choose Islamic Studies, the Hindu will opt for Hinduism, and the Christian will study Bible Knowledge. It is fairly rare that a student of a particular faith tradition will study another religion. In such cases when it happens, it is mostly due to a lack of choice of subjects. Furthermore, the teachers who teach these respective subjects are likely to be a member of that faith. In primary schools also, religious education is not taught

officially though during language classes like Hindi and Arabic there can be references to religious components. There are *'catéchèse'* classes also for Christians. Hence, within the Mauritian context, there is a pattern of Hindus studying Hinduism, Muslims learning Islamic Studies and Christians being taught Bible knowledge. There is no specific class where students of varied ethnicities and religions learn and discuss together different faiths and beliefs.

However, at an international level, the Parliament of the World's Religions²⁰ affirms in the 1993 *'Declaration Toward a Global Ethic'*, that it is the common set of core values that are found in the teachings of the religions that form the basis of a global ethic. It promotes interreligious harmony. Interestingly, Maudarbux (2016) discusses how the aftermath of the 1999 riots brought the establishment of the *'Council of Religions'*²¹ in Mauritius to strengthen interfaith collaboration and harmony. The Council of Religions also launched in 2010 a *'Peace and Interfaith Studies'* course at the University of Mauritius. Still, Maudarbux (2016:472) draws attention to the fact that:

So far, no teacher training on interreligious education or dialogue has ever been carried out. Also, there are still no textbooks on interreligious education or even on interculturality more generally. There is a huge gap in terms of resource availability and expertise for the delivery of this type of programme.

As remarked by Ball (1994, 10-11), *'policies are crude and simple. Practice is sophisticated, complex, contingent and unstable'*.

²⁰ It was established in 1893 and over the decades various conferences and activities have been organised. (see, <https://parliamentofreligions.org/about/mission>)

²¹ It is a local network of religious leaders of the main faiths and denominations in Mauritius. It started meeting in 1994 as a *'Committee of Wise People'*, evolved into the *'President's Advisory Council'* until 1999 and was formally established in January 2000 in response to the United Nations recommendations to establish regional and national bodies of multi-faith religious leaders across the world to facilitate peacebuilding processes (see, Maudarbux, 2016).

However, further review of the literature in Mauritius reveals training workshops conducted for teachers by the Association for Living Values Education International²² (ALIVE). In December 2001, an ‘*African Conference on Values Education*’ was also organised at the MIE with the support of the UNESCO Regional Bureau for Education in Africa (BREDA) with the aim of advancing Values Education and strengthening its network in the African Region, especially following the terrorist attack that same year in New York. Mr Armoogum Parsuramen, the Director of UNESCO-BREDA at that time and a former Mauritian Minister of Education cited in his speech the works of Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, and discussed the relevance of ‘*Ubuntu*’, an African code of ethics. He argued, for instance, that it is important to:

...identify the indigenous values, which are responsive to the objectives of human rights, democracy and peace and consider their integration into the school curricula. Africa has a rich cultural heritage, which should not be undervalued (Parsuramen, 2001: 32).

According to Murithi (2009) also, the ‘*Ubuntu*’ approach to conflict resolution and reconciliation can contribute to peace education, and its most important lesson is about the essential unity and interdependence of humankind. Murithi (2009) remarks that while it is difficult to have an exact English translation of the term, the person who has ‘*Ubuntu*’ is generally hospitable, caring, friendly and compassionate. It points to the essence of being human and the existential connection of the ‘I’ to ‘We’. An important concept of ‘*Ubuntu*’ is ‘I am because we are’. It suggests empathy for others, the sharing of common resources and a collaborative approach to resolving common problems. It was greatly popularised by Desmond Tutu through the ‘*Truth and*

²² It is a non-governmental independent organisation which is registered in Geneva, Switzerland and is committed to promoting values in education (see, <http://www.livingvalues.net/countries/mauritius.html>)

Reconciliation Commission', a mechanism for initiating the process of transitional justice in South Africa.

In Mauritius, the *'Truth and Justice Commission'*²³ was established in 2008 to conduct inquiries into slavery and indentured labour during the colonial period. It was also meant to promote social justice and national unity. Since the 1999 riots, there have certainly been attempts by the Government towards reconciling individuals and communities with their past and promoting a sense of national identity. It is also supporting the Chagossians to fight for their rights²⁴. The NCF 2009 and the more recent ones further show an endeavour within the educational sector whether through the formal introduction of 'Peace Education', 'Citizenship Education' and 'Life Skills and Values Education' to promote a sense of unity and brotherhood. Dhunnoo and Adiapen (2013) also mention 'Values-based Education' (VBE) within Teacher Educational Programmes conducted by the MIE. However, there is not much that can be gleaned from its practice. They acknowledge that their sample of eight practitioners is relatively small. However, it is clear through an analysis of the NCF and NYCBE (MOEHR, 2009a, 2009b; MIE, 2015a, 2015b, 2016; MoEHTESR, 2016) that VBE has over the years gained more prominence. Dhunnoo and Adiapen (2013) also try to make a case for it, giving as rationale a decline in values and an increase in social ills.

²³ Report of the Truth and Justice Commission:

https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/ROL/TJC_Vol1.pdf

²⁴ The Chagossians have for years been fighting for their rights and their resettlement on the Chagos. After their eviction, most of them settled in Mauritius and others in Seychelles. Chagos is currently leased to the United States by the UK Government where a military base has been set up on Diego Garcia, one of the largest islands of the Chagos. Mauritius also claims sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago from the British. The Archipelago was part of the colonial territory of Mauritius before Independence.

Interestingly, in India, within the document *Education for Values: A Framework*, the NCERT²⁵ refers to ‘deepening anxieties’ in the West about the rise and spread of violence and hence within the Indian context also, an emphasis on peace education via values education. In 2005, ‘Education for Peace’ was included in the National Curriculum Framework (see, NCERT, 2005). It was viewed as a strategy to make values education operative (NCERT, 2012). What is noticeable in (NCERT, 2005, 2012) is the emphasis on the interlinkage between values education and peace education.

Bajaj (2010, 2016) also shows the prominent place of values education in India, where peace resonates with traditions related to value and character education. She identifies over fifty active departments/ centres on Gandhian studies in India and these departments fall under the national educational theme of ‘values education’, a category that also includes ‘Buddhist Studies’ and ‘Nehru Studies’. She also discusses how ‘values education’ is subsumed under peace education. However, Bajaj (2016) provides a word of caution. It is not impossible that values education often derives its imperatives from Hindu religious mandates that can prioritise duty, which can take on gendered dimensions. Bajaj (2016:114) argues that these can ‘...severely limit the space for girls and young women to challenge social norms, obedience to elders and chauvinism to other groups, if such notions are embedded in larger religious discourses of nationalism or fundamentalism’. She refers to Lall (2005) who discusses how the revival of *‘Hindutva’*, a Sanskrit term that denotes ‘Hinduness’ or Hindu nationalism,

²⁵ The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), an autonomous organisation set up in 1961 by the Government of India, assist and advise the Central and State Governments on policies and programmes for qualitative improvement in school education. Within the NCERT, the Department of Educational Psychology and Foundations of Education (DEPFE) engages for instance, in guidance, counselling, development of resources and teacher training for ‘Education for Peace’ and ‘Value Education’. Its purpose is to strengthen the psychological bases of school education.

led to changes in the History curriculum that undermine minority groups. The exclusion of their contribution represents a version of values education that has been hijacked (Bajaj, 2016). Bajaj (2016) also remarks that, while India is a secular state, in many Government schools there are periods for moral education or religious instruction.

In Mauritius, values education is not seen as subsumed under peace education. The NCF (MIE, 2015a, 2015b & 2016) is itself said to be 'value-driven'. However, within the UK, Arweck and Nessbitt (2008) highlight how values have receded in the background with the stronger emphasis being laid on citizenship education. Religious Studies (RE) also is compulsory but not without problems (Moulin, 2015). In Mauritius, what appears so far through the analysis is a continuous emphasis on values Education. The value tradition seems to be strong as in India where religion is officially kept out of the curriculum. Within the myths of secularism, religious epistemologies can be rejected (Davies, 2014). Bekerman and Zembylas (2017) have also discussed problems with promoting peace and civic education in secular education. However, as Davies (2014), they highlight how it is important in education to integrate the perspectives of others and promote a dynamic secularism.

From the above elaboration and analysis, it is possible to see that there can be challenges in promoting peace education in Mauritius. Problems like an inherited colonial education, a neoliberal economy, financial constraints in SIDS, structural and cultural violence, and the secular and religious divide can hamper the promotion of a culture of peace. As an educator working in that context, I kept asking myself about how I can promote peace. I showed in Chapter One that I was involved in various activities from Human Rights Education to Environmental Education, Values Education and Conflict

Resolution Education. However, I started to question my practice. I was concerned about the sustainability of the programmes and activities. I realised that it was important to ground practice in theories and academic research. The country may be relatively peaceful with no mass violence, but as I have shown earlier, there are indications of problems related to cultural and structural violence that are also prevalent in countries like the UK, Australia, Canada and the US. Unfortunately, I could not find much research on these in Mauritius. I have also mentioned in Chapter One that within academia, there is the view that peace education is a contested area of practice, it is an elusive concept and it lacks little theoretical coherence and philosophical rationale. The current research was deemed important.

In the first chapter, I also stated that the purpose of this research was to provide a platform for young girls and boys in Mauritius to share their individual and collective stories about the promotion of peace through schooling. I believed that such research could bring to the forefront problems that affect their daily lives and schooling. Subsequently, appropriate strategies would then be tailored to meet their needs and promote their peaceful development. I have shown in the above review an elitist system of education in Mauritius with a culture of private tutoring. The performativity regime can also make it difficult for teachers to focus on other aspects of development than academic.

Moreover, if as argued by Bunwaree (2002), Boswell (2005) and Soobratty (2015), the bonding between various ethnic groups is not strong but rests on a *'façade'*, there is cause to worry, given previous evidence of ethnic conflicts and violence. It can be argued that within the new NCF emphasis is laid on twenty-first-century competencies

that are meant to promote the holistic development of the child: civic skills, learning skills, critical, creative and innovative skills, personal and social skills and information and technology skills (MIE, 2015a). However, the extent to which these are implemented in practice needs to be seen. Given that these reforms are new, future research can focus on such evaluation. Within the current research, the emphasis is on understanding problems in schools that can affect the promotion of a culture of peace from the perspectives of young boys and girls. I have not come across much research on this in Mauritius nor on peace education or its ‘co-disciplines’ which seem to increase within the new NCF. This research, then, can be seen as an initial groundwork for further studies in this field.

Lastly, there is an important element that needs to be highlighted in the case of schooling in Mauritius. Private schooling has not the same meaning as in the UK or even Australia, where those schools are viewed as expensive and elitist. In Mauritius, public schooling is popular as I showed earlier the competition for the ‘Star’ colleges which are state-funded. There are private schools which operate under the Private Secondary School Authority²⁶ (PSSA), and they receive grants from the Government. They are non-fee payable schools. Though the private-aided schools are privately owned, teachers are also paid through the PSSA. The PSSA used to operate as a semi-autonomous inspectorate, surveying the pedagogical aspect in schools, but this power was revoked in 2001, handing over the responsibility to the National Inspectorate of MOEHR. Some of these schools do not have the same status as the public schools, and may be lacking in infrastructure and are often less performant academically.

²⁶ The PSSA was set up in 1976. It played an important role in acting as a regulator and ensuring the quality of educational services provided in the private aided secondary schools. To date, it continues to play an important role in encouraging and promoting quality education in the private-aided schools. It is responsible for the allocation of grants to school and the quality of infrastructure.

However, there are further forty-six primary grant-aided Roman Catholic School (RCA) and seventeen secondary grant-aided schools in Mauritius. They are governed by the '*Bureau de L'Education Catholique*' (BEC). It is the executive office of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Port Louis for its education services (BEC, 2014). It is the largest provider of private education in Mauritius. The purpose of these schools is to provide a sound learning environment faithful to the Catholic tradition (Ajaheb-Jahangeer & Jahnangeer, 2004). It is to be noted that students of various faiths can attend these schools and they are non-fee payable schools, receiving additional grants from the Government. However, there are examples of private fee-paying schools such as '*Le Bocage*' and '*Lycée Labourdonnais*' attended mostly by those whose parents are high-income earners or are simply foreigners settled in the country. They follow a different curriculum. Overall, the majority of students attend public schools in Mauritius and the NCF touch a majority of the population from the low-income to high-income groups in the society. This also explains why the current research has focused on public schooling in Mauritius.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have shown that there is an endeavour to promote the culture of peace through schooling at the level of policy-making in Mauritius. Yet I have also drawn attention to challenges that can impede this, such as the remnants of colonial education, the prevalence of a neoliberal economy, indications of structural and cultural violence and competitive schooling. Many of these problems are not specific to Mauritius. They affect countries such as Trinidad and Tobago, Solomon Islands, UK, US, Canada, and Australia. In Mauritius, however, there is a dearth of research on peace education and its 'co-disciplines'. While it is regarded as a relatively stable society, there is no

guarantee that this will continue in the future. The small island has experienced past ethnic conflicts and violence and a few young Mauritians have started to join ISIS. Some scholars have also raised questions about relationships among people of different communities. There is cause for worry and a need to find out more about problems that can impede a peaceful schooling on the small island for long-term peace. It is important to be proactive.

In the next chapter, I review the literature on the theoretical and philosophical foundations of peace education. I also look at the educational theories of Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, and Maria Montessori and show what it is possible to learn from them. The three of them have criticised the colonial education, the competitive schooling and promote a 'holistic' approach to education. They have also sought to bridge the gap between East and West.

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical and philosophical perspectives

Introduction

Philosophy is a means to develop critical, independent thinking and peaceful dialogues (Anderson, Hinje & Messina, 2011). It constitutes a mode of inquiry that enriches the capacity for reflection and rational deliberation (Snauwaert, 2012). However, Gur-Ze'ev (2001:315) argues that there is a dearth of philosophical elaboration within peace education and little theoretical coherence. Page (2008) also highlights that there seems to be an almost 'fideistic' approach to peace education, taking for granted that it is important to believe in peace and peace education. I have previously shown that international organisations such as UNESCO and UNICEF emphasise peace education importance for global peace. In this chapter, I discuss problems within the field and highlight the need to expand its theoretical and philosophical foundations, drawing also on Eastern philosophies. I consider the educational theories of M.K. Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Maria Montessori, who in their respective ways have sought to learn from different perspectives. I show how they promoted a 'holistic learning' for peace. I start, however, by giving an outline of the origin and development of peace education to show that the concept is not new, but somehow, as in the case of the United States, it has been a '*hidden history*' (Stomfay Stitz & Hinitz, 1996). Not enough attention has been paid to ground the practice in philosophical rationale (Page, 2008).

Origin and development of peace education

In this section, I consider briefly the historical development of peace education in Europe and America. Scholars such as Burns and Aspeslagh (1996), Boulding (2000),

Harris and Morrison (2003) have elaborated on this. According to McCorkle (2017:261), ‘there is no one authoritative voice on exactly what defines peace education or even an agreement when it actually began’. However, the field is credited with a 400-year history in Europe. European peace education traces its roots to the Czech educator John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) who linked peace with formal education (Burns (Aspeslagh, 1996). This was seen as important for attaining peace especially after the *Treaty of Breda* between the Netherlands and the United Kingdom in the seventeenth century. In 1901, a group of French ‘*institutrices*’ (female teachers) also created the ‘*Société d’Education Pacifique*’ (Cooper, 2014). It was founded with the objective ‘...of creating a network of teachers who would bring peace education to the classrooms of Europe’ (Burns & Aspeslagh, 1996: 27). The goal was to celebrate May 18 as Peace Day in schools, develop games and exercises to teach conflict resolution skills and ‘...to teach history as the rise of civilization across national boundaries rather than as a succession of wars, victories and defeats’ (Boulding, 2017:57).

In the United States, the ‘*American School Peace League*’ that was founded in 1907 by Fannie Fern Andrews (1913) conducted similar activities. Harris and Morrison (2003) show that the peace movements in the US have its roots in the early days of American settlement, where pacifists such as the Quakers, Mennonites and Brethren settling in the country practised their form of Christianity based on the non-violent teachings of Jesus. After the First World War various organisations committed to peace and justice came into being. These included, for instance, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the American Friends’ Service Committee founded by the Quakers²⁷ in 1917 and the Women’s

²⁷ Also known as the Religious Society of Friends, Quakers are committed to the promotion of values of peace, equality and justice. They value all beings equally and believe that there is something of God in each of them.

International League for Peace and Freedom founded by Jane Adams²⁸ (1931 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate). Young (1980) also shows that following the First World War the main focus of research and peace movements worldwide was on international politics and the economic causes of war and the arms race in national societies. The inter-war period brought the setting up of organisations such as the Union of International Associations (UIA) and the League of Nations (Hermon, 1987). The International Bureau of Education²⁹ was also set up in Geneva, Switzerland. There was an urge to adopt more pacifist policies. Disarmament education, international understanding and cooperation were emphasised. At that time, educators such as the American John Dewey (1859-1952) and the Italian Maria Montessori (1870-1952) were already engaged in educational activities for peace.

Dewey (1916, 1938) devoted much of his time between the two world wars to the study of peace education. His interest in it was inspired, in part, by criticisms especially from his student Rudolph Bourne, for supporting President Woodrow Wilson's war aims in 1917 (Howlett & Cohan, 2017). After World War I, Dewey was the first prominent educator to draw attention to the importance of teaching the benefits of world peace in the classroom. In the 1920's he called for a school program that would foster an appreciation of internationalism and challenge the glorification of militarism. He espoused a form of schooling and education based on experience (learning by doing), growth and critical judgement (Howlett & Cohan, 2017). Drawing on his pragmatic philosophy and peace education ideas, he urged teachers to incorporate values of peace

²⁸ Jane Adams (1860-1935) was against the traditional school curriculum that restrained women's educational choices and opportunities. She argued that poverty was a cause of war. The slogan 'Peace and bread' was associated with her.

²⁹ IBE was established in 1925 as a private non-governmental organisation by leading Swiss educators to provide intellectual leadership and to promote intellectual cooperation in education. In 1969, it became an integral part of UNESCO.

and global cooperation among nations into their curricula and focus on problems directly connected to social conflicts (Howlett, 2008). Subjects like History and Geography were important in that endeavour.

Similarly, on the 3rd of September 1936 at the European Congress for Peace in Brussels, Maria Montessori argued that our principal concern should be to educate and unite humanity as brothers and sisters, tearing down all barriers and make each person a citizen of the world. On 28th July 1939 at the World Fellowships of Faiths in London, Montessori's message was again about interfaith harmony, the unity of all beings, and the construction of a world that emits cosmic goodness and love. Montessori (1992:24) is famously known for her view that: '...preventing conflicts is the work of politics and establishing peace is the work of education'. She considered the child as the messiah of peace. She developed a pedagogy for peace founded on child-centred learning, creative practices and critical thinking (Duckworth, 2006, 2008). Yet despite various efforts at that time the Second World War took place, marked by the massive deaths of civilians, including the Holocaust, and proliferation of nuclear weapons. The focus was then on prevention of violence and a World War III.

War Studies, Conflict and Strategic Studies and Peace Research also emerged. The League of Nations was also replaced by the United Nations System. The post-war period further led in 1946 to the establishment of UNESCO, the United Nations' specialised agency for education. The preamble to UNESCO's constitution (1945) states: 'since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed'. Its 1974 *Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to*

Human Rights and Fundamental Concerns' also shows an understanding of education as instrumental to peace:

...It should contribute to international understanding and strengthening of world peace and to the activities in the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms and manifestations, and against all forms and varieties of racialism, fascism, and apartheid as well as other ideologies which breed national and racial hatred and which are contrary to the purposes of this recommendation.

Within the recommendation there is also an explicit link between education for peace and human rights. The UNESCO Associated Schools Project Network (ASPnet) which was founded in 1953 focusses on these thematic areas and other UN priorities. It started with 33 schools in 15 countries. There are now more than 10,000 ASPnet schools in 181 countries. This global network of schools aims to improve the quality of education and helps UNESCO in achieving its pursuit of peace and sustainable development (UNESCO, 2016). Teachers and students in these schools strive to promote a culture of peace through activities that fight poverty, reduce inequalities and discrimination, and eliminate war and violence.

Over the years there have been some more explicit commitments to peace education within UNESCO. Among them are *The Declaration and Integrated Framework of Action on Education for Peace, Human Rights and Democracy* (UNESCO, 1995), *The International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence for the Children of the World (2001-2010)* and *UNESCO Education Strategy 2014-2021*. The *UNESCO Education Strategy 2014-2021*, for instance, reaffirms the creation of UNESCO after World War II to promote global peace and security. There is an increasing focus on global citizenship education, education for sustainable development and health

education. The areas of focus within ASPnet have further started to include intercultural learning, global citizenship and education for sustainable development linked to the ‘*Incheon Declaration and the Education 2030 Agenda and Framework for Action*’ (UNESCO, 2015b).

This brief historical analysis clearly shows that the field of peace education is not new. When in 2004 the ‘*Journal of Peace Education*’ was founded, the aim was to highlight the importance of promoting research in the field and encourage educators worldwide to collaborate to further the culture of peace through education (Synott, 2004). According to the ‘*Report on the Decade for a Culture of Peace*’³⁰, education may, in the long term, be the most important factor in the transition to a culture of peace. Shapiro (2010:8) argues that ‘the call to focus on peace in education is necessarily a call to re-envision the very way we educate young people’. Today, peace education is recognised as a distinctive field in education. Yet as I mentioned in Chapter One, it is a contested area of practice. For years, it has flourished under the banner of peace research, which has also focussed on thematic areas such as inter-state conflicts, political confrontation, terrorism, and threats to nationalism. Commonly practised also by NGO’s, the main concern has been to bring social change and enact activities whether through newsletters, media, reports or awareness programme, about different forms of violence.

However peace education as stated by Reardon (1988) is about the ‘learning process’ that culminates in peace. Reardon (2000:401) has also defined peace education as:

³⁰ For ‘*Report on the Decade for a Culture of Peace*’, see: http://www.fund culturadepaz.org/spa/DOCUMENTOS/Report_on_the_Decade_for_a_Culture_of_Peace.pdf

planned and guided learning that attempt to comprehend and reduce the multiple forms of violence (physical, structural, institutional and cultural) used as instruments for the advancement or maintenance of cultural, social or religious beliefs and practices or of political, economic or ideological institutions of peace.

Peace education here is primarily about the reduction of violence. She has further promoted what she terms as a ‘comprehensive peace education’ based on the value concepts of planetary stewardship, global citizenship and humane relationships (Reardon, 1988). Her approach to peace education is rooted in justice and a cosmopolitan ethic (Ragland, 2015). It is also transformational seeking to abolish the institution of war and to educate for change. It is relevant to point out that Betty Reardon is also known as the ‘Mother of Peace Education’ (Kester, 2012). She is the founder of the Peace Education Graduate Centre at Teacher’s College Columbia University. She also founded in 1982 the International Institute on Peace Education (IIPE).

Reardon’s predecessor Elise Boulding is known as the ‘matriarch’ of the twentieth-century peace research movement. She has made significant contributions in the fields of peace education, future studies, family life and feminism. With her husband Kenneth Boulding, she founded the Consortium on Peace, Research, Education and Development (COPRED) in 1970. In a paper on *‘Peace education as peace development’*, Elise Boulding has stated that ‘peace education is the critical interface between research and action, and a major vehicle for the underlying culture change necessary for peace development in war-dominated societies’ (see, Boulding, 2017:55). Her work spans many decades, and throughout she has continuously argued for the incorporation of the ideas and contributions of women within the field of peace research and peace education. According to her ‘peace education, to a large degree, is a product

of many different women's groups: teachers, social workers, peace activists' (Boulding, 2000: 117). Boulding has also emphasised the importance of building a global civic culture. Her values are firmly rooted in Quakerism.

Another important name in the field of peace education is Johan Galtung, the Norwegian sociologist who is credited as the 'Father of Peace Studies' (Ikeda, 2002). He founded in 1959 the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO). This led in 1964 to the publication of the first academic journal devoted to peace studies - the '*Journal of Peace Research*'. Galtung (1996) has argued that peace education has to exclude not only direct violence but also structural violence. He coined the term 'negative peace' to refer to the absence of direct violence (conceived as physical violence and aggression) and 'positive peace' to imply the absence of structural and cultural violence (subtler and not easily identifiable). According to him, a definition of peace should be broad enough to respond to the different typologies of violence. Galtung (1996) was preoccupied with the way non-egalitarian organisational structures produce hierarchies, oppression and social injustice. He was concerned by the fact that our institutions, especially those with vertical structures, contribute to inequity. I have discussed in Chapter Two the difficulties with promoting peace education in schools with vertical structures. Peace education is different from normal schooling, which emphasises authority, compliance and docility (Harber & Sakade, 2009).

Galtung (1996) has also provided a definition of peace as non-violent creative conflict transformation. Peace is not seen as static but as a dynamic social process. This kind of definition induces movements for peace. Peace is seen not merely as a personal or social goal, but as a means. It is about the creative use of non-violent means in dealing with

conflicts. It is important to note that Galtung (1975) has further argued for synchronisation of peace research, peace education and peace action. In Chapter One, I have stated that over the years I have seen my roles changing, from being actively engaged in the field to being a classroom practitioner and a researcher. My difficulties made me realise that for sustainable peace to be possible, both theory and action are needed. In fact, both have to validate each other constantly. We require peace research so that we can conceptualise about peace and come up with new theories. We need peace actions to strengthen movements for peace. Through peace education, we have the possibility of transforming individuals and societies for a more peaceful world. Indeed, through synchronisation of these three, we have more chances of contributing to a durable peace.

In regards to the East and Global South, it is not the case that peace education is not seen as important, but it has been developed under other banners, as Bajaj (2016) shows in the case of India, where a strong ‘value’ tradition predominates. I have discussed this in Chapter Two. It is also a fact that many peace education programmes in the East have their roots in various religious traditions such as Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Judaism, Islam, and Hinduism (Ayazi, 2010; Brantmeier, Lin & Miller, 2010; Chandra, 2016; Hassan, 1987; Kaneda, 2008; Köylü, 2004; Kumar, 2010; Li, 2010; Lin & Wang, 2010; Upadhyaya, 2010; Upadhyay & Pandey, 2016). A turn towards the East and Global South also reveals the much spiritual connotation given to peace. Embedded in it are cultural variants and religious overtones. Within the Indian tradition, peace is known as ‘*Shanti*’, Hebrew as ‘*Shalom*’, Islam as ‘*Salam*’, and Modern Chinese as ‘*Heping*’. Its meaning transcends the conventional interpretation of ‘peace’ in the West where the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989) defines it as ‘freedom

from, or cessation of, war, or hostilities of a nation or community in which it is not at war with another'. Kenneth Boulding (1978:6) who has argued for a definition of peace as the absence of war did remark that it was an understanding of '...peace in a narrower sense which is easier to understand, more susceptible to specific research and more susceptible also to recommendations'. Galtung (1996), as I have shown, provides a broader interpretation, which includes the absence of structural and cultural violence.

Increasingly, within peace education scholarship, there is an awareness that the spiritual meaning of peace, as much emphasised in the East, needs to be explored (Brantmeier, 2007b; Brantmeier, Lin & Miller, 2010; Cremin & Bevington, 2017; Eppert & Wang, 2008). Cremin and Bevington (2017) have argued that an over-reliance on reason, rationality and science has limited the ability of the field to respond to complexity and has further limited its ability to embrace diverse traditions. Dietrich (2012) has tried to bridge the gulf between mysticism/spiritualism and rationalism, and subsequently East and West. Dietrich (2012:266) promotes the concept of 'transrational peace', which integrates spirituality and rationality but is not limited to either. It does not deny rationality but overcomes it and 'adds an aesthetic component that is always inherent in interpersonal relations'. Unfortunately, it has not been observed so attentively by modernity. Dietrich argues that the transrational approach to peace brings the gaze inwards. It eventually deals with the death of the 'I' and seeks greater connectedness with all things.

It is this 'holistic' approach to life that is much emphasized in the East (Al Zeera, 2001; Ayazi, 2010; Brantmeier, Lin & Miller, 2010; Chandra, 2016; Köylü, 2004; Li, 2010; Lin & Wang, 2010; Smith, 2008; Upadhyaya, 2010; Upadhyay & Pandey, 2016). It is

contrasted with Rene Descartes's '*Cogito Ergo Sum*' (I think, therefore I am) which has brought much attention to the 'I', the ego-self. This has enlarged the divide with the 'Other'. I come back to this discussion in Chapter Six and show how, in a multicultural context like Mauritius, it is important to increase one's understanding of the 'Other' and seek to learn from different perspectives. In the next section, I consider contemporary philosophical and theoretical dialogues concerning the practice of peace education and problems that permeate the field. The importance of decolonising the practice from its Eurocentric perspective is emphasised.

Contemporary philosophical and theoretical dialogues

Gur-Ze'ev (2001:315) makes a critique of peace education arguing that it '...is part and parcel of the reality that it pretends to change and it is itself a manifestation of those violences which it fails to reflect upon and challenge'. He remarks that 'most current peace education activities manifest good will but little theoretical coherence or philosophical elaboration'. He adds that 'at times philosophical work is understood as unnecessary, artificial, or even dangerous for this educational cause' (ibid: 315). He further argues that many versions of peace education pay scant attention to social and cultural context, and 'work within a framework of modernist technical reason manifested through various positivist, pragmatic, and functionalist views of knowledge' (ibid: 319). Even within the framework of critical pedagogy, there have sometimes been an essentialist conception of human rights and a positivist conception of 'true' critical knowledge. It is more common for those working for instance within a postmodernist, feminist and post-colonial framework to challenge the universalistic and essentialist conception of human rights. 'They favour contingency, localism, difference, and

uniqueness as the starting point for a declared non-Western-ethnocentric peace education' (ibid: 319).

Increasingly, within peace education scholarship, the importance of decolonising the practice from its Eurocentric approach is recommended (Burns & Aspelagh, 1996; Gur-Ze'ev, 2001, 2010; Bajaj, 2010; Shirazi, 2011; Zembyas & Bekerman, 2013; Bajaj & Hantzopoulos, 2016; Cremin, 2016; Cremin & Bevington, 2017; Williams, 2017; Zembylas, 2018). To help reclaim peace education from its complicity in promoting various forms of violence, emphasis is further laid on the need for the researcher to be reflexive (Bajaj & Brantmeier, 2011; Cremin, 2016; Kester & Cremin, 2017; Reardon, 2001; Williams, 2017; Zembylas, 2018). Page (2008) has also proposed five ethical traditions that can serve as a rationale for the practice of peace education. As I mentioned previously, he has as well highlighted the dearth of the philosophical rationale for peace education and the almost 'fideistic' approach that permeates the field. I consider these debates below starting with Page's (2008) five ethical traditions.

Five ethical traditions in peace education

Page (2008) has articulated five ethical traditions that can serve as the possible foundation for peace education: virtue ethics, consequentialist ethics, conservative political ethics, aesthetics ethics, and an ethics of care. He mainly draws from a Western Eurocentric epistemological framework that is dominated by a Christian perspective. He is conscious of it and does recognise the importance of the oriental philosophical tradition in peace education. However, one lacuna that I have noted is that while sometimes he refers to Eastern traditions such as Islam, Buddhism and Confucianism, he overlooks the link between Hinduism and peace education. He mentions the ethical

doctrines of '*Satya*' (Truth) and '*Ahimsa*' Non-violence) as popularised by Gandhi but he does not go beyond the Gandhian rhetoric.

While analysing each ethical tradition, he adopts a critical stance highlighting their weaknesses and strengths. His approach is cautionary, trying to avoid a deliberate authoritarian tone to appear in his writing as is sometimes the case with peace education. Yet he does suggest that within these five traditions there are hints as to what some practical approaches to peace education might look like. For instance, within virtue ethics, 'peace education may be thought of as encouraging a commitment to peace as a settled disposition and enhancing the confidence of the individual as an agent of peace' (Page, 2008: 189). Virtue ethics is mostly 'agent-centred', and there is a heightened emphasis on the development of character and virtue. Hence, 'peace' and 'care' will be considered as virtues that need to be developed. Virtue ethics is grounded in the works of Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas, Hume, Kant and Gandhi. According to Page (2008), its emphasis on personal integrity and autonomy of the individual provides an empowering rationale for peace education. However, one of its weaknesses is that it can be used to support violence. For instance, a person may believe that engaging in terrorism may be legitimate. He may be driven by some kind of intrinsic motivation, which he believes, represents the 'good' life.

Consequentialist ethics is located in the work of Hume, Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Marx, Freire and Gandhi. The emphasis within this ethical tradition is on the consequences of actions and not on the person's character and virtues. This approach in education draws attention to the consequences of what is taught. As remarked by Page (2008:64) 'what we teach and how we teach has an effect in forming the society and the

world we live in'. In peace education, informing students about the consequences of war and social injustice will be seen as relevant. In Chapter Two, I showed that Mauritius is not invulnerable to violent youth extremism. Such problems show the importance of informing young people about the consequences of war and the sufferings borne by individuals. This ethical tradition can provide an important ethical basis for peace education. It can help in the minimisation of violence. However, the problem with consequentialist ethics, as noted earlier with virtue ethics, is that it can be used to support violence. War as an institution can be justified with the goal to bring a better society. I showed earlier that Dewey himself was criticised at some point for holding this view though later he changed his position (Howlett, 2008).

Within the next ethical tradition, that of conservative political ethics, Page (2008) argues that together with peace education, it is committed to promoting orderly social change and the evolution of social institutions and norms. He discusses how conservative theory is often understood as opposing change that sometimes supports structural violence. There is a certain linkage in the popular imagination between militarism and conservatism. However, Page (2008) argues against the idea that conservative political ethics is supportive of structural violence. In his view, informed conservatism and the cause of peace can be a task for peace education. He contends that there are common concerns between conservative political ethics and peace education. Its rationale for peace education can be seen as emphasising the need to inform the student 'on the value of peaceful and just social structures and working to uphold or develop such structures' (ibid: 189). I discussed earlier that Galtung (1996) was much preoccupied with the way non-egalitarian organisational structures produce hierarchies, oppression and social injustice. He explicitly linked structural violence with social

justice. Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General of the United Nations and recipient of the 2001 Nobel Peace prize also sees justice as an essential component of peace, stating that ‘there can be no genuine peace without justice and no justice without peace’ (Annan, 2009).

The next ethical condition which Page (2008) considers is Aesthetic ethics. He cites the works of Plato, Augustine, Aquinas, Hume, Adam Smith and various religious writings within this field. Aesthetic ethics emphasises what is beautiful and desirable, and more generally about that which has value. In this sense, many people will not disagree that peace is something that is beautiful and is of utmost value. This is, of course, arguable, considering the amount of money some countries spend on warfare and violence that plagues the world. One of the problems in seeking a rationale for aesthetic ethics in peace education is especially about explaining why violence has such an aesthetic appeal. For instance, many children, young people and adults also find value in playing violent games or watching violent movies. However, according to Page (2008), the strength of aesthetics ethics lies in its possibility of encouraging students to love and appreciate peace and the world and help them to imagine a peaceful future. Some scholars such as Hicks (1988, 2008) have explored the need to include a ‘future dimension’ in the peace education curriculum. In his view, this form of education ‘promotes knowledge, understanding and skills that are needed to think more critically about the future’ (Hicks, 2008: 127-128).

Care ethics, one strand, which I found particularly relevant for the study, is the most recent movement in ethics. In the *‘Encyclopaedia of Peace Education’* (see, Bajaj,

2008) a chapter on 'Care theory' is also included under the section of '*Core concepts in peace education*'.

Care theory and peace education go well together...Care theory describes caring encounters and caring relations and gives us some guidance on how to establish, maintain, and enhance such relations. To teach for caring relations is to teach for peace in communities, individual lives, and in the world (Noddings, 2008:87).

Care ethics is mostly associated with the works of Carol Gilligan and Nel Noddings. Its rationale for peace education is that it can encourage students to care for others and promote the view that they should also be the beneficiary of care. Noddings (2003) has identified four major components of moral education from the perspective of care ethics: modelling, dialogue, practice and confirmation. In the case of modelling, it means that we do not simply tell the students to care, but we also show them how to care by creating caring relations with them. Noddings argues that it is not sufficient to give students texts to read on this issue. Educators need to show in their behaviours with others and with the students what it means to care.

The second component emphasised by Noddings is dialogue. It is important in connecting one with the other. Noddings says that her interpretation of the dialogical encounter is non-different from that of Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator. The latter argues that dialogue cannot exist in the absence of a profound love for people and the world. It does not impose, manipulate, sloganize and domesticate. It does not exist without humility. In the dialogical encounter, there is no place for conquering the 'Other'. Thus, in schools, the teacher cannot continue to emphasise his/her role as the sole transmitter of knowledge. The teacher is not merely the one who teaches, but one who at the same time is taught in dialogue by the students. Dialogue is seen as a

common search for understanding, appreciation and empathy. It is open-ended. It involves listening to the 'Other', paying attention to the Other's needs and perspectives. It is a genuine quest for something undetermined in the beginning (Noddings, 1992).

The third component, 'practice', emphasises the necessity of providing students with experiences and opportunities to care for the other and gain skills in caregiving. I have shown earlier that this kind of 'learning by doing' has been emphasised by John Dewey. Yet Noddings (2003) acknowledges that it is not an easy task, especially with present hierarchical school structures and emphasis on grading. I have discussed in the previous chapter problems with the practice of peace education. Thus, whether it is 'peace', 'citizenship' or 'caring', they can get a second-class status. However, Noddings argues that schools' curriculum should not only lay emphasis on educating children for competence. Similar to other scholars such as Apple (2006), Ball (2003), Connell (2013), and Kohn (1996), Noddings has criticised the problem with accountability, testing, competition and educational reforms based on the business model.

Noddings (2016) feels that cooperative learning can be used in schools to promote competence in caring. Teachers, though, should be explicit in telling the students that the primary purpose is to help one another- to understand, share and support. The aim is not always academic learning. The setting also must be right. Various elements must be in place, and this shows the complexity of practising 'caring' in schools just as with promoting education for peace.

The last component mentioned by Noddings is confirmation, which according to her, can lift us to a vision of a better self. It is akin to the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber's

(1965) way of affirming and encouraging the best in others. Thus, for instance, when we confirm someone, we identify a better self and encourage its development. This is possible if we know the 'Other' well. Otherwise, it is difficult to see what the 'Other' is striving for or what ideal she may long to make real. This goal or attribute must be seen as worthy both by the individual trying to achieve it and by us. Noddings (2016) also asserts that we do not confirm people in ways we judge to be wrong. Confirmation is based on trust and continuity. In her view, trust is required for the carer to be credible and to sustain the search for an acceptable motive. At the same time, continuity is important because we require knowledge of the 'Other'. Her standpoint on this has made her suggest that students and teachers should stay together, by mutual consent, for several years.

It is important to note that contemporary peace education scholars such as (Guilherme & Morgan, 2011; Guilherme & Morgan, 2016; Cremin & Guilherme, 2016) have discussed Buber's pacifism and relevance in the promotion of a culture of peace. Buber's model of education promotes a shared reality where partners in the dialogue come to understand each other's position even though they do not entirely agree to it (Shady & Larson, 2010). He makes the important distinctions between 'I-It' and 'I-Thou'. In the 'I-It' relation, a being confronts the 'Other', objectifies it, and in so doing separates itself from the 'Other' (Cremin & Guilherme, 2016).

However, the 'I-Thou' relation is inclusive. It is described as a meeting of 'self' with the 'Other'. It recognises the presence of the 'Other'. In this mode of being, the self participates in reality, confirms the 'Other' as a partner, and transcends the boundary of the objective distance between them. Yet, it neither subsumes the 'Other' into him or

herself nor is the self subsumed by the 'Other'. The self and the 'Other' coexist dialogically. Actually, in the view of Buber, our identities are dialogical in nature, and each person's existence is really a coexistence. The important question is not whether the self *will* relate to the 'Other', but rather *how* the self will relate to the 'other' (Shady & Larson, 2010). For Buber, 'I-Thou' relation is superior to 'I-IT'. According to Noddings (2016), while Buber's views are important for the field of education and establishing a caring relation, yet such discourse is missing in policy statements.

From the above, it is not impossible to see the connection between ethics of care and peace education. However, there are various criticisms of care ethics. Many of them centre on its 'situational ethics', contextual application and relevance to professional ethics because of its 'apolitical' nature (Nelson, 1992; Bell, 1993). Care ethics is often contrasted with the works of Lawrence Kohlberg and Immanuel Kant. For instance, Kant rules out any personal inclination in his promotion of the universal common good. He stresses the importance of pure practical reason as the basis for morality. Similarly, Kohlberg (1981) developed a theory of moral development where within a scale of six, reason has the highest value. He assessed his subjects' moral progress by interviewing them about hypothetical moral dilemmas. This six-stage scale for charting moral development was based on his twenty-year-long research study. Saul (2003:210) has highlighted the difference between what Gilligan (1982) called Kohlberg's justice thinking and care thinking:

Justice thinking involves an emphasis on universal principles and reason. It is also characterized as emphasizing impartiality, rights and justice. Care thinking, by contrast, is described as guided by emotions, context-sensitive, and concerned with particular individuals and situations rather than universality and impartiality (Saul, 2003:210).

Gilligan (1982), who was also Kohlberg's research assistant, has criticised the latter's theory of human development, pointing out that the research rested on the idea that man represents the norm for human development. Kohlberg's sample for his original study consisted of only men. He overlooked the female voice, and thus, according to Gilligan, cannot make generalising claims. Within this six-scale of moral development, in comparison to men, many women tended not to go beyond stage three, the focus of which was mainly on pleasing and helping others. Gilligan (1982) has argued that due to their differences in socialisation, males tend to value principles of justice and rights whereas females value caring for and helping others. She advanced that there are two moral voices, that of the masculine (logical and individualistic) and feminine (focusing on care).

While at the outset the connection of peace education with an ethics of care may seem evident, it is possible to see the problems that it may raise for peace education. Page (2008) notes the trouble with the element of partiality, which may lead to an individual questioning to whom he/she should be partial. Loewy (1995) suggests that a system of ethics where an individual is encouraged to follow her inclinations is dubious. Page (2008) also discusses the problem with ethics of care being considered essentially feminine or feminist ethics (e.g. Noddings, 1984) and maternal ethics (e.g. Ruddick, 1989). Other researchers such as Tronto (1987) have further discussed the danger of labelling it as a feminine ethic or women's ethic. The equation of care with female is questionable (Tronto, 1987). Page argues that men as well as women are engaged in nurturing and caring activities. In his view, there should be an 'inclusive' ethics of care, emphasising both male and female caring. In this respect, Ragland (2009:151) comments that:

To argue for universal care ethics (non-gendered), and its expansion beyond immediate relations is important, but one cannot deny the importance of women's ways of knowing and contributions to peace-making.

Both Page (2008) and Ragland (2009) concerns are understandable. I argue that if we are to seek a rationale for an ethics of care in peace education, we must not be complicit in promoting the ancient political maxim 'divide and rule', which has links in the colonial expansion.

From my perspective, while peace education is indeed about caring, it is also about creating collaborative endeavours whether between girls and boys, men and women, or among academic disciplines. Over the years, Noddings (2016:228) too, has reviewed her position.

When I used the word *feminine* (and I probably will not do so again), I intended to point out to centuries of female experience and the tasks and values long associated with that experience.

She argues that she finds the question whether the '*different voice*' needs to be exclusively associated with women distracting and that the most important thing to consider is whether the 'ethics of care' can lead to a less violent and more caring way of life. Bergman (2004) also notes that Noddings pleads agnosticism to the question whether women are by nature more caring. I believe that what is important for the task of peace education is to see how such an ethical perspective can open the possibilities for the field and contribute to its theoretical and philosophical underpinning.

I continue further and advance that within peace studies, peace education and the feminist research practice there is a willingness to conduct research in a non-exploitative way and commit to an 'ethic of care'. The three fields highlight the

oppression that exists in society, and how individuals are governed by direct and structural violence. They seek to give a voice to the marginalised and are committed to justice and social change. Within feminist research practice, researchers are further concerned about making visible the power structures that govern women's lives and society. There are similarities between feminist studies, peace studies and peace education. This, in turn, can pave the way for an interdisciplinary approach in researching peace education.

I tentatively name it as 'peace-focused-feminism': an inclusive, collaborative, and interdisciplinary approach that recognises the oppression of 'mankind' and 'womankind'. It promotes a pedagogy that unifies the heart, mind and hand for a culture of peace. It brings together theory and practice. It further aligns peace education with peace research and peace action. In this regard, I continue to adopt the cautionary attitude of Page (2008) and highlight in the words of Johnsen and Ennals (2012:246):

It is important to make connections between theories and traditions, but we should not expect the result to be a single unified theory...contrasting theories continue their opposition, but they have been brought into closer contact.

The task of the researcher, then, becomes that of consistently creating meanings by building bridges. This can be between East and West or the masculine and feminine divide. For instance, in Brazil, 'Program H' helps young men to question traditional views of what it means to be a man. Similarly, 'Program M' enables young women to reflect on rigid non-equitable stereotypes about masculinity and how these affect their lives, and that of men (see, Ricardo et al., 2010). The programmes have also been carried out in the Caribbean, Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa and the Balkans. I believe such

programmes based on an inclusive and collaborative approach are important. We need both girls and boys, men and women to promote the culture of peace. An ‘inclusive’ ‘ethics of care’ needs to highlight this. I come back to this discussion in Chapter Six.

In a nutshell, then, the rationale for care ethics in peace education cannot be undermined. It may have its weaknesses, but it is important also to see the possibilities with it. Relevant to this ethical, philosophical discussion, (Noddings, 1992:21) highlights the distinction she makes about some of the ethical traditions elaborated above:

An ethics of care- a needs- and response-based ethic challenges many premises of traditional ethics and moral education...it is not a form of utilitarianism; it does not posit one greatest good to be optimized, nor does it separate means and ends...it is not properly labeled an ethic of virtue. Although it calls on people to be carers and to develop the virtues and capacities to care, it does not regard caring solely as an individual attribute. It recognises the part played by the cared-for. It is an ethic of relation (Noddings, 1992:21).

Noddings makes it clear that care ethics need not be confused with virtue ethics. However, on the basis of the above discussion, it can be argued that there is no doubt an overlap between the five ethical traditions.

It is important also to elaborate on yet another dimension to Noddings’ theory of caring as she highlights in her statement. She places a lot of emphasis on the ‘relation’ between the carer and the cared-for. The caring relation is seen as an encounter between two human beings who both contribute to it in characteristic ways. The role of the cared-for is crucial, showing somehow that the caring relation has been received. He does not have to express gratitude verbally. A simple nod, a smile may be sufficient or perhaps

a sign of renewable energy going back to his 'work'. The carer also must be attentive, listen to the needs of the cared-for and shows some kind of motivational displacement (Noddings, 2012b). A failure on the part of either blocks the completion of caring, and though there may still be a relation, it is not considered as a caring relation if one party does not feel something towards the 'Other'. In the case of schooling, if the student does not feel cared-for, it points out that something is wrong. The relationship between the students and the teacher, for example, must be reviewed.

The worry with Noddings' care theory is that it can place a lot of burden on the carer. The stress on the maintenance of relationships can lead carers to neglect their welfare, and it can lead to exploitation. In the context of pastoral care in education, English, Fengwick and Parsons (2004) discuss how educators' lives are sometimes so busy and demanding that this can lead to a neglect of the body, leaving the mind and spirit bereft. However, Noddings (1992) argues though that both parties can be carers and cared-for as opportunities arise. 'Carer' and 'cared-for' are not labels attached permanently to two different sets of people. They are labels for the parties in an encounter or a series of encounters in a continuing relationship. And, in the case where a selfish person continually makes a demand on the carer and tries to exploit her, the 'ethics of care' allows the carer to withdraw (Noddings, 2016).

While I have considered the pros and cons of the 'ethics of care', what I have particularly found helpful, is its use in negotiating the ethical dilemmas that I faced during the study. I discuss this in Chapter Four. Much of my concern has been about conducting ethical research, minimising harm to participants and potential forms of violence. As I also show below, there is an increasing emphasis within the field of peace

education for the researcher to pay particular attention to the methodology and conduct research ethically.

Increased Reflexivity

To help reclaim the field of peace education from its complicity in promoting various forms of violence, critique by Gur-Ze'ev (2001), an important emphasis is laid on the need for the researcher to be reflexive (Bajaj & Brantmeier, 2011; Cremin, 2016; Kester & Cremin: 2017; Williams, 2017; Zembylas, 2018). For instance, Cremin (2016) argues that peace education researchers who are reflexive and mindful can prevent the crises in peace education from amplifying. She also emphasises the importance of paying particular attention to the methodology, to avoid the reproduction of structural and cultural violence that peace work seeks to address. The need for peace research to benefit the participants, as well as the researcher, is central (ibid.). She refers to 'transformative inquiry' as a methodological possibility to create a space for participants in research to tell their personal stories, to find out commonalities and differences. In her view 'this is fundamental to de-colonising the practices of peace education research' (Cremin, 2016: 12).

Elsewhere (Kester & Cremin, 2017) advocate the need for a 'second-order reflexivity' in addition to 'first order-reflexivity'. They argue that 'first-order reflexivity' locates the problem/solution at the level of the individual and is not sufficient to prevent the production of violence. 'Second-order reflexivity offers reflexivity on reflexivity itself' (ibid: 1422). It is not limited to the individual but is the result of a collective reflection on the field as operationalised through empirical and theoretical investigation. For this, they suggest an epistemological return to group-consciousness, critical workshops and

empirical reflexive studies. Zembylas (2018) advocates a move towards ‘epistemic reflexivity’. For instance, he provides a reflexive attitude on his practice and argues about the importance of constantly challenging theoretical assumptions for a renewal of peace education. He echoes the views of other scholars (Bajaj & Brantmeier, 2011; Shirazi, 2011; Williams, 2017) about the need to promote critical peace education and decolonise the practice from its Eurocentric perspective. I consider this below.

Reclaiming critical peace education and decolonising the practice

Bajaj and Brantmeier (2011) argue for a reclaimed ‘critical peace education’ where attention is paid, for instance, to issues of structural inequality and the engagement of participants in local contexts as transformative agents. Wulf (1974) previously stated the importance of a critical approach to peace education, with structural violence, organised peacelessness and participation as central concepts. Drawing from an empirical critical peace education programme in the U.S.A, Hantzopoulos (2011) shows how it can give a ‘voice’ to the students, encourage critical consciousness, democratic participation and a commitment to social change. She also points to the fact that there is a lack of literature about how schools institutionally enact peace education. ‘Most empirical research are limited to individual teachers’ classrooms or informal programs, and often participant/student experiences in these programs are not taken into consideration’ (ibid: 240).

Dioz-Soto (2005) draws on the notions of Freirean critical pedagogy in an attempt to promote critical peace education. Critical theory and Freire’s pedagogy are considered as foundational to critical peace education (Bajaj, 2008; Bajaj & Brantmeier, 2011; Hantzopoulos, 2011; Brantmeier, 2013; Zembylas & Bekerman, 2013). ‘Critical

theorists seek school and societal outcomes that favour bonafide democratic empowerment, social justice and broad inclusion of our diverse populations' (Brosio, 2006: 71). The aim is to liberate from oppression, promote equality and contribute to social change. Its genesis and method are dialectical. It originated as an aversion to closed philosophical systems (Jay, 1996). It is fundamentally linked to the Frankfurt School found in Germany in the early twentieth century. It became a powerful force in the struggle against domination of all forms (Darder, Baltodano & Torres, 2009). The goal was human emancipation (Akard, 1983).

Freire's major contribution to the field of peace education lies in his critical and liberatory pedagogy. His pedagogy stemmed from helping peasants to understand more fully the sources of their oppression. According to Freire (1996:127), 'peace is experienced in solidarity and loving acts, which cannot be incarnated in oppression'. In *'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'* he promotes 'problem-posing education' as opposed to the traditional banking model of education. The student is neither seen as a passive recipient of the educational system nor the teacher as an authoritative figure. Together, they learn and engage in dialogical encounters to solve problems. This co-construction of knowledge is a foundational concept that has been utilised in the field of peace education (Bartlett, 2008). Within Freirean pedagogy, the teacher is a facilitator and the student a transformative agent. Education is seen as having the power to raise consciousness and contribute to social change.

However, Zembylas (2018) also shows the limitations of the Freirean theory and critical pedagogy that have been subjected to critiques (Bartlett, 2005; Zembylas, 2013; Hantzopoulos, 2015) by those who reject the Eurocentric modernist framework. There are limitations in Freirean's theory and critical pedagogy in engaging with postcolonial

and decolonial projects. While for instance, Freire situates the work of liberation in the oppressed, decolonial projects consider the importance of dismantling the structures of colonisation and making them visible. Zembylas (2018) argues that it is important to decolonise the pedagogical praxis in peace education and evoke discourses and practices that move away from the dominant categories of Eurocentric thought. In his view, there is a need to consider the various ways in which knowledge is produced in the neo-political order, and to draw on other theoretical frameworks.

Williams (2017) argues for a ‘postcolonial peace education’ that is centred on decolonising a praxis of care. It can bring to the forefront hierarchy and exclusion and help to sow the seeds of participation, empowerment, healing and co-envisioning of sustainable and just futures. Both teachers and students can challenge colonialist forms of power dynamics to build alternative relationalities. Williams (2017) blends ‘care theory’ (Noddings, 2008), Paulo Freire’s notion of praxis, critical peace education and post-colonialism to form a theoretical and analytical framework in his study in Trinidad and Tobago. He refers to ‘Postcolonial Peace Education’ (PPE) as a synergy between decolonisation and critical peace education, and a new form of inquiry and approach to analysis that seeks to unveil and discern lingering colonialities, constraints on contemporary power relationships, and highlights transformative agencies. He sees it as ‘a project towards decolonizing *conscientization*- a consciousness-raising that is at once inter- and intra-personal, has no end, is generative and always is de-constructive and co-constructive (Williams, 2017: 83).

What seems to be apparent from this contemporary dialogue on peace education is the increasing emphasis on criticality, consciousness-raising, relationship-building and

transformative agency. The need to seek other ‘critical’ alternative ways, not necessarily from a Eurocentric perspective is seen as important, especially in post-colonial contexts.

It is relevant to point out that Chubbuck and Zembylas (2011) have also grounded their ‘*Critical pedagogy of non-violence*’ in both Paolo Freire’s and M.K. Gandhi’s critical pedagogies. They view it as an integrated, holistic way of life that unmask power relations, structural inequalities and utilises the constitutive power of emotion to resist and transform unjust structures. It is an action-oriented pedagogical approach (ibid.). Bhattacharya (2010) remarks that M.K. Gandhi, Paolo Freire, and Rabindranath Tagore, all worked in the colonial/post-colonial societies of the Third World divided by racism, casteism and class-antagonism. While Gandhi promoted the concept of ‘*Satyagraha*’ or Truth-Force, Freire contributed towards ‘*Concientizacao*’ or consciousness-raising. They both wanted to deliver the oppressed from tyranny and injustice by bringing out the truth in the open and enlightening the ignorant and underprivileged.

Bhattacharya (2010) also draws attention to how Freire and Tagore considered education as the practice of human freedom. Education in the view of Freire is a process of *becoming*. For Tagore, it meant ‘*Atma Shakti*’ or strengthening of the soul. It is possible to argue that all three draw on the will of emotion to enact change and bring transformative agency. And, perhaps most relevant to the practice of critical peace education was their attempt to formulate an alternate philosophy of education to the western ideologised colonial education where students were considered as mere passive subjects.

Bajaj (2008) further argues that the critical spirit in Gandhian studies can inform peace education scholars who seek to uncover the complex relationships among human rights, social inequality and a comprehensive vision of peace. In the recent years, Bajaj (2010, 2016) has attempted to show the relevance of ‘Gandhism’ to the field of peace education, arguing that they both can benefit from each other. She remarks that:

Peace educators have only nominally mentioned Gandhi studies as a localized version of peace education and without a substantive discussion of how the parallel fields might inform each other (Bajaj, 2010:50) little analysis has been done by scholars interested in peace education and Gandhian studies towards developing the lesson of the latter for the global peace education movement (ibid: 57).

In her view, the two fields (Gandhian Studies and Peace Education) can converge based on a shared concern with issues such as conflict transformation, women’s rights, sustainable development and non-violence. Gandhi’s idea of cultural empowerment, moral development, non-violence and self-reliance can add up to the conceptual resources available to peace education scholars and lead to a variegated understanding of peace education in diverse contexts (Bajaj, 2010).

Bajaj (2015:164) also argues that ‘peace education as an inquiry-based endeavour is not about converging upon answers, but rather is about generating new questions and processes at each stage.’ She draws upon ‘pedagogies of resistance’ such as the Zapatista education in Mexico or the Dalit communities in India that aim to provide an education that is sensitive to the learner’s context and environment. Tamatea (2005) too discusses the uses of Gandhi in education in Bali. She conducted research in two education sites namely the ‘Taman Rama Gandhi School’ and the ‘Ashram Gandhi’.

For the study, I draw on the educational theories of M.K. Gandhi. The research was further informed by the educational theories of Rabindranath Tagore and Maria Montessori. I believed the three of them could provide a good theoretical as well as an analytical framework for the study. I took into consideration the literature, the specificities of Mauritius, the existence of state-funded schools of the MGI/RTI and also the fact that throughout their lives, Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori sought to learn from each other. I discuss this below.

Bridging East and West

Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori: compounding ends or related means?

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948), Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), and Maria Tecla Artemisia Montessori (1870-1952) are well-known figures in history. M.K. Gandhi is acknowledged worldwide for his social and political achievements through non-violent means. Rabindranath Tagore was the first non-European to obtain the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1913. Maria Montessori is famous for her innovation in classroom practices especially in the field of early childhood education. I summarise them briefly as the politician, the poet, and the educator. This is of course arguable.

Each of them has been involved in various activities and disciplines throughout their lives. For instance, Tagore was greatly involved in education and social reforms, Gandhi was a lawyer engaged in various reforms including educational ones, and Montessori was also a doctor. What is possible to glean from their practices is that they developed an ‘interdisciplinary’ approach to education, seeking to enlarge their knowledge and contribute to individual and societal growth.

There is also evidence that Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori sought to learn from each other. Gandhi (1953:36) was noted saying to Montessori:

You have very truly remarked that if we are to reach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with children and if they will grow up in their natural innocence, we won't have the struggle, we won't have to pass fruitless idle resolutions, but we shall go from love to love and peace to peace, until at last all the corners of the world are covered with that peace and love for which consciously or unconsciously, the whole world is hungering.

Both believed that to have real peace, it was important to start with children. It is, hence, not surprising, that the current Montessori School in Lucknow, India which won the UNESCO prize in peace education promotes the motto of 'Catch them Young' (Baligadoo, 2012a). The founder of the school is also a staunch follower of Gandhism. Bone (2017) highlights that Montessori's legacy is strong in India. There is a widespread interest in her 'Method' in Asia and beyond.

Montessori was forced to take refuge in India during World War II with her son Mario Montessori. Some of her books were also written and published there. Moreover, Dutta and Robinson (2001) show that Tagore and Montessori were in contact. The latter visited the '*Shantiniketan*' school. Further review of the literature reveals that Gandhi and Montessori have met and exchanged educational ideas. Both strived to learn from each other. For instance, on 28th October 1931, Gandhi was invited to give a speech at the Montessori Training College in London where Montessori was present³¹. During Montessori's time in India, they exchanged letters. Hence, the trio showed an inherent drive to learn from each other and exchange ideas of the East and West.

³¹ For the speech of Mahatma Gandhi at the Montessori College London, see <http://www.peace.ca/montessoriandgandhi.htm>.

Their approach to education was unconventional, having themselves fought throughout their life against the shackles of orthodoxy and stereotypes. Both Tagore and Gandhi raised their voices against superstitious beliefs and malpractices, such as untouchability that had arisen into the Hindu society. In Tagore's school, '*Shantiniketan*' (Abode of peace), both girls and boys had a right to education. This was at a time when the status of women was considered inferior to men and they were subjected to various atrocious treatments such as '*sati*' (burning of a wife on the same pyre of her dead husband), '*dowry*' (money and material possessions that a wife takes to her in-laws after marriage), child-marriage and banning of widow remarriage.

Concerning Gandhi, it is well-known that he demonstrated an open-mindedness with regard to religion and he always felt disheartened at the disunity that existed between Muslims and Hindus. He tried to transcend traditional institutional religion. Maria Montessori broke the traditional social barriers between men and women to become the first woman in Italy to graduate with a Doctor of Medicine Degree. Throughout her life, she was an ardent defender of women's and children's rights. She was concerned about the problems of women's education and the widespread illiteracy among the poor and encouraged young girls to pursue their education. Well into the 1930s, she drew the attention of humankind to the rights of the child, which were recognised later in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989. Below, I consider how Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori criticised the colonial education.

Critical of the colonial education

Whether Gandhi, Tagore or Montessori, they were quite critical of the traditional/colonial form of education that sought to enslave the child to a mode of

knowledge production that is based on transmission. I have discussed this in Chapter Two together with problems and challenges that a post-colonial country like Mauritius can face while trying to promote peace education. Within this type of education, experience is taken away from the child. Mere rote-learning and ‘bookish’ knowledge are emphasised. There is no place for empathy and care. The teacher-student relationship is based on dominion and power. Teaching is didactic with no scope for critical enquiry. Gandhi used to argue that the British-imposed education was inappropriate in solving the ills of the society and did not meet the needs of the people. It was alienating. There was no connection between education and the daily reality of the child. What the child learnt in school was different from what it experienced in its home and environment. And, while, for instance, India was largely agricultural, manual labour played no role in it. The system of education was essentially elitist focusing primarily on intellectual development.

Similarly, Tagore argued that education was merely preparing the individual to become a money-maker. The elite turned into bureaucrats, were far from able to understand the problems of the masses and the difficulties of rural life. The result was that while a small portion of the population was becoming richer, the majority was becoming poorer. He pointed out that the economic forces have forced the teacher to become a tradesman, a vendor of education and, ‘...no one expects to find affection, regard, devotion or any other feeling in the list of goods he has to sale’ (Tagore, 2009: 121). In 1922, he started the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, ‘*Sriniketan*’, known as the school of prosperity. It brought together economists, agriculturists, social workers, doctors, midwives and specialists working in the fields of education and rural reconstruction. The objective was to help the villagers in dealing with their various problems and educate them in

self-reliance. Tagore was not indifferent to the problems of the masses and this is evident in his writings: *'Religion of Man'*, *'The Home and the world'* and *'Gora'*.

Like Gandhi and Tagore, Montessori argued against the traditional classroom that allows cramming of the minds of young people, fosters ruthless competition, and is insensitive to the needs of the child. In her view, this cannot help in 'education for peace'. Within this system, little opportunity is given to young people to discover their personality, to be creative, and become autonomous persons. From an early age, they learn to compete with each other and think of their interests. They grow up in an atmosphere of competition, one that teaches them the survival of the fittest, which according to Danesh (2006) is not conducive to the creation of lasting peace in the context of 'unity in diversity', the slogan much emphasised in the Mauritian context. I have discussed this in Chapter Two. In the 'survival-based worldview', it is authoritarian and dictatorial practices that are common and justified. In the view of Montessori, what the child learns in this environment is the destruction of the 'Other' and painful adjustment. These are characteristics of an aftermath of wars that are carried into adulthood. Next, I consider how both Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori redefined the teacher-student relationship.

Redefining the teacher-student relationship

In Gandhi's educational theory, the teacher is not the authoritative figure in the classroom who is continuously trying to cram the child's mind with all sorts of knowledge. She has a much-elevated duty: to awaken the deepest feelings of compassion, understanding and brotherhood in the child. In this endeavour, she herself becomes a role model for the child. She teaches the child to discriminate between what

is right and wrong. She does not say something and then does something else. There is unity of thoughts, words and deeds. She puts into practice what she preaches, the way Gandhi himself was a living embodiment of truth and non-violence. For Gandhi, this was also the greatest spiritual training for the child.

There is an important incident that happened when Gandhi was a schoolboy. Once when an Education Inspector visited his class and set a spelling test, Gandhi was unable to spell a word. His teacher prompted him to copy from his friend's slate, but Gandhi refused to acknowledge the hint. He got the spelling of the word 'kettle' wrong, and later he was rebuked for his stupidity. This not only points to his dedication to Truth from a young age but perhaps taught him how the teacher needed to be a model herself. He could see that his teacher did not set the right example when he hinted him to copy from his friend. Thus, in outlining his educational views, he encouraged teachers to practise the very virtues of truth and non-violence and become an inspiration for the children. The relationship between the teacher and the student should not be based on manipulation, exploitation and domination. It must be based on 'modelling' similar to what Noddings (2003) has emphasised as one of the components of the 'ethics of care'. I have discussed this above.

Tagore tried to revive in his school the ancient Vedic '*Ashram*' (spiritual hermitage) education where students learned under the sheltering care of the '*guru*' or teacher. The 'Laws of Manu' (Doniger & Smith, 1991) gives an account of this 'idealised' teacher-student relationship. Upadhyay and Pandey (2016) have highlighted how in the ancient Indian schools, educational activities used to begin with '*Shanti Patha*' or peace invocation. For instance, one such prayer is:

*Om sahanaa vavatu, Sahanau bhunaktu, Saha veeryam karavaa vahai
Tejasvi naa vadhee tamastu maa vidvishaa vahai, Om Shaanti Shaanti
Shaantihi*³²

May he protect us both (the teacher and the student). May he nourish us both. May we both work together with great energy. May our study be enlightening and fruitful. May we not hate each other. Om Peace, Peace, Peace.

In his school, Tagore wanted to re-create that same 'Ashram' atmosphere and relationship between the teacher and the student. When Tagore, for instance, talked about his school, he stated:

Do not think that it is an ordinary school. I enjoy the wealth of human relationship there. Those boys and girls, they are my children. There is something that is indescribable in that school. Our relationship is spiritual...(Tagore & Das Gupta, 2009:169).

For Tagore, relationships and emotions matter. Bringing up children and adolescents under an auspice of care is important. Just like Noddings (2003), he placed a lot emphasis on relationships in the educational context.

Montessori also redefined the role of the teacher as one who is constantly attentive to the needs of the child, and who learns together with the child. It is non-different from Paulo Freire's dialogical method and is another component of Noddings' (2003) ethics of care. The teacher is more of a facilitator. Montessori criticised the form of education in which children and youth are treated as passive recipients. She argued that it is important for education to promote the development of individuality and allow the child to be independent not only in the early years of childhood but at later developmental

³² See, Taittirīya Upanishad: Ch. II.I.I for the 'Shanti Patha'

stages. Montessori used to argue that the child who has not learnt to be autonomous and the master of one's acts is recognisable in the adult who is dependent on others and unable to take his own decisions. Similarly, the child who has been repressed in childhood, and constantly discouraged, later on develops traits of timidity, shows lack of self-confidence, and turns out as a submissive, frustrated adult unable to resist what is morally wrong. I argued in Baligadoo (2014) that this has important implications for peace education aiming to develop critical thinking in individuals and the ability to solve problems peacefully and creatively. Below, I also consider how Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori were concerned about the promotion of restorative practices in schools.

Restorative practices

Whether Gandhi, Tagore or Montessori, they were against any harsh means of punishing a child or trying to discipline it. They believed it could be demoralising and humiliating for the child. It could kill its spirit of adventure and liberty. They wanted children to grow in an atmosphere of freedom and joy. Gandhi conducted experiments in education at the 'Phoenix Settlement' and later on at the 'Tolstoy Farm'. It was established for the maintenance and accommodation of families taking part in the civil disobedience movement he advocated in South Africa. Boys and girls would study together. As far as possible, Gandhi tried to make sure that students were behaving in a disciplined and appropriate manner. He agreed that it was not always that easy, because the children belonged to different families, culture, and values. It was a heterogeneous group of individuals also belonging for instance to the Marathi, Tamils, Muslims and Christians community. However, he would not use violence on the children to discipline them. Gandhi examined the problems in education from a non-violent perspective. He believed that the teacher should be able to 'correct' the delinquent child by sharing its

joys and sorrows, helping it to solve problems, and channelling its aspirations in the right direction.

Tagore believed in a 'system of freedom cure', an art of self-discipline and self-control. To achieve this, he would ask students to meditate every day, for fifteen minutes morning and afternoon. He did not insist on students being hypocritical and make-believe that they were meditating. However, he made sure that they remained quiet during these moments. He further used 'nature' as a means to heal the delinquent child and cater for its 'holistic' development.

Tagore argued that children's sympathy is often deliberately made narrow and distorted. It prevents them from relating to people of different culture and languages. In his view, 'education in nature' provides greater scope for an expansion of sympathy. He viewed his philosophy of 'education in nature' as a corollary to his concept of 'education of sympathy'. According to him, love of nature promotes love of man, one that transcends barriers of creed, religion, races and nationality. When children grow up in close and intimate contact with nature, they learn to appreciate flora and fauna. Nature provides a means to direct learning experience compared to second-hand 'bookish' knowledge. Students can develop a heightened sensitivity, care for the aesthetic and their natural surroundings. The elevating and emancipating influence of nature can further generate in them a feeling of goodwill.

Like Tagore, Montessori promoted the 'exercise of silence' in her classrooms. She believed this activity could help children develop their power of concentration and perform different tasks with perfection. In her view, children and adolescents should be routinely engaged in such kind of activities for their self-development, perfection of

their personalities, and they must be encouraged do so without feelings of constraint. She also believed in giving freedom to the child, developing in it self-reliance and the ability to show self-restraint and control its impulses and urges (Colgan, 2016). In the 1900s, Montessori conducted scientific experiments with children aged two to seven years of age at the '*Casa Dei Bambini*' (House of the Children). At that time, the '*Casa*' was providing personal care to children in the tenement during the day while their parents were busy with their daily activities. Montessori used different activities to build children's natural interest, helping them to develop good habits, the power of concentration and self-mastery over their bodies and environment. In the following section, I consider how Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori promoted the concept of 'experience-based learning'.

Experience-based learning

Experience-based learning played an important role in Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori's educational theories. On the Tolstoy Farm, everyone from children to adults was encouraged to undertake different tasks from cleaning, sweeping, cooking and gardening. They were taught about the dignity of labour. It was not possible to have formal classes, and they were taught subjects like mathematics, geography, history and languages in an unconventional way. The learning atmosphere was lively. Gandhi found that through story-telling, he could catch the attention of his students. He also believed that students needed to be taught in their mother tongue and that the education system had to be 'craft-centred' and tailored to meet the needs of the masses. Gandhi wanted education to tackle the problems of marginalisation and poverty and contribute to economic regeneration. Education was primordial in bringing social change and cohesion

In Tagore's school, students were encouraged to participate actively in the day-to-day running of the school and to shoulder responsibilities. They would engage in organisational and self-government activities. Tagore wanted to generate in the students the feeling that they were responsible for their schooling and the growth of their institution. He wanted to provide them with a supportive and nurturing school environment, one that was lacking in his own formal education. At '*Shantiniketan*', students would participate in various functions and festivals and engage in social service. Tagore argued that when students are not busy studying, they should be encouraged to take up gardening, learn to cultivate the soil and take care of nature. They should be taken on educational outings to explore their environment and surroundings.

As far as Montessori is concerned, she used to argue that by participating in truly social life, the young person gets an opportunity to develop and find worthwhile goals. He/She engages in productive activities, develops his/her personality, forges his/her character, and prepares himself /herself to face the challenges of life. She stressed the importance of engaging the child and adolescents in the practical experiences of life, and in constructive and creative activities. Montessori who is well-known for her emphasis on 'sensory education' provided children with a range of sensorial materials specially designed to help them make critical judgment (Colgan, 2016; Frierson, 2014). Her use of teaching toys and manipulative materials in classrooms is not a secret. She believed these could help in training of the senses. She argued that we should construct an environment in which the child could be active. Thus in her classrooms, students learnt by experience and they played an active role in their learning. Right from an early age, they were encouraged to develop an interest in solving social problems. The aim was to

prepare students so that they would become citizens of the world, individuals who would care for each other and act responsibly to create a peaceful living environment. In the next section, I show that Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori laid emphasis on 'holistic' learning.

Holistic learning

Whether Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori, they were primarily concerned with the type of education that would bring out man's potential- '*educere*' (Bass & Good, 2004). Education was not restricted to learning of the three R's (reading arithmetic and writing). It was not simply a medium for profitability. Gandhi believed that the British system of education was unbalanced and did not help in the development of the 'whole' person. It emphasised only training of the mind to the detriment of the moral, spiritual, aesthetic and physical development of the child. As a result, it brought spiritual and moral anarchy. He argued that literacy is not the sole aim of education. As opposed to the three R's, he emphasised the education of the three H's. By this, he implied that we should endeavour to educate the Heads, Hands and Hearts. He argued:

I would develop in the child his hands, his brain and his soul. The hands have almost atrophied. The soul has altogether been ignored (Gandhi, 1953: 25).

The training of the hands should be done for instance through a productive activity-a craft. Of all the various manual activities at that time, Gandhi advocated the importance of '*charkha*' or spinning. While it had a utilitarian purpose, Gandhi also believed that it could heal the spirit, please and soothe (Mathur, 1951). He also stated that before we teach a child to read and write, we must teach it how to draw and be creative. He stressed the importance of awakening the senses of the child to the various objects.

However, Gandhi made it clear that the Heads and Hands should be subservient to the Hearts. He argued that education of the heart is vital as it helps to awaken feelings of love, sympathy and fellowship in man. It refines the character of the individual, its impulses and emotions, making him more susceptible to the sufferings around him. Without this type of education, human life degenerates to the level of mere animal existence. It is important to note, however, that according to Gandhi, education of the heart cannot be taught through books. It must be embedded in practice. He advanced that 'it can only be done through the living touch of the teacher' (Gandhi, 1953: 32). It is relevant to point out that among the last works of Paulo Freire, there is an emphasis on a 'pedagogy of the heart'. He stated 'I am a totality and not a dichotomy....I know with my entire body, with feelings, with passion, and also with reason' (Freire, 1997:30).

Tagore also promoted an 'education of fullness':

The conception of the curriculum as fullness of experience also indicates that Tagore interpreted the curriculum not in terms of certain subjects to be learnt but in terms of certain activities to be undertaken (Mukherjee, 1962: 350).

Tagore's educational practices are a clear rejection of the narrow utilitarian outlook of education where academic learning is prioritised over the humane and spiritual. Wang (2014:71) draws attention to the fact that 'Tagore emphasised the role of meditation and aesthetic sensitivity with a school life filled with creative artwork such as poetry, painting, music, dance, drama and literature'. Students' creativity would find expression in the practical and aesthetic, individual and social. All students had to practice one

form of artistic discipline. I have also elaborated above certain activities that Tagore emphasised in his school for the overall development of the child.

Mario Montessori Jr. (1992) also draws attention that Maria Montessori has promoted a ‘Cosmic education’ linking the ‘inner world’ with the outer. There is much emphasis in her philosophy of education on the interdependence of man with the cosmos. The ‘Cosmic education’ is based on ‘natural equilibrium’. It encompasses the development of the ‘whole’ person where children are exposed to ‘holistic learning’. They learn about the ‘practical experiences of life’ and mastery of the senses. They develop their manual skills. The focus is not merely on academic. Montessori stressed the importance of engaging the child in constructive and creative activities. She used to argue that by participating in truly social life, the young person gets an opportunity to develop and find worthwhile goals. He/she develops his/her personality, forges his/her character, and prepares himself /herself to face the challenges of life. Montessori saw the child as the messiah and saviour capable of regenerating the society and human race.

Discussion

It is clear that whether Gandhi, Tagore or Montessori, all three of them recognised the need to educate not only the ‘Heads’ but also the ‘Hearts’ and ‘Hands’. They were to a great extent concerned with providing a ‘holistic’ learning experience to students. What can be gathered from their lives and activities is their endeavour to promote an alternate vision of education to the market-oriented education and colonial education, which is noticeable in many educational institutions even today. I have discussed this in Chapter Two, together with the side-effects of the rise of neoliberalism. It is my contention in the thesis that a revival of their theories can act as a counter-opposition to these.

However, in the case of Gandhi and Tagore, it is important to point out that they disagreed with regard to different issues, such as the non-cooperation movement, nationalism, internationalism, the efficacy of the '*charkha*' (spinning-wheel) and the means for the attainment of '*Swaraj*' (freedom or self-rule) (Puri, 2013). For Gandhi, '*Swaraj*' meant not only complete independence from British rule, but also complete economic independence. He rejected the products of Western Civilization and advocated '*Charkha*' and '*Khadi*' (homespun cotton textile) for self-reliance. He criticised industrialisation and modernity. He developed an alternative model of economic development, which he believed was most suitable to Indian reality. He could see the divisions that existed in his country between rich and poor, high class and low class, Hindus and Muslims, man and woman, and a few elites embracing the Western culture and the large mass who feel alienated in their birthplace. Gandhi wanted to liberate India from the British empire and the Western modernist values that had found its way in Indian educational system through the colonial education. Harber and Sakade (2009) have highlighted how it was used as a means to exercise control within British colonies. Gandhi linked education to his political agenda.

When in the year 1937, he convened the 'Wardha Education Conference', he did so with the awareness that it would not be possible to build up the kind of social order he wanted without a new reform in education. Gandhi was a pragmatist who vilified his theories through actions and vice-versa. His theories arose out of context, determined by the conditions, and needs at that time. He had little interest in abstract theory detached from practice. Allen (2008) highlights that his formulations can seem misleadingly simplistic. Gandhi was not a philosopher and theorist.

Tagore, the poet, also wanted '*Swaraj*', but he argued that the movement to freedom needed to be based on cooperation between people. For him, this would mean overlooking differences and coming together for a shared purpose. Cooperation was premised upon the individual right to differ (Puri, 2013). In Tagore's view, freedom from colonialism could not be secured by means of an individual's subservience to an unquestionable ideology. Puri (2013:344) argues that it was this idea of progressively exclusive emotions as the basis of society that led Tagore towards notions of internationalism and the associated rejection of exclusive 'nationalisms' which he saw as a symbol of Western Civilization. He argued that the concept of the 'nation state' is foreign to India. As discussed by Chakrabarty (2006:94), he was '...alarmed by the drive to gloss over India's diversity for the sake of creating a nation-state like Europe'. He wanted East and West to meet.

Tagore believed that no progress could be achieved through isolation. All his life he strived for cooperation, universal brotherhood and a meeting of the East and West. He had a vision of a united nation that could be possible by transcending barriers of nationality, and the realisation of the oneness and sanctity of humanity. While the United Nations was founded to promote international cooperation, before that Tagore was spreading such a worldwide view. Kundu (2010) has described Tagore as a pacifist poet and one of the few people who believed that world peace could be achieved if the East and the West met together within a common fellowship. It was that belief which led Tagore to lay the foundation of the '*Visva-Bharati*' University in 1918 after World War I: '...he wanted the best minds from all over the world to exchange creative ideals under one setting. His institution would be a model to the world, showing the true path

of salvation and peace' (Kundu, 2010: 83). Tagore, was more of an idealist. As I said earlier, he used to reminisce about the ancient '*Ashram*' education.

Bhowan (2006) seems, however, to overlook these differences between Gandhi and Tagore. A native of Mauritius, he further refers to his ancestral land as 'Mother India'. While this seems like a deification of India, it does also reveal the connection that Indo-Mauritians may feel towards it. Bhowan (2006:340) further states that 'in Mauritius, good governance draws on spiritualism and the wisdom from ancestral lands'. Yet Seetah (2010:107), another Mauritian contends that what some scholars fail to see is:

...the Mauritian in the Indian, proud of both a cultural heritage and current feeling of nationhood that serendipity – not Europe – allowed them to hold on to. Delving a little deeper would reveal that Chinese, Muslim and other groups also adhere to their traditions and language whilst being Mauritian first and foremost.

He is not oblivious though to divisions that Carroll and Carroll (2000) mention and the melancholy of the 1999 riots. From an anthropological point of view, he regards these divisions as 'emic'. He talks about Mauritius as 'Our Mauritius' depicting a sense of identity, and he further argues:

Mauritius demonstrated an inherent pragmatism that led to it becoming a part of the Commonwealth, the Agence de La Francophonie and a full member of the Organisation of African Unity, but it also remains Mauritius, it neither wants to be Little France, Britain or India (ibid:109).

Given the post-colonial context of Mauritius and the seemingly influence of Gandhi and Tagore on the life, politics and education on the small island, it is justified to consider their educational theories for peace. I also believe such debates on 'nationalism' can inform future practice of peace education and citizenship education. They are especially

relevant for Mauritius. I have also shown previously that according to Bajaj (2016) both Gandhian Studies and peace education can benefit each other. I contend that the island can provide a good case study for the 'praxis' of peace education. As Younger (2009) notes, Mauritius is an amazing human experiment in which people from different parts of the world and depicting various values, religious and cultural beliefs have tried for decades to maintain a peaceful existence. The small island can be a good example to highlight how ideas of the East and West operate in a post-colonial environment to promote a culture of peace. Such a study can also inform future practice of peace education in multicultural countries, which are having difficulties in maintaining peace with increasing globalisation and 'intersection of cultures' (Spring, 2008).

However, I am not oblivious to certain challenges. Gandhi's refusal of the use of foreign goods, technological advancement and emphasis on spinning was much condemned and continues even today. There are criticisms that he idealised premodern societies and used absolute ethical and spiritual norms to reject materialism, globalisation and consumerism. His methods were considered as archaic. Paranjape (2008) discusses how in India, Gandhi has become an empty signifier. Gandhian institutions have been declining. Bajaj (2016) found that there seemed to be a few UNESCO Chairs at Indian Universities that mention Gandhian Studies while dealing with the theme peace even though in 2012, UNESCO and the Government of India established the Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development (MGIEP) in New Delhi.

Another problem with Gandhi relates to his relationships with women. While Gandhi supported women's rights and enabled their entry into the national freedom struggle

through '*Satyagraha*' or 'Truth force', modern feminists have criticised his experiments on celibacy and sexuality. Gandhi advocated a life of celibacy, and to prove his mastery over sexual enjoyments, he used to sleep next to his cousin's naked granddaughter, Manu (Sharma, 1989). While it is believed that she was consensual, this in itself can portray how women are treated as 'objects' of lust and experiments. Given Gandhi's popularity at that time, it is not impossible also that the girl would not have been able to refuse. Paranjape (2008) shows how Gandhi's contribution to women's empowerment has become a sort of fading memory. Further, his insistence that women made better '*satyagrahis*' (one who practises '*Truth Force*') because of their inherent capacity to bear suffering is also not seen in a good light. Moreover, it is not impossible to see, that from the perspective of an ethics of care, Gandhi would be greatly condemned for his behaviour.

Tagore, the poet was much criticised for trying to 'spiritualise' education. He had to bear the brunt of the materialist who condemned his emphasis on spiritual values, describing it as archaic against the background of an increasingly secular society with greater demand for economic efficiency. Because he also used to spurn examinations, '*Shantiniketan*' and '*Visva-Bharati*' were criticised for lagging behind regarding academic standards. The '*ashram*' character of the school was alleged to be medieval and unsuitable to the realities and complexities of modern life. Tagore's standpoint on education was poorly understood in his time. He stated that it was not easy to recruit and retain teachers who shared his views. '...I was often obliged to concede to what I did not believe in, but what the others around me said' (Tagore & Das Gupta, 2009, 110). Some of his countrymen despised him, arguing that he was a British stooge: he

was knighted by the King of England. However, Tagore renounced his knighthood in protest of the massacre of unarmed Indians in Punjab in 1919 by British troops.

For many of her critics, Montessori also propounded a utopian vision of education. There is the belief that she expected too much from the child. It is also argued that Montessori's materials and toys are expensive and classrooms are not necessarily peaceful when children are given the liberty and independence to exercise their freedom of choice. Colgan (2016) and Frierson (2014) highlight how Montessori is a rare name in the titles of the philosophy of education literature. Bone (2017) argues that the marginalisation of Montessori is also a gender issue. Some activities proposed by her have been tainted by connection with gendered roles, service and domesticity. There is further criticism that the woman who was the defendant of women's rights had hidden her pregnancy and did not acknowledge her child, Mario Montessori born out of wedlock for many years. Lillard (2005) suggests that another reason for her marginalisation may be due to the influential criticism of William Kilpatrick (1914) on Montessori's work at the time when her 'Method' was being popularised. She also adds that this may be to Montessori's own lack of interest in theory. 'She was a practitioner; she wanted to help children, not theorize about them' (ibid: 395). Invariably, there are various challenges and problems in promoting Gandhi's, Tagore's and Montessori's educational theories. Are their views to be discarded?

Gandhi emphasised an all-round development of the child that would bring out the best in it. He had a different vision of education that would bring a harmonious working of the mind, body, and spirit:

...unless the development of the mind and body goes hand in hand with a corresponding awakening of the soul, the former alone would prove to be a lop-sided affair (Gandhi, 1953: 46).

Like his predecessors Montessori and Tagore, he wanted to promote active learning through the education of the hands. What is interesting also is his theory about the education of the heart, which according to him can help to awaken feelings of love, sympathy, and fellowship in man.

Moreover, it is noteworthy to point out that Gandhi was against any kind of fanaticism or religious ideals that prone the superiority of one religion over the other. For him, all religions were pathways to divinity. He even equated Truth with God. Initially, he said that 'God is Truth', but realised that atheists in their passion for Truth deny the existence of God. He then changed it into 'Truth is God', which he found more satisfactory to 'God is Truth'. He added, that in our search for Truth, '*Ahimsa*' or non-violence must become our friend. This philosophy of life that he preached can clearly be seen in his educational ideals. Gandhi did not include religious education in the Wardha Scheme of Education. He believed that religion is a personal affair and each one must be entitled to follow his own religion. On the Tolstoy Farm, no one was debarred from practising his or her religion. The singing of hymns and prayers was encouraged in an atmosphere of reverence and respect. Said, Patel (1956:265), 'he wisely dropped denominational religion or sectarianism from the Wardha Scheme'.

However, analysis of his views on religion and education reveals that he favoured the learning of others' religions besides one's own. When he was himself in London, he read the Bible and fell in love with the 'Sermon of the Mount'. In Carlyle's '*Hero and Hero Worship*', he was introduced to the teachings of the prophet Mohammed.

Similarly, he read Sir Edwin Arnold's English translation of the Bhagavad-Gita and his other book 'The Light of Asia' that talk about the life of Buddha. In his view, we must not think that learning the religion of others besides one's own will weaken our faith. The study can help us understand the essential unity of all religions, expand our regard for them and develop broad-minded tolerance. He cautions though that if, for instance, we are reading the Bible or Bhagavad-Gita, it must not be through the translations of some hostile critics, but some known votaries who are not biased.

Parekh (2008) has discussed that Gandhi's religious pluralism requires individuals, especially those making absolute claims to recognise that they need to be self-critical and open. Richards (1982:21) has argued that:

The openness Gandhi shows to the plurality of religious tradition is commendable. It indicates that he is not content to confine himself to the small island of his own tradition and culture and consequently not recognize the significance of the spiritual insights of other religious traditions.

It will not be wrong to advance that with problems like youth radicalisation and religious extremism, Gandhi's insight can help in paving the way for religious harmony and understanding.

In the case of Tagore, Pridmore (2009:365) argues that '...*Shantiniketan* did reflect Tagore's vision of what schools must be if children are to grow to love the world and not merely plunder it for profit'. Samuel (2010) describes Tagore as one of the pioneering thinkers for promoting a global village consciousness and using education towards that end. 'Tagore's vision of international education can help prevent misunderstanding and war, promote peace, foster multiculturalism, connect human

beings, and celebrate their common heritage (Samuel, 2010:347). According to Bhattacharya (2010: 158), ‘Tagore had introduced everything that we club under Lifelong Learning today’. Kaneda (2008) mentions that among the students at Tagore’s school were the former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, the world-famous film director Satyajit Ray and Amartya Sen (2006), the Nobel laureate in Economic Sciences.

There is much to learn from this historical figure: the way he braved the difficulties in his time, his insight on an alternative education to the traditional one, and his attempts in connecting people from different segments of the society and world. He had a more humane approach to education. From my point of view, Tagore has also much to contribute in the field of aesthetic ethics. I mentioned earlier that in his elaboration of the ethical foundations of peace education, Page (2008) does not go beyond the Gandhian rhetoric. I argue that an exploration of Tagore’s theories can add to discussions in this field.

From my perspective, similar to Tagore, Montessori was a woman much ahead of her time who could perhaps foresee the ills of today’s society. She considered war as a plague that had spread over the world and contaminated man’s thoughts, speech, and actions. To get rid of it and start reconstructing man’s psyche, she stressed the need to re-educate humankind. She stated that it is important to start at grassroots level by making the child a point of departure. According to her, human history has also taught us that to achieve peace we must conquer the ‘Other’ and bring submission. The outcome is that we look at peace from a negative point of view. Thus, in our search for peace, we come across bloody weapons and destitution. It merely reveals the triumph of war.

Montessori stated that peace normally defined within politics as the cessation of war and the resolving of conflicts between nations through nonviolence could not adequately describe a genuine peace. Just as Galtung (1996), she stressed the need for a positive interpretation of the word 'peace'. In her view, it symbolises the triumph of justice and love among men and a world where harmony reigns. Embedded in her positive aspect of peace is also the notion of constructive social reform. Peace is achievable through a restructuring of human society. In Montessori's view, there are two things important for peace in the world. First, we need better people and second, an environment where humanity can realise its aspirations.

Decades ago, Montessori warned that there was a need to be proactive in regards to the promotion of a culture of peace and prepare the young to be harbingers of peace.

Montessori (1992:32) argued:

Those who want war prepare young people for war; but those who want peace have neglected young children and adolescent, for they have been unable to organize them for peace.

This still holds true today when we consider the current world situation with evidence of violent youth extremism. It affects both boys and girls. In February 2015 in the UK, three East London schoolgirls aged fifteen to sixteen years old crossed the Syrian border and joined the Islamist State terrorist group (BBC, 2015). According to *'The Guardian'*, more than forty-three girls and women in the UK are believed to have fled to Syria in the recent past (Grierson, 2015). The two persons who killed Father Jacques Hamel in France were also both nineteen years old (Mulholland, 2016). Similarly, the 'Bataclan' attackers were not older people (BBC, 2016). They were in between the age of twenty to thirty-one. I also showed in Chapter One evidence of few young people in Mauritius

joining ISIS. Another well-known problem in the US is gun violence in schools, colleges and universities. For example, in October 2015, a twenty-six-year-old man killed ten people and injured seven more at Umpqua College in Roseburg, Oregon. The gunman had in his possession fourteen weapons. Former President Obama was noted saying that ‘there’s been another mass shooting in America... Somehow this has become routine (see, McGreal et al, 2015). There is cause to worry here and question the very purpose of our education systems.

To conclude, Gandhi, the politician-educator, Tagore, the poet-educator and Montessori, the doctor-educator had each their own agenda but the above analysis also shows some commonalities in their vision of education and attitude towards peace. Underpinning their various reform activities was a desire to transcend the narrow utilitarian vision of education. Their pathways crossed, they learnt from each other and it is also clear that they were not indifferent to the suffering of the ‘Other’. The three of them saw education as a means to better the lives of girls and boys and men and women.

Gandhi made education secular but did not discard interreligious learning. He further infused politics with a ‘spiritual’ vibe. He aimed to promote self-rule and, establish ‘*Ram Rajya*’, the ideal polity for the multi-universe we all inhabit (Paranjape, 2008). He saw education as an important tool to remove the ignorance of the masses, empower them, and create the social order he wanted. Tagore, the poet-educator philosophised about peace, the problems of the society, and the education which according to him was turning a person into a machine. He tried to invigorate it with warmth, care and love. Montessori, the doctor-educator adopted a scientific medical approach in education to

‘cure’ the physical body, but also balanced it out with sensorial, emotional and spiritual healing.

I also argue from the above that Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori showed an endeavour to transcend the Cartesian dualism of mind and body and promote a ‘holistic learning’ through an ‘education of the heart, head and hand’, an ‘education of fullness’ and a ‘cosmic education’. They drew attention to the importance of promoting a philosophy of education based on a sense of ‘wholeness’ for the overall development of the child, and a peaceful society. In Chapter Six, I come back to the discussion on ‘wholeness’ for the future practice of peace education and multicultural societies. I draw on Eastern philosophies.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter concludes the first part of the thesis, which has mainly been about providing readers with an overview of the broad spectrum of the field of peace education, its co-disciplines, current trend, gaps, tensions and challenges within the field. The context, rationale of the research, purpose, aims and objectives have also been explained. In the chapter, I have further discussed theoretical and philosophical foundations of peace education. The ‘fideistic’ approach has been criticised as well as the Western-dominated paradigm within the field. The importance of critical peace education has been highlighted with the need to decolonise the practice. Further, it has been argued that the peace education researcher has to demonstrate greater reflexivity and engage in ‘ethical’ research. Thus, the research has been informed partly by Nel Noddings’ ethics of care, which I believe has strengthened the theoretical framework

and simultaneously provided an analytical framework to discuss ethical issues within this study.

In this chapter, I have also considered the commonalities and differences between Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori's educational theories for peace. I have shown that they have relevance for the Mauritian context and contemporary debates in the field of peace education. Before moving ahead to the next chapter, I believe that I need to clarify an issue, which I feel is pertinent to the study, given that in many ways I am an 'insider'. While I have been cautious in trying to avoid any bias from cropping into the research, given my previous studies and specialisation in the fields of Hinduism and Indian philosophy, I may sometimes discuss more the link between Hinduism and peace education. I do not see it as a weakness but as a 'strength' that can further enlarge the possibilities of both fields.

As I said in the beginning, I undertook this PhD as a self-funded student to improve my practice. My research initiatives and practices arose in response to problems, conflicts, and challenges. It was my contact with extreme poverty in the slums of India and the girls' problems that led to my engagement in social and educational activism. Similarly, the problems I encountered as an educator trying to promote a culture of peace brought me to research the field of girls' violence and bullying. My engaged practice with CATs led to further scholarly research on SQCs and peace education. The current research too has emanated from the problems I encountered as a peace educator in a post-colonial setting, which is culturally diverse.

Moving forward, the challenge is to communicate the conclusions to an international academic audience, which is not impressed by missionary enthusiasm for peace and peace education but may want to see conventional arguments, backed by convincing evidence. However I cannot but reflect, that the educational thinkers who informed the current study were far from conventional and that the methods that I used for the collection of data deviate from traditional mainstream research. In the next chapter, I provide details on methodology and methods.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY, METHODS AND ETHICS

Introduction

To find out answers to the research questions which I outlined in Chapter One, I adopted a hybrid methodology. The research was influenced in some ways by the practice of ‘cooperative group inquiry’ (Heron, 1996). It was conducted *with* young people rather than *on* them. I distanced myself from the conventional positivist researcher for whom participants are merely subjects to be studied. I engaged boys and girls as ‘co-researchers’ in the study. This is not new (see, Coad, 2008; Holland et al, 2010; Huddleston & Kerr, 2006; Kellet, 2005, 2011; Lundy, McEvoy & Byrne, 2011; Powell et al, 2012; Sime, 2008; Smit, 2013; Smith, Monaghan & Broad, 2002).

I further adopted the qualitative and active form of interviewing for the collection of data, seeking to learn from personal experiences and stories of researched participants (Denzin, 2009). However, I grappled with methodological concerns and ethical issues. It worsened by the fact I was an ‘insider’ in many respects. While negotiating the ethical dilemmas, I realised the importance of a ‘holistic’ approach to ethics. I discuss these in the chapter together with an explanation of the methods used for the collection of data, the way I proceeded with the data analysis, and the reasons why I have decided not to use certain data. I end with a discussion of certain limitations of the study that need to be kept in mind before reading the findings. I start by considering the involvement of students in research.

Involving students in research

There is great emphasis today for researchers to conduct research *with* young people and not simply *on* them. Increasing scope for child-led research is also seen as important. The major source for it can often be seen in ‘Childhood Studies’ as a response to Article 12 of the UNCRC- United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989). The Office of the High Commission for Human Rights (2005) also issued ‘General Comment 7’ in the following terms:

...The Committee wishes to emphasize that article 12 applies both to younger and to older children. As holders of rights, even the youngest children are entitled to express their views, which should be “given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child”.

Those who have sought to engage young people in research, for instance, O’Brien and Moules (2007) and Smit (2013) often cite Article 12. However, some researchers like Alderson (2012) and Hammersley (2015) have argued that there are no explicit links made to research within UNCRC and we need to be careful about how it is interpreted and the implications for social research and ethics. These can revolve around ‘informed consent’ and, ‘competencies’.

Beazley et al. (2009) have argued that perhaps it would not have been possible for this International Treaty to be so widely ratified without such broad definitions. They have also contended that children have ‘the right to be properly researched’ citing Article 12, 13, 36 and 3.3 of the UNCRC. Alderson (2012) has discussed problems with this idea. For instance, it may misleadingly imply that all children should be able to take part in research as if it is a basic right. While there are certainly debates within this field, it does not override the fact that children are human beings and subjects in their own

rights. In an adult world, their views have often been repressed. I have discussed this in Chapter Two. The UNCRC came into force to make sure that the rights of the child are protected. As per Article 13, they also have the right to freedom of expression, and this includes the freedom to seek, receive and impart information. It is further stipulated in Article 3 that all actions concerning the child must be in its best interest. These do have implications for research: the ways young people are involved in it, issues of safety, consent, protection of harm and confidentiality.

As a doctoral research student preparing to conduct research with young people, I was aware that I needed to abide by certain ethical codes of conduct. British Educational Research Association's '*Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research*' explicitly requires researchers to comply with Articles 3 and 12 of the UNCRC (BERA, 2011). I followed the standard ethical protocol for conducting research at this level. First, ethical approval was sought and gained from the School of Education Ethics Committee. I mentioned that young people would be participating in group-based activities and they would also be asked to find out their classmates' conceptions of peace at school. Interviews would further be conducted with students and adults. The 'Information Sheet for Participants' as well as examples of Consent Forms were submitted. As highlighted by Parsons et al. (2015), one of the purposes of establishing ethics committees is to scrutinise and approve research to ensure that research is conducted ethically and to minimise any risk of threat of any legal action.

Gaining informed consent

BERA (2004:6) defines informed consent as 'the condition in which participants understand and agree to their participation without any duress, prior to the research

getting underway, and states that attainment of informed consent 'is considered the norm for the conduct of research'. According to Gallagher (2009), informed consent rests on four core principles: it involves an explicit act which can be verbal or written; it can only be given if researched participants are informed about and have an understanding of the research; it must be voluntary and without any coercion, and it must be renegotiable so that children may withdraw at any stage of the research process. Yet, as shall be seen, this can be challenging. Gallagher (2009) is also conscious of it.

Ahead of my fieldwork, I followed the standard ethical protocol for gaining access to two single-sex state secondary schools governed by the Mauritius Ministry of Education and one mixed state secondary school governed by the MGI/RTI. Permission and consent of both the Mauritius Ministry of Education and MGI/RTI was sought and granted. I also sought the permission and informed consent of Heads of respective schools where the research was conducted. They are the 'gate-keepers' who can grant access to schools and participants or deny any possibility of research being conducted within the school premises. The aims, objectives, risks and purpose of the research was discussed.

However it had to be a win-win situation, for the school, participants and for me, as the researcher. Heads of Schools were particularly interested to know how the research was going to be beneficial for the school and the students. I explained to them that the research was mainly exploratory and that group-enquiries would mainly be 'informative'. Yet it was not impossible that the school and researched participants could benefit from the project. Rectors further stated that I would need to seek the permission and informed consent of parents if I wanted to work with participants under

the age of 18. This differs, for example with England, Wales and Northern Ireland, where students over 16 years old can give consent or withhold consent to participate in research. Parsons et al. (2015) draw attention to the fact that young people aged 16 and 17 years constitute a 'grey area'. It is particularly unclear whether they can and should provide consent for themselves.

The students who participated in the study were aged between 16 to 18 years old. For those who were 18, informed consent was directly sought from them. However, consent was sought from the parents of the other participants. Examples of 'Consent Forms' can be found in Appendix One. Unfortunately many parents refused to grant their informed consent despite expression of interest from the young people. There was the argument that students needed to concentrate on their academic studies. I have discussed in Chapter Two the 'elitist' system of education in Mauritius. Dockett, Einarsdottir & Perry (2009) have also discussed challenges in negotiating consent with the gatekeepers and parents. In this present case, the decision taken was that only students who had the informed consent of their parents could participate in the study.

Before distributing the consent forms, a meeting was organised with the student participants. An 'Information Sheet for Participants' which can be found in Appendix Two, was handed to them. They were informed about the benefits and risks of participation in the project and what was expected of them. I also told them that they could withdraw from the project any time they wanted. Participation was solely voluntary. As it is, one student left half-way through the research project because of academic pressure and responsibilities at school. Yet, despite following this standard ethical procedure of gaining informed consent, I was faced with an important ethical

dilemma. I discuss this below together with a brief outline of the methods used for the collection of data.

The ethical dilemmas

I conducted the research in three state secondary schools: a single-sex girls' school, a single-sex boys' school and a mixed school of the MGI/RTI. I used different methods for the collection of data:

1. In-depth, semi-structured 'active interviews' with students and adults.
2. 'A group process inside inquiry' with students, built around the concept of 'circle processes' and supported by 'group-diagramming'.
3. An 'open boundary inquiry' where the same students designed their open-ended questionnaires and created a 'Data Collection Box'.

In each school, I set up a group with the help of the students and support of the rector. It was more of an 'informative' type of group-inquiry rather than 'transformative'. The primary aim was not to change the inquirers' behaviour, though I believed that participation in the research project could give the students the opportunity to enhance their social competencies, such as learning to work together as a team, share responsibilities, develop critical thinking and a systematic way of solving problems peacefully.

Within the 'group process inside inquiry' (Heron, 1996), researched participants were trying to find out, from their individual and collective experiences, problems in their respective school environment that can hamper the culture of peace. They subsequently

also provided recommendations based on the problems identified. My role was more of a facilitator. The students led the inquiry group. This is also not different from Heron's (1996) 'externally initiated inquiry' where the initiating researcher is external to the particular culture and cannot be a full co-subject. Once the work of initiation is done, she takes a lesser rank in the group. This group-inquiry was based much on 'experiential', 'propositional' and 'presentational knowing'. In the third part of the thesis, I report the findings from this 'group process inside inquiry' and also show the views of the students in the diagrams used. Explanation of the diagrams and their relevance is given later in this chapter.

The important ethical dilemma that I faced, however, was whether to overlook or not the data that was collected by the young girls and boys in the three schools through the 'open boundary inquiry'. Within this kind of group, the co-researchers come together for discussion and reflection but also elicit data from people outside the group (Heron, 1996). My role was similar as in the 'group process inside inquiry'. As the initiating researcher, I conducted the relevant training of my co-researchers which I discuss later. However, after this phase, I allowed them to take charge of the inquiry group. As I mentioned earlier, in my original research design, students were expected to find out their classmates' conceptions of peace. The students came up with a 'Data collection Box' and designed their questionnaires to find out answers to two questions that I had asked them:

1. What are your classmates' conceptions of peace?
2. Does ethnicity influence perception of peace?

In this case, there was a breach of the standard ethical protocol because the researched participants of my co-researchers were not ‘fully’ informed that the data was going to be used as part of the research study. While I was conducting the training with the students in the schools, in my ‘protectiveness’ of the researched participants and the duty of care that I felt towards them, I advised the young people not to mention to anybody outside the group-inquiry that they were participating in the research study. I give the reasons in the next section. However, in retrospect, I can see how this has created confusion. As I discuss later, the roles of the students were intermixed. What eventually happened is that some participants did not explicitly mention that the data could be used as part of the doctoral study.

Anonymity, confidentiality, and minimisation of harm in a small-connected island community

Mauritius, as mentioned by Younger (2009), can be traversed from North to South, East and West in around two hours. It is a small island community where people know each other. Heads of schools and teachers are also regularly transferred from one school to another after a certain period of time. Information on the study can be spread. In schools, my presence was also questioned. I was known in the profession and was active at community and national level. I was an ‘insider’ in the field, and I was concerned about the safety of my researched participants. This has nothing to do with being ‘biased’ towards them but arises from a sincere concern to protect my participants from harm.

While conducting research in the small island state of Saint Lucia, Holmes (2002) realised to what extent politics pervade every aspect of life, how personal contacts and individual personalities can be quite influential, and how social networks count. He also

conducted research in a collaborative manner with young people and spoke from the perspectives of a 'Northern' researcher conducting research in the 'South'. There are also serious ethical issues in this respect.

In this chapter, I speak from the experience of a 'native' researcher who is very much active in the field she is researching and is conducting research in her country, which also has the distinctive feature of being a 'small-connected community'. There are ethical implications for research here, related to issues of harm, confidentiality, and anonymity. The situational and cultural context needs to be taken into consideration. While a number of safeguards were put into place for the safety of participants, such as using 'pseudonyms' in writing about them, promise of confidentiality and safe storage of data, as a researcher I felt that another way of minimising harm was to suggest to them not to disclose information about their participation in the study to anyone outside it.

Damianakis and Woodford (2012) also draw attention to the ethical challenges that qualitative researchers may face in upholding confidentiality in 'small-connected communities'. They argue about the need to expand the discussion on this: 'qualitative scholars have paid little attention to ethical challenges that might arise in this context (ibid: 708). They mention, how for instance, it is not impossible that informant pseudonyms can be ineffective protection. Other informants or community members may still recognise participants via the content of selected quotations.

Kellet (2011) argues that protecting and safeguarding the child researcher has to be a top priority. I was concerned about how to minimise harm to the participants and not to

breach the promise of anonymity/confidentiality. I believed that the larger the number of people who knew about the research, the greater the risk of participants being identified and the impossibility for me to protect them from harm in the case of the research being published.

There is also an important point to note: the co-researchers were 'insiders' like me in the study. They were students in the school where they were conducting research, and they were also co-subjects in the research study. Further, there was the fact that my research participants were students leaders in the same school. Their roles were inter-mixed, and this has caused confusion. Gormally and Coburn (2014) have pointed out that this can happen while assuming too many roles in the research field. It may not have been easy for the young people to navigate among their different roles. It has not been an easy task for me, as an adult.

The group created by the students at the start of the project was expected to continue with its activities even after my fieldwork. As I said earlier, it had to be a win-win situation also for the participants as the school. Knowledge and information gained through participation in the research project would eventually help the students and the school to focus on implementing the culture of peace and tackling problems effectively. The students informed the classmates about this new group at school and their aims and objectives, but some did not tell them specifically that their inputs could be used as part of a larger study. Although in one school the co-researchers distributed their questionnaires to their classmates in my presence and they were 'fully' informed about the research, I decided not to consider data collected through the questionnaires and the 'Data Collection Box'.

This situation raised issues about ‘fully’ informed consent, and perceptions that my co-researchers could have conducted research in a ‘covert’ way. Though some of their researched participants already knew that they were taking part in this study, because initially I had approached a larger group of students recommended by the rector to explain about my research study, still I did not want this research to be perceived as being unethical. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, it is important that peace education research avoids the reproduction of structural and cultural violence that it seeks to address. Thus I have chosen to be ‘explicit’ about what happened and critically reflect on it, not only to improve its trustworthiness, but also for the possibility of other people learning from this experience what can go ‘wrong’ in the field when both the initiating researcher and co-researchers assume too many roles.

While being an ‘insider’ can provide a sense of comfort to the researcher, my cultural and social sensitivity to the context made me perhaps more conscious of ethical issues that could arise than an ‘outsider’. Further, like the student participants, my roles were intermixed. It was important to differentiate between my roles as a teacher, practitioner, and researcher. There is no doubt overlapping between these, but for the researcher it is important to be aware of all of these roles to help reduce bias in research. This is even more vital considering my familiarity with the Mauritian context and educational system. It is true also that I was not familiar with the schools, its ethos, and the general population and in this sense was an outsider. Yet, to a large extent, I was an ‘insider’.

My experience has shown that it is not easy to separate the outsider/insider binary that is much emphasised in the conduct of research. As Mullings (1999: 340) argues, the binary implied in the insider/outsider debate is less than real ‘because it seeks to freeze

positionalities in place, and assumes that being an insider or outsider is a fixed attribute'. He also draws attention to the fact that this reflects elements of the 'dualistic thinking' that structures much of Western thought.

What I wish to draw attention to, is that 'ethics-in-practice' (Renold et al., 2008) can be complex, especially when one is trying to involve young people in participatory research. There are some ethical issues to be taken into consideration, and this can be exacerbated in a 'small-connected community' where individuals know each other or know another through a third party. Qualitative research can also be more intrusive than quantitative research. In qualitative participatory research, it is even more difficult to protect the participants' identity. I also worked with a relatively small sample of students and my participants themselves were leaders in their respective schools. It is clear that in their dual mandate to contribute to the advancement of knowledge through rigorous research and upholding ethical standard and principles, researchers working in 'small-connected communities' can face ethical tensions. Ethical practice also views informed consent, avoidance of harm, respect for participants' confidentiality and anonymity as central (Sime, 2008). However, trying to implement all these can sometimes be challenging for a researcher.

I am not oblivious to the fact that rectors knew who my co-researchers were. However, they are also governed by the rules of professional ethics in protecting their students and school from harm. If they disclose any information, they may potentially be also liable to harm. As I explain later, I had a lengthy discussion with rectors about the issue of disclosure, the well-being of the co-researchers and safeguarding their participants from harm with the rector. Data generated through the group-enquiries were also

confidential and handed out to me and not to the rector. While reporting the findings, I made sure not to mention the names and locations of the schools or to provide any description that could make the school identifiable. Similarly, I used pseudonyms, chosen by students participants themselves while conducting interviews, analysis of the data and report of the findings. As I said earlier, I also told the students not to mention to anyone that they were participating in the study, but this ‘backfired’ on me.

As a researcher, what I can do is try to minimise as far as possible the harm that can accrue to participants. As argued by Denzin (1989:83):

... our primary obligation is always to the people we study, not to our project or to a larger discipline. The lives and stories that we hear and study are given to us under a promise, that promise being that we protect those who have shared them with us.

In this case, my priority was protecting my participants and making sure that the research was also conducted according to standard ethical guidelines of securing ‘informed consent’. I took further steps for the well-being of my co-researchers and safeguard of their participants. I discuss this below.

The well-being of the co-researchers and safeguarding of their participants

Before the fieldwork, I looked for institutions dealing with child protection issues, conflict, and violence. I had confidential discussions with the rector about how to minimise harm to participants. I was aware that conflicts could arise during the activities. Young people could feel resentment and be upset. My responsibility as a researcher meant that I also informed the rector if there would be identifiable cases of bullying, conflicts, and violence. During the training, I further had a discussion with

the students about issues of confidentiality, safety, consent, anonymity, safe storage of data and disclosure of any information pointing to their participants being harmed or at serious risk of being harmed. The anonymous questionnaires handed over to me are kept in a safe location, as well as the data from the 'Data Collection Box'.

Kellet (2011) highlights the importance of also taking into consideration the well-being of the co-researcher. In her view, this may be affected by excessive or reasonable time demands of the research project and distressing or harrowing disclosures or situations where the child-researcher may be exposed to ridicule or diminishment of self-esteem. Thus, while planning for the fieldwork, I decided to meet the students during the 'Activity-period' in order not to disturb them in their studies. However, sometimes I had to work with them during the lunch breaks because the 'Activity-periods' were taken for remedial classes. I also did not meet them during their exam time. We had group-meetings during the school holidays. This was conducted at the schools. I brought lunch for them and paid for their transport. On various occasions, I also picked them up from their homes and dropped them back. Below, I also consider how I tried to reduce power relationships between the participants and me.

Power relationship between the co-researchers and myself as the adult researcher initiating the project

While preparing for the fieldwork I wanted to make sure that the research rested on collaborative endeavours to minimise power relationships between myself and the participants. Above all, I did not want the research to be simply 'tokenistic' (Hart, 1992). As argued by Hart (1992), there are instances in which children are apparently given a 'voice' but in fact have little or no say about the subject and the way they

formulate and can communicate their views. Children's and young people's participation can occur in different degrees, and often these can be frivolous and manipulative. Hart (1992) also highlights the importance of including children and young people in research design. He mentions participatory action research as an alternative to conventional applied research. The emphasis is on both action and reflection. The researcher is seen more as a democratic participant. Shier (2001:110) has also proposed another model based on five levels of participation:

1. Children are listened to.
2. Children are supported in expressing their views.
3. Children's views are taken into account.
4. Children are involved in decision-making processes.
5. Children share power and responsibility for decision-making.

Within the current research, I initiated the project, designed it but also tried to involve the students actively in it. In the 'open boundary group-inquiry', it was left to the students to decide whether they were going to use interviews, questionnaires, 'data collection box' or any other creative means for their data collection. Decisions and responsibilities were shared with the students. My role was more of a facilitator in the group. However, in all three schools, students decided to design a questionnaire.

Kellet (2011) highlights that children can be busy people. Time-constraints need to be taken into consideration. Conducting interviews can be time-consuming and in a school setting, finding a private space is difficult. In two schools, students also decided to use a 'Data Collection Box'. This was basically to find out their classmates' conceptions of

peace. This was anonymous. However, for the reasons already discussed above, I have decided not to use this data and that of the questionnaires for the analysis of the findings.

Damianakis and Woodford (2012) highlight that qualitative researchers might experience both gain and losses in simultaneously upholding research ethics and advancing knowledge in small-connected communities. Such was my case in this critical qualitative and participatory research with young boys and girls in the small island of Mauritius. It was not an easy decision, given the hard work that the young people have put into it and the valuable data collected by them.

Kellet (2011) discusses the challenges and critical issues central to the implementation of the concept of child-led research. While she highlights that research by children and young people can and should inform policy, since it generates new knowledge from their perspectives that adults might not be able to access in the same way, she also argues that influence brings responsibility. There is a responsibility to undertake reliable and valid research. She emphasises the need to give quality research training and help young researchers develop valid research methods that stand up to independent scrutiny.

I did conduct a research training with the students before starting the project. I discussed issues of confidentiality, anonymity, safety and consent and explained about research methods. The conduct of the participants and their role was also discussed. An example of it can be found in Appendix Three. I found out also during the training that some of the researched participants were already familiar with various techniques of data collection, being students of 'Social Studies'. One of the girls even asked 'How can I be sure that you are not interpreting my words differently?' This was when I decided

that after every group-discussion, I would immediately write down the views of the students and show it to them in the next meeting to make sure that I had interpreted what they were saying correctly.

For me as the researcher, the experience was depressing as well as enriching. It led me to be more 'reflexive' about my practice and more aware of issues to be taken into consideration while conducting participatory qualitative research in small-connected communities with young people. It also brought me to understand the importance of a 'situational ethics' that takes into account the importance of 'relations' in participatory research with young people and contextual realities. In the next section, I discuss how I negotiated the ethical dilemmas that I faced.

Negotiating the ethical dilemmas

It may be possible perhaps under Utilitarian and Consequentialist ethics to build an argument that the data collected by the students can add to the overall findings. 'The utilitarian ethics of consequences model prioritises the goodness of outcomes of result such as increased knowledge' (Edwards & Mauthener, 2012:19). The rightness or wrongness of actions is judged by their consequences. I have discussed this under Page's (2008) 'Five ethical traditions' in the previous chapter. I can also possibly argue that I got the approval of the University Ethics Committee before the research. However, Powell et al. (2012), draw attention to the fact that there is still a danger, that even after gaining approval from an ethics committee, a project may be regarded as unethical. The issues given precedence by ethics committees, such as gaining access to participants, recruitment, anonymity, and confidentiality, may mean that these

requirements are in order. Yet attention also needs to be given to ethics as an ongoing social practice (Christensen & Prout, 2002).

Edwards and Mauthener (2012) also highlight that ethical decisions arise throughout the entire research process, from conceptualisation and design to data gathering, analysis and report. They further discuss the researcher's 'virtue ethics of skills'. It refers to how a researcher's moral values bring her to 'reflexively' negotiate ethical dilemmas in a contextual or situational ethical position. I do come from a strong value tradition where I believe it would be unethical towards the classmates of my researched participants to include this data in the analysis without their 'fully' informed consent. While the participants distributed their questionnaires guaranteeing in writing the confidentiality, anonymity of their classmates and highlighted that participation was voluntary, this could be seen as not sufficient to satisfy standard ethical procedure. As also highlighted by Heron (1996:44):

If the data is generated, but the people by whom it is generated remain outside the inquiry and have no say in how it is explained and used, then a norm of co-operative inquiry is infringed.

As the initiating researcher, my responsibility is to ensure that the research is conducted ethically. As Kellet (2005) also argues, in child-led research, the researcher cannot be absolved of her responsibilities. These are, in fact, heightened. On this point, I turn to the relevance of a 'holistic' approach to ethics.

The relevance of a 'holistic' approach to ethics

While ethics can help a researcher to be more aware of hidden problems, they may not have straightforward and easy answers. According to Alderson (2004), ethics are often

a matter of trying to find a balance between opposite extremes. Botes (2000) stresses the importance of striking a balance between an ‘ethics of justice’ (Kohlberg, 1981) and an ‘ethics of care’ (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 2003) with which I agree. As I said previously, I found the ‘ethics of care’ relevant while negotiating the ethical dilemmas that I encountered. This research experience has taught me the importance of a ‘situational ethics’ that takes into consideration social and cultural factors. I discussed in the previous chapter that ‘ethics of justice’ is based on universal principles and rules. It is impartial, based on rational decision-making and ensuring fair and equitable treatment of all people.

While preparing for the fieldwork, I followed the standard ethical protocol for conducting research in Mauritius. However, I found myself in a situation where I had to make certain ethical decisions. In participatory research especially, agency, decisions and responsibilities are shared. My decision has affected the decisions of the co-researchers, and theirs have subsequently impacted on the turn the research has taken. These were unanticipated. Powel et al. (2012) also argue that ethical codes need to be iterative and responsive and this does not fit the format of knowing in advance what will happen and how it will be managed as is generally required by the ethics committee.

I have discussed in the previous chapter the importance of an inclusive ethics of care, but this situation has also made me realise the importance of supplementing the ‘ethics of rights’ with ‘the ethics of care’. I argue that in certain situations, ‘ethics of rights’ may not be sufficient while negotiating ethical dilemmas. An ‘ethics of care’ where attention is paid to socio-cultural factors, ‘needs’ of individuals and harmonious relations may be important. Flanagan and Jackson (1987) also argue that there is no

logical reason preventing anyone from using both sets of ethics in ethical decision-making.

Cockburn (2005) advances that while there are limitations to an 'ethics of care', it remains a constructive approach to the children's rights context, as it emphasises responsibilities and relationships. It also 'allows children to be active social players rather than passive recipients of care and rights' (ibid: 71). Conventional Universalist arguments have assumed a perspective that is male, rational and applied to all circumstances. It does take into consideration the 'generalised other', but everyday interactions with 'concrete others' are 'bracketed off' (Cockburn, 2005). On the other hand, an 'ethics of care' makes a place for the care of the 'concrete other', particular circumstances and a caring relationship. The 'concrete other' is located within the context of relationships with others. In the context of participatory research with others, individuals are brought together, they interact with each other and often have to work as a group to achieve common goals and aims. They cannot 'bracket off' the 'Other'. They learn to put themselves in the place of the 'Other', they listen to the 'Other', and together they build up some kind of reciprocal relationship.

As a researcher, I then understand that I am not simply accessing the minds and perceptions of the 'generalised other' or disembodied beings. My participants are active social agents who have feelings, emotions and are susceptible to harm, and so are their researched participants. While this experience has made me question the extent to which as a researcher I can protect my participants, it has also made me realise the importance of a 'holistic' approach to ethics in negotiating ethical dilemmas.

Botes (2000) argues that ethical problems can be approached in 'holistic' fashion to accommodate for the unique need of the role-players in each unique ethical situation. She believes that the 'reductionism approach' in the 'ethics of justice' poses serious threats to the validity of ethical decisions. She emphasises that it does not imply throwing overboard the element of rationality in decision-making. Ethical decisions can have far-reaching consequences, and it is important to retain that element of rationality. Loewy (1996) contends that it will be as dangerous to blindly obey the rules and regulations as it will be to base one's ethical decisions solely on one's emotions and urge to care.

As Botes (2000), I suggest the complementary application of the 'ethics of justice' and rights with the 'ethics of care'. The ethics of care can provide a need-centred, holistic and contextual point of view while making ethical decisions. Within an 'ethics of rights', as researchers, we try to ensure that our participants are treated fairly and justly. We provide a platform for them to voice out their views, listen to them, and report what they say. An 'ethics of care' heightens our responsibilities towards them and makes us conscious that ethics is not just about ticking-boxes, but it has to be reflected in practice as in Noddings' (2003) concept of care modelling. It does put a lot of pressure on the researcher, but the latter cannot abscond from her responsibilities towards her participants and conducting research ethically. I have throughout the thesis adopted a 'reflexive' approach and brought to the forefront the ethical issues, cultural and structural violence that can sometimes remain 'invisible'. By discussing the problems I encountered and making them explicit, I hope to contribute to knowledge regarding a 'participatory ethics' in 'small-connected communities' with young people.

So far, I do not claim to have resolved these ethical tensions. However, I do believe that being honest about such problems that I faced during the research process and bringing them to the forefront can contribute to debates about the inclusion of young people as co-researchers, and how it is also important to think increasingly about ethical issues that can arise when conducting research in a collaborative manner in ‘small-connected communities’. In the second part of this chapter, I move on to elaborate further on the research methodology and methods.

Methodology and Methods

According to Opie (2004), decisions about methodology and methods are usually influenced by what can actually be done, what is practical and feasible, and also by situational factors of various kinds and personal predilections and interests. Methodology in research refers to the strategy behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking these to the desired outcomes (Crotty, 1998). Methods are the tools or techniques used to collect data so that as researchers, we can achieve our research aims and objectives. I started my PhD with the aim to improve my practice as a peace educator. I wanted to reconcile it with theory and find out how it is possible to promote the culture of peace through schooling taking into consideration the specificities of Mauritius.

I was confident that I could actively involve students in the research study. I was much influenced by the educational theories of Tagore, Gandhi and Montessori who saw students as active participants of the educational system. While designing the research, I wanted it to rest on collaborative endeavours. Cremin (2016) highlights the need also

for peace education research to benefit participants. I have further discussed above the emphasis on child-led research.

Cooperative learning v/s cooperative inquiry

Johnson and Johnson (2005) highlight the importance of cooperative learning for the promotion of peace education: it enables students to work together to achieve mutual goals, distribute the benefits justly, and develop a sense of unity among them. Underlying the nature of effective cooperation is the notion of positive social interdependence where individuals perceive that they can reach their goals if and only if other individuals with whom they are cooperatively linked reach their goals (Johnson & Johnson, 2013). The primary purpose is to help one another - to understand, share, and support. Lirola (2016) further argues that cooperative learning can help promote peace education due to its emphasis on group skills, its promotion of peer support, sharing responsibilities, and the importance of cooperation, as opposed to competition and oppression. Noddings (2016) mentions 'cooperative learning' as a strategy that can be used in schools to promote competence in caring.

In designing the research, I turned to the practice of 'co-operative inquiry' (Heron, 1996) where a group of people come together and explore issues of concern and interest to them. I also used co-operative learning strategies as will be shown later. However, Heron (1992: 225) makes an important distinction between 'learning' and 'inquiry', which I believe is relevant to highlight here:

If learning is acquiring knowledge that is already established in the culture, it is simply learning. But if it is acquiring new knowledge that no-one else has, then it becomes inquiry or research. Learning as inquiry overlaps with

learning what is known, but extends beyond it with a more sophisticated methodology.

This means that the one who engages in the inquiry process is not simply learning but also contributing to a better understanding of reality through the generation of new knowledge. This is not a straightforward process. Mellor (2001) reflects on his battle with ‘validity’, the pull of ‘science’ and the belief in his ability to create ‘knowledge’. Robson (2002) draws attention how ‘real world research’ can be messy and that it is important to introduce rigour in all aspects of inquiry to achieve justified credibility and trustworthiness in what the researcher finds and writes up. I have discussed above that I grappled with methodological concerns and ethical issues. Some of the methods that I used for the collection of data were unconventional. They were inspired by my previous practice as a trainer and facilitator of the CATs project in Mauritius. I discuss this later in the chapter. In the next section, I focus on the philosophical ground on which ‘co-operative inquiry’ (Heron, 1996) rests. I have already explained at the beginning of the chapter about the nature of the group-inquiries and to what extent it was influenced by its practice.

The philosophical grounding of ‘co-operative inquiry’

‘Co-operative inquiry’ is about research work that is done co-operatively. It breaks down the traditional barrier between the researcher and the researched participants. In positivist research, for instance, the researcher conceives a project, designs it, manages it, analyses it, and draws conclusions from what he/she has found while conducting research on his/her particular subject. The researcher works towards a belief that there is a reality ‘out there’ to be discovered. He/she uses a scientific methodology to collect data, maintains an ‘objective’ stance and adopts an attitude of neutrality. There is a

clear-cut demarcation between the role played by the researcher and that of the ‘subject’ in the research. In ‘co-operative inquiry’ this division is blurred through collaborative endeavours. An ‘intersubjective space’ is created. Individuals are brought together in reciprocal relation. The researcher is also no longer ‘fully’ in charge of the research process. Roles and responsibilities are shared. Below, I consider the participatory worldview emphasised by Heron (1996) as opposed to the Cartesian worldview.

Participatory worldview v/s Cartesian worldview

‘Co-operative inquiry’ rests on an ‘inquiry’ paradigm of participative reality (Heron, 1996). It starts from and expands from Guba and Lincoln (1989) ‘inquiry’ paradigms. It is based on a worldview that sees ‘human persons’ as part of the whole cosmos. They are not separate from it and the ‘Other’, which allows them to join their fellow humans in collaborative forms of ‘inquiry’ (Heron & Reason, 1997). I have mentioned in the previous chapter that this feature of seeing human beings as part of the ‘whole’ cosmos has also been highlighted by Montessori, Gandhi and Tagore. The notion of ‘part’ and ‘whole’ and its interconnectedness is a feature that is also emphasised in the East and which demarcates itself from the Cartesian dualistic worldview. In Descartes’ concept of ‘*Cogito Ergo Sum*’ (I think, therefore I am), the emphasis is on the ‘I’, the ego-self. I have mentioned this in the previous chapter. There is no acknowledgement of the ‘Other’ and an objective reality. Body and mind are seen as mutually exclusive. The decontextualised and detached mind also rejects the partial and perspectival (Greene, 1994).

However, the participatory worldview moves away from this mechanical abstraction of the Cartesian worldview. Heron and Reason (1997:279) argue:

There is a given cosmos, a primordial reality, in which the mind actively participates...what emerges as reality is the fruit of an interaction of the given cosmos, and the way mind engages with it. Mind actively participates in the cosmos, and it is through this active participation that we meet what is Other.

Reality is hence participatory. It is also subjective-objective. It is subjective in the sense that it is only known through the form the mind gives it. Yet it is also objective because the mind interpenetrates the given cosmos, which it shapes. Heron (1996) contends that there is a difficulty with the idea that reality is a construction within an individual mind. It raises the problem of 'solipsism', which can be a challenge for the science of the 'Other'.

Heron and Reason (1997) understand the mind's conceptual articulation of the world as grounded in its experiential participation of what is present and in what there is. Thus, participatory reality is neither wholly subjective nor wholly objective, neither wholly dependent on mind nor wholly independent of it. It is always subjective-objective, inseparable from the creative, participative, engaged activity of mind but never reducible to it, always transcending it (Heron, 1996). Knowing is participative. Knower and known are not separate in the interactive relation. This participatory worldview is based on a fifth paradigm and extended epistemology where reality can be known through experiential knowing, propositional knowing, presentational knowing and practical knowing (see, Heron, 1996). On the next page, I also show that this fifth paradigm rests on a 'holistic form of 'inquiry'.

A 'holistic' form of 'inquiry'

According to Heron, the fifth paradigm rests on a 'holistic' form of 'inquiry'. The researcher's conclusions and applications are grounded in participative knowing. It emphasises a methodology that sees 'inquiry' as an 'intersubjective space'. This form of participative knowing also has a political wing based on an axiological theory about the 'intrinsic' value of human flourishing. This is valuable as an end in itself. It is important to note that Heron (1992:38) defines a person as a 'fundamental spiritual reality' and emphasises the importance of the 'I-Thou' relation (Buber, 2004), which he highlights are not illusions rooted in spiritual ignorance. His understanding of the 'human person' is also different from the 'ego', which is associated with the subject-object split that comes through the use of language.

I realised that Heron's (1996) ontological and epistemological stance concord largely with the 'holistic' ways of knowing much emphasised in the East where the importance of 'decolonising knowledge' is recognised (Al Zeera, 2001). In his writings, Heron (1992, 1996) often refers to Buddhist philosophy and sometimes to Hinduism. He advocates Eastern spiritual practices such as mindfulness. He also seems to be greatly influenced by Buber's theory on the reciprocal relation. I found his philosophical standpoint particularly relevant for this study where an attempt is made to bridge the gap between East and West. Reality is many-sided and can be known through various means. Knowledge of it is both subjective and objective. The concept of bringing 'human persons' together to conduct research in a co-operative manner appealed to me. In the next section, I give more details about the 'informative type of inquiry' and procedure adopted for the data collection.

Informative type of ‘inquiry’

I did face a dilemma while conceptualising my methodological framework. I hovered between using action research and feminist methodology. Both are praxis-oriented, committed to giving a voice to the marginalised, engaging individuals collaboratively in research and reducing the power relationships between researchers and the participants. McGuire (2001) argues that both can be powerful allies to dismantle the interlocking systems of oppression and domination in our lives. As Kemmis, Taggart and Nixon (2014) also emphasise, action researchers and especially participatory action researchers are primarily committed to effect change and ‘transform’ practice. It is a ‘practice-changing-practice’. Feminist researchers also seek to make a difference in women’s lives by producing useful knowledge that can lead to social and individual change. Letherby (2003:6) argues:

...the concern for feminists is not just what we do but how and why we do it and the relevance of the techniques and approaches we choose.

However, I found that the ‘informative’ type of co-operative inquiry suits the research purpose - to gain an understanding of the practice of peace education and problems through schooling in Mauritius, which can hamper sustainable peace. The primary aim was ‘informative’ rather than ‘transformative’ though as I said earlier, it is not impossible that participation in the research project can be beneficial to the research participants and the school. This groundwork for peace education in Mauritius can, later on, serve as a springboard for future research and effecting change. As highlighted by Heron (1996), propositional findings wait for ‘consummation’ in a future ‘transformative inquiry’. He suggests the interdependence of both the ‘transformative’

and ‘informative’ inquiries’ processes. While it is true also that he asserts the primacy of ‘transformative inquiry’, he does remark that this is not ‘doctrinaire’.

The research, then, was mainly informative. The immediate objective was to provide young people with a platform to voice out their views on the promotion of peace through schooling in Mauritius. The ‘group process inside inquiry’ paved the way for an intersubjective space where the participants shared individual stories and experiences and ‘critically’ reflected on problems at school. They subsequently proposed solutions. In the process, they learned to listen to each other, to reflect on what others were saying, and together contribute to a better understanding of reality.

In the next section, I show that the ‘group process inside inquiry’ was further supported by the concept of ‘group-diagramming’ (Winton, 2007). This is, for instance, different from a focus group-interview where the researcher has pre-determined questions and tries to access the perceptions and experiences of the participants through their interaction. However, both aim to access the individual and collective consciousness of the participants. I explain more about this process of data collection below.

Group Diagramming

As stated by Winton (2007) group-diagramming or diagram group-based discussions have an advantage of immediately allowing participants an active control over the discussion. Before the first discussion group, my participants were given two questions:

1. What are the problems that prevent the promotion of a culture of peace within your school community?

2. What are the possible solutions to problems that have been identified?

The students start by drawing the diagram and gradually build their ideas around it. Initially, their focus is on the visual representation of the diagram but slowly the discussion grows, and various issues emerge. The diagram becomes both an aid in triggering reflection, supporting discussion, and the presentation of the students' viewpoints. Before the fieldwork, I was apprehensive that it would not be easy to make students talk about 'peace' and related problems, especially if they are not used to such discussion in their surrounding environment. Within the group, each student was encouraged in turn to share their views and experiences. A dialogical space was created. To answer the first question, I told the students to use the Ishikawa Diagram as an aid. Similarly, for the second question, I recommended the use of the Lotus Diagram. I derived these methods through my experience in working as a trainer and facilitator of CATs/SQCs. I explain below why I have specifically used these diagrams.

The Ishikawa Diagram

I believed the Ishikawa Diagram would be an aid for the collection of data, opening up discussion and facilitating enquiry. It is also called the Cause and Effect Diagram. It was devised by Professor Ishikawa³³. Because of its shape, similar to the side view of a fish, it is further known as the Fishbone Diagram. It is an analysis tool displaying possible causes of a specific problem or condition, and also the root process of imperfections. I told the students that using this diagram might help them to identify potential causes of a problem or issue in an orderly way. Very often we act in haste

³³ Professor Ishikawa was a Japanese organisational theorist who developed quality improvement programs to empower line workers in solving problems at their workplace.

when confronted with a problem. We do not take time to find out and analyse the root causes of the problem. This results in individuals or organisations solving the problem only at surface level. There is then the risk of the problem cropping up again because the root causes were not identified and dealt with in the first place. In this case, the students had to identify the root causes and sub-causes of problems that affect the promotion of a culture of peace at school. Diagram 4.1 below shows an example of the Ishikawa Diagram.

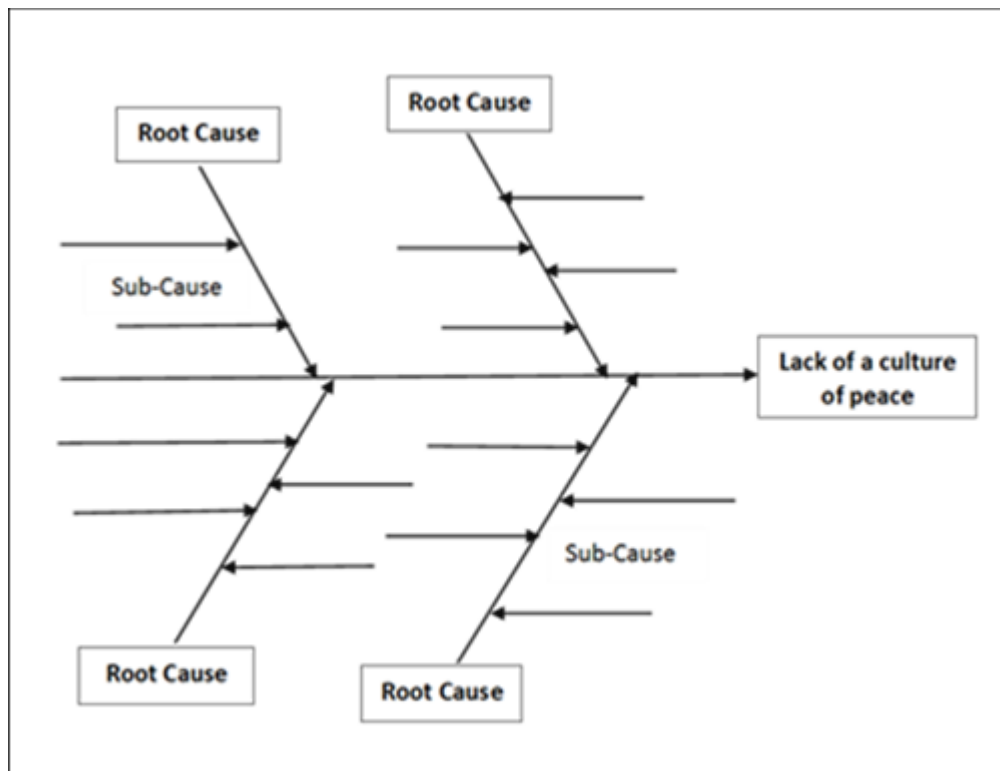


Diagram 4.1 Example of Ishikawa Diagram

As can be seen in Diagram 4.1, the effect, that is, the lack of a culture of peace at school, is found on the right-hand side. The words in the boxes appearing on the tips of the branches denote the root causes. The sub-causes are displayed within. In each school

where research was conducted students were asked to complete the diagram. For me, it was an aid to make the students reflect on the subject of peace and think critically. Jenkins and Jenkins (2010) have used various graphic organisers including the Fishbone Diagram as one of the tools to analyse cause and effect in relation to various themes that have arisen in their study. Workshops were organised bringing together community trainers and teachers to discuss the ‘why’, ‘what’ and ‘how’ aspects of a peace education curriculum. Some of the themes which came up with regard to what should be taught in peace education were conflict resolution, ethical and moral society, health, human rights and social justice, gender and women, governance, violence-free society, employment and development, culture and custom, environment and land. They found that such active cooperative learning strategies facilitate participation, interaction and meaning-making.

Hopkins (2010) has also previously used the Ishikawa Diagram in her research to give a voice to young people and engage them as co-researchers. The Ishikawa Diagram was used as a mechanism to support group interview. According to her, pupils responded positively to this technique. It enabled them ‘...to shape their thinking, keep control of the pace of the interview, and form a visual pattern of the emerging expression of what they were communicating’ (ibid: 51). She also found that this technique helped in data reduction.

The Lotus Diagram

The Lotus Diagram is an analytical and organisational tool for breaking broad topics into components. It can be used to generate ideas especially when the topic is complex. I believed this would be a useful tool to help students prioritise and organise their ideas

in a structured way. It would support analysis, act as an aid for stimulating critical thinking and help in having an ‘in-depth’ discussion. Below, is an example of the Lotus Diagram.



Diagram 4.2 Example of Lotus Diagram

As can be seen from Diagram 4.2, this is an idea-generating technique. It can open up thinking. The students were asked to think about eight main key ideas and record these at the centre in the main colored squares surrounding the principal task, that is, solutions to the problems that affect the promotion of a culture of peace in their respective schools. They were told to transfer these eight main ideas to the center of the corresponding rectangles. They would then add any sub-ideas related to each main idea

in the cells surrounding each of these main solutions. While designing the research project, I was apprehensive of the fact that if I just gave the question to the students, I could end up with only a few answers. However, with the help of this data collection tool, I would be able at least to a certain extent, to trigger deeper thinking. Kruse (2010) has shown how this tool was used by Year 8 students in Australia to answer the question ‘How have communities experienced and resolved conflict?’ He argues that:

The Lotus Diagram can be used to support The Taking Action phase, to break up the components and sub-components of a learning activity, helping students explore the magnitude of a set task...As a vehicle for recording information, it involves remembering, but as it seeks to connect and order information around bigger ideas and concepts, it encourages to understand and analyse (Kruse, 2010: 28).

Further examples of how students involved in CATs/SQCs have used these tools for collection of data are available in NPCC (2007) and Chapagain (2013). In the next section I provide an explanation about the nature of the groups set up in each school. I built on the concept of circle processes.

Building on circle processes for peace

Circle processes in education are not new. In England, Northern Ireland and Scotland, ‘Circle Time’ is increasingly being conducted in schools. Lang (1998) shows evidence of different approaches to ‘Circle Time’ in America, Italy and the UK. Lown (2002) highlights that it can improve communication, listening, and cooperative skills. The perception of teachers also is that children seem to be more settled, and have fewer arguments. It is seen as a useful intervention strategy that can help develop pupils’ social skills, improves self-esteem and addresses the needs of pupils with behavioural difficulties (Canney & Byrne, 2006; Lown, 2002). In Canada, Bickmore (2013) shows

how circle processes can also be used to promote peacebuilding. Cremin and Bevington (2017) further highlight the importance of peace-making circles which can provide a structured format for dealing with difficulties that arise, for instance, within a class. In their views, circles represent interconnectedness, equality and flow.

Within the 'group process inside inquiry', students sat in a circle, they discussed problems and shared views by turns. The discussion was interactive. I named it as 'Think Peace Circle'. Every idea was given due consideration. Students could express their views freely without feeling threatened. Initially, I wanted to include a teacher within this circle. However, during my pilot study, I realised that students were not able to speak freely. At the same time, teachers seemed to be overloaded with work, and it was difficult for them to be present regularly for the group-discussions. I also found that students were somehow apprehensive of the use of a tape-recorder during these interactive discussions and decided not to use it. The discussions were not spontaneous. As highlighted by Oates (2002), being taped can be inhibiting, and as a researcher, I want to access 'authentic' data. Oates makes another important observation that taping reinforces the idea that the researcher is in charge.

In each school then, a group was set up. The project had to be a win-win situation for the school, participants, and the researcher. After the fieldwork, members of the group were expected to continue with activities for peace at the school level. In the next chapter, I discuss how inspired by participation in the project, the young girls and boys even started implementing some of the ideas generated through the discussion. Each group had a name and motto. I believed that it was essential to build up the group identity and motivate students to work towards the common goal. Girls in the single-

sex state secondary school named their group as 'One Love'. Their motto was '*Ensam pou ene lemonde meiller*' meaning, 'All together for a better world'. Boys in the single-sex state secondary school wanted to be known as students of the 'Peaceful Globe'. Their motto was '*Pa Lager fer la paix*' meaning 'Don't fight but make peace'. Students of the mixed school called themselves the 'Young Peacemakers'. Their motto was 'Peace We Believe!' This kind of group-inquiry was set up with the belief that it could raise consciousness about a culture of peace and provide students with a platform to discuss problems at school and obstacles to peace and subsequently come up with recommendations for positive change.

Prior to the start of the project I told the students that before attempting to solve any problems, they need first to understand the school system and the processes. These include finding out how departments and people are connected to each other. I also trained the students in adopting a systematic approach to problem-solving based on the PDCA (Plan-Do-Check-Act) cycle (see, Chapagain, 2013; NPCC, 2007). It is a step by step approach to problem-solving. It is a process for continuous improvement and sustainable action rather than adopting 'quick fix' solutions to problems. Huddleston and Kerr (2006) discuss a similar systematic approach to problem-solving through 'Active Learning'. It is based on a cyclical process where students reflect on what they have experienced and done and take time to plan future actions.

Huddleston and Kerr (2006) show how at Hastingsbury Upper School in the UK, a 'Students-as researchers group' was set up. It was developed out of a sub-committee of the student council, and students were involved in the collection and analysis of information and evidence on specific school issues. Afterwards they reported the

findings to the students and staff. Huddleston and Kerr (2006) wrote within the context of the promotion of citizenship education in schools. Students are also encouraged to design their questionnaires and use a 'Suggestion Box' similar to the methods used by CATs/SQCs. More information on the methods of SQCs can be found in Chapagain (2013), Ennals and Hutchins (2012), Koksai (2012), Mir (2012). In the next section, I consider another method of data collection - Individual Interviews. As stated by Robson (2002), in a situation where a researcher is working alone with limited resources and time, the interview can be a powerful tool.

Individual interviews

While the 'group process inside inquiry' enabled me to provide a dialogical space where various young boys and girls could participate in a collaborative manner in the research, I also used individual interviews to explore in greater depths the personal stories of some of the young people. As I said previously, the research was both participatory and qualitative. In qualitative research as such, researchers typically study a relatively small number of individuals and preserve the individuality of each of these in their analyses, in comparison with quantitative methods where data is collected from large samples of individuals and then aggregating the data across individuals or situations (Maxwell, 2013). Within qualitative research, there is also inherent flexibility, derived from its particularistic rather than comparative and generalising focus. There is an emphasis on people, processes, and meanings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Schostak, 2002; Hammersley, 2008; Merriam, 1998). As argued by Denzin (2009: 35),

We need stories about what it is like to hate and feel despair, anger, and alienation in a world bursting at the seams as it struggles to reinvent its dominant mythology. We need pedagogical discourses that make these

feelings visible, palpable stories and performances that connect these emotions to wild utopian dreams of freedom and peace.

Apart from young girls and boys, I also conducted interviews with adults, men and women mainly involved in policy-making in Mauritius. I explain about the sample in more detail after this section on the interviewing process.

In-depth semi-structured interviews

According to Taylor and Bogdan (1998), in-depth interviewing is useful in learning about events and activities that cannot be observed directly. It allowed me to explore in great depth the personal stories, experiences and situations of participants in their own words. I used a semi-structured form of interviewing which gave me certain flexibility in the ways that I formulated my questions during the interview process. As stated by Denscombe (1998), it also allows the interviewee to develop ideas and speak more widely on the issues raised by the researcher. This kind of interviewing is normally a one to one face discussion and can last over one hour. Such was the case in this study.

I was aware that it would be time-consuming to transcribe and analyse the data, but I believed that it could provide me with rich data about the personal stories and experiences of my interviewees. These interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants. As I said earlier, I have used pseudonyms for students during the recording, analysis and reporting of data to protect them from harm. As Kirsch (2005) remarks, it is not impossible that participants can forget that what they are sharing is being recorded and will later be analysed and published in some form or another. I also knew it would be an '*aide-mémoire*', helpful for later analysis. However, I was aware that some participants could feel uncomfortable with being recorded. As it is, two of the

adult participants from the Ministry of Education did not give their consent for the use of a tape recorder. In the next section, I explain how I also used ‘Active Interviewing’ for the collection of data.

Active interviewing

In a traditional sense, the interview can be seen as a mechanical data collection tool. I used it, however, as a meaning-making activity. Gaskell (2000) also states that the interview is a social process, an interaction, or cooperative venture where both the interviewer and interviewee are in different ways involved in the production of knowledge. As I said earlier, I viewed my participants as ‘concrete other’. Thus, apart from being in-depth and semi-structured, the interview was more than a simple question and answer exercise. I used the active form of interviewing. Holstein and Gubrium (1997:122) have highlighted that this type of interviewing ‘eschews the image of the vessel waiting to be tapped in favour of the notion that the subject’s interpretive capabilities must be activated, stimulated and cultivated’.

I encouraged interviewees to look at alternative perspectives, constraining and provoking answers that are related to the study. For instance, I referred to initiatives for peace in schools, actions to curb violence and policies. I also referred to articles that could trigger reflection and raise consciousness about the engagement of youth in activities for peace (see, L’Express, 2013; L’Express, 2014d; L’Express, 2014e). The first press article speaks of 300 girls protesting in a single-sex girls’ state secondary school against their rector; the second reports of a young girl injuring another one with a ‘cutter’ and the third one points to vandalism and violence in a boys’ state secondary school.

DeVault (1990) does argue about the importance of grounding interviewing in day to day activities and problems. It means encouraging participants to talk about issues relevant to their everyday lives and specific context. As the interviewer, I was directing the interview process in order not to allow deviation from the topic, but I was in no way telling participants what to say. I was stimulating reflection from my interviewees.

I was aware, though, of a certain asymmetrical relationship between the interviewees and me. In interviews, it can be difficult to get rid totally of the power relationship that exists between the researcher and the respondents. As the researcher, I prepared for the interviews with certain questions in mind. I framed questions in certain ways so that they could generate answers to the research questions. I made my analysis taking into consideration what students said during the interviews, and will eventually disseminate the findings. The tape recorders are also in my possession. However, at the end of each interview, I also asked the participants to feel free to ask me any questions and to say anything that they believed I should have asked, or which according to them could contribute to a better understanding of the topic at hand. Burgess (1984) stated that in the course of his interviews, pupils and teachers would often ask him questions about his biography, views of schooling and his previous teaching experience. He argued that he could not claim not to know about certain issues because of his relation to the school and events.

To have avoided these questions would have provided the 'sanitised' interview demanded by the textbook writers but would have ruined my relationships with the teachers and pupils (ibid: 105).

As I discussed earlier, I was to a great extent an 'insider' in the research. Feigning ignorance about certain issues that my respondents knew I was aware of, would appear

absurd to them. Though such questions did not arise during the actual interviewing session, during informal discussions at school, students would often ask about my profession and projects that I have been involved in.

It is to be noted that most of the interviews were conducted towards the end of the fieldwork. This allowed me the time to 'observe' my participants in their context, learn about problems, understand the school culture and ethos and at the same time develop with them a 'rapport' based on trust where they could feel free to share their personal stories and experiences with me. Kirsch (2005) believes that the more successfully one can establish close relationships with interviewees, the more likely they are to reveal personal thoughts or feelings.

Right from the beginning, I was conscious that I was a 'stranger' to the students and it would not be easy for them to open up to me. I found that doing the group-based activity before the interviews helped. It also allowed me to explore in depth what the young people discussed and in a way prepared myself adequately for the individual interviews. In the case of the adults interviewed, most of them were strangers to me, though I knew of their work at national and international level in education, gender and with young people. Below, I provide information about the sample.

The sample

I used both a 'snowball sampling' and 'purposive sampling' for the research. In choosing schools and adult participants for the study, I used a 'purposive sampling': in this case, the researcher already knows something about the specific people and situations and deliberately selects particular ones that are likely to produce the most

valuable data (Denscombe, 1998). During the fieldwork, I worked in three state secondary schools: a single-sex girls' school, a single-sex boys' school and a mixed school also governed by the MGI/RTI. I have discussed in Chapter Two the reasons behind choosing to work in the state schools. However, while primary schooling is mixed, state secondary schools offer single-sex schooling except for the MGI/RTI.

Gender was an important variable for the study. This explains why I focused the fieldwork on these different types of school. In schools, boys are being taught and brought up separately from girls. The way they socialise will naturally differ. The conflicts they face and the violence they encounter in their everyday life will not necessarily be the same. What is important for peace education research today is to consider this gender differentiation, and then seek ways to meet the needs of both. This has been highlighted by Reardon (2001) and Brockte-Une (1985, 1989). The decision to conduct research in one of the MGI/RTI schools also relates to their relevance for peace education research and the fact that they are listed as state schools. They follow the same curriculum as the two other schools but also promote the teachings of Gandhi and Tagore. I believed these different types of state schools would be relevant cases for the study.

Similarly, I used a 'purposive sampling' in the sense that I decided to work exclusively with student leaders. I believed that they could provide a good sample for the research, given their experience in planning and implementation of activities at school, and perhaps involvement in decision-making. Previously, I mentioned the case of Hastingsbury School in the UK where a sub-committee was formed from the 'Student Council', and these students were enrolled as co-researchers (Huddleston & Kerr,

2006). However, my sample included those who have experiences also as Head-girls, Head-boys, Class-Captains, and Prefects. They had leadership responsibilities at school and were on a regular basis dealing with problems and also organising activities for youth at school. Technically speaking, they represent the voices of students in their schools. This, of course, is arguable given that perceptions and experiences can be subjective.

There can also be the argument that those in the top-end hierarchy do not necessarily know about all the problems. Often they are the ones who are most privileged and sheltered from problems. Bringing to the forefront the voices of those who are rarely heard at school might have been better. However, within the current research, the primary purpose was to understand what is going on in certain schools in Mauritius that can hamper the promotion of a culture of peace, and I believed that because of their experiential learning they would be a relevant sample for the study. I mentioned previously that the group set up at the school was also expected to continue with activities and projects for the promotion of peace and it was hoped that the group-activity would help these student leaders and subsequently the school in channelling peace work in the right direction.

In finding potential participants for the research among the student leaders, I had to use a 'snowball sampling'. As a strategy, it involves identifying participants or '...cases of interest from people who know people who know what cases are information-rich, that is, good examples for study, good interview subjects' (Patton, 1990: 82). Given that I was not familiar with students in the schools, I asked rectors to recommend potential

students who would be interested in participating in the research and contribute to the study.

For the interview of adults, I adopted a ‘purposive sampling’. It allowed me to ‘handpick’ people who could shed important perspectives on the research study. They were in one way or the other involved in curriculum planning, policy-making, educational training and development and also engage in activities with young people. The sample included a senior representative of the Teacher’s Union and Federation of the Civil Service Union, a former Minister of Education involved in educational planning and policy-making at the national and international level, two senior officers from the Mauritius Ministry of Education. One of them is also a representative of the National Institute for Citizenship Education project, and the other one is involved in the coordination of extra-curricular activities. I further interviewed a representative from each of these three Non-Governmental organisations- ‘Gender Links’³⁴, ‘Men against violence’³⁵ and the ‘Rotary Club’. There were two other interviewees with high-ranking position at the MIE and the Ministry of Youth and Sports. In Diagram 4.3 on the next page, I map the fieldwork for a clearer understanding of the sample and data collection.

³⁴ This is a Southern African NGO based in Johannesburg, with offices in ten Southern African countries including Mauritius, that specialises in gender, governance and the media.

³⁵ The group is actively involved in national sensitisation campaign to denounce violence against women (see Commarmond, 2011). It frequently conducts training sessions and workshops with young people. I have attended one of their workshops in the past.

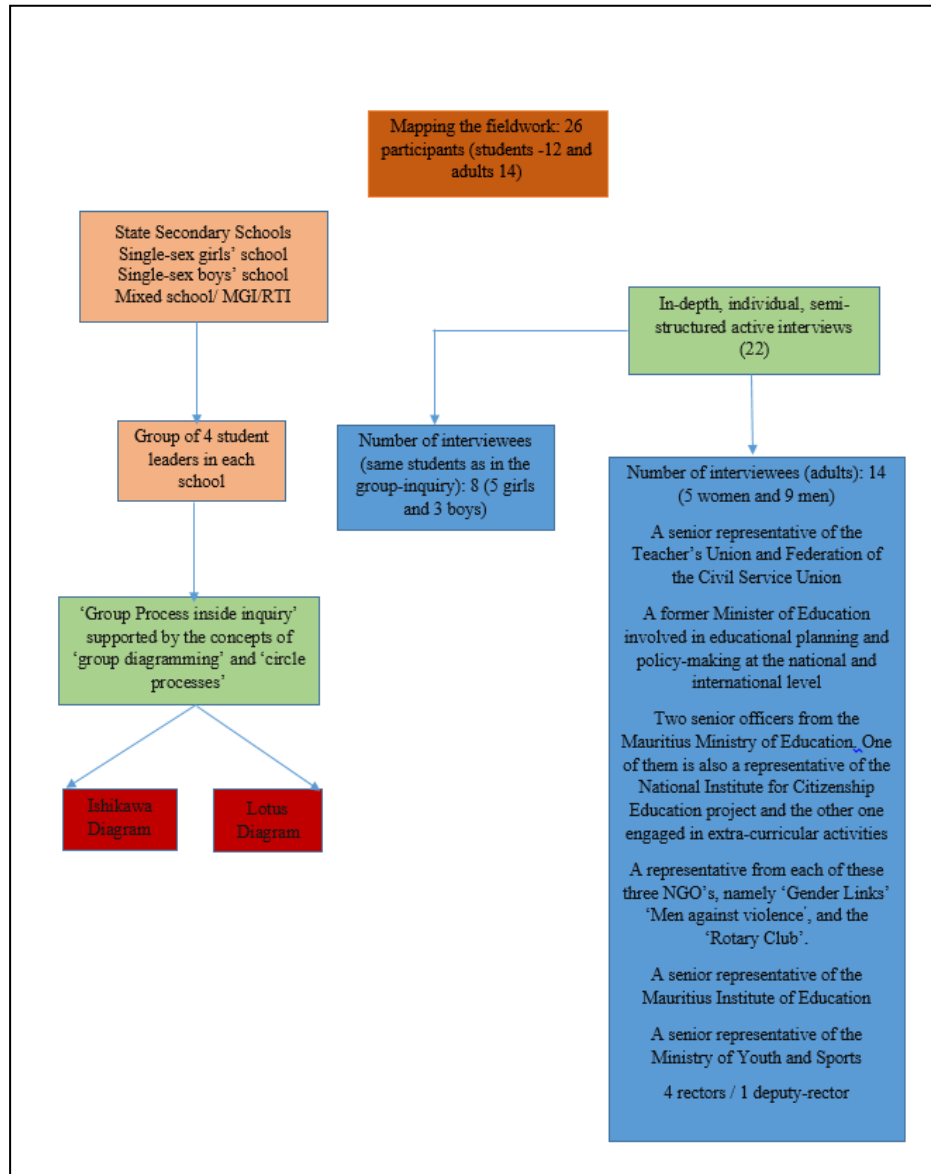


Diagram 4.3 Mapping the fieldwork

For the research study, I also interviewed four rectors and one deputy-rector. This sample also includes the three rectors of the respective schools where research was conducted. The decision to interview rectors arose from my own experience as a peace educator. During seven years of practice in a single-sex secondary school, I worked with seven different rectors of different ethnicities and gender. My experience shows

that the way they manage and lead schools and their vision of education impact greatly on the promotion of a culture of peace in educational institutions. I believed their opinions could shed other perspectives on the concept of peace education.

They are the middle managers who decide how policies are going to be implemented in schools. The way they lead and manage the school, including staff and students is important in the promotion of a culture of peace. In the '*School Management Manual*' for the state secondary schools, it is stipulated that according to paragraph 34 of the 'Mauritius Educational Act', the rector is responsible for the administration and discipline of his school as he deems fit (Ministry of Education, Culture and Human Resources, 2009). I believed that the school culture and ethos would be reflected through their management and leadership skills. It is to be noted that within the initial research design, ethnicity was also an important variable. Hence, the sample includes participants from various ethnic groups. In the next section, I address the question as to how far can this research can be considered as trustworthy, credible and authentic.

Is this research trustworthy, credible, and authentic?

I believe that whether research is quantitative, qualitative or participatory, all three must be subjected to academic rigor and discipline. In traditional positivist research, it is assumed that there is one objective reality which is the same for all observers. Research findings are subsequently considered valid if they can match this reality and measure it correctly. This criterion will not be applicable for the current research where qualitative active interviewing has been used for the collection of data and group-inquiries based on a worldview that reality is many-sided. Further, like Carr and Kemmis (1986), I do not believe that a researcher can aim at an 'ideal objectivity' where she claims to be a

‘disinterested’ observer. In the first chapter itself, I stated the reasons which led me to undertake the study. I was part of the research.

Moreover, in the words of Alan Peshkin, I believe that ‘my subjectivity is the basis for the story I am able to tell. It is a strength on which I build. It makes me who I am as a person and as a researcher’ (Glesne & Pesking, 1992:204). I am conscious as Maxwell (2013) highlights, that in traditional research, what a researcher brings from her own background and identity has been treated as ‘bias’ rather than a valuable component. In both qualitative and participatory research also, the researcher needs to be careful in avoiding any bias from arising in the study. Maxwell draws attention to a second threat to validity, which is the possible influence of the researcher on the individuals and setting studied. Hence, to improve the credibility and trustworthiness of the research, I employed a series of safeguards. I discuss these below.

Epistemic and methodological reflexivity

The goal of epistemic reflexivity as highlighted by Kinsella and Whiteford (2009) is to ‘crack the codes’ within our discipline, consider everyday assumptions that pervade everyday theorising and practice, interrogate what is in place, and if possible envision new possibilities. Zembylas (2018) also employed this. Raven (2006) makes a distinction between ‘reflexivity’ and reflection’. He argues that reflexivity moves beyond reflection and involves a critical exploration of not only ‘what we know, but also more centrally, what we do not know (i.e., our unawareness) and why and how we have come to know or not to know’ (ibid: 560). I have said before that this research has been enlightening and I discuss in the third part of the thesis how it has helped me to think again about my practice as a peace educator with young people.

In my reworking of the research design following the methodological and ethical problems that I faced, I used ‘methodological reflexivity’ to confront the challenges. It enabled me to become more conscious, for example, of paying particular attention to participatory research with young people and the methods that can raise ethical challenges. I come back to this in the analysis. I had to ‘stand back’, evaluate my research design and accept a certain ‘loss’. I have also been honest about the problems I faced and ‘reflexive’, and I do hope that this can improve the credibility of the research and its authenticity. One important thing that I have learnt and which has been highlighted by Maxwell (2013), is the necessity for the researcher not simply to talk about validity in general terms, borrowed from textbooks, but to demonstrate how she applies it in her study.

Addressing the subjectivity/objectivity debate

Much of the research findings rests on experiential, presentational and propositional knowing. The research was primarily ‘informative’. However, a critical ‘intersubjective’ space was created where participants could share their experiences and perceptions, work collaboratively, and collectively interrogate their practice. In the three schools, the students were given the same task. As will be seen in the findings in the next chapter, there are common problems that have been identified in the schools. This shows ‘consistency’ in the findings. However, there were also problems that were more specific to girls. These must not be seen as controversies or discrepancies but as giving a varied perspective on reality. They also show the importance of listening to both the voices of girls and boys for a ‘holistic’ knowing.

According to Heron (1996), agreement sought and reached about the findings, whether presentational, propositional or practical by co-researchers, is not an agreement of identical representations or practices. 'It is one of varied perspectives or behaviours, which illumine a common area of inquiry' (ibid: 175). A total overlap of versions may be suspect, suggesting collusion or conformity. At the same time, I recognise that each person's views and experiences are partial, but it is possible to learn from their collective consciousness. In this context, criticality, self-reflection and collective reflection are important in increasing the authenticity and credibility of the research. As I said earlier, the 'group process inside inquiry' was also built on the concept of circle processes and each person took a turn to speak, they listened to each other, they comment on each other's views and experiences.

Triangulation of data sources

A question may be raised as to how far the young girls and boys were telling the truth. I said earlier that I purposefully conducted the interviews of the adults towards the end of the fieldwork. As will be seen in the next two chapters, I juxtaposed the findings from the young people with those that emerged from the interviews with the adults to show any inconsistencies and, at the same time, common themes that arose.

Some issues that were raised during the group-discussions were brought up in interviews with the adults. This is not to discredit what the boys and girls said, but to show a varied perspective of reality and that the research conclusions are not based on unsound and illogical arguments. As will be seen, perceptions of young people often differ from those of adults. This, I believe, enriches the findings and shows where are the 'loopholes' and 'gaps', and subsequently where strategies need to be channelled for

sustainable peace. At the same time, I cite an example here of one violent incident that occurred in a school which was testified to by all the participants in the group-discussion and to which the rector also referred in the interview. Such cross-checking can only enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of the findings.

This process of placing viewpoints into a relationship with another is known as ‘triangulation’ (Schostak, 2002). It is considered a way of mapping the objective field from a variety of viewpoints.

Triangulation is a process by which the researcher can guard against the accusation that a study’s findings are simply an artifact of a single method, a single source, or a single investigator’s bias (Fielding and Fielding, 1986: 470).

In this case, it was through various sources of knowledge where adults’ views were juxtaposed with those of the young people, and through ‘participant observation’ in the field from the beginning of July 2014 to the end of October 2014. I give more details about the technical aspect of the fieldwork before concluding this chapter. I went to the three schools on a regular basis for the group-based activities with the young people, observing them in their surrounding environment, learning about the school culture and ethos and finding out about activities for peace and strategies in place. As argued by Lincoln and Guba (1985:301):

...prolonged engagement is the investment of sufficient time to achieve certain purposes: learning the “culture”, testing of misinformation introduced by distortion either of self or of the respondents and building trust.

However, Lincoln and Guba (1985) also warned about developing an ‘over-rapport’ with participants while being in the field and inadvertently become a ‘voice’ for them.

In Chapters Five and Six, I report on the views and experiences of the young people, juxtapose it with that of the adults and simultaneously look at these from a ‘critical’ perspective. Again, another layer of ‘critical’ intersubjective space was created. Participants do not necessarily share common meanings, but it enables exploration of reality from a variety of viewpoints.

I am not oblivious though to the fact that much of what participants say rests on ‘memory’. However, the statements of some participants can validate others. Triangulation was then used as a means to overcome the possibility that I was being misled by informants and that due to my socialisation in the field, I was not able to identify tacit understandings underlying the processes I was involved in. However, important to note is that Silverman (1993) also criticises triangulation if it is employed as a means to overcome partial views, and such was not the case in the research.

In the forthcoming chapters, I build on the personal stories and collective experiences and views of my participants to form the conclusive arguments. There is another important point that I want to make here. It did happen that certain adult informants referred to the case of the MGI/RTI school where the research was conducted without me probing about it. I discuss this in Chapter Six. While I have mentioned it here, this ‘specific’ information will be omitted in case the research is published to preserve the ‘anonymity’ of the school.

Taking into consideration the question of double hermeneutics

In the process of interviewing and group-discussion, I often had to interpret participants’ interpretations. I was concerned with accessing ‘authentic data’ and how

rightly I interpret conversations, discussions and meanings. The participants likewise can have their own interpretations of me, and this can affect the ways they convey information. The question of ‘double hermeneutics’ is then raised. I was conscious of these two layers of hermeneutics, and it was important to move away from initial description to critical analysis. As stated by Lawn (2006), implicit in the term hermeneutics is some kind of methodical consciousness that we have to develop as researchers. It involves engaging in inner dialogue and deliberation, considering oneself in relation to the social context, being conscious of bias and fallibility and the ways they determine one’s actions. One needs to be reflexive which I have discussed earlier, and this involves self-observation, self-monitoring, self-criticism, self-evaluation, and self-commitment, and among all of these activities, there is *questioning* (Archer, 2007).

I also mentioned previously in this chapter that I used to write down the views of the students immediately after each group-discussion and showed it to them in the next meeting to make sure that I interpreted correctly what they said. In the next section, I consider the data analysis and presentation of findings.

Data analysis and presentation of findings

In the beginning, I had to sort out the ‘raw data’, categorise and file them systematically, those from the group-activities, interviews with young people and interviews with adults. Following the organisation of the data, I repeatedly listened to the interview tapes trying to ‘absorb’ what was being said and what stories were coming up. I also simultaneously transcribed the interviews. It was not possible to transcribe all of them in Mauritius. I did it in the UK. While all interviews were conducted in English, there were instances where interviewees spoke in French and Creole. I had then to translate

these. In the presentation of the findings, statements from Creole/French are given as well as the English translation.

During the analysis stage, I also read the interview transcripts several times, writing down notes and ideas that would crop up. I used a process of ‘coding’. The goal is to ‘fracture’ the data and rearrange them into categories that facilitate comparison between things in the same category and at the same time aid in the development of theoretical concepts (Cresswell, 2013). I looked for themes, similarities and dissimilarities. Sometimes, I would simultaneously look at what the young people said in the interviews, what their rectors said and the statements of other adults involved in policy-making. It enabled me to have a holistic ‘picture’ of what was being said, find common themes and divergent ones. I would also look at whether or not the interviewees said anything differently or if there were any commonalities in answers to common questions that were asked. An example would be questions that I asked them in relation to the press articles.

Thus, while in the beginning the data analysis was somehow mechanical and linear, gradually I found myself in a ‘spiral’. The whole process was an overwhelming exercise. I had to go back and forth between various interviews, field notes, codes, and themes reports from group-activities and documents that were taken during the fieldwork. I also had to keep track every time of newly emerging themes and wrote down memos to stimulate thinking and analytic insights. It was important to record any important ideas that came to me and scribble these down while reading *through* the data. As stated by Holiday (2002:99), data analysis is ‘the process of making sense of, sifting, organising, cataloguing, selecting determining themes - processing the data’.

I mentioned earlier that during the fieldwork, I would write down what the students discussed in group-activities and show it to them in the next meeting. This helped in later facilitating the analysis and acted as an *'aide memoire'*. I was quite systematic while analysing the data from the group-enquiries with students in the three schools. I looked at my field notes, the reports, the presentational findings and documents collected from each school about projects, activities, strategies in place to curb violence and promote peace. All these were taken into consideration while interpreting the whole data.

Following a detailed analysis of data collected in each school, I would compare and contrast emerging themes, patterns and ideas. I had to 'refine' my codes. At some point in the analysis, I had to 'stand back' and asked myself: what am I learning from these schools? Is there a common storyline? What is different? I considered gender as an important 'variable' in the analysis of the data. My 'gaze' was on the problems faced in the different types of schools and if the problems were common or different in the girls' school, boys' school and the mixed school. It is to be noted that in the presentation of the findings, I have avoided giving 'detailed' description of each school. Again, I was concerned about my 'promise' of confidentiality and anonymity, given the 'smallness' of Mauritius, and possibilities of schools and participants being easily identified.

At various times during the analysis, I had to review the literature and look for emerging concepts and themes. Analysing qualitative data is largely a process of inductive reasoning, thinking and theorising (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). I also tried to maintain a responsive relationship between emerging data and the theories that have guided the research. I have further interpreted the data in the 'context' it was collected, the

challenges encountered and the dilemmas faced. I also tried to avoid introducing unwarranted preconceptions into the data analysis, as recommended by Denscombe (2007). As said earlier, I took a 'reflexive' approach towards my practice. In the next section, I provide a timeline of the research project and the fieldwork.

Timeline of the research project and fieldwork

I started my PhD in January 2013. At the beginning of May 2014, I was in Mauritius awaiting for written approval of the Ministry of Education for the conduct of research in state schools. In the meantime, I conducted a pilot study in a girls' private school where immediate approval was gained from the management and rector. After gaining consent from the Ministry of Education, I started contacting rectors of the schools where the research was conducted. This was done first by email followed by a telephone call and a subsequent appointment with the rectors. I informed them about the research study, benefits, risks, and purposes.

Following the meeting, rectors had again to seek approval from the Heads of their respective zone of the Ministry of Education. It was only after approval was gained that I could meet potential participants, organise informed consent, conduct training, and start the research project. By that time, it was the beginning of July. However, soon after, students had their mock-exams and then went on three weeks school holidays until the 11th of August 2014.

With the permission of the rector, parents and consent of the students, I then met the students at school during that time, though it was not always easy because students had private tuition almost every day during the holidays. I continued the activities with the

students until the end of September 2014. By the end of October 2014, most interviews were conducted. I returned to the UK in the first week of November 2014. It is to be noted that initially, I targeted six weeks for data collection in each school, including the ‘group process inside inquiry’ and the ‘open boundary group inquiry’. However, as can be seen, it went beyond this period in each school due to the technical and contextual challenges. I used to meet the students mostly in their two consecutive ‘Activity Periods’ (35 minutes each), but sometimes these were taken as remedial classes by teachers and at other times, students themselves were busy with their own responsibilities of student leaders at school. Overall, per week, I would spend almost two hours in each school with the students. Back in the UK, I started immediately with the data analysis. In the next section, I consider the limitations of the study.

Limitations of the study

Before reading the final findings, it is important for readers to keep in mind certain limitations of the research.

1. The first one relates to the fact that I had to overlook the data collected through the ‘open boundary group inquiry’. Though in one school, the co-researchers distributed their questionnaires to their classmates in my presence and they were ‘fully’ informed about the research, yet I decided not to consider these for the analysis. Questionnaires were designed taking into consideration the two questions I gave to students, one related to conceptions of peace and the other to ethnicity. I mentioned earlier that in the initial research design, ethnicity as well as gender were both important variables. However, following the problems I encountered, I focused on ‘gender’. Nevertheless, a discussion of ethnicity will ensue based on findings from individual interviews and the group-based

activities. I also tried to counter-balance this ‘loss’ of data by drawing on the ‘thick’ and ‘rich’ data generated through the ‘group process inside inquiry’ and the individual interviews.

2. The second limitation pertains to the ‘purposive’ sample used. My participants were student leaders, heads of school and individuals who were involved in policy-making. Technically speaking, my sampling did not focus on the ‘marginalised’. I said previously that the research was primarily ‘informative’, and I was trying to learn from those in ‘leadership’ positions. Moreover, the MGI/RTI school has some distinctive features in the sense that it follows a broader curriculum based on the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. However, this is particularly relevant for this research on peace education and its context. I have already discussed this in the first part of the thesis. I elaborate on its modelling in Chapter Six.
3. It is not possible to make neat generalisable findings from the research, given the relatively small size sample and the purposeful sampling. The findings also shed light on what is going on in three different types of state secondary schools in Mauritius that can hamper the promotion of a culture of peace. It was mainly concerned with ‘depth’ rather than ‘breadth’ of data. It sought to learn from personal stories, meanings, feelings and relationships. These can ‘add’ something to larger statistical research.
4. A fourth limitation is that the research was primarily ‘informative’ based on experiential, presentational and propositional knowing. This awaits ‘consummation’ in the words of ‘Heron’ (1996). However, he acknowledges that there are occasions when there is a case for pursuing propositional outcomes without practical ones and that each form of knowing is valid if they meet

relevant criteria at their own autonomous level. Given the dearth of research on peace education and its co-disciplines in Mauritius and the lack of research that shows what can prevent the promotion of peace through schooling, the ‘informative’ type of inquiry was prioritised. The current research can subsequently act as a springboard for further research.

Chapter Summary

Within this chapter, I have discussed the ethical issues that I faced as a researcher conducting participatory and qualitative research with young people in a ‘small-connected community’. These issues can worsen if the researcher is an ‘insider’ and if the co-researchers assume too many roles and are themselves co-subjects in the study. I also made a case for a ‘holistic’ approach to ‘ethics’. I showed how I negotiated the ethical dilemmas. I have taken a ‘reflexive’ approach towards my own practice. In the third part of the thesis, I present and analyse the findings, drawing on the experiential, propositional and presentational outcomes of the data collection from the ‘group process inside inquiry’ and individual interviews with adults and young people. I also make some recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

Experiences and perceptions

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the findings from the ‘group process inside inquiry’ and the interviews with young people and adults. I start by reporting on the problems that students have identified as preventing the promotion of a culture of peace within their respective schools. I juxtapose the views of the young girls and boys with those of adults for a more ‘holistic’ perspective of the situation. I mentioned in Chapter Four that perspectives and experiences can differ, but at the same time, there are consistencies in the three schools as to the problems that can hamper peaceful schooling. Themes that have emerged are bullying, violence, ethnic conflicts, non-inclusive school management, gender barriers, negative culture, jealousy, lack of values and respect, and favouritism. In the chapter, I further report what students have recommended as alternatives to the problems identified. There seems to be in the three schools an over-reliance on various forms of disciplinary and security measures and post-intervention restorative practices as opposed to proactive strategies for sustainable peace. Further, while partnerships exist at various levels to promote a culture of peace, these still need to be more coordinated and thoroughly planned to bridge the gap between policy and practice. What is also required for the future is a paradigm shift from peacekeeping and peacemaking to peacebuilding.

Obstacles to peace

The Ishikawa Diagram has proved to be a useful tool in the collection of data. It has helped in triggering reflection among participants and also aided in the presentation of

the views of the young girls and boys. Working as a group, the students have identified root-causes and sub-causes of a lack of a culture of peace in their respective schools. I elaborate on them.

Bullying and Violence

In Chapter One, I discussed reports of escalating conflicts and violence in schools in Mauritius (NESC, 2012; MACOSS, 2013). The findings in the three state secondary schools show the prevalence of conflicts, bullying and violence. Both boys and girls in their respective single-sex schools have identified bullying and violence as root causes of a lack of a culture of peace. However, they emphasise that bloodshed does not normally take place. In the mixed state secondary school of the MGI/RTI, the belief is that there is not much violence, though bullying is acknowledged.

In the boys' school, violence can be physical as well as verbal. Some boys beat, hit and slap their schoolmates. Fights often occur when boys are playing on the field or because of 'territories'. Stronger boys can bully weaker ones. Older students can also bully the young ones. Sometimes, the bully asks for money, drinks and food from other students threatening to beat them if they refuse to provide these. In her research in four secondary schools in Mauritius, Louis (2017, 2018) find that students can bunk classes, fabricate synthetic drugs, bring weed and consume alcohol on the school premises.

In this study, students further report that boys can use foul language constantly against teaching and administrative staff and the rector. They use 'Facebook' to post negative comments on them. They label their friends by different names. They bully teachers and

swear at them. They further pass comments on the physical appearance of their schoolmates, trying to humiliate them. Shakeel (pseudonym) from the school states:

Well, there was those students who were putting names on other ones. They were saying, “yea look at him, he’s so girly etc...blablabla”.

It is also not impossible that boys who portray effeminate behaviour may be subjected to bullying. Students who are well behaved, who do not smoke and drink, and who follow all the rules and regulations of the school can also be subjected to ridicule.

In the case of girls, the findings reveal that there is more verbal than physical violence at school. In the girls’ school, girls report instances of younger students bullying older ones and vice-versa. There is also bullying among students of the same age. Many students further bully due to negative peer pressure. Students report cases of girls posting negative comments and videos on ‘*Facebook*’ and ‘*YouTube*’ to hurt other girls. For instance, Meli (pseudonym) states, ‘On Facebook, they put “status” on the other’. She reports of two girls fighting because of a boyfriend. There is a consensus among the girls whether in the single-sex girls’ school or the mixed school that the most common reason for fights among the girls is due to boyfriends. Poo (pseudonym), a girl from the mixed school of the MGI/RTI states: ‘it is normally like I love him, but you snatched him from me’. However, boys in the single-sex school mentioned that students do not necessarily resort to physical violence for girls. If a boy is going out with another boy’s ex-girlfriend, then the boys will take their distance from each other.

The findings also show that when girls resort to physical violence, they often pull the hair of their friends or try to tear their clothes. They scratch their faces, slap and punch each other. Similar findings were noted during my previous research on girls’ bullying

and violence in a secondary school in Mauritius (Baligadoo, 2013). Verbal violence among girls can in certain circumstances spill over into physical violence.

In the mixed MGI/RTI school, conflicts can occur because of girlfriends, but it is more likely to be related to football and games. In such cases, boys can punch and hit their schoolmates. They fight in the toilet, and sometimes this can continue after school hours where they may call their friends and relatives in the neighbourhoods to fight with other students in the school. These are rare cases. There is evidence also of cyber-bullying. Conflicts arise when students upload videos of students on the web. The students have noticed their schoolmates taking pictures with the Tablets given by the Ministry of Education³⁶. They say this can be a cause for potential conflict. Students further tend to bully elite students. They bully those who are more intelligent. They comment on these students:

Get future lauréat, jamais li participe dans activités, kan ena activités li reste lacaz.

Look at this future laureate ! He will never participate in activities. He stays at home whenever there are activities.

The school governed by the MGI/RTI is considered as one of the ‘Star’ schools in Mauritius, with many students competing for the SC/HSC examinations and subsequent bursaries. The academic pressure can often result in some students’ non-participation in extra-curricular activities.

³⁶ In 2014, every girl and boy of Form IV in Government and private-aided secondary schools was given a Tablet. See, <http://www.tabletpc.intnet.mu/atablet.html>.

Other problems reported by the researched participants relate to conflicts with those students who misbehave. Delinquent students do not often mingle with others at school. They isolate themselves, and other students do not talk to them. Inevitably this may be leading to marginalisation and increasing the ghetto around these students. In the next section, I consider the problem of ethnic conflicts.

Ethnic Conflicts

Ethnic conflicts were identified as a root cause of a lack of a culture of peace in the mixed state secondary school of the MGI/RTI and as a sub-cause in the other two schools. Conflicts often occur among students of different ethnicities and cultural backgrounds. In the girls' school, students noticed that their classmates and schoolmates would group themselves according to their ethnicity and religion. Such a tendency was also found in the mixed state school. Girls and boys mentioned that sometimes conflicts occur due to lack of proper understanding among students and staff of different background, mindset, cultural diversity and ethnicity. Some students call each other by names, referring to their ethnicity and colour of skin. Often students also ridicule teachers of another ethnicity, and this creates conflicts among students. Students further make negative comments on the religion of their friends.

From the findings, it seems that though students of different ethnicities, race and religion may be learning together on the same school premises, yet the bonding between them is questionable. Says, Bilkis (pseudonym) from the single-sex girls' school, '... there are some people who don't talk to another student; they only talk to students of their origin itself'. Meli (pseudonym) from the same school states:

When there are fights, they often criticise their religions. When girls fight, they always say she is a “Muslim”, she is a “Hindu”, she is a “Chinese” but yea this kind of habit.

Najmah (pseudonym), from the school, also comments that:

At my school, there is no such, like we say racism but sometimes students where they are too religious, they try to mingle together, and they let their friends, like other friends of other communities, they stay away from them. So that’s not good as everyone is the same and we are all humans. We must change their views about it.

It is important to note that in my previous research a girl reported that in a class where the majority of students belong to one religion, ‘they will feel themselves higher... they will feel themselves in gangs’ (Baligadoo, 2013: 36).

These add to what Bunwaree (2002) said about fake interculturality on school premises. There is evidence to show that young people of different ethnicities and religions in schools may not necessarily be interacting, and learning to appreciate and respect those different from them. In the words of Bunwaree (2002), they are just ‘rubbing shoulders’ on the same premises. Below is an excerpt from an interview with Jean from the mixed state school. He shares his experience.

Researcher: Alright. Ok. Tell me, are there problems related to communalism, ethnicity and religion at your school?

Jean: Yes, there is a lot, a lot, a lot. Being a Hindu school and an Indian school, and me being a Christian, it was difficult at first to adapt. Form I, Form II was hell. It was really difficult for me. But afterwards, proving how I was, proving that maybe my religion, my culture, did not prevent me from having friends because I may have a different culture or a different religion, but my state of mind, my thoughts, my actions, how I think, how I do things, were the same as the others, that’s how they accepted me. Not because of my religion, not because of my skin colour or anything, just because I was

just like them, doing things like them, thinking like them. And, we are all the same, and that's how we got accepted.

Researcher: Do you mean that you had to change for you to be accepted?

Jean: In a way, I had to change because if I stayed as I was before like many others did, they had to get transferred. As from Form III, Form II, some already went. They were not willing to change, they were not willing to adapt to the new environment, they were not willing to adapt to the new lifestyle, and they started getting a lot of problems from the management, their friends and everyone. Just I think for me Form I and Form II were difficult, but then I started adapting. I started changing my mindset, and today I'm happy.

There is evidence from these statements that the minority group may find it difficult to integrate with the majority unless they make an effort to be like them and change their mindsets. This indicates much of an assimilationist trend where subjectivities and identities are being repressed instead of being accepted and appreciated. It contradicts, for instance, with the philosophy of peace and education of Rabindranath Tagore, who sought to bring unity and not conformity. In *'Union of Cultures'*, he said:

Unity is not conformity. Those who destroy the independence of other races, destroy the unity of all races of humanity...when we respect the true individuality of men, then we can discover their true unity (Tagore and Das Gupta, 2009: 197).

Researched participants in the MGI/RTI have also reported that students of the minority group in schools can often be bullied. For instance, the Indo-Mauritians who are in the majority sometimes bully the Chinese students. This is also done by some students of the Creole community. The students mentioned a case where parents who were aware of this practice wanted to transfer their wards from the school. It is important to note that even in the boys' state secondary school, there seems to be evidence that Chinese who are often in minority can be bullied. Shakeel from the boys' school states:

Well, recently I have seen a problem with a Chinese student. You know we don't have very much of a Chinese community in our school. So, whenever a student sees a Chinese one, the students try to make fun of him. So, I don't think this is a good thing to do. Nobody would like to be made fun of. It's his religion. He did not want to be that way. He was born this way. You just can't make fun of him like that. You don't know, deep inside he is being hurt. He can be smiling at you, but deep inside he is being hurt. This can disturb him academically or in his personal life.

In the case of the incident with the Chinese student in the mixed school, the rector was informed about it, and later on, the problem was solved through dialogue. When I tried to raise the issue of the minority group in the single-sex boys' school with the rector, there was a tendency to avoid the subject. On the next page, the views of boys and girls from the mixed state secondary school of the MGI/RTI are illustrated within their Ishikawa Diagram. Following that, I look at the problem of non-inclusive school management.

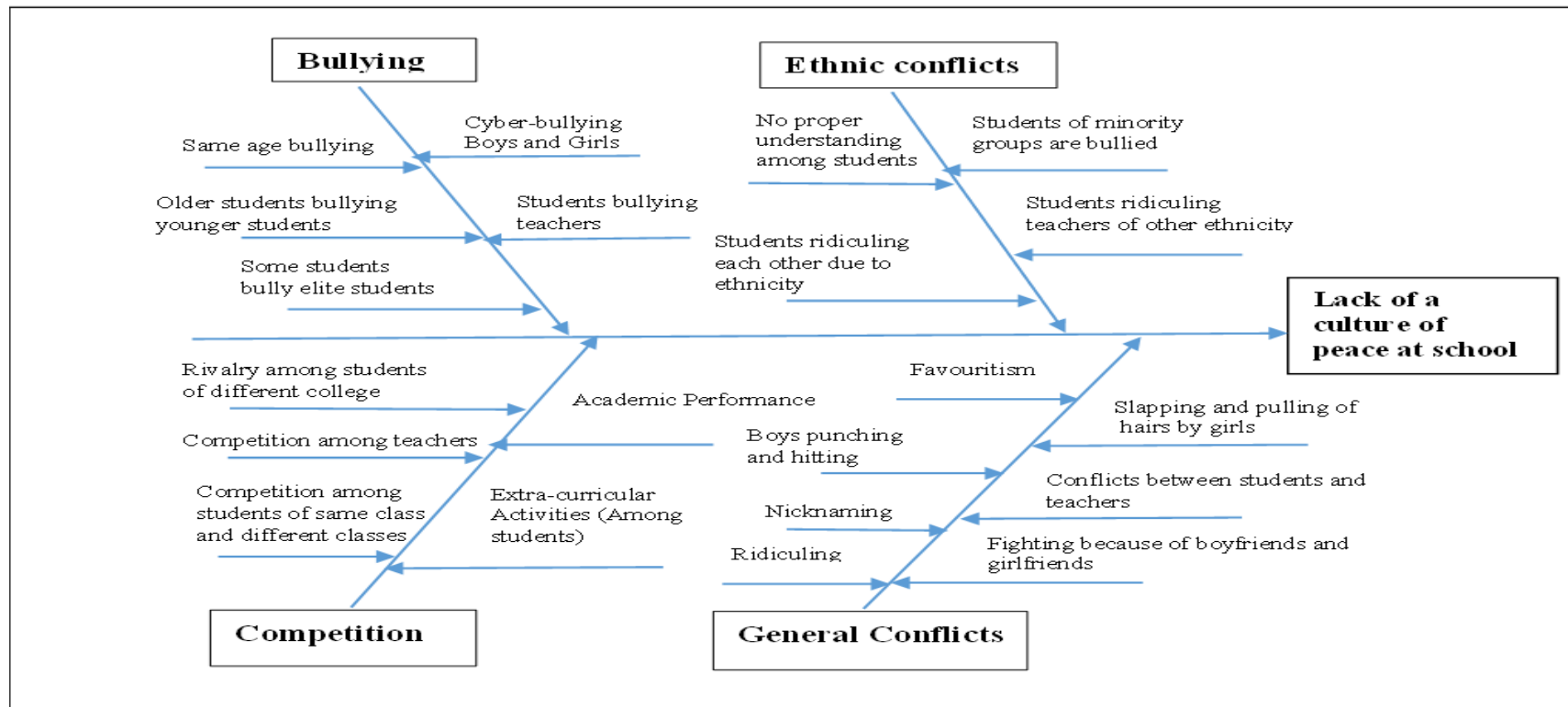


Diagram 5.1 Ishikawa Diagram made by boys and girls of the mixed state school

Non-inclusive school management

For many of the young girls and boys in the study, a major concern is the lack of opportunities given to young people to participate in decision-making regarding their lives and education. Girls and boys argue that they do not really have a platform where they can freely voice out their problems. Below I show an excerpt of the interview with Bilkis from the single-sex girls' school:

Researcher: Is there a platform at your school where students can talk about their problems?

Bilkis: Not really. I won't say not really, definitely no. There are not.

Researcher: Ok. So whenever there is a problem at school, what do you do, for example?

Bilkis: We have a section at the school call the Disciplinary Committee. Some teachers are responsible in this. So we go and talk to them, but they don't take necessary actions. They take it lightly.

In the mixed state secondary school, students said that the rector does listen to what students have to say, but he has the last word. For instance, during meetings of representatives of 'Student Council', problems are discussed and then reported to the rector or teachers in charge. Decisions must be approved by the rector.

However, the findings show that while there is evidence of the 'Student Council' and 'Prefects' in all schools, yet students believe that they do not really provide a platform where young boys and girls can discuss problems. Often, they do not see any changes or enough support even after problems are reported. Further, Jean pertinently remarks that many problems at school remain unresolved because the views of young people are

not taken into consideration. He contends that some young people may be quite talented, but these human resources are being wasted.

...due to the fact that every problem, everything even related to youngsters are resolved by adults, are resolved by elders, students, youngsters do not have a voice, they do not have a platform, they do not know where to go and talk. This becomes difficult and may be hidden talents; they can't express themselves. They can never know they have those talents. They can never know they can do things. They can achieve things. They stay where they are. The problem is that they stay where they are, and nothing will be resolved.

These in effect, point to the need to look deeper into the opportunities given to young girls and boys to express themselves and discuss problems. Participants also said that often it is not impossible that head-boys and head-girls at school side with the rector, and not with the students. Diya (pseudonym) from the mixed state school of the MGI/RTI mentioned that in her case, she is not afraid to express herself before the rector or to side with the students if they are right. However, the findings also show that not all girls find it easy to express themselves or participate in activities. There can be gender barriers, which I discuss below.

Gender barriers

In one interview, Najmah (pseudonym), from the single-sex girls' school states:

I think students themselves, like we girls are somewhat shy in a way. We don't have the practice of talking in front of an audience and a number of people. So they are nervous itself and, for many, there are no people to support them to talk, to share their problems. Maybe they are not comfortable with it.

She adds that sometimes in schools, it also depends on whether or not teachers encourage them to talk. When it is not the case, they just keep quiet. The ‘shyness’ of girls is echoed by another girl Poo (pseudonym), from the mixed state secondary school. Moreover, she gives a perspective about how girls’ views can sometimes be considered as inferior to boys.

Girls are always believed to be much weaker than boys in promoting peace at school. Often, this may happen that what the girl thinks, this may not be taken into consideration like if a girl is... be it that the girls are more mature than boys, but what the boys say, it often has...it is always listened to more because it is believed that boys have a higher position than girls. And very often girls are shy and even if they had something to say, they would feel shy to voice out and keep these within themselves, and this can become a problem. And, girls are also... (She continues to speak in Creole, which has then been translated as follows:

Bokou bann tifi zotpanse ki si zot dir, li pa pou ekoute ek mem zot timid, pa tou tifi ki timid, ena ki kapav koze. Seki timid zot pou gard tou dan zot mem. Sa kav vinn enn problem si seki zot pe garde, zot kapav ena bann lide ki pli korek ki bann lezot zelev, me kan zot gard sa dan zot, la li kapav vinn enn problem pou bann lezot zelev, sa kav vinn enn problem pou zot tou. Seki nou nou'nn pa kavpanse, bannla innpanse ek nou pakone kouma pou fer enn zafer ek bannla kav donn nou bann meyer lide.

Many girls feel that nobody is going to listen to what they have to say and some are too shy to speak. But, not all the girls are shy. There are some who can talk. Those who are shy, they will keep everything to themselves. This can be a problem if they keep it to themselves. It can be that they have better ideas than other students, but when they keep it to themselves, this can be a problem for students. They may have thought of something that has not been thought of by others. We do not know. They could have given us better ideas.

Her answer reveals the problem of ‘gender stereotyping’ whereby we ascribe, for instance, certain attributes, roles and characteristics to an individual boy or girl, man or woman in virtue of him/her belonging to the social group of men or women. The interviewee argues that because they are ‘girls’, they are considered much weaker than

boys even in activities for the promotion of peace. Their ideas are often not taken into consideration. Boys are believed to be superior to them. Sometimes, though, they can be more mature than boys, yet their views are not valued enough. Thus, they believe that nobody will listen to them. However, Poo recognises that certain girls are too shy to speak their minds. They may be having better ideas, but they do not express themselves. Had they done so, they could have helped their friends in difficult situations.

What the findings reveal is that girls may sometimes hold themselves accountable for their shyness and difficulty in speaking. These are indications of a neoliberal tendency ascribing girls' non-participation due to their own shyness and difficulties to communicate. Within the neoliberalism framework, we are burdened to self-regulate our behaviour, skills and attitudes. We are made to conform and perform, and if we cannot, the fault lies within us (Ball, 2003). In her study, Pruitt (2013) found that such an attitude was prevalent, with girls being considered responsible for their own failure.

However, Poo also clarifies:

I am shy as well, but if I have a problem, I can voice it out. So, there has not been any time where I have to feel shy to say something. I can talk with my teachers because there are many teachers who are willingly there to help us. They are there to solve our problems. Having such teachers can make us feel more comfortable.

In her case, contrary to Bilkis, she feels more supported by the teachers, and she believes that in a way it has helped her to express herself and overcome her 'shyness'.

This shows then that girls need to feel supported and encouraged to express themselves freely and share their problems. Sometimes they can feel excluded and marginalised when not supported sufficiently by management and teachers. This can increase the barriers that prevent them from engaging in activities for peace.

Diya, from the mixed state school of the MGI/RTI, also shares her experience:

Girls are not usually taken into much consideration. It's more like, "they are girls, they don't know anything, kind of they are girls, let them speak, girls like speaking, they don't know what they are talking about. Probably, that they don't know what peace is. It's usually this type of mentality that we still have in Mauritius. We don't have, I don't know if we have it in other countries, but here we have stereotyping. But, now I can see that the girls are growing up differently. They more like have a tough mind. They know what they are thinking about and they know how to make decisions, and peacebuilding activities are quite easily handled by girls. They are not like they are going to get you in trouble and all. They are like more peaceful. Given that boys have an aggressive attitude most of the time, they think aggressive, like revenge and I don't know violence. If someone hits me, I hit him back. But, the girls no... If someone hits me, either she will go to the office and complain or the parents. It's not usually that they are... They can deal with problems peacefully...yea.

Diya talked about how she feels girls' opinions are devalued. She argues that there is a tendency perhaps among some boys to belittle girls, and not attach too much importance to what they have to say. Diya feels that it can be difficult to maintain a calm attitude when faced with such behaviours. However, she is able to do it because she believes in peace. When asked about her own experience in dealing with such situations at school, she said that she does not discriminate, and treats everyone equally. She sees it as part of her duty as a school leader in a school composed of both boys and girls. She also argues that others may believe that girls do not know anything about peace, but this is

not true. Girls can easily engage in activities for peace, and they know how to make decisions. In her view, girls are more peaceful than boys.

At the time of the fieldwork, the media reported that a young girl injured another one with a 'cutter' at the bus terminal after school hours because of a boyfriend. When I asked Diya about the incident, she replied that she was not aware of it. I showed her the press article (L'Express, 2014d) and asked her opinion about it:

Diya: I think a girl should not have been doing that. She could have talked... I don't know... made it clear to both the boy and the girl, I don't know made it clear....

To another question whether such problems occur in her school, she states:

We had it, but it wasn't...they didn't use anything harmful. It was just over in a slap. The other girl slaps the girl, and she went to the office to... she didn't return back the slap. She went to the office. Then it was dead there. They had their parents to the school; they were talked to, they were separated, put in separate classes. They were no longer in the same class, and that's it. It got solved.

This statement reinforces the view that both boys and girls can engage in physical violence. Some students can report the incident to adults, but it is not necessary that all of them will do so. It can well be due to the belief whether they feel supported or not by school management and adults. In this case, management has responded to the problem by informing the parents. However, I wonder whether separating the two girls is not just a 'quick-fix' solution. On the next page, I show the Ishikawa Diagram of the students from the single-sex girls' school.

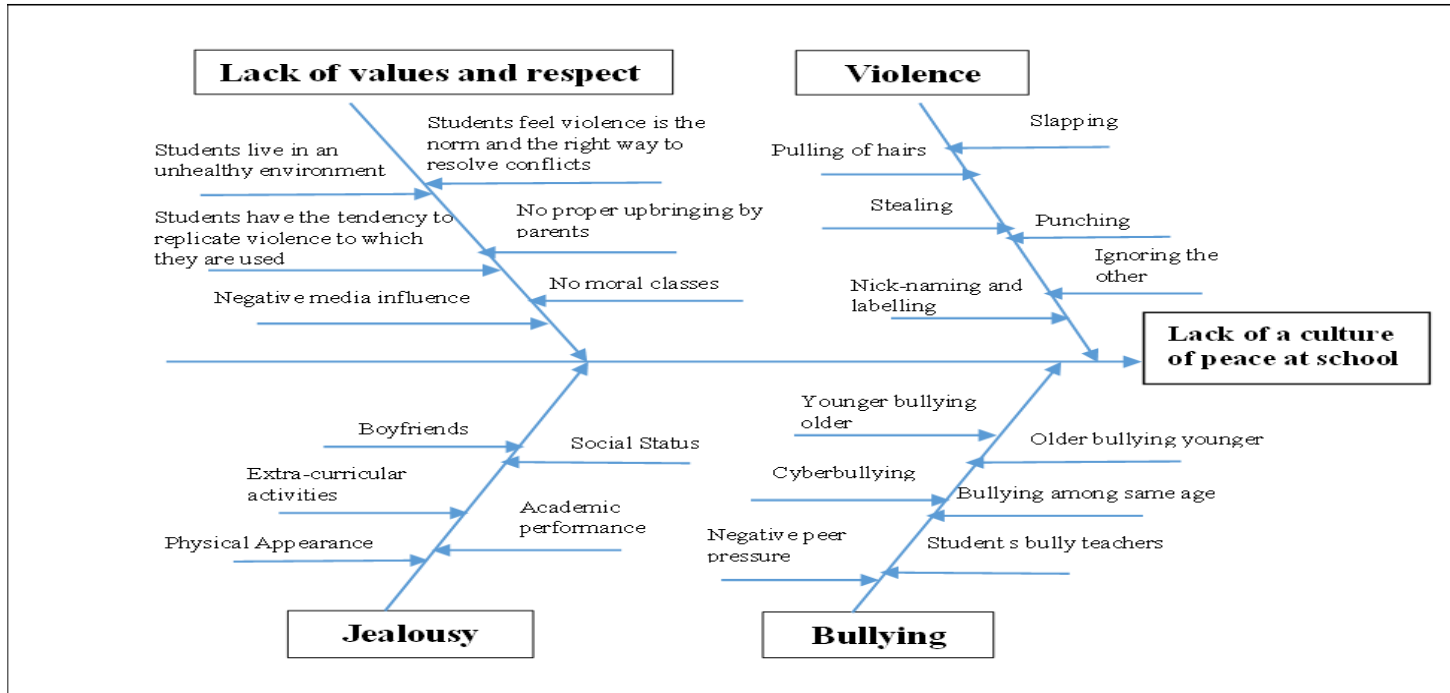


Diagram 5.2 Ishikawa Diagram made by students of the girls' state school

Jealousy

As can be seen from Diagram 5.2, girls in the state secondary school also identified jealousy as a root cause of a lack of a culture of peace at school. There is the belief that some girls can be jealous of others' social status, physical appearance, academic performance and excellence in extra-curricular activities. They can further be jealous because of boyfriends. The rector of the single-sex girls' school also speaks of isolated cases of violence, mostly related to jealousy and boyfriends:

... We don't have many such cases reported, isolated cases of violence with girls beating, hitting each other. Right, we had a case in this school at the beginning of the year, the only case with a girl hitting another one on the head and subsequently she had to be taken to the hospital, but I think the origin of this, was you know, boyfriends. Ok... this is one of the issues with girls, right? I think this was jealousy or love triangle.

I have reported above that fights among girls can largely be due to this. It happens especially when a girl at school starts dating a boy who was previously going out with another girl in the same school. In the case of the incident with the 'cutter', one girl commented that they should have sought help from an older person. However, in my previous research on girls and bullying, I found that girls would not often seek help from adults but rather build on their sense of autonomy to solve problems. They would also rather rely on peers.

Jean, from the mixed school looked at the incident from a different perspective:

Seeing two girls fighting, one with a cutter or I don't know what, people were just watching, staring, watching. Some took out their mobile phones and were recording the scene... Some were clapping hands, shouting. How are the people themselves? Don't they feel ashamed of themselves... The

two girls are at fault, yes. But why don't people around them react? Where were the policemen? Why didn't they react? Why they waited for them to be well injured, then action will be taken and all that? Why on the bus terminal there were no policemen talking to the students 'you should not do this, you should not do that'? They waited for everything to have calmed down, for something bad to happen. Then they started blaming, 'yes it's her, that happened, that happened'. Prevention is better than cure and maybe they should...people around should have prevented that.

The boy has raised some important issues about security at the bus terminal, the role of policemen, and bystanders who stood watching the scene without intervening. He calls for preventive strategies. In the next section, I consider another problem related to values and respect.

Lack of respect and values

According to the girls in the single-sex school, lack of respect for friends and teachers and lack of mutual understanding prevent the promotion of a culture of peace. Some girls comment about their teachers' private life, regularly annoy them, use foul language against them behind their backs, and talk loudly in class. Some students do not respect caretakers and other non-teaching staff. They make inappropriate comments about them and do not listen to them. According to the girls, the fact that there are no moral education classes at school accounts for this lack of values and respect among students. The girls also talked about conflicts and rivalry among teachers where some criticise their colleagues behind their back and make out that they are better teachers than others. According to them, this prevents the promotion of a culture of peace. In the next section, I consider the problem of negative culture. It is possible to see that there are similarities between what the boys and girls say.

Negative culture

Boys in the state secondary school identified negative culture as a root cause of a lack of a culture of peace at school. The group said that while engaging in activities for peace, student leaders have to deal with resistance from their friends, those who are used to a culture of violence. Boys also identified other sub-causes that depict a negative school culture, namely, parents harassing teachers, students making negative comments on the religion of others, nicknaming of students according to their race, conflicts on ethnicity, boys misbehaving with teachers, and teachers criticising their colleagues behind their back. They mentioned the case where a parent hit a teacher, and the latter was injured. Another teacher also stopped coming to school as he was threatened by a parent. Boys also referred to an incident where both a teacher and a student raised their hands upon each other. This has been reported during the interview. An excerpt is shown below:

Researcher: Apart from bullying, are there any conflicts at school? Violence?

Shakeel: Yea, I mean the other day, a student claimed that the teacher beat him in class. And what I have got to hear is that I mean I have heard both the explanations from the students and from the teacher. The teacher told me that he was not at fault while the student was saying the reverse. The teacher said that the student attacked him. He even punched him. And the father of the student came to school in order to give a punch and fight with the teacher. So, I think if there was the peace circle once again, it would have been awesome.

Researcher: So, how was this problem resolved at your school?

Shakeel: Sorry?

Researcher: How was this problem, the one you mentioned, how has it been resolved at your school?

Shakeel: The teacher had not to come to school for a few days. I guess that is how it is being resolved till now.

Researcher: Ok. The teacher is not coming?

Shakeel: He did come today, but he said that he is a bit afraid. He is even thinking of putting a...how do you say that?

Researcher: You can say it in Creole.

Shakeel: *Met ene l'entrée la police?*

Researcher: Ok. So, he wants to file a case with the police?

Shakeel: Yes. For his own security and I guess it's also because the father even threatens him in his face and I got to hear that the teachers had to escort the teacher out of the school premises so that he does not get harmed.

There are clearly problems with student-teacher relationships and also with parents. As will also be seen later, there are reports in the press about parents' threatening teachers in schools.

Within the group, students further talked about how young female teachers who are new at school and into teaching are often harassed. Students tease them by making comments on their physical appearance. They might misbehave with them due to peer pressure. It increases their popularity and importance among other boys. Hence, boys seem to be under pressure to conform to culturally acceptable masculinity, with men as the predator and women being the prey.

Moreover, students talked about teachers trying to create a dislike for other teachers among students. This has been mentioned by students in the girls' school and also the mixed school. Boys in the single-sex school spoke of the case of one teacher who had been criticising his colleague with students. This was reported to that teacher by a

student. When the teacher became aware of it, she confronted her colleague and threatened to report the matter to the rector and the Ministry of Education.

Boys and girls further seem to believe that it is difficult to change the mindsets of those who are brought up within a negative culture of violence. Some young people tend to replicate violent behaviour that they learn at home and in their surrounding environment. One girl from the state school argues that girls who witness their mothers being beaten at home enact similar violent behaviour at school due to frustration and helplessness at not being able to help her. The girl further contends that girls are more emotional than boys, and more easily affected than them. The heightened sensitivity of girls and the way they respond to violence in comparison to boys is highlighted. On the next page, I show the Ishikawa Diagram made by students in the boys' state school. Following that, I consider the issue of competition.

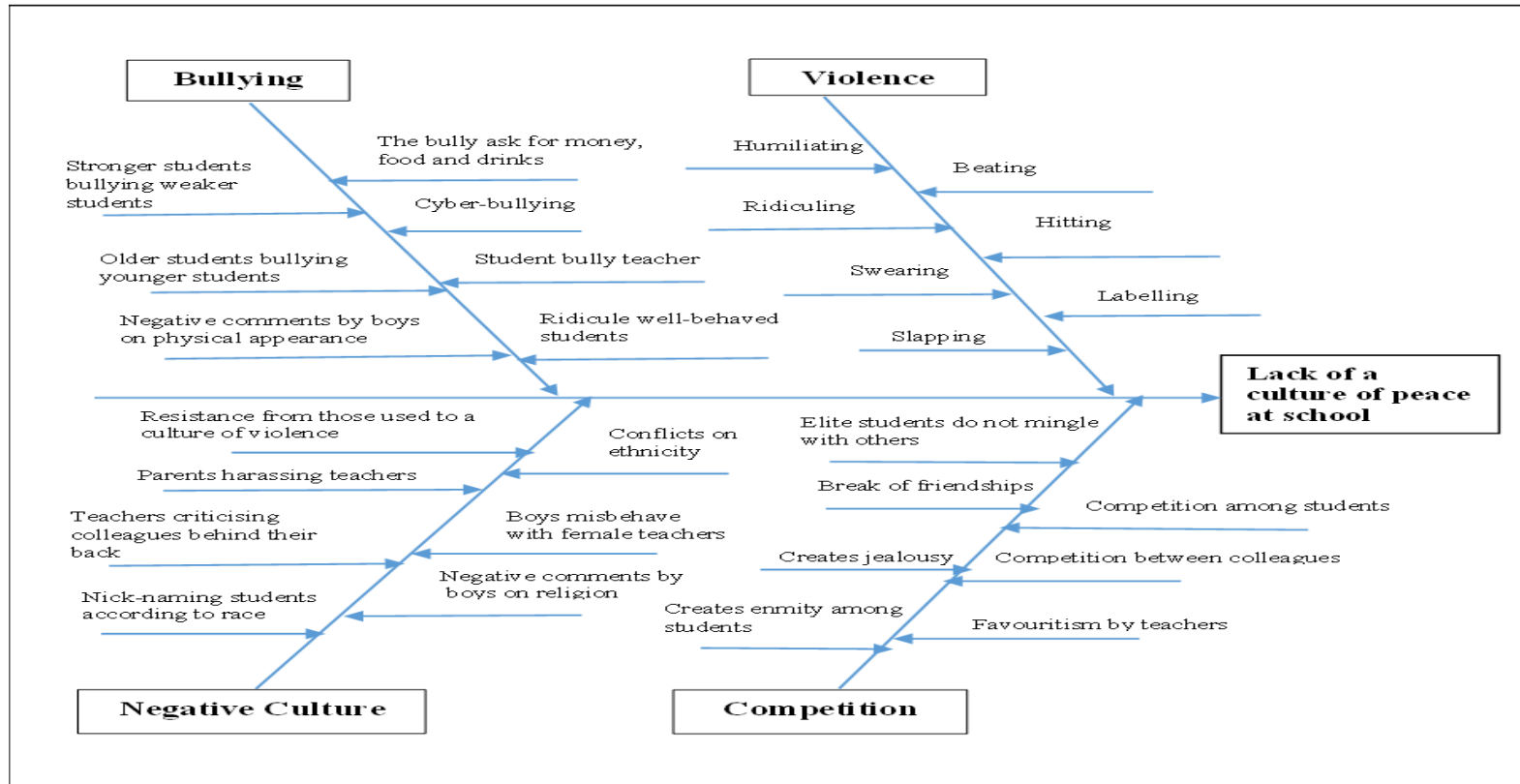


Diagram 5.3 Ishikawa Diagram made by students of the boys' state school

Unhealthy competition

According to girls and boys, there is unhealthy competition at school. They feel that the system of education is too academic-oriented. Some students just want to get higher marks than others. This also causes jealousy and enmity. In the three schools, students mentioned that some elite students do not mingle with others. They do not participate in cultural activities. Such behaviour creates enmity and prevents a spirit of sharing. Both boys and girls argue that competition creates rifts among students. Rivalry also exists among students of different colleges. This is reflected, for example, in sports activities or even those of academic nature.

Competition also exists between colleagues at school. This has constantly been mentioned. Some educators try to prove that they are better than their other colleagues especially those within their own departments. They criticise them. According to the students, this creates a dislike for the teachers. It also leads to conflicts when teachers become aware of it, and sometimes through students. As seen earlier, boys in the state secondary school linked such behaviour to a negative culture.

I mentioned at the beginning of the thesis that the Mauritius Educational System is very competitive. Carroll and Carroll (2000:38) argued that 'Mauritians learn from childhood to view life as a competition'. Boswell (2005) found that, at a societal level, there was competition and struggle between different ethnic groups to establish political hierarchy, hegemony and control. At schools level, this attitude is not evident though there are clashes between various ethnic and religious groups whether in boys', girls' or mixed schools. However, the finding shows that unhealthy competition in the different schools can create rifts in relationships and drifts individuals apart whichever

ethnicity they belong to. It leads to self-centeredness and alienation of self. Competition is linked to individualistic ambitions, and this can result in a person hoarding back knowledge instead of sharing it.

For Maria Montessori, competition is also antithetical to peace. I have discussed this in Chapter Three. According to her, traditional classroom settings that foster ruthless competition and is insensitive to the needs of the child cannot help in education for peace. She stated:

Education as it is commonly regarded encourages individuals to go their own way and pursue their own personal interests. School children are taught not to help one another, not to prompt the classmates who don't know the answers, but to concern themselves with only getting promoted at the end of the year and to win prizes in competition with fellow pupils (Montessori,1992:30)

I mentioned in Chapter Two that CATs was brought to an end due to lack of funding. Over the years, it also increasingly turned into a competition and caused resentment among participants. There are important lessons here that can be learnt for the future practice of peace education. For instance, while there may be good intentions behind a project for the promotion of peace, competition may ruin its purpose.

In Montessori's view, children who grow up in such a competitive environment do not learn to be charitable towards others or cooperate with them. Danesh (2006) also believes that this does not lead to a 'unity-based worldview' which is at the core of an 'Education for Peace' (EFP) curriculum and an important slogan promoted in the Mauritian context for furthering the culture of peace. In the next section, I consider another problem, favouritism.

Favouritism

In the mixed school, students mentioned that teachers sometimes favour a group of students in the class. This has been raised by boys in the single-sex school. There is the feeling that teachers prefer some students to others. All throughout the class, some students remain silent while the teacher keeps talking with only one group of students. They do not treat all students in the same manner. They give some more attention in class. For instance, if the favourite student asks a question for clarification from the teacher, the latter will give the explanation, but if it happens that another student asks the question, then the teacher will not give him/her the same required attention. This causes resentment among students who feel they are being discriminated against in class and at school. They feel ignored and not motivated to study. This prevents the promotion of a culture of peace according to the participants, boys and girls. During the interview, a Deputy Rector also raised this issue of favouritism. He stated, ‘This is something that a rector should dispel quite frequently at regular intervals, favouritism on his part’.

Following these problems identified by students, I consider some of the strategies being implemented in the three schools to curb violence and promote a culture of peace. I analyse them from the perspectives of adults, juxtaposed with that of the young boys and girls. I also highlight problems with some of these.

Strategies at school

Security measures

The findings reveal that in two of the three schools, there is CCTV camera to ensure security within the school compound. In one of the schools, there are also security

badges for visitors. According to the rector, this additional measure is meant to increase the safety and security of staff and students.

...this has a psychological impact on anyone calling at school...giving you this kind of card is going to refrain you from having all kind of words, actions...that has given its result.

The latter mentioned an incident where a parent injured a teacher to the extent that he was bleeding, and the police had to be called to the school. These security badges were introduced to restrict access to the school compound, keep a record of visitors, and reduce such possible recurrences. Students have also reported above under the heading '*Negative Culture*' that parents can sometimes threaten teachers and even use physical violence on them. It is important to note that in June 2016, the President of the Government Teacher's Union in Mauritius has further drawn attention in a press conference that the problems in secondary school are being transposed into primary schools. Teachers cannot say much out of fear that parents may retaliate against them, to the extent that they may bring bouncers with them (see, Luckoo, 2016). I found incidences of parents acting aggressively towards teachers in primary school being reported in the press (see, L'Express, 2014bc).

At the level of the Ministry of Education, there have been appointments of security officers at school to curb violence and increase safety. In addition, the '*School Management Manual*' for rectors of state secondary schools is considered as a guide for the smooth running of the school. The Manual recommends that rectors in each school prepare rules and regulations in consultation with parents, teachers, and students. However, as reported by the students, though there is a 'Student Council' and the body of 'Prefects', they do not feel that their voices are properly heard. Sometimes, even if

they are listened to, they are not taken into consideration. Shier (2001) argues that in cases where adults have decided that there is some over-riding reason why children's wishes must not be carried out, it is important to explain to them why the decision was made and to help them explore alternative ways to achieve their objectives.

Disciplinary measures

Within Chapter Four of the '*School Management Manual*', there is a section on 'Discipline' in schools. 'Bullying' is mentioned briefly in this section (Ministry of Education, Culture and Human Resources, 2009: 30). It seems to be considered as a disciplinary issue. Not surprisingly then, in the three schools, there is a lot of emphasis on 'discipline'. I found that there are control systems to monitor students' misbehaviour and indiscipline. Girls and boys are given 'special reports' and 'warnings' in regards to their bad academic performance and negative behaviour in schools. Meli (pseudonym) states:

It's a report which every teacher whom you work with during the day should sign about your attitude during his class. It's within a week, or the first one is within a week, then you have it within the month and the whole year.

She also remarks:

If you do something, they will take you to the rector, and they will give you punishment, put you on special report, call your parents, and that's all. They don't find solutions to the problems. They only give you punishments. So you will never learn from your mistakes.

In extreme cases, students can also be given detention. In one of the schools there is further a system of 'red filing' to record and monitor cases of indiscipline.

Each school has a 'Disciplinary Board'. However, as shown earlier, one student said that sometimes, when problems are reported, not much is done. According to the senior representative of the '*Federation of the Civil Service Unions and State Secondary School Teacher's Union*' who was interviewed, the 'Disciplinary Board' at school is fictitious. It has been mandated with no powers. He mentioned previous cases of teachers being sued by parents when as members of this board they took disciplinary actions against students. They further had to pay legal fees on their own. From the point of view of the teachers' union representative, the problem of indiscipline can be curtailed only if the Disciplinary Board at school has legal powers.

...one among our proposals for the minister is to open up legal powers, mandatory powers to these disciplinary committees.

It is believed that these will give more powers to rectors and teachers to tackle problems related to violence and indiscipline. The latter also contends that the source of violence in schools is indiscipline, and that, within the Mauritian context, the problem is increasing.

What is possible to glean from the findings is a heightened emphasis on 'discipline', and external forms of controls within these three state secondary schools in Mauritius. As remarked by Bickmore (2014) control and discipline often remain prominent concerns for educators and administrators and are the result of the public pressures for standardised accountability. However, Cremin and Bevington (2017) emphasise that the problem with 'discipline' as such is that if it is based on an authoritarian system of control that seeks to enforce compliance through external regulation, then this may affect learning and create a less safer environment for some. They do not reject self-

discipline as a positive aspect of learning which can be developed, for instance, in collaborative circle processes. Louis (2017) also recommends self-discipline as a proactive strategy towards reducing behavioural problems in schools in Mauritius. She suggests positive-oriented peace approaches such as training programmes on sex education, parental guidance, and an emphasis on emotion and psychological support for students. The findings do reveal evidence of pastoral care and counselling but they are reactive rather than proactive. I discuss this below.

Pastoral care, support institutions and counselling

I found that each school has a Pastoral Care Committee, and they can contact educational psychologists of their respective regions for support. When asked whether the school provides a platform to students to discuss problems, the rector of the MGI/RTI replied:

Definitely, ...we have set up at school a pastoral care committee. We have all our teachers, in one way or the other they are proxy parents. So, we the rector, the deputy rector, the ushers, we are there every day. We are '*à l'écoute*', we are listening, our doors are opened. Even now it is opened, when pupils have problems, they can pop in and tell us their problems...When we can't, then we make appeal to educational psychologists who counsel, helps to deal with these problems.

In the three schools, there is further collaboration with other institutions. Schools can liaise with the 'Child Development Unit' of the Ministry of Gender Equality, Child Development and Family Welfare to report cases of abuse, bullying and violence, and benefit from counselling. The help of the '*Brigade pour la protection des Mineures*'³⁷

³⁷ This unit has been set up after the promulgation of the Ombudsperson for Children Act 2003 to focus on the protection of the child and to act as a watchdog against child abuse.
See:<http://police.govmu.org/English/Organisation/Units/Pages/Police-Family-Protection-Unit-.aspx>

is also sought. Similarly, the ICT Authority (ICTA)³⁸ can also be contacted to deal with cases of cyber-bullying and provide subsequent support. It is the regulatory body in Mauritius whose role is to establish, control, inspect, and enforce regulations in regard to cybersecurity. In addition, young people can themselves report cases of abuse, bullying, and violence to the Office of the Ombudsperson for Children.

In recent years, the Ministry of Education has also introduced a ‘Counselling Desk’ in schools. Teachers have been given training about how to help students who require counselling. Says one rector, ‘I have tried this. I think it worked somehow. I don’t know at the end of the day if there is something out of it’. As a former teacher who went for the training organised by the Ministry of Education and subsequently conducted counselling sessions at the school level, I believe it is a good initiative. However, in my experience, it is not easy for a full-time teacher to have these ‘counselling sessions’ with students. Very often there needs to be a follow-up, and these can be very time-consuming. For a teacher who is under pressure to complete the curriculum and is overloaded with work at school, it can be quite difficult. This can also be mentally exhausting.

In the case of the Pastoral Care Committee, students have remarked that they do not have regular classes with teachers to discuss problems. Members of the committee intervene after a problem arises. Similarly, at the school level, there are indeed psychologists. However, they are not at school on a full-time basis. They are normally contacted if there is a problem. Bickmore (2013) has highlighted how restorative

³⁸ The ICT Authority is one of the main partners in national efforts to combat cyber-crime that is crime committed through the use of computers, mobile handsets or any devices connected to a virtual network. (see <https://www.icta.mu/home/intro.htm>)

practices in schools can often emerge as post-incident problem solving, although theory, and professional development resources emphasise the need to be proactive.

What appears from the findings in the three schools, is that the strategies in place have more to do with ensuring discipline, security and safety, and making peace after a conflict or problem has arisen. Interestingly, the rector of the boys' school has stated:

We don't have any specific activity for peace or peacebuilding strategies. Otherwise, that would mean, for me personally that there is a problem and that is why we are teaching them peace strategy, peacemaking or peacebuilding strategy.

There is the belief that if there is a specific emphasis on promoting activities for peace, it may portray that there are problems within the school, and this may damage its reputation. Yet the findings have revealed that there are, in fact, problems that need to be discussed and tackled. Girls and boys in the study have raised some important issues which according to them can hamper peaceful schooling. They cannot be ignored. The former Minister of Education argues:

I would emphasise the need for us to provide training at all levels. Equip our teachers to manage different type of situation. Have a research cell, to continuously research into various issues; be proactive instead of waiting for the problems to come. We start preparing, anticipating and take it forward. I believe those are the measures that we need...

During interviews, I asked rectors whether teachers in their schools or themselves had any training on peace education. They replied negatively. The statement of one of them is shown below:

In my school, no. Maybe others, I don't know. Maybe training could be training of resource persons moving around through Activity Period. One way of doing this peace strategy would be like that.

Another one stated:

No, but this year there is the Committee on the National Promotion of Unity³⁹. I am a member of that committee. It's under the aegis of the State House. With the collaboration of the Ministry of Education and the MIE, there are two lecturers coming from Reunion Island to start a course. Unfortunately, we can't reach all the teachers but only two teachers per school. We will start in November on peace education; there will be different modules. We are trying something.

It seems that there is an endeavour on the part of the State to promote cohesiveness, peace and unity through education. Below, I report on activities that are organised at school. Some are not necessarily on peace, but they are considered by authorities as leading to peace.

Extra-curricular activities

Rectors have stated that though there is no specific emphasis on peace, schools conduct various activities such as Fun Days and Sports Days where students get together and work as a group. They also celebrate various International Days according to the UNESCO Calendar. At the level of the Ministry of Education also, one of the senior officers who is engaged in extra-curricular activities said that schools are indeed recommended to organise activities on the themes of the UNESCO International Days. At the beginning of each Calendar Year, they are sent a list of organisations and

³⁹ This committee was set up in 1999 (year of the riot in Mauritius) with the main objective to help foster the spirit of patriotism and consolidate social cohesiveness in the country. Over the years it has regularly organised activities to nurture patriotic feelings among young people. See, <http://president.govmu.org/English/presidentialinitiatives/Pages/-Committee-on-the-Promotion-of-National-Unity.aspx>).

institutions that they can contact to organise training or workshops for students and staff or participate in various national or international activities. This list is extensive and covers amongst others International Peace Day, World Environment Day, Commonwealth activities, International Day of the African Child, International Convention of Students' Quality Control Circles, and activities like 'Yoga' and 'Tai Chi'. It further includes programmes on the reduction of school violence and drug abuse prevention⁴⁰. While this list is prepared at the level of the Ministry of Education, it is left to the school to plan and organise activities.

I was present for the celebration of the 'International Peace Day'⁴¹ at the boys' state school. There was a short video presentation about students' views on peace, a book exhibition and a cultural programme. These were actually organised by the students' leaders taking part in the research study. The field notes reflect my thoughts on that day:

I feel that the work with the students within the school has not gone to waste. The students are demonstrating that if motivated and empowered, they can accomplish many things. I have mainly worked on activities for peace with girls. Today I can see the effort and dedication that some boys can put for the promotion of peace. I can see as well that this would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of the rector and some teachers (19th September 2014).

At the MGI/RTI, there is also a great emphasis on the celebration of Gandhi Day and activities in relation to Tagore. During Gandhi Day celebration (2nd October) which I also attended, there was a cultural programme organised by the students and staff of the

⁴⁰ For an example of Calendar of activities that are sent to schools, see, <http://ministry-education.govmu.org/English/curricular/Documents/MUN%202015/Final%20Calendar%20of%20Activities%202015.%20-%20-%2028.01.15%20docx.pdf>

⁴¹ The International Day of Peace was established in the year 1981 by resolution 36/67 of the United Nations General Assembly. This day is observed annually on 21st September by many countries of the world including Mauritius. See http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/36/67.

school in collaboration with parents. The elderly people in the school vicinity were invited for lunch and a cultural programme. Students got the opportunity to interact with them and serve them. A copy of the programme can be found in Appendix Four. This will not be displayed if the research is published. I wrote on that day:

It is as if the whole school has come together to celebrate Gandhi Day. There seems to be great importance attached to it and to also impart the values and teachings to the students...The elders seem to be enjoying themselves, and some students are busy helping, serving and fulfilling their duties. Great effort seems to have been invested in this celebration. I can see the students' participants actively engaged in the activities (2nd October 2014).

During interviews, rectors further reported that schools often organise blood donations and visits to charitable homes. They also work with the Ministry of Youth and Sports on activities like 'The Population/ Family Life Education and Counselling Programme for Youth'⁴², Duke of Edinburgh's International Award and National Youth Excellence Award. The senior officer of the Ministry of Youth and Sports stated:

We believe in youth participation. Participation in activities is very healthy. The more they participate in activities, the less they are prone to social evils. Social evils bring disharmony...

He further pointed out that the Ministry of Youth and Sports works collaboratively with the Ministry of Gender Equality, Child Development and Family Welfare. He spoke of latest activities exclusively with boys and men to help them develop the right attitude towards girls and women. He mentioned another collaboration with the 'Brahma

⁴² It is organised in collaboration with UNDP and lays emphasis on Life-skills Education, Peer Education, Peer Counselling and Youth Forum on HIV/AIDS, drug and sexuality. It is conducted with youth in schools and youth centres (see, <http://mys.govmu.org/English/deptorg/departments/youth/Pages/Family-Life-Education.aspx>).

Kumaris World Spiritual University⁴³ (BKWSU) for the promotion of peace. He is of the view that in the future, they will also have to ‘capitalise on counselling’ at the level of the Ministry. In his view, there is a problem with families in Mauritius.

If we analyse what happens, most of those who misbehave in schools, they come from broken families... In all society, we have violence. But, as far as Mauritius is concerned, I often asked myself, if we had not been in many colleges, in more colleges, the situation would be more serious. Thanks to our officers going in all colleges, I’m sure that the situation is not that alarming. There have been a few cases of violence.

He adds that in schools there is a great demand for ‘Life-Skills Education’ and that peace education cuts across all their activities.

At the level of the Ministry of Education there is the belief among the two senior officers interviewed that within the Mauritian context many activities are being implemented, perhaps not directly on peace, but indirectly linked to it. One officer talked about the emphasis on Human Rights Education. She also mentioned the National Institute for Civic Education⁴⁴ (NICE) project piloted by the Prime Minister’s Office, in which young people can participate. The purpose is to promote civic education, a sense of national identity and patriotism among young people. She stated that during the sessions:

Some of the students were really moved. They were made to realise that their country has done so much for ‘me’. We are living in a paradise compared to other countries. We are well-supported.

⁴³ BKWSU promotes a global culture based on ‘soul-consciousness’. It teaches meditation for peace and encourages various self-transformative and philanthropic activities, see <http://www.brahmakumaris.org/afr/mauritius/Outreach%20%28MRU%29>

⁴⁴ NICE is conducted with students of secondary schools. It consists of a two-week training programme with module descriptions comprising leadership, creativity, nation-building, awareness of gender equality and so on (see, <http://civiceducation.govmu.org/portal/sites/civiceducation/index.html>)

During another interview, this time with the representative of ‘Gender Links’, the latter highlighted that she had been working with officers of the Prime Minister’s Office and the Ministry of Education on the ‘NICE’ project. This was in reply to the question whether ‘Gender Links’ conduct any training in schools. She stated:

Yes, we started with the NICE project. So, what happened is that they called us and said ok, they wanted us to work with them. But, like I said to the person in charge of the NICE project- I said “ It’s a great project, but you got to make it sustainable. It’s not a question of me coming talking to your kids for a couple of hours, and then, I’m gone, and I never hear of those kids again”.

She also remarked during the interview that very often the same private schools would contact her and that so far (at the time of the fieldwork in 2014), she had not yet conducted any activities with the young people in public schools.

Students who have participated in the research have stated that often during the ‘Activity Period’ they remain unsupervised with not much being done. They have also remarked themselves that not all students participate in activities. The ‘elite’ sometimes do not come to school on such days. With respect to activities, one rector highlighted:

...some parents may see it as a waste of time because they are too much conscious about exams. And, parents I don’t blame them. They live in a society, and they have created a mould, and they want to put their kids in that mould and produce a kid who has SC and HSC only. They don’t realise that it is important that they have kids who are conversant with everything that has to do with peace.

I mentioned in Chapter Four that some of the students who wanted to participate in the research project did not get consent from parents who believed that their wards should concentrate on their studies.

I have discussed in Chapter Two how within the ‘economic development perspective’ and the ‘performativity discourse’ other aspects of development can be neglected. It is productivity and competitiveness that are the drivers of quality education. With the new reforms, sex education, values education, citizenship education and intercultural education are integrated within the curriculum as cross-curricular issues. Educators are expected to incorporate these whenever possible in their respective subjects. What are the chances of these being incorporated in practice?

The senior representative of the MIE is not oblivious to the fact that in practice more emphasis can be given to the academic. He contends that at the level of the MIE, in the training of teachers, they do lay emphasis on citizenship education, values education, and intercultural education but it is also important that in schools teachers feel that they have the ‘space’ and opportunities to put these into practice.

The fact that the school is too much centred on I’ll do Maths now, we’ll do English now, I’ll do this thing now, that thing, the school, does not give much importance and value to the other things that are happening in other subject areas. I think there has to be some consciousness at school level of how well they are addressing these issues.

He further makes an important observation regarding school hours:

...8.15 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. is teaching time in the school. When do you sit down to talk about issues that you are facing, problems that you are facing?

School ends at 2.30 p.m. for both students and educators. He mentioned that when sometimes management organise staff meeting, five minutes are taken from each ‘teaching period’.

During my pilot study in the girls' private secondary school, I planned to meet the students during the 'Activity Period'. However, I could not do so due to the fact that there was 'Activity Period' only for lower classes and not upper ones. Similarly, in all the three state schools, the 'Activity Period' was sometimes taken for remedial classes and more so, nearing exam time. One deputy-rector has expressed himself on the issue of 'Activity Period':

These activity classes are very good. I think they should be more structured perhaps even a syllabus must be prescribed...For the time being, I feel that it is a bit haphazard. It is being done in a rather random manner. It doesn't mean that it is not producing results, but we would like let us say more uniformity, more schools learning useful lessons in peacemaking, peacekeeping, harmony and national solidarity.

For four years, I was also in charge of the 'Activity Period' in a state secondary school and worked on its implementation with the rector and various colleagues. This was not easy, especially when faced with resistance from students, teachers, and parents.

In Chapter Two, I discussed how in countries like the UK, Canada, US and Australia, teachers are under pressure to complete the curriculum. Increased emphasis on performativity and accountability can lead to the neglect of the overall development of the child. For instance, Adams, Monahan and Wills (2015) have highlighted how in schools in England and Wales, the 'holistic' can take second place in practice. I have previously shown that the list of cross-curricular activities in Mauritius seems to be increasing. I drew attention to the time given in the curriculum for addressing the cross-curricular issues. From the findings, there seems to be a gap between policy and practice. Ball (1994) has argued that while policies are crude and simple, practice is sophisticated, complex and unstable.

What is possible to glean from the findings is that while there is an endeavour on the part of the authorities to promote a ‘holistic’ development of the child, yet rectors, teachers, parents and students are trapped within a system where performativity, accountability and competitiveness are the drivers of quality education. Berhr, Megoran and Carnaffan (2018) discuss how within the context of UK, neoliberalism and militarism have narrowed the possibilities of peace education. While within Mauritius, the military aspect is not as such relevant, yet there is the threat of the neoliberal tendency as in the UK that can hamper the promotion of a culture of peace.

A positive point that needs to be highlighted though is that within the Mauritian context, there seem to be networking, collaborative endeavours and partnerships at various levels. This has probably helped in the promotion of a culture of peace and the implementation of various different developmental projects over the years. Srebniak (1999) and Claveyrolas (2017) have discussed how Mauritius has created networking that transcends the territorial state. In this study, it is possible to see that partnerships exist at various levels to help in the promotion of extra-curricular activities at school level.

Well before the World Conference on Education For All⁴⁵ in Jomtien Thailand, partnerships building was inherent within the Mauritian culture. I showed, in Chapter Two, partnerships with the PSSA and also BEC. Other public/private sector partnerships exist through the project ‘*Zone Education Prioritaire*’ (ZEP) to reduce

⁴⁵ The conference was held 5th to 8th March 1990. It recognises that national, regional, and local educational authorities cannot be expected to supply every human, financial or organisational requirement for the important task of ‘Education for all’. New and revitalized partnerships at all levels are necessary. See, ‘World Declaration on Education For All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs’: available from: <http://www.un-documents.net/jomtien.htm>.

inequality in the education sector (see, Mahadeo & Gurrib, 2009). Throughout the years, the education sector has evolved through building partnerships with various organisations, national, international, and inter-ministerial activities. Various projects may not specifically, ‘focus’ on peace but are considered as indirectly leading to the promotion of a culture of peace.

However, from the findings, it appears that often the same students may participate in various activities. Students have reported that some young girls and boys can isolate themselves. Others can feel left out because of ‘favouritism’. Students’ leaders who have participated in the study said that they have themselves been involved in most of these activities mentioned above. For instance, boys in the single-sex school were in charge of the International Peace Day at the school and those from the MGI/RTI were actively engaged in the preparation of Gandhi Day. Similarly, I found that some of the participants in the girls’ schools were also helping students in a primary school and engaged in activities like drama and ‘mural paintings’. At the time of the fieldwork, they decided with the help of their Art teacher to do a mural painting in the primary school in the vicinity, with messages of peace, love and friendship. A picture of this can be found in Appendix Four. It will not be displayed if the research is published.

Moreover, it is not impossible also that some projects can be just ‘tokenistic’ (Hart, 1992) if, as reported by students, they do not really feel that they have a say in their schooling or issues that matter to them. Sellman (2011, 2013) has highlighted how it is important to have schools not just with pupils’ empowerment initiatives, but those that create the conditions for pupils’ empowerment to thrive. He argues that there is a difference between giving students the opportunity to be heard or occasionally

participate in school affairs and full democratic participation. The second one secures a more active engagement of the young in school processes.

While most rectors contend that students are free to come and meet them to discuss problems, some students do not feel that they can do so. Meli from the single-sex state school states:

In our school, it's like there is a wall between the students and the management.... If we go to talk with the rector, she will say, go back to your classes, you are wasting my time. She won't really listen to us.

Bilkis from the same school states:

Ok. You know I had a friend who was going out with a boy. Then it was kind of a boy, you know "ex". Then my friend was going out with his ex and then was a huge fight begin. "You are going out with my ex. What the hell!". So they begin to pull each other hair. And the next day, you know the rector humiliate them. In front of the whole school, they went on the assembly in the stage, and the rector humiliates them. They say sorry for what they had done, but I don't think this is a right thing to do. The rector should have explained to them privately but not in front of the whole school.

The findings show that there are evident problems with solving problems at school and strategies need to be reviewed so that students can feel free to speak about problems and seek guidance. It is clear also that there are issues with relationship building and trust at school level, whether between some rectors and students and teachers and students. Kohn (1996: 111) has argued:

Children are more likely to be respectful when important adults in their lives respect them. They are more likely to care about others if they know they are cared about. If their emotional needs are met, they have the luxury to meet other people's needs- rather than spending their lives preoccupied with themselves.

I have shown that in schools there is further, negative competition among teachers, favouritism among some of them, and sometimes they have difficulties themselves in interacting with people of different ethnicities and religions. These findings are indeed preoccupying.

Within this debate, it is paramount to bear in mind the ‘voice’ of the students. What they actually think is lacking within the current framework is a ‘space’ where they can discuss problems on a ‘regular’ basis, where they feel free to express themselves, share perspectives and find solutions to problems. They are not simply interested in having one-off activities. As will be seen in the next chapter, their recommendations point to more sustainable strategies and more involvement in their schooling. The senior officer of the MIE somehow echoes the views of the students:

I have been to some schools where they have put all the rules and regulations in each classroom and how the student should behave: “I will respect the rules of the school, I will not damage the property within the school, this and this”. Do you think it makes sense to the child? What makes sense to anybody is what you have decided yourself, you will be doing. And today, if you want children not to be violent, to be more peaceful, there have to be a means within the school where the school together with the children themselves sit down and decide what is the problem, and why this problem exists, to what extent, who is responsible for this problem? And we, as young people, what can we do to minimise these problems?

Huddleston and Kerr (2006) have recommended the concept of ‘students as researchers’ for the promotion of citizenship education. They believe this can help to redraw organisational lines of responsibility and accountability in school.

For the fieldwork, a ‘group process inside inquiry’ was set up with student leaders. From the data that has emerged, it is clear that youth are not apolitical. They want their

voices to be heard and to participate in decision-making. The findings have brought to the surface problems that have much to do with cultural and structural violence. At the same time, it has shown that apart from having such a group, it is important to have 'regular' group discussion, not exclusively with student leaders. The necessity of creating a 'space' where all students can express themselves, share views and experiences, and discuss problems is highlighted.

No doubt, the academic-oriented system of education can prove challenging for the implementation of activities. What is possible to glean from the students' participants and other interviewees is that there is a gap between policy and practice. There are definitely problems with the organisation of the 'Activity Period', and it needs proper structuring. In the next section, I report on the recommendations made by the students.

Recommendations made by students

The following recommendations made by girls and boys are in response to the problems that they have identified as the root causes of a lack of a culture of peace in their respective schools. As alternatives to them, they have suggested various strategies including organisation of anti-bullying campaigns to discourage violence and bullying at school, the promotion of good relationships, better understanding and equality, a youth awareness team, a problem-sharing class, more opportunities to participate in decision-making, training on anger management, more extra-curricular activities at school, staff training, parenting guidance, improvement of school culture, promotion of cultural diversity and religious harmony, the need to tackle ethnic and religious conflicts, the implementation of Model United Nations (MUN) at school, and the promotion of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. Their views

can be seen in their respective Lotus Diagrams in this chapter. Like the Ishikawa Diagram, they have helped in triggering critical reflection among students and in generating 'thick' data.

Anti-bullying campaign

To begin with, boys and girls emphasise the importance of having more open discussions in schools with regard to bullying and violence. They advocate the need for 'anti-bullying campaigns' to sensitise students about the effects of bullying, how to protect themselves from it, and not be afraid to denounce bullying cases. Girls further say that it is necessary to train teachers about how to deal with bullying among girls. Often this remains unnoticed and is not visible to adults owing to the subtle/covert ways girls bully each other.

Model United Nations

Every year in Mauritius, Model United Nations (MUN) for schools is organised at the national level by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the American Embassy. Students propose its implementation at school level. Diya from the MGI/RTI remarked, 'We have been taking the world as an example, but why not take our own school and problems as example and try to solve them? We make our school a little world'. She mentioned that for instance, they could have different commissions, one related to 'Bullying and Ethnic Conflicts'. Jean states:

Problems at school will be resolved by students, discussed by students and voted by students. Then we will be writing to the rector for him to agree.

He adds that:

Your project is helping us to do that MUN project and help us to build a culture of peace at school. Maybe, when you came with your project, we had already started the MUN, and it was too late to start what we wanted to do about the problems to be discussed, the problems at school to be discussed but we are doing it next year. Hope we can.

Problem Sharing Class

Both boys and girls contend that they need to be given opportunities to discuss problems. Says Najmah:

We must create a platform for students to voice out their problems so that they feel comfortable as we are students of the same age, so we can understand their problems more easily.

Girls in the state school stressed the importance of having a ‘Problem-sharing class’. They highlighted, however, the importance of treating each person’s problem as legitimate. According to them, students have to feel that there are people who care for them and have time to listen and respect what they have to say. This can potentially reduce the level of frustration among some of them. In their view, such classes can educate young people on how to anticipate failing events in their lives and deal with them in a better way. They can provide emotional and psychological support for them.

Youth Awareness Team

The boys stressed the importance of having a ‘Youth Awareness Team’ at school. They believe that if the team talk to students, it will have a greater impact on them. It will be ‘youth talking to youth’. The student leaders in the group talked about how in the past they used drama and video to sensitise students against smoking and domestic violence. Says, Shakeel:

Yea, I remember along with the alcohol we had mixed up domestic violence. What are the impacts when a father drinks at home? They get other tension that they have. They drink, and then they just remove it on their children or wife at home.

During the group discussions, students mentioned how after their talk about smoking, many students came to them saying that they would have liked to quit but did not know how to stop. The students believe that such a team can promote a sense of civic responsibility among students. It can also provide moral and psychological help.

They highlighted that junior students were more receptive to the talks than senior ones. Senior boys would sometimes make negative comments to them and said that they were wasting their time. I have discussed earlier that sometimes boys and girls in schools can ridicule and discourage those who want to engage in these activities. This, in itself, shows that such activities must start from a younger age. Montessori stressed that, if we seek peace, we need to start at an early age. It is more difficult to change the mentality of those who for years have been accustomed to a culture of violence.

Staff Training

Boys in the state school feel that it is also important to sensitise teachers not to pass negative remarks on students and put a 'tag' on them. Rector and teachers must promote a culture of fairness so that no one feels discriminated against or left out. The students believe that teachers require further training on how to resolve conflict at school. Training in 'Intercultural Dialogue' for teachers is recommended. Similarly, they contend that it is important to encourage teachers to develop innovative ideas to teach peace during 'Activity Period'. There is the need to motivate teachers from different departments to include the theme peace in their subjects. The group also recommends

that staff should be encouraged to be role models to students during training sessions.

The recommendations of the boys can be seen in their Lotus Diagram on the next page.

Organise talks by teachers and senior students at school	Prefect and School leaders can patrol around the school during lunch and breaks	Encourage parents to put parental lock on computers to reduce cyber-bullying	Organise activities for students' welfare during Activity Period	The team can talk to students to create a greater impact on youngsters	Provide moral and psychological help to students	Encourage talks about culture and religion at school	Organise teambuilding activities	Conduct workshops on inter-religious dialogue
More strict rules and regulations on Bullying	1 Anti-Bullying Campaign	Disseminate information about the consequences of Cyber –bullying by Cyber Crime unit (ICTA)	The team members can explain to teachers how to deal with students	2 Youth Awareness Team composed of students	The team can analyse problems affecting students and communicate them to students	Encourage group works and projects on holy books	3 Promote religious harmony	Organise Quiz on various religions
Sensitisation on effects of bullying by students through videos and drama	Explain to students how to protect themselves from bullying	Provide students with moral support and encourage them to denounce bullying cases	Together with students and management, teachers, the team can find out solutions to students' problems	The team can promote a sense of civic responsibility among students	The team can provide students opportunities to voice their problems	Conduct special classes for Form 1 to Form III students by teachers of religious studies	Organise talks by representatives of different religious groups' priests with students	Organise film projections on religious harmony
Teachers need to give equal attention to all students	Encourage elite students to help other students at school	Advise teachers to give more group-activities in class	1 Anti-Bullying Campaign	2 Youth Awareness Team	3 Promote religious harmony	Talk with parents about proper upbringing of children	Parents should avoid fighting at home	Parents should be role-models for children
Recommend rector and teachers to have less favouritism at school	4 Reduce unhealthy competition	Promote the need for good communication to reduce competition	4 Reduce unhealthy competition	Solutions to promote a culture of peace	5 Parenting Guidance	Parents and teachers should collaborate and meet to solve problems	5 Parenting Guidance	Parents need to be more aware about their wards' problems
Encourage a spirit of sharing	Conduct more group-work with students of mixed-abilities	Encourage elite students to participate in and extra-curricular activities	6 Improve school culture	7 Staff Training	8 Discourage violence at school	Bridge the gap between parents and children	Bring children and parents together to solve problems	Encourage good communication between parents and children
Training to students about how to behave with female teachers	Conduct activities to promote human values	Lay emphasis on activities about peace to promote a peace culture	Sensitise teachers not to pass negative remarks on students or put a tag on them	Train teachers about how to resolve conflicts at school	Encourage teachers to be role models to students at school	Provide psychological help to students	Analyse the root causes of violence at school and tackle them	Organise talks by 'Brigade des Adolescents' about youth delinquency
Teachers need to take actions against misbehaviour and indiscipline	6 Improve school culture	Rotate student's places so that they mingle with other students and get to know them	Rector and teachers should promote a culture of fairness so that no one feels discriminated against	7 Staff Training	Train teaching and non-teaching staff about how to talk to students at school and understand the new generation	Create a Peace Club at school to promote a culture of peace	8 Discourage violence at school	Conduct special classes to train students to resolve conflicts peacefully
Organise fun activities between teachers to promote collaboration	Encourage students to respect each other's culture and tradition	Promote a culture of dialogue among staff and students at school	Encourage teachers to develop innovative ideas to teach peace during Activity Period	Train teachers in Intercultural Dialogue	Motivate teachers of different departments to include the theme of peace in their subjects	During Activity period students and teachers can use role play to show the effects of violence	Help students to resist negative peer pressure	Create a peaceful environment using frescos and quotations

Diagram 5.4 Lotus Diagram made by students of the boys' state school

Training on anger management

A recommendation made by girls in the state school relates to further training on anger management, this time for students. They believe such training can help girls to manage and get rid of anger, and deal with stress. Meli said she followed such a course in a community project. Girls also propose different activities including ‘Yoga’ classes to enable body and mind control. They also suggest organising interactive discussions among students and talks by resource persons. Videos on anger management can also be projected. It is important to note that in a youth-oriented program known as HIPP (Help increase the peace program), Morrisson, Austad and Cota (2011), show emphasis on the development of communication skills, anger management, cooperation, trust, conflict resolution and value of diversity. Workshops, cooperative games, discussions, and role-playing were also used. The recommendations of the girls can be seen in their Lotus Diagram on the next page.

Conduct Yoga classes to enable body and mind control	Organize talks by resource persons from NGO's	Help students to evacuate stress through extra-curricular Activities	Use video and power-point presentation	Encourage teachers of General paper to give essays and projects on peace	Sensitize students about the importance of peace	Create opportunities for girls to express themselves	Allow students to discuss and share problems	Encourage students to find solutions to problems through dialogue
Organize interactive discussions among students on anger management	1 Training on Anger Management at school	Show videos on how to manage anger	Distribute pamphlets on peace	2 Peace Campaign at school	Talk in Assembly on the promotion of peace by rector and students	Have a teacher as a facilitator in the class	3 Problem-sharing class (Special period in the time-table)	This class can be conducted during Activity-Period.
Create awareness about the negative consequences of anger	During exams period, create opportunities for students to talk about difficulties	Show students how anger management can prevent conflicts	Organize drama to promote a peace culture at school	Organize Photography Exhibition on peace	Encourage students in every class to have posters on peace	A problem-sharing class will make students feel less frustrated	In the class, students should treat each person's problem as legitimate	Use a data collection box to preserve anonymity of students
Organize group-activities with students of different ethnicities	Enable students to learn about others' culture and religion	Use activities like dance and songs to promote cultural diversity	1 Training on Anger Management at school	2 Peace Campaign at school	3 Problem-sharing class (Special period in the time-table)	Give credits to students when they deserve it	Use games to promote the spirit of sharing and cooperation among students	Create opportunities for students to say positive things to their friends
Organize educational outings to visit different religious places	4 More extra-curricular activities at school	Use games to promote team building among students	4 More extra-curricular activities	Solutions to promote a culture of peace	5 Preventing jealousy among girls	Organize group discussions on jealousy	5 Preventing jealousy among girls	Conduct talks by resource persons in halls about how to manage jealousy
Students can use arts and crafts to promote peace	Have sports activities to create a spirit of togetherness	Make and distribute friendship cards with quotes to students	6 Anti-Bullying Campaign	7 Parenting Guidance	8 Promote good relationships, equality and better understanding	There should be more open discussions on youth dating and its consequences	Develop self-esteem and confidence of students	Show to students how to think positively about themselves and others
Talk by resource persons from NGO's and Ministry	Make students aware about the consequences of bullying	Create a Facebook account where girls can solve and discuss problems	Conduct meetings with parents	Encourage parents to bring up children in a healthy environment	Organize counselling sessions for parents by resource persons	There should be no discrimination at school	Encourage students to put themselves in the skin of others	Students and teachers should be encouraged to treat everyone in the same way
Make the rules and regulations on bullying more strict	6 Anti-out Bullying Campaign	Encourage students to confide with their Form Teachers or those whom they are close	Encourage group discussions among parents	7 Parenting Guidance	Create opportunities for parents and wards to talk about problems	Teachers should try to solve their problems among themselves through dialogue	8 Promote good relationships, equality and better understanding	Create a Facebook/blog account where students can voice their opinions
Organize training for teachers about how to deal with bullying among girls	Use drama, videos and photographs to sensitize about bullying	Organize meetings with parents of students who bully and those who are bullied	Organize teambuilding activities with parents and children	Encourage parents to be role models for their children	Create awareness about the negative effects of domestic violence	Encourage sharing of knowledge to prevent negative impacts of competition	Organize social gatherings to strengthen and promote good relationships at school	Teachers should be available whenever students need advice and want to talk about difficulties

Diagram 5.5 Lotus Diagram made by students of the girls' state school

Promote good relationships, equality and better understanding

Girls in the single-sex state school stressed the importance of promoting good relationships, equality and better understanding in furthering the culture of peace. Like boys, they believe that there must not be any discrimination. Students must try to put themselves in 'others' shoes' instead of just demeaning them. At the same time, teachers must try to solve their problems among themselves through dialogue. Both students and staff must be encouraged to treat everyone equally and live in harmony. Teachers must also be available whenever students need advice and want to talk about their difficulties. They think that through the organisation of social gatherings, it may be possible to strengthen and promote good relationships at school.

More extra-curricular activities at school

Students recommend the need for more extra-curricular activities. They believe that the system of education is too academic-oriented. They suggest more group-activities at school that can encourage team building, dialogue and communication. These can bring together students from different cultural backgrounds, ethnicities and mixed abilities. Students of the single-sex state school argue that girls need to be given more opportunities to express themselves through dance and songs. These are means to promote peace. Girls think that games can be used to promote a spirit of togetherness and team building among students. Educational outings can be organised, with students of different ethnicities and religions being given the opportunities to visit religious places and learn about various cultures and religions.

Reduce unhealthy competition

Both girls and boys believe it is important to reduce unhealthy competition, whether among students or between teachers. According to them, there must be more group-work with the participation of students from mixed abilities. Elite students must be encouraged to mingle with others. This may further prevent them from being bullied at school. Students emphasise the need to have team building activities not only during the 'Activity Period', but also during classes. Moreover, they feel that it is important to sensitise rectors and teachers about the need to practise less favouritism. They argue that teachers must help foster unity in class, encourage a spirit of sharing, and delegate responsibilities to not only a favourite group of students but also to other students. In their views, good communication can also reduce unhealthy competition.

Improve school culture

To improve school culture, boys recommend the promotion of a culture of dialogue among students and staff at the school. Instances of teachers arguing and criticising their colleagues in front of students do not depict a positive school culture. Student leaders also suggest that it is important to train boys how to behave respectfully towards female teachers. According to them, laying more emphasis at school level on the promotion of peace and encouraging everyone to respect each other is also important. They suggest more emphasis on activities to promote human values. Moreover, they argue that teachers need to be seen as taking action against misbehaviour and indiscipline if we want to improve the school culture. In her findings, Berents (2014) actually find that it is important for young people who experience everyday violence in their community to feel that in the school environment violence is actively discouraged, and responded to by teachers.

Parenting Guidance

In all schools, boys and girls feel that counselling for parents is also important. Meetings can be organised at school or in the community, encouraging parents to bring up their wards in a healthy environment. It is important for parents to take a more active role in the education of their wards. Girls say that parents need to spend quality time with their children, listen to them, and inculcate the right values in them. They also feel that there is a need to create awareness among parents about the negative effects of domestic violence on children.

Boys argue that parents need to be role models for children. They must avoid fighting at home. Good communication between parents and children must be encouraged. Boys from the single-sex school showed me the video they made to sensitise students about the negative effects of domestic violence. In the video, they were also enacting a drama, which shows that they are conscious of the damaging effect of this issue on students. They contend that children and parents must have the opportunity to talk about their problems. Parents must also meet and collaborate with teachers to solve problems. Students in the mixed school say that parents need actually to monitor what their wards do at school. They must be more involved in school projects and activities. Bridging the gap between parents and students is seen as important.

Improve management and create opportunities for students to express their views and discuss problems

There is a consensus between both boys and girls that management at school must show more understanding towards the students, listen to them, and give them the opportunity to talk about their problems. According to them, there is a need to encourage more

active participation of students in decision-making. Students feel that not only representatives of ‘Student Council’ must have the rights and opportunities to express themselves and discuss their problems. Other students also must have the right to do so. It is important to listen more to the needs of the students. During the group-discussions, Jean mentioned that it was good he got the opportunity to express himself: he said things that he had not been able to say before, and he felt relieved. Diya said that she realised how many ‘hidden’ problems there were at school.

Promote religious harmony and cultural diversity

Boys in the single-sex school argue that in order to have peace, it is important to promote religious harmony. This can be done by conducting workshops on interreligious dialogue. These will encourage talks about culture and religion at school. They say that teachers can give group work and projects on holy books. A quiz on various religions can be conducted at the school. Film projections on religious harmony can be organised. Similarly, representatives of different religious groups can be invited to talk about different religions. Students remarked during the ‘group process inside inquiry’ that all these activities could encourage team-building spirit among students and staff of different ethnicities.

In the mixed school, students propose the use of drama and video to pass on important messages to students. They suggest that a team at school can make and upload videos on the school website on cultural harmony. They also think that encouraging exchange programmes between students from different countries can help in promoting religious and cultural harmony. Olberding and Olberding (2010) have previously explored the ripple effects in a youth peacebuilding and exchange programme called International

Projects Week (IPW). They found that it can actually increase participants' knowledge, understanding and perceptions of other countries. It further enhances the global competency of participants and can have an impact beyond them.

Tackle ethnic and religious conflicts

Further, according to students in the mixed school, the rules and regulations about ethnic conflicts need to be enforced. I showed earlier that students identified this as a root cause of a lack of a culture of peace in their school. They also believe it is important to make students and staff realise that '...we are in one school. We are one. There should not be any discrimination'. They suggest the need for students of minority groups to be represented at the level of 'Student Council'. These students also need to be included in school activities. Students have to feel that they are all equal in the school. The rector must talk about respect for all religions during the school assembly.

Likewise, it is necessary to encourage the 'Asian Language Department' to organise exhibitions, talks and meetings with students. I have mentioned about this department in Chapter Two which also includes subjects like Islamic Studies, Bible Knowledge and Hinduism. Students have noticed that conflicts can sometimes arise when management makes a few teachers of different backgrounds and ethnicities work together on certain extra-curricular activities. Some of these teachers do not get on well with each other. Students believe that by promoting harmonious understanding between staff and students of different ethnicities, the problem of ethnic and religious conflicts at school can be tackled. The recommendations of the students from the mixed state school of the MGI/RTI can be seen in their Lotus Diagram on the next page.

Encourage teamwork during classes	Teachers and students should make classes more interactive	Encouraging a spirit of sharing by organizing group activities at school	Celebrate National Festivals at school	Students should be taught the significance and importance of different cultures	Teachers and management should not differentiate between students of different cultural groups	Enforce rules and regulations in relation to ethnic bullying and conflicts	Promote harmonious understanding among students and staff of different ethnicities	Creates awareness about the fact that students are all equal
Conduct extra-curricular activities with non-students' leaders and students' leaders	1 Reduce Unhealthy competition	Conduct group revision regularly at school with students of mixed abilities	Conduct a cultural exhibition at school	2 Promote Cultural Diversity	Encourage exchange program with students of other countries	Encourage the Asian language department to organize exhibitions, talks, meetings with students	3 Tackling ethnic and religious conflicts	Include minority groups in school activities
Teachers should not discriminate among students	Teachers need to help foster unity in class by group activities	Promote a friendly school environment	Make culture education classes more interesting and non-examinable	Use dance, songs and drama to depict different culture	Make and upload videos on cultural harmony on school website	The rector should talk about respect for others' religion during school assembly	It is important to ensure that students of minority are represented at the level of Student Council	Creates a sense of belonging for the school among the students
Use MUN to create awareness among students about social conflicts and problems	Have commissions such as social, education, environment and politics	Organize MUN yearly at school	1 Reduce unhealthy competition	2 Promote cultural diversity	3 Tackling ethnic and religious conflicts	Parents should monitor what their wards do at school	Parents should attend regular P.T.A meetings at school	There should be more involvement of parents in school projects and activities
Have MUN for Junior and Senior students	4 Setting up of Model United Nations at school level	Past participants of MUN can give training to actual participants	4 Setting up of Model United Nations at school	Solutions for the promotion of a culture of peace	5 Parent' Involvement in the upbringing of their ward	Organize residential seminar for students with the help of parents	5 Parents' Involvement in the upbringing of their ward	Conduct activities at school to bridge the gap between parents and wards
More teachers should be trained as MUN facilitators	Use MUN to promote peace and understanding at school and the community	Use MUN for youth empowerment	6 Create opportunities for students to voice out problems	7 Reduce Bullying	8 Promote Gandhi and Tagore Philosophy	Management should have regular meetings with parents to discuss and find solutions to problems	Conduct workshops for parents to discuss and find solutions to problems they face with their ward	
Use school website to create a platform for students to discuss problems	Representative of Students Council need to have regular meeting with students to know about their problems	Encourage active participation of students in decision-making	'Brigade des Mineurs' can sensitize students about causes and effects of bullying	Use drama to show the effects of bullying on students at school	Organize talks by resource persons about the consequences of cyber-bullying	Organise Gandhi Day and Tagore Day	Encourage a sense of service among students and staff	Creates awareness about Gandhian values and philosophy
Rector and staff should encourage students to come forward and share their problems	6 Create opportunities for students to voice out problems	Organize leadership courses for students at school	Provide psychological support to victims of bullying	7 Reduce Bullying	Encourage more open discussions at school on bullying with students, staff and parents	Projects on peace followed by discussions	8 Promote Gandhi and Tagore Philosophy	Encourage students to practise the teachings of Gandhi and Tagore
Make a suggestion box for students to share their views about school problems and provide solutions	Head boy and head girl should be more in touch with students at school and develop a proximity approach	Use the school Facebook as an online and active platform for students to express themselves	Make film projection on the nature of bullying and its impact on students	Give training to teachers about how to deal with bullying among boys and girls	Provide counselling services to the bully	Solve problems through dialogue instead of violence and punishment	Visit homes and orphanage to encourage respect for elders and the destitute	Make Gandhi quotes and sayings more clear to students

Diagram 5.6 Lotus Diagram made by students of the mixed state school of MGI/RTI

Promote the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore

As seen in Diagram 6.3, students in the MGI/RTI also feel it is important to create more awareness among students, parents and staff about the importance of Gandhian values in our everyday lives. They recommend that quotations and sayings of M.K. Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore be made clearer and explained to students. Similarly, projects on peace need to be organised more often at school. They can be accompanied by discussions to help students share their views, and better understand and practice the teachings of M.K. Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. I mentioned previously in Chapter Two that this school follows a broader curriculum based on Gandhi's and Tagore's teachings. In the next chapter, I look more specifically at the modelling of the MGI/RTI. I believe it is highly relevant considering the specificity of the school and its relevance to the practice of peace education.

In the next section, my argument is that based on the consistent findings in the three state secondary schools and interviews with adults, it is important to consider a paradigm shift from peacekeeping and peacemaking to peacebuilding for the future practice of peace education in Mauritius.

From peacekeeping and peacemaking to peacebuilding

So far, in the three schools, there seems to be an over-reliance on security and disciplinary measures. Even in the case of pastoral care, much emphasis is on intervention after a problem arises. Fortunately, violence in these three schools seems to be contained. However, as the former Minister of Education highlights, there is a need in the future to focus more on proactive strategies for peace. Other findings show

that in Mauritius, students in secondary schools often use practices such as ‘sit-in’ to protest against decisions that concern them and draw attention to problems (see, *Le Mauricien*, 2015ab; L’Express, 2016). Sometimes, these ‘sit-ins’ can degenerate into violence, as with the case where boys in a single-sex state secondary school damaged school infrastructure, and a police car. This protest was concerning their payment of examination fees (see, *Le Défi Media Group*, 2016). Thus, it is important not to be complacent about the situation.

The deputy-rector observes about Mauritius:

It is still the paradise, but we should not take it for granted. We have to continue building this paradise. It is not something that is here and therefore it is here forever, and you just keep doing whatever you like, and the paradise will be waiting there all the time...We can’t just celebrate independence on the 12th March in school and say that we are proud of our independence. It’s something to be...it’s a battle which is ongoing.

In fact, the various issues brought forward have indicated that it is important to be proactive and have in place longer-term strategies to reduce marginalisation, promote inclusiveness and foster a spirit of togetherness. It is also important to focus more on ‘peace’ in education.

I have shown the belief of one rector, that if there is a specific emphasis on promoting activities for peace, it may indicate that there are problems within the school, and this may damage its reputation. This attitude is indeed wrong. The current study has shown that there actually are problems in the three schools, and these need to be discussed and tackled accordingly. If not, schools may end up impregnating more violent images in

the minds of young people and less on peace. We end up not preparing young people enough to respond to conflict and violence.

What is further required in the future is a paradigm shift from peace-keeping and peace-making to peacebuilding. At the international level, the importance of peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding has been emphasised in dealing with conflict and violence. For instance, peacemaking tries to make peace by reconciling groups, nations or any parties involved in a dispute. Through peacekeeping, the objective is to maintain peace. However, peacebuilding lays out longer-term strategies to prevent the recurrence of violence and to ensure sustainable peace. This is made clear in a statement by the former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali in the important document, '*An Agenda for Peace*':

When conflict breaks out, mutually reinforcing efforts at peacemaking and peace-keeping come into play. Once these have achieved their objectives, only sustained, cooperative work to deal with underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems can place an achieved peace on a durable foundation. Preventive diplomacy is to avoid a crisis; post-conflict peace-building is to prevent a recurrence (United Nations, 1992b).

In the case of countries with intractable conflicts, priorities are mostly on reconciliation, healing and reconstruction (Bitona & Salomon, 2006; Hartland, 2011, Prisca, Kandagor & Kiprono, 2012). In the Mauritian context, priorities will need to be on equity, fairness, unity and relationship-building. As also argued by Salomon (2002), the focus on peace education in regions of relative tranquillity will have to be more on cooperation and harmony.

Peace education scholars such as Ardizzone (2003), Bickmore (2004, 2013), Cremin and Guilherme (2016), Cremin and Bevington (2017) and Harris (2000) have emphasised the need for peacebuilding strategies other than just peacekeeping and peacemaking in schools. This is not restricted to countries with intractable conflicts. It is true, however, that there is a tendency to think of peacebuilding after a conflict has ended and it is mostly associated with war-torn societies. This is evident by the referral term ‘post-conflict’ peacebuilding within the statement of the former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali. Hence, it is not impossible that in countries like Mauritius, the importance of peacebuilding is not sufficiently emphasised. However, the findings in the three schools show that there is a need for more sustainable strategies for peace. The recommendations of the young girls and boys further point towards this.

In the context of schooling, Bickmore (2004) has highlighted the distinctions between peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding which are useful while considering the promotion of peace whether through citizenship, human rights and peace education.

Peacekeeping is reflected in burgeoning emphases on violence ‘prevention’ and ‘zero tolerance’ strict discipline policies, including mandated codes of conduct... (78)...Peacemaking attempts to facilitate conflict management and resolution through dialogue and problem-solving rather than blame or punishment (79)...Peacebuilding facilitates the deepening and broadening of democratic space by redressing injustice, rights violations, and participation barriers. Peacebuilding is based on restoration (repair of relationships) (ibid: 80).

I argue that within the Mauritian context, there is a need to also focus on peacebuilding strategies for peace. The findings reveal that many of the problems relate to structural and cultural violence and can remain ‘hidden’. Maebuta (2011) has previously drawn

attention to the fact that silent psychological crises often go unnoticed and peace education programmes need to address these. Ardizzone (2003) and Harris (2000) have also argued that many of the strategies to deal with youth violence are punitive and they do not address the underlying causes of violence in schools and the communities. They emphasise other strategies than just peacekeeping and peacemaking in schools.

According to Harris (2000), the peacebuilding approach tries to make peace attractive to students. They are motivated to understand the sources of violence and deal with problems non-violently. Through the ‘group process inside inquiry,’ students have actually identified various root causes and sub-causes of lack of a culture of peace in their respective schools. In the future, such practice needs to be encouraged so that problems can be brought to the forefront, discussed and solutions found. Otherwise, when ‘smaller’ conflicts and violence remain unresolved and keep accumulating, we can be faced later on, with ‘bigger’ ones that are more difficult to tackle.

Cremin and Guilherme (2016) do highlight that engaging in peacebuilding is more difficult. It requires individuals to participate in democratic processes, social justice initiatives to develop a sense of critical awareness and judgement and to engage with the ‘Other’ who may have different viewpoints. Cremin and Bevington (2017) propose the responsive and proactive iPEACE model to create conditions for positive peace in schools. While the responsive iPEACE model is related to peacekeeping and peacemaking, the proactive iPEACE model concerns itself exclusively with peacebuilding. The latter stands for the need to ‘identify what peacebuilding means for the school, plan for peacebuilding, enable multiple and holistic perspectives, accept

complexity and diversity, embrace creativity and evaluate and grow' (ibid:65). They further argue that peacebuilding in times of postmodernity needs to engage more with affect, embodiment, spirituality and complexity. It needs to integrate inner and outer peace and seek to promote peace by learning also from the traditions of the East and South. In Chapter Six, I actually show in what ways it is possible to learn from Eastern philosophies for the promotion of a culture of peace. I lay much emphasis on the 'holistic' vision of peace, which I believe is important for the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Mauritius.

Boswell (2005) has discussed the '*Malaise Creole*' in Mauritius and the felt sense of marginalisation by the Creole community. Boswell (2005), Bunwaree (2002) and Soobratty (2015) have also raised questions about bonding between various ethnic communities. Moreover, the findings show that it is not impossible that in school where the majority of students belong to one ethnic and religious community, the minority group can feel alienated and marginalised. In future peace work, it is important to ensure that minority groups in school feel included and cared for and that they are not bullied. The findings have shown that there are problems related to ethnic conflicts in schools that cannot be ignored. They need to be addressed, and concerned authorities in Mauritius cannot be complacent about them.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have reported on some of the views and experiences of students with regards to their schooling, what they identified as obstacles to peace and subsequently their recommendations. I also considered the views of adults, such as rectors who are

the middle managers in schools and have to ensure that policies are being implemented. Similarly, perceptions of other adults involved in policy-making have been reported. Some of the views of the adults concur with that of the young girls and boys. However, it is also possible to see differences in opinions. These give a 'holistic' understanding of the situation. Within the same chapter, I have also analysed current strategies in place to curb the problems of violence and 'indiscipline' in schools and argued about the need for a paradigm shift from peacekeeping and peacemaking to peacebuilding. In the next chapter, I consider the modelling of the MGI/RTI, which I believe, is relevant in shedding light on the promotion of peace education. I make certain recommendations for the future practice of peace education.

CHAPTER SIX

Schooling for peace

Introduction

In this chapter, I continue with the analysis and discussion of the findings. I first look at the modelling of the MGI/RTI, its weaknesses and strengths. The school demarcates itself from ‘normal schooling’. It follows a broader curriculum based on Gandhi’s and Tagore’s teachings, the environment is eco-friendly, the rector seems to promote an inclusive leadership and management approach and there appears to be a sense of ‘family culture’ inbuilt in the school ethos and culture. However, the findings show that there can be an assimilationist tendency which can make it difficult for non- Hindus to study. Concerned authorities do not seem to be aware of this. I show that it is not unlikely that in Mauritius the ‘fideistic’ approach towards Gandhi and Tagore remains unquestioned in a similar way to Freire’s theory of *‘conscientizacao’* within ‘Westernised’ discourse on peace education. Issues related to ethnicity, religion are very sensitive, and there can often be a tendency to avoid discussing them for fear that they can breed more conflicts. In this chapter, I recommend the need for a *‘rapprochement’* with the ‘Other’ and at the same time, learn from various traditions in the East and West to build in the future a more cohesive and robust society that can stand to fundamentalist behaviour, if and when they arise. I also discuss the importance of deconstructing gender stereotyping and promoting ‘active learning’ for the future practice of peace education. I end with an emphasis on an inclusive and collaborative approach for ‘holistic’ peace education.

The modelling of the MGI/RTI

Previously, in Chapter Three, I discussed the views of peace education researchers about the increasing need to decolonise the practice of peace education and learn from other critical perspectives. I argued that considering the Mauritian context, the existence of state-funded schools of the MGI/RTI and the literature, I found it relevant to ground this research in the educational theories of M.K. Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. This has also served as an analytical framework. In this section, I consider the modelling of the MGI/RTI in Mauritius, and how the school can differ from ‘normal schooling’. I start with the broader curriculum based on Gandhi’s and Tagore’s teachings.

A broader curriculum based on Gandhi’s and Tagore’s teachings

There is a difference between the way the MGI/RTI is managed and other state schools in Mauritius. Says, the rector:

It is different in the sense that we lay much emphasis on values, on culture because our schools are run according to Gandhian principles, according to Tagorean principles....So, we are very much influenced by these two great educationists, and we are trying to adopt whatever they have been preaching in our local context alongside with the curriculum, the official curriculum, alongside with preparing students for HSC and SC examinations, alongside with targeting getting laureates, getting 100 %, we do not neglect the other aspects.

The rector also talks about an emphasis on the education of the Head, Heart and Hand of Gandhi and Tagore’s ‘integral’ approach to education. I have discussed in Chapter Three that Gandhi has argued about the necessity of educating the three H’s as opposed to just educating the three R’s (reading, writing and arithmetic). Similarly, Tagore has promoted an ‘education of fullness’ for the holistic development of the students.

At the school students are encouraged, for instance, to participate in drama and musical performances on the themes of truth, compassion and gratitude. There is much emphasis on learning of arts and culture, in line with Tagore's teachings of developing the aesthetic sensitivity of students. The rector also adds:

We organise activities like, if they want, they visit charitable homes, they visit a school for the physically handicapped, they go outside the school and organise activities like cleaning. There is blood donation. We have so many such activities which are a medium for them to learn, to care for others. And next, when they start caring for others, they gradually develop this caring ethos, compassion and when they have these values, they bring it in their lives, and they become better sons and daughters, and at school also they become better students, more responsible.

Thus, at the school, students are encouraged to shoulder responsibilities and develop a sense of civic responsibility. It is important to recall that Tagore and Gandhi have stressed the need for students to participate in their own schooling. There is an emphasis on 'caring' and building 'relationship' with others.

Further, within the school compound, quotations and pictures of M.K. Gandhi and Tagore are also clearly visible. There seems to be a tendency to transmit their teachings to students. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, on the 2nd October, the school celebrates the birthday of M.K. Gandhi grandly. From the perspectives of some students, being in the school can make a difference. They are led to imbibe the values of these thinkers. Diya states:

...We have a different approach on how to live. For example, if there are some problems, we solve it differently than being a student in another school. We think about the principles of Mahatma Gandhi, that is, non-violence. We are usually on that side. There is not much violence in our school.

I reported in the previous chapter that according to the students there is not much physical violence in the school. There is verbal violence, and I have already discussed some of these causes.

During the interview with another student (Poo) in the school, I asked whether being a student of one of MGI/RTI schools has helped or has influenced the way she looks at peace. An excerpt of the interview is given below:

Poo: Like Mahatma Gandhi has always said that he believes in non-violence, he believes in peace, this has an impact on us because we '*name of the school*' (omitted) and Mahatma Gandhi students, we should also live in harmony. We should follow the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi because he was one of the men who believe in non-violence and we also feel that everything can be solved using nice language, by not using violence and being a Mahatma Gandhi student, I feel very proud being part of that institution. We learn how to live in peace.

During the interview with the rector, the latter also mentioned that they have introduced 'Culture Education' from Form I to Form III, together with 'Growing-up Education' classes.

... 'Growing up Education' where we talk about problems that any youngster will come across as he or she is growing up in society. We prepare them to face the vicissitudes of life, ups and downs. We provide them tools, how to deal with conflicts, how to understand themselves, how to adapt to an ever-changing society.

Moreover, students have a 'School Facebook Account' enabling current and past students of the school to connect with each other. Sometimes current students ask for advice from former ones. The student leaders believe it can be helpful. Many problems at school can be solved quickly.

In the case of ‘Culture education’, students have been somehow critical of it. They note that it is a good initiative, but the way it is implemented needs to be reviewed. For instance, Jean states:

As I told you last time, culture education is considered as a subject. It’s not considered something that will help... *enfin* (well) the students do not consider it as something that will help them in life. It’s an examinable subject first. We have to learn it to pass the exams because it counts for our overall percentage. That’s how we conceive culture education. This helps us only to improve our grades. That’s how we see it. That’s how it is used. It’s a burden for us. We do not like essay type questions, Form I, Form II essay type, 300 / 400 words boring. The teacher comes, gives a lot of notes. It’s a boring subject. No one likes to do it, and it’s useless. It’s really useless. Learning everything by heart and at the end of the day, not knowing anything, not knowing about the culture of the other because we learn by heart just to pass the exams. That’s how I see Culture Education.

During group-discussions, the perception was that it does not really reduce ethnic conflicts at school. It is an examinable subject, and many consider it more as a burden. I reported in the previous chapter that students of this school identified ethnic conflicts as a root cause of a lack of a culture of peace. In their views, some students can have difficulties in bonding with other religious groups or ethnicities. I also showed how minority groups such as Chinese or Creoles could be bullied or feel alienated among the greater number of Indo-Mauritians.

The findings have shown that there seems to be an assimilationist tendency which can make it difficult for some students other than Hindus to learn in the school. This was contrary to Tagore’s and Gandhi’s teachings. Tagore had a vision of schooling that would bring together students of various cultures, religions and traditions to learn in one setting. Diversity was to be celebrated and not repressed. It can be argued that schools do organise activities such as Sports Day, Fun Days, National and Culinary

Festivals to bring together people of different ethnicities and religions. No doubt this can help in bonding and sharing. However, as I said in the previous chapter, these are often one-off activities. In the future, it is important to have more sustainable peacebuilding strategies.

The country has previously witnessed ethnic conflicts and violence. Such problems related to ethnicity at school cannot be taken lightly. I have shown in the previous chapter that even in the other two schools, there are problems related to this. There is a need to strengthen relationships among diverse communities. It must be the target of future peace work and must be addressed by policy-makers, practitioners, teachers and researchers. However, it is clear from the findings that while considering the implementation of 'Culture education' or 'Peace education', we must pay particular attention to the process. The students have stressed the need to make 'Culture Education' classes more interactive and non-examinable. Merely having a class where we teach about culture or peace is not enough. The class must be interactive.

During the interview, I asked the rector whether there are problems related to communalism and ethnicity at the school. He states:

I don't think so. I don't think so. In this school, even if you have a handful of students of a particular community, in fact, the head-girl belongs to that handful...so in our school no because we are Gandhians because we are Tagoreans. We don't believe. And normally, this is the Head of the School should implement it. In our school, there is no racial comment. There is no religious comment. There is no gender bias. So, it is not we have it, and we don't talk. We combat it. We make sure that.

There is a tendency to believe that because it is a Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath school, there will not be problems related to ethnicity, religion and communalism.

However, the findings show a different picture. There is almost a ‘fideistic’ attitude towards Gandhi and Tagore, which has been highlighted in the case of Freire where things can be taken for granted, and not questioned. For instance, the senior representative of the ‘*Federation of the Civil Service Unions and State Secondary School Teachers’ Union*’ has recommended the re-introduction of mixed schooling based on the view that schools of the MGI/RTI seem to have fewer problems of indiscipline. He referred to the specific school where the fieldwork was conducted without me probing about it. This again shows how in a ‘small-connected community’, there are more chances of people identifying participants and schools in a study, and why I have chosen not to give a detailed description of schools and participants. I have discussed this in Chapter Four. In the next section, I elaborate on further findings from the MGI/RTI, which can add debate to the single-sex and mixed-schooling in Mauritius. In the next section, I elaborate on further findings from the MGI/RTI, which can add debate to the single-sex and mixed-schooling in Mauritius.

The case of the mixed schooling of the MGI/RTI

I mentioned in Chapter Three that in Tagore’s school, both boys and girls would study together and such was the case on the Tolstoy Farm where Gandhi used to teach. The MGI/RTI in Mauritius also offers mixed-schooling as opposed to the other state schools. During the interview, the representative of the teachers’ union argues:

I have started my career in a mixed school, and there was no problem, no indiscipline nothing, and a living testimony of this is the M.G.I that we have these days. We don’t find any problem over there. Quite often, I go to pay visits to the school because I have got the union, the teachers’ union over there is affiliated to me, so I pay them visit and when I go there, I stand on the balcony and watch the students and find that they are so well-behaved, no violence, ordered and all, respect for the teachers. This is a marvel that we live, and the union had proposed, when the Minister Bunwaree came

with his structure plan for 2020, we had proposed that the Ministry consider the re-introduction of mixed classes.

I believe there needs to be a word of caution here concerning the proposed re-introduction of mixed-schooling at the secondary level just based on the example of the MGI/RTI. This school follows a broader curriculum than other ‘normal’ state schools in Mauritius. More research needs to be conducted in the future for a more general perception of the reality.

However, there are findings from the study that can add debate to this issue. Below I show an excerpt from the interview with Jean and his personal experience of being in the mixed school of the MGI/RTI.

Maybe as I have experienced, being a student leader in a mixed school, is like... we are like, boys are working for girls and girls are working for boys. That's how. I have gone to many single-sex schools and girls schools are quiet, good. Boys' schools are turbulent. There is damage everywhere. But in a mixed school, maybe we have seen that boys are calm, they won't react as... When there are girls, boys won't be acting as when they are alone. When there are boys alone, our reaction would be different as when there are girls. Girls are also the same. Maybe this puts breaks, a lot of breaks. Our way of thinking changes. We are boys in contact with girls every day. The way we see girls change. We don't see a girl like "Yea she is a girl, ok. I want to be her boyfriend and everything". We really develop friendship and respect. That's one thing. Other thing may be the way we resolve problems changes. The way we see the world changes because we see that boys alone cannot achieve anything and girls alone cannot achieve anything. We have to be hand in hand. We have to work together so that we can achieve things because outside school, there are both boys and girls, and after our schooling, we will have to be together, and that's a great experience for us to be in a mixed school.

This boy provides valuable insights about how being in a mixed school has helped him to develop friendship and respect for girls. He sees the importance of working hand in hand with them to bring change. In such an environment, girls and boys learn to engage

in collaborative endeavours to solve problems. In Chapter Three, I argued about the need for a collaborative relationship between boys and girls, men and women, if we want to bring sustainable peace and development. Progress is dependent upon both. I emphasised the importance of ‘peace-focused-feminism’ to bridge the divide between girls and boys, men and women. I also argued that an ‘inclusive’ ethics of care must not perpetuate the colonial maxim of ‘divide and rule’ and seek to bring together both sexes to work for peaceful endeavours. It is clear from the findings that girls and boys are re-negotiating heterosexual relationships in the mixed setting, making efforts to regulate behaviours and adopt ones that are more conciliatory.

Interestingly, the representative of *Men Against Violence* (MAV) finds that the collaborative approach works best with boys and girls. He is actively engaged in conducting training workshops with young girls and boys in schools and the community. He states:

MAV has been set up to positively influence the behaviour, the attitude of men and young boys towards women and also to train young ladies and women to adopt strategies to refuse to be victims of violence. One of our biggest modules is also on resolving conflicts without resorting to violence....We talk to them together. It works better from my experience and from several studies that we have referred to.

However, he adds that with elderly men it seems best to work with them exclusively.

There are three other essential findings from the MGI/RTI school that I want to emphasise. Firstly, there is an understanding among students that if a boy misbehaves with a girl, the latter can slap him. This is not seen as gender deviant and is regarded as culturally acceptable. While this shows that girls are learning to defend themselves in

heterosexual relationships, at the same time this sort of ‘normalised behaviour’ can lead to the construction of violent femininity. Girls may be learning that it is the right way to solve problems. I have shown in the previous chapter reports of physical violence among girls.

The second finding is the heroic masculinity portrayed by boys in the school. If a boy slaps a girl or beats her, the boys in the school will beat him. When asked about their opinions on this, one student said that this law had been established by boys at the school for many years, and it has not been questioned. Another excerpt from an interview with Poo reveals this time that boys in the school can be protective towards girls. She cites an incident where she was waiting at the bus stop. Somebody started misbehaving with her, and a boy from her school intervened to protect her. In the mixed school, the feeling is mutual among boys and girls that female students are very much protected even outside the school compound. Hence, this third finding highlights the protectiveness of boys towards girls in the MGI/RTI school. These points are clearly shown in the excerpt below from the interview with Poo:

Researcher: Ok. Being a student in a mixed school, what is your experience of it, and do you think that girls and boys, they fight in the same manner or they...?

Poo (Pseudonym): No it’s not the same. In my school boys are not allowed to raise their hands on girls. But if a boy has talked badly to a girl, the girl is allowed to slap him, to fight with him, to beat him but the boy will not do so. This is like a principle in the school. The boy will always protect the girlThe boys at my school, they are always there to protect the girls even if they don’t like them.

However, in the previous chapter I have also shown that according to Poo, girls in the school sometimes feel that boys can belittle their views. What is possible to extrapolate

from these findings is that though girls and boys within the school are re-negotiating heterosexual relationships, yet some forms of gender stereotyping can dampen the promotion of a culture of peace. In the future, more collaborative projects need to be encouraged among them to share their views, learn from each other, and appreciate each other's talents, knowledge, and skills.

I also suggest that before thinking of moving towards mixed-schooling, it is important to conduct more research to find out, for instance, problems of violence in secular private mixed school in Mauritius. There are also faith schools. For example, there are two D.A.V schools in Mauritius offering mixed schooling at the secondary level. They are known as '*Dayanand Anglo Vedic Schools*', and they promote the ideals, values and philosophy of the Indian religious and social reformer '*Swami Dayanand Saraswati*'⁴⁶. At the same time, it is worth encouraging research in schools that are governed by '*Bureau de L'education Catholique*' (BEC) which like the state schools are single-sex. Then, there are some Islamic schools such as '*Muslim Girls' College*', '*Islamic Cultural College*' for boys, '*Madad-Ul-Islam*' Girls College and '*Aleemiah*' College for girls and boys respectively. These schools promote Islamic culture and religion as well as following the National Curriculum. It is to be noted that students of different faiths can attend these schools. I have discussed in Chapter Two the lack of research and evaluation in Mauritius on peace education and other programmes that can lead indirectly to peace. This has to change, and more research needs to be conducted in various types of schools to unveil and discuss problems that can hamper the promotion of a culture of peace. This research can serve as a groundwork for other studies.

⁴⁶ In the 18th century in India, Swami Dayanand opened '*Kanyavidyalaya*' also known as schools for girls. He worked for the rights, empowerment and emancipation of girls. See Arya Sabha Mauritius and Educational institutions: <http://aryasabhamauritius.mu/info/?id=7>. 128

I am not going to enter further into the long-debated issue about single-sex schooling and mixed-schooling. This requires another research project on its own. My aim here has been to open the debate and prepare the ground for future research. However, I feel it is also relevant to point out that during the interview that I conducted with the former Minister of Education, the latter related the difficulties they faced with single-sex and mixed-schooling after independence. He explained that Catholic schools which emerged in the colonial era during that period were offering single-sex schooling, and many parents preferred to send their wards to these schools rather than the mixed state schools. Considering the situation at that time, single-sex schooling was then introduced, and it was seen as easier to manage. As he argued, ‘we don’t consider the management of a mixed school to be same as a single-sex school: there are challenges’.

This brings in focus Williams (2016) report about the introduction of the same-sex pilot project in Trinidad and Tobago with an intention to shift from mixed-schooling to single-sex schooling to curb violence. This contrasts with what is being proposed by the teacher’s union representative in Mauritius. Williams (2016) has discussed that another reason to back this decision was that the top-performing school was single-sex. It is believed that without the distraction of girls, boys can focus more on their schoolwork and not get distracted.

Williams (2016) has further drawn attention that these same-sex schools possess considerable social capital because they were created in the colonial era. He talks about how the top academic students from primary schools are funnelled into these ‘prestige’ schools. While this pilot project was ended without any significant intervention in TT,

Williams (2016) argues how it was narrowly conceived and did not address the structural violence of the educational system.

Within the three schools in the study, I have shown that there are more problems with structural and cultural violence, which need to be addressed. Merely shifting from single-sex to mixed-schooling in the Mauritian context may not solve the problems identified by students as hampering a culture of peace. As I said earlier, more research is required on these. I have also discussed above how the MGI/RTI does differ from conventional schooling with its broader curriculum based on Tagore's and Gandhi's teachings. Further, there seem to be other factors that may be contributing to more peaceful schooling in the school where the research was conducted. One of them is the leadership of the rector, which I discuss below.

Leadership of the rector

At the level of the school, the rector seems to play an essential role in trying to ensure 'discipline'. He is cited by the students as 'strict and disciplined'. Students have also remarked that they do not have many problems in their school. There seems to be greater flexibility at the level of the management, though students feel that even if they are listened to, the rector has the last word. This is understandable. As a rector and Head, he is responsible for the smooth running of the school. However, if this happens on a continuous basis, it can give students the feeling that their opinions are not being valued.

Further, as I showed in the previous chapter, students in the school stated that when one Chinese student was bullied, the rector intervened, talked with the parents, and settled the matter through dialogue. What appears from the school, is that problems are

discussed and not hidden. This is clear from the statement of the rector on page 250. Yet he does not seem to be fully aware of issues related to ethnic and religious beliefs in his school as one boy of Christian faith has narrated from his experience. It may well be that not all students report cases. These are sensitive issues. Nevertheless, it appears that when problems are reported, there is a willingness to talk about them and find collective solutions on the part of the rector. During the interview, the rector did not hide the fact that there were problems at school:

We have cases where people are silently suffering. We have cases where people have been hurt verbally. We have cases where people have been hurt emotionally. We have cases where people's ego has been hurt, self-esteem has been hurt. And these you know...when we tell a student that you are not good for nothing, when we tell a student you are ugly, when we tell a student you are a failure, when you tell a student you come from such a negative background, you are hurting the child. We are using worse cutters.

From the statement, he seems to be aware of problems not necessarily related to physical violence but structural and cultural violence and that these can also cause harm. Further to that, he says:

If you have a weak educational leader, people will take things for granted. A weak educational leader is someone who does not have a higher consciousness. A weak educational leader is someone who focuses only on academic performance. Whereas someone who is a real, genuine leader knows where he is taking the school, what he is going to produce from the kids. He knows he is doing a sort of social engineering. He is going to produce individuals who will become actors of tomorrow. They will become full-fledged actors at the social level, economic level, political level, religious level. So he has to prepare pupils who are full-fledged individuals. And to do this, he has to believe in holistic education. If he believes in holistic education, he has to make sure he is educating the 3 Hs that Gandhi was talking. And if we go further, Dalai Lama today says we should not only educate the brain of the king, we also need to educate the heart of the king. It is the deficiency of the heart education which leads to a lot of conflicts. This is what Mandela will tell you. This is what Abdul Kalam will tell you. This is what the greatest educator Paolo Freire will tell you.

It is clear that the rector endeavours to promote a ‘holistic’ education at the school. He places emphasis on the education of the Heart which I have discussed in Chapter Three. It is important to note, that during the interviews with other adults, some of them have argued that the school is an example of how the pursuance of academic endeavours is possible alongside peaceful ones. From what the participants said, the rector has an important role in it. His approach is inclusive. For the celebration of Gandhi Day at school, I could actually see the involvement of parents, teachers, and students during activities. Another factor which I believe contribute to more peaceful schooling is the emphasis laid on teaching students in an environment which is eco-friendly. I discuss this below.

Eco-friendly environment

Compared to the other two schools, students in this school of the MGI/RTI learn in a setting amidst nature, a requirement emphasised by Rabindranath Tagore. The school abounds with trees and flowers. There is plenty of green space. Students can connect with nature and find quietude. The environment is eco-friendly, and the atmosphere is more relaxing and conducive to peaceful schooling. On the first day at the school, I was offered a ‘Citronella’ tea. The plant is grown from the school garden. There is an endeavour at the school to inculcate in the students not only the importance of caring for people but also for nature.

It is important to note that, Bajaj and Chui (2009) have discussed the importance of adding a fourth R, that of ‘social responsibility’ to the traditional teaching of the three R’s. They stress how peace - positive and negative cannot be achieved without environmental security and ecological responsibility. They highlight that the holistic

approach to contemporary positive peace includes not only structural and direct violence but also violence inflicted on the natural environment.

Among the five postulates of peace education as advocated by Harris (2004), environmental education is one of them. Promoting an 'education in nature' is not disparate to peace education. It has the double dividend of ensuring a culture of peace and environmental sustainability. The 25th principle of the *'Rio Declaration on Environment and Development'* also reminds us that 'Peace, Development and Environmental protection are interdependent and indivisible'. They cannot happen without one another. They are interrelated. For SIDS, promoting an 'education in nature' is not irrelevant. The nature and specificities of SIDS make them vulnerable to climatic conditions. In schools, then, it is important also to ensure that students can learn and connect with nature and develop an 'eco-living' lifestyle. As it is, the Mauritius NCF does emphasise an 'education for sustainable development'. For more details, see Chapter Two. For Tagore also, 'education in nature' provides greater scope for an expansion of sympathy. I have discussed this in Chapter Three. To a certain extent, it is possible to see that the school of the MGI/RTI, which abound with trees, flowers, and with evidence of medicinal plants, is trying to create an atmosphere conducive to peaceful and holistic living.

From my observation, the school does demarcate from conventional education, and there is a kind of 'family culture' inbuilt in the school ethos and culture. I felt most welcome on the very first day I went to the school, with many people offering to help and making me feel at ease. The non-teaching staff always greeted me warmly, offering me a chair, bringing me a cup of tea and juice. There was no doubt a sense of

belongingness to the school and an 'ethic of care' was clearly visible. In the other schools also, the rectors and staff were welcoming, yet this sense of belongingness was not noticeable. Compared to the other two schools, the MGI/RTI was also better in terms of infrastructure and facilities. Thus, there is an agglomeration of factors contributing to more peaceful schooling in the school where the research was conducted, namely the broader curriculum based on Tagore's and Gandhi's teachings, the eco-friendly atmosphere, the family culture, and to a certain extent an inclusive management.

Yet I believe that it must not be taken for granted, that because the school promotes M.K Gandhi's and Rabindranath Tagore's teachings, that there will not be problems relating to violence, ethnicity and religion. In contemporary modern schooling, it is not impossible that school deviates from the teachings of these educational thinkers or have difficulties in following them. For instance, Tamatea (2005) shows that in the 'Taman Rama' Gandhi school in Denpasar, Bali, students attend religious education specific to their religion. This is taught by members of their religious community, using the state approved religious texts, though Gandhi was ambivalent towards the idea of separate classes for different religions. I have discussed in Chapter Two that in Mauritius and including the MGI/RTI, Hinduism, Bible Knowledge and Islamic Studies are primarily taught by a teacher of that faith. Further, there are no classes where students can learn about each other's culture and religion. Students, however, feel that there is a need to create a space for interreligious and intercultural dialogue. The MGI/RTI has the 'Culture Education', but the findings show that there are problems with it.

Based on the overall findings, I make some recommendations in the next section for the future practice of peace education, such as increasing an understanding of the ‘Other’ and a ‘*rapprochement*’, replacing duality with the Eastern concept of ‘wholeness’, deconstructing gender stereotyping, promoting ‘active learning’ and an ‘inclusive and ‘holistic’ school approach.

Discussions and Recommendations

Increase an understanding of the ‘Other’ and a ‘rapprochement’

According to Sen (2006), the former student at Tagore’s ‘*Shantiniketan*’, it is important to broaden the horizon of understanding of other people and groups. He states that ‘ in the schooling of children, it is necessary to make sure that the *smallness* is not “thrust upon” the young, whose lives lie ahead of them’ (ibid:119). Both Tagore and Gandhi also promoted the need to learn about others’ culture and religion. Today, with problems like youth radicalism and extremism, having peace education programmes that include intercultural learning and interreligious dialogue is not to be ignored.

However, a question can arise as to why there need to be such programmes in schools. Many people may not want to learn about the religion or culture of the ‘Other’. There are difficulties here, especially as noted by Parekh (2008) that various religions claim to be in possession of absolute truth revealed to them by God. Some fundamentalists, for instance, may not want to take an interest in the religion of others. They may see no point in learning about the culture of the ‘Other’. As also highlighted by Maudarbux (2016), some religious leaders can view interreligious education as a threat to the purity of their faith.

Smith (2008) states that the greatest challenge that confronts us today is the mutual recognition that our knowledge is limited and that no tradition can say everything that needs to be said about the full expression of human experience. This reminds me of Jainism's⁴⁷ theory of '*Syadvada*' (relativity of knowledge) and '*anekantavada*' (many-sidedness of reality). It posits that the same thing can be viewed from different perspectives. The way we approach reality differs.

In Chapter Four, I showed that the research was based on a methodology that sees inquiry as an 'intersubjective space' (Heron, 1996). Through the 'group process inside inquiry', a critical intersubjective space was created to enable co-subjects and participants to express their views, share their beliefs and experiences. It was also built on the notion of circle processes where individuals take turns to talk, develop the ability to listen to the 'Other' and work together in participative decision-making. Within the groups, there were individuals of various religions and ethnicities and in the case of the MGI/RTI, different sexes. This has resulted not only in 'thick' data but shows varied perspectives of reality.

At times, I have also juxtaposed the views of the adults with that of the young people for a more 'holistic' understanding of the reality. While in some cases, there were consistencies in the findings, especially about the problems identified by students in each school, it was also possible to see differences in opinions and experiences, which shows that our knowledge can be subjective-objective. Similarly, Kumar (2010) argues

⁴⁷Jainism is an ancient religion that arose in India as a revolt against the '*Brahmanical*' (priesthood) tradition. It is against all forms of '*himsa*' (violence) and promotes '*ratnatraya*' or the three jewels for an ethical life. This consists of right faith, right conduct and right knowledge. Jainas follow the teachings of their 'Tirthankaras' or spiritual teachers who guide them on their path to liberation from suffering. In Indian philosophy, both Buddhism and Jainism are known as heterodox because they do not accept the authority of the '*Vedas*', Indian scriptures considered to be divine in origin.

that genuine peace research has to acknowledge and respond to the plurality and cultural variety of peace concepts. There are many ‘peaces’ (Kumar, 2010, Dietrich, 2012).

Smith (2008) highlights how most Asian traditions have one thing in common: they are concerned with the ‘Way’ of life as a ‘whole’. He explains how within the Buddhist and Hindu traditions, the phenomenal world is inextricably linked to the noumenal world. The essential unity of the ‘whole’ is emphasised. He looks at the turn of the West towards the East as emanating ‘...from a desire to be healed, personally and collectively, from the delusions that have come to so narrowly define the work of scholarship in the contemporary academic context’ (Smith, 2008:7). I have mentioned in Chapter Three that among peace education scholars also, there is a greater awareness about the need to learn from traditions in the East and decolonise the practice of peace education. I further argued that the post-colonial Mauritius with its multi-ethnic, multi-cultural, and multi-religious diversity could be a good contextual study about how people of various ancestral origins have created a way of living that has so far enabled them to coexist peacefully.

The study has been enlightening in terms of showing how peace must not be taken for granted. There are ‘fissures’ in the social fabric that need fixing so that sustainable peace can be an achievable goal. There are reasons to believe that relationships may not be strong enough to fight against fundamentalism, if and when they arise.

According to the representative of the ‘Rotary Club’:

Mauritius being a multicultural country, it is normal that each community, each group, will tend to fall back on itself, but with the project of cultural

sharing for peace and unity, we involve the parents, and we give them the opportunity to share with the children, and also with other parents the richness of their particular traditions. And, we hope our project will also be extended to secondary schools so that at a later stage, those children when they become adolescents, will become less violent but most importantly will become peaceful citizens.

This Rotary member talks about their project of cultural sharing for peace and unity, which also involves parents, who are given the opportunity to share with their children and other parents the richness of various traditions. While at the time of the fieldwork, it was mostly practised in primary schools, they hope to expand it to secondary schools. I have shown in Chapter Five that there are various partnerships among different ministries and organisations in Mauritius to provide better schooling for the students. But somewhere along the line there is a gap between policy and practice and efforts may not be channelled in the right direction. The lack of research on these can account for this situation. Maudarbux (2016) has drawn attention to the lack of resources for programmes on intercultural education in Mauritius. Bunwaree (2002) has stated that there is much that needs to be done in terms of training.

The representative of the MIE argued that while there is training on intercultural education and values education, yet teachers sometimes may not feel that they have the 'space' for their implementation in schools. There is the academic-oriented education, the competitive schooling, accountability and performativity pressures. There is much on the 'shoulders' of teachers. However, students made a good point in stating that teachers from the 'Asian Department' teaching ancestral Oriental languages and including those of Hinduism, Bible Knowledge and Islamic Studies could come together to create a platform for intercultural education and interreligious dialogue. Maudarbux (2016) himself used to teach Islamic Studies in state secondary schools in

Mauritius. Thus, there are such teachers who perhaps have an endeavour to promote intercultural education and interreligious dialogue. In the future, it might be worthwhile to ‘tap’ the potential of teachers of ‘Asian Language Department’ for resources and expertise.

I argue that increasing an understanding of the ‘Other’ and a ‘*rapprochement*’ with it in the Mauritian context should not be that difficult as compared to countries who are new to multi-culturalism. One Muslim adult interviewee remarks:

We can eat Indian food, we can eat Muslim food, Arabic food, Italian pizzas, American burgers and Kentucky Fried Chicken. We are used to all this. Other countries are boasting of that today. But we have been like that for such a long time. And we shall continue to being like that. We are exposed to so many cultures, and we are tolerant for that. I see a woman wearing a ‘*saree*’ (Indian dress), I see another one wearing a ‘*Churidar*’⁴⁸, and I see a person wearing a turban on his head etc. “*Tou sa la mone habituer ek sa*” (I am used to all these). I don’t find it abnormal where we should not say that not to wear a veil. Even in a country like France which supposedly the country of origin of human rights, even there some people are saying that women should not wear a veil. They should not do this. They should not practise their religion and so on. Do we have such restraints here? Ok? You want to practise your religion, it’s so easy. A Muslim wants to go for prayer. There is a Mosque everywhere. There is a temple everywhere. You want to pray, go. There are churches everywhere. Everywhere you want to go, you want to practise your faith, ok.. do it.

I personally can relate to what the interviewee says. For instance, where I used to live in Mauritius, I would hear the ‘*Azan*’ from the nearby Mosque every day, the bell from the church and the prayers from the temple. All these were within half a mile. My home is still situated in a Muslim populated area which is ten minutes’ walk from ‘China Town’, and fifteen minutes’ walk away from where many of the Creoles live. My teachers have been Chinese, Muslims, Creoles, Hindus and adherents of various faith

⁴⁸ The *churidar* is usually worn with a *tunic* by women or a *Kurta* (loose shirt) by men.

traditions. In their own ways, they have contributed to my growth and development. My friends also belong to different ethnicities and religions.

Sometimes in Mauritius, it is also possible to find Creole and Muslims speaking the Bhojpuri (Hindi dialect) or find a Hindu speaking with a Muslim in Urdu or Hindi. Creoles can watch Bollywood Hindi movies and be able to sing Hindi songs. Some Hindus will also go to the Church and 'Pagoda' (Chinese place of worship). During the *Diwali*⁴⁹ celebration, it is not surprising to see people of different religious beliefs other than Hindus, lighting their houses with decorative bulbs. For the 'Père Laval Pilgrimage'⁵⁰, people of various ethnicities, whether Asian, Whites or Black will participate in the religious festival. For the 'Thaipoozam Cavade'⁵¹, it is possible to see people of various ethnic origins participating in the celebration. Individuals other than 'Tamils' will provide water for pilgrims during the procession. A climate of understanding and a degree of respect exist among certain people of different communities in Mauritius. For the future, it is important to build on this existing strength and highlight commonalities.

Soobratty (2015) has argued that in Mauritius, interculturality among the different ethnic groups has not received sufficient attention and that there has been a 'collage' of cultures which in many ways has prevented the emergence of social inclusiveness. Moreover, the slogan 'Unity in Diversity' did not help in creating a true sense of unity among diverse groups. The findings have shown that there are reasons to doubt the

⁴⁹ Festival of Light, which celebrates the triumph of good over evil, truth over untruth and knowledge over ignorance.

⁵⁰ Jacques Désiré Laval was beatified by Pope Jean Paul II on 24th April 1979. He was a French Roman Catholic priest and missionary to Mauritius.

⁵¹ Tamil religious festival dedicated to the God Muruga.

nature of 'true' bonding in schools. There can be a grouping of students according to their ethnic origin. Sometimes Chinese who are in minorities can feel isolated. However, one Chinese adult interviewee says:

I am a third generation Chinese, and I have been to a public school, my children have also been to public schools, and I think when you expose to all the different cultures, as we are doing.., then we realise that we have so much in common. Everything, every culture celebrates more or less the same events- birth, marriage, engagement, anniversaries, and of course deaths, mourning. But at the end of the day, it all revolves around the human beings, happiness, and sharing. I don't believe in isolation. I think, we in our little Mauritius we are so fortunate, we are so blessed, and I believe that we really are a united nation. We can show to the world how descendants of immigrants from Africa, Europe and Asia, can work, can grow and be happy together...My grandad left China in 1880, and he never went back. We still have our Chinese values but more than that, we participate in the creation, in the development of a multi-cultural Mauritius.

This gives a perspective of how a Chinese who is actually involved in the development and education in Mauritius feels. There is an intent to live in communion with the 'Other' and learn from the 'Other'. This relates to the argument by Seetah (2010) that there are Mauritians who though continuing to follow their ancestral culture and language, whether Chinese, Hindus or Muslims, can feel a strong bond to the small island and with the people. At school level, students have stated that it is important to make everyone feels 'equal' and included. In the MGI/RTI, the rector says that the Head-girl belongs to a minority group. In other schools also, it is important to ensure that students of various ethnic groups are represented, maybe at the level of 'Student Council' to promote a sense of inclusion.

At the national level, power-sharing between major ethnic groups exists. For example, currently the Prime Minister is a Hindu, the Vice Prime-Minister a Christian, and until recently in March 2018, the President of Mauritius was a Muslim. There are attempts

to represent different ethnic and religious groups at various levels of society. It is not impossible that this kind of consensus and cooperation among ethnic groups have in some ways contributed to the relative peacefulness of the island. Moore (1984) previously stated that the case of Mauritius could illuminate debates on education in European nations more newly conscious of their multi-culturalism. He advanced that one possibility for this relative peacefulness is that because of their belief in the ‘many pathways to God’, the Hindu, the largest social, ethnic group in Mauritius, had never threatened the core values of the other groups.

However, it is important to bear in mind the multi-layered and complex quality of Hindu Mauritian cultural practices. This group also includes, for instance, the Marathi, Tamil and Telugu. There is evidence to show that conflicts can occur when one of them does not feel that they are represented at the level of the State. An example is the case of the nomination for vice-president of Mauritius (a Telugu from origin) who was offered the post by the Prime-minister but decided not to accept it due to protestation by Tamils who brought forward an argument that there has been a breach of electoral promise (see, Patrick, 2015). Following this protestation, a Tamil was then offered the post. Boswell (2005) has highlighted that at the national level there is competition for power-sharing. While at the school level, this is not evident from the findings, yet tensions and conflicts seem to be prevalent among students and staff of various communities. Students have mentioned that sometimes when teachers of various ethnic communities have to work together, there can be problems. I believe that when training is conducted with staff at school, it is important to raise awareness that they are role models and must try to build a peaceful relation with the ‘Other’.

What can happen in certain cases as the findings show, is that in a school with a majority of staff and students belonging to an ethnic group, the minority can feel marginalised and pressured to be like the 'Other' to be accepted. As Davies (2014) states, the underlying offence can be that the 'Other' is not attempting to assimilate into 'our' community or group. It is important then, that in a pluralistic society like Mauritius, concerned authorities working on transfers of staff need to be wary about the large dominance of an ethnic group in a school, be it staff or students. If it is possible to a certain extent, there needs to be an adequate mix of individuals from various ethnic and religious groups in schools. When this is not feasible, it is important to make sure that minority groups feel included and comfortable enough to express their traditional cultural heritage and not feel pressured to repress them. Diversity must be celebrated.

It can be argued that in Mauritius the conditions are there for proactive prevention of destructive conflict and strengthening of the bond with the 'Other'. Similarly, there has been an 'epistemological shift' from 'I-It' to 'I-Thou' which as highlighted by Cremin and Guilherme (2016) can facilitate in peacebuilding. Parties have ceased routinely to treat each other as 'It' and they are more willing to treat each other as 'Thou'. There may be lapses to 'I-It' at times. I have shown 'fissures' in relationships and conflicts at the national level. Nevertheless, the effort has been made.

It is important to note though that Shady and Larson (2010) have drawn attention to the fact that sometimes in many pluralistic societies, tolerance can be a desired goal. Individuals can seek to remain neutral and put up with ideas that they may find distasteful. While it can be helpful in many conflict-affected societies to facilitate reconciliation, yet it may not help to get to the roots of violence and conflict, nor in

acknowledging the many ways in which human selves are connected and can be engaged in collaborative endeavours. Like 'I-It' (Buber, 2004), it does not go far enough and is insufficient (Shady & Larson, 2010). The authors argue that discussions that centre on it can become little more than monologue that is disguised as a dialogue. It appears that people are listening to each other and approaching new ideas openly, but they are merely speaking to themselves.

Soobratty (2015) also makes an important observation with which I concur. She highlights how in small island states people manage to live in a restricted environment by becoming experts at muting hostility, deferring their views and avoiding a dispute in the interests of stability and compromise. She adds that:

In larger societies, it is easy to take issue with someone you seldom need or never meet again, but to differ with someone in a small society in which you share a long mutual history and expect to go on being involved in countless ways is another matter.

She acknowledges that others may not share this view: it is possible that in small communities dispute and discord can quickly spread throughout the society and magnify into challenges that can destabilise the social and political order. As it is, the 1999 riot in Mauritius is a vivid example of this, whereby the death of a Creole singer led to communal rifts between Hindus/Muslims and Creoles. I have discussed this previously.

For the future practice of peace education, we must bear in mind as Lederach (2005) has highlighted, that peacebuilding is very complex. It involves an element of risk, a step into the unknown, and there is no guarantee of success or safety. I have throughout

this thesis developed a 'reflexive' approach towards my own practice. This has not been an easy journey, where I had to confront my fears, question assumptions, and at the same time think of my safety and well-being as the native researcher. Yet I believe that taking such a stance is important. For instance, when during an interview I asked the rector about ethnic minority and majority in his school, he refused to talk about it. He stated 'Am I supposed to tell you that? No.' Thus, there can be resistance to talk about problems, especially if they relate to sensitive issues.

The findings have shown most problems are related to cultural and structural violence, and these often remain hidden. Cremin and Guilherme (2016) argue that it is important for those involved in the education of others to become fully aware of all expressions of violence and peace so that they can offer an education that is fit for the twenty-first century. They also draw attention to the idea that there can be a propensity for direct physical violence, to be identified at the expense of more indirect (but no less harmful) forms of violence. As a result, peacekeeping can often be pursued to the detriment of other more positive and proactive forms of peacemaking. In their view, this will be problematic:

...it does not encourage the 'epistemological shift' that enables individuals, or sections of society, to stop treating Others as Its, and to start addressing them as Thous.

So far, violence in the three schools seems to be contained. Peacekeeping and peacemaking strategies seem to be working. However, in the future, it is important to be proactive and engage in programmes that can increase an understanding of the 'Other' and a '*rapprochement*'. If programmes like intercultural education and inter-

religious dialogue are to be encouraged, astute planning, diligent thinking and an element of critical consciousness is important. There will be challenges.

In the next section, I find it relevant to extend this discussion and recommendation about increasing an awareness of the ‘Other’ and a *rapprochement* to the philosophical concept of ‘wholeness’, which as I said earlier is much emphasised in the East. It is also opposed to the dualistic Cartesian thinking in the West. It emphasises an interconnectedness with the ‘Other’ and the relation of microcosmic with the macrocosmic.

Replace duality with the Eastern concept of ‘wholeness’

Dietrich (2012) has discussed how an individual functioning exclusively within the Cartesian mode tends to be ego-centred and competitive. Rene Descartes’s *Cogito Ergo Sum* (I think, therefore I am) has brought much attention to the ‘I’, the ego-self and enlarge the divide with the ‘Other’. It has promoted a dualistic worldview. When I turn towards the East and Global South, the Cartesian dualistic model vanishes and is replaced by a sense of ‘wholeness’. There is a progression from the ‘individual’ to greater ‘cosmic’ awareness. The attention shifts from ‘I’ to ‘We’, similar to the African ‘Ubuntu’ philosophy which I have discussed in Chapter Two or the Daoist⁵² philosophy of ‘Yin’ and ‘Yang’. I discuss on the next page how the concept of ‘Yin’ and Yang’ promotes the importance of ‘wholeness’.

⁵² Daoism or Taoism forms an important pillar of Chinese culture. Laozu is traditionally regarded as the founder of Daoism and the classical text *Dao De Jing* is ascribed to him. Daoism looks at the world as an integrated whole. Daoism also believes in the benevolent nature of all beings and reveres all forms of life.

Daoism, 'Yin' and 'Yang'

'Yin' and 'Yang' represents any pair of dichotomous categories or elements such as male and female, good and bad, top or bottom, pleasure and pain. According to Daoism, everything in the human and natural world carries 'Yin' and 'Yang'. They represent the paradigm of the unity of opposites. Harmony and peace are achieved by balancing the two. I show a symbol of 'Yin' and 'Yang' on the next page.

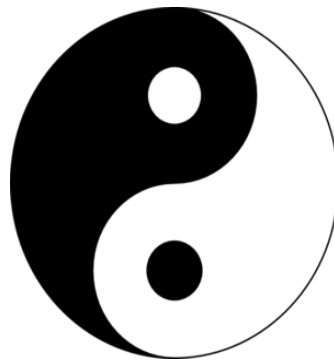


Figure 6.1 'Yin' and 'Yang' Source: Google

While observing the symbol, it is possible to see a dot of black in the white and a dot of white in the black. The small dots reflect that there is some 'Yin' in 'Yang' and some 'Yang' in 'Yin'. The universe is constituted of these two energies, and it is not advisable to neglect one at the expense of the other. If this happens, then there is a possibility of chaos and imbalance. Peace and harmony are possible by acknowledging the importance of these two energies. As long as the policy of 'divide and rule' continues, peace is unlikely to be possible. It is not a secret that this was a strategy for colonial expansion. In the next section, I show that even in the term '*heping*' in Modern Chinese, this sense of 'wholeness' is prevalent. I further elaborate on the importance of spirituality and the 'aesthetic of the peaces'.

Modern Chinese, 'heping', spirituality and the aesthetic of the peaces

An analysis of the term '*heping*' in modern Chinese reveals the view that peace is attained through harmony and balance. It is a combination of two words, '*He*' which means harmony and '*ping*' referring to balance. It was interesting to see that when the Chinese interviewee expressed himself on the concept of peace, he talked about the importance of 'learning from the 'Other'. I have shown this earlier. He also mentioned the need for 'balance' in life.

I, for one, believe in the spiritual and most importantly in all the good things of life...As human beings, we must have a 'balance' between work but also all the good things that make life beautiful, be in poetry, theatre, musical, cultural, art, exhibition, you name...

Another adult interviewee, this time of Tamil origin, states:

Peace is possible, and it becomes on the individual itself. And society may affect your peace. But if you are strong enough, you are well equipped, and you have all the self-confidence, then nobody can shake you. So peace starts from ourselves..inner peace...Peace has something to do with spirituality. If you have faith in God, then you will see how things are...

It is possible to see that there is an endeavour on the part of certain interviewees to put into practice the concept of peace as much emphasised in the East. There is a reference to 'inner peace'. Both the interviewees of different ethnic origins also relate peace to spirituality.

I have discussed in Chapter Two, the divide between religion and secularism in Mauritius. However, for the future practice of peace education, it is worth considering an emphasis on 'spirituality'. I make a distinction here between spirituality and religion. To be 'spiritual' does not necessarily mean that one has to follow conventional

organised religion. Someone who is 'spiritual' sees life as a 'whole'. The person endeavours to see the interconnectedness of all things and there is a belief in the sanctity of life. I refer here to Tagore, who at one time said:

'I felt that I had found my religion at last, the religion of Man, in which the infinite became defined in humanity and came close to me so as to need my love and cooperation' (Tagore, 2005,82).

He often referred to this Infinite Being in his poems as '*Jivan debata*' or Lord of my life. Through his concept of the 'religion of man', he emphasises the unity of mankind and the responsibility of man towards each other.

In Chapter Three, I mentioned that Dietrich (2012) has tried to bridge the gulf between mysticism/spirituality and rationalism, and subsequently East and West through his concept of trans-rational peace. It relates moral and energetic understandings of peace and can only be recognised if humans are seen as rational, spiritual and trans-rational beings at the same time. One can also contend that trans-rational peaces are transpersonal. They overcome the limitations of a barely rational thinking through an integration of spirituality and aesthetics. The importance of turning the gaze inwards, which Dietrich (2012) has highlighted, cannot be overlooked in the promotion of peace. As it is, the aesthetic of the peaces relates to transcendental experiences and is built on the conceptualisation of the 'energetic peace', which begins '...on the inside of the self and spreads there as a harmonious vibration into society, nature and the universe' (ibid: 56). A connection is made with the cosmos. There is a sense of relatedness with the macrocosmic world. Further analysis of Eastern philosophy of peace shows that within Confucianism, this kind of interrelationship as I have shown in Daoism, is also important. The 'Other' is acknowledged. I consider this below.

Confucianism and 'ren'

In the view of Confucius, to have 'ren' is to love people. In the 'Analects'⁵³, 'ren' is a central concept, which can be translated into love, benevolence or loving-kindness. This 'ren' is in all of us, built and wired into our neurological responses. 'This love is an all-encompassing universal love with which we treat others as ourselves' (Lin & Wang, 2010:5). Its symbol in the Chinese language is shown below.



Figure 6.2 *Ren* Source: Google

This symbolical representation is that of two people standing together, implying that human beings are always engaged in the reciprocal relationship of sharing kindness and love (Lin & Wang, 2010). We are, then, not independent, but interdependent beings. 'Ren' is further linked to 'Yi' which is about cultivating selfless help to others and putting into practice 'Li' which requires a constant awareness of one's relationship with others. This has also to be supported by 'Zhi', an effort to learn and acquire wisdom and learn the 'Way' of the universe so that one can become a 'junzi'. 'Junzi' are highly evolved beings who cultivate love for all humanity and take engaged actions for social transformation for peace (Lin & Wang, 2010).

⁵³ It is consisted of various sayings and ideas attributed to the Chinese Philosopher Confucius.

What is possible to gather from Daoism and Confucianism, is that ‘relationality’ is an important aspect of existence. The individual is not an isolated being living separately from others, something which the Chinese interviewee has remarked. Existence acquires meaning and purpose when a relation is built with the ‘Other’. This relation, which has as its basis loving kindness and a desire to learn from the ‘Other’, can ultimately lead to peace and harmony. In the next section, I discuss this concept of ‘wholeness’ in Hinduism. I start with the philosophy of ‘*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*’.

Hinduism, ‘*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*’ and *Shanti*

Within Hinduism, it is possible to see this prevalence of the concept of ‘wholeness’ and sublation of dualities. For instance, the Vedas⁵⁴ and Upanishads⁵⁵ promote the philosophy of ‘*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*’ meaning ‘the whole mankind is one family’ (Chandra, 2016). The earth is seen as a global village where each one is interconnected. Individuals are seen as being related by the ‘thread’ of humanity. There is a relation between the individual body and the ‘cosmic body’. Everything is interdependent. This is also clearly stipulated within the ‘*Purusha Sukta*’⁵⁶ of the Rig Veda where a human body is depicted as a miniature universe. It is argued that whatever happens in the outside world is said to have an effect on the individual. Both are interrelated. Many Hindus, for instance, offer prayers to the sun, rivers and the earth. Prime (1994) discusses the ecological relationship between human communities and forest communities.

⁵⁴ Ancient Hindu scriptures that are considered as divine in origin.

⁵⁵ Upanishads are philosophical treatises that deal more specifically with the nature of God and the world, the nature of soul and the state of ‘*moksha*’ or liberation from the cycle of birth and death. They also provide ethical guidelines, and are also known as the concluding portion of the Veda. ‘*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*’ is for instance, mentioned in ‘*Maha Upanishad*’ (VI, 71-73).

⁵⁶ ‘*Purusha Sukta*’ (Hymn of the Man) forms part of the Rig Veda. It elaborates on the relation between the individual, society and the ‘*Purush*’ or ‘Cosmic Man’. See, <http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/rigveda/rv10090.htm>

Within the ‘*Purusha Sukta*’, there is also the argument that the entire creation makes up the body of an ‘Ultimate being’ called ‘*Purush*’. Individuals are part of that collective entity, and they are dependent on each other. Subsequently, for peace, development and harmony, it is imperative that they work together. Another important message that emanates from it, and which is relevant while considering the promotion of peace is the spirit of self-sacrifice. For peace and harmony to be possible, individuals are urged to ‘burn’ the ‘*pashu*’ or animalistic tendencies within themselves. Feelings like anger, jealousy, and hatred need to be sacrificed in the fire of wisdom for the attainment of inner peace and harmony.

The ‘*Isavasya Upanishad*⁵⁷’ also starts with a peace invocation in Sanskrit which points to the cosmos as a ‘unified whole’.

*Om Purnamadah Purnamidam Purnat Purnamudachyate
Purnasya Purnamadaya Purnamevavashisyate
Om, shanti, shanti, shanti.*

This is whole. That is whole. From the whole, the whole is taken. The whole remains whole.

The basic underlying meaning of this Vedic prayer is that the universe constitutes one indivisible whole unit. Everything is interconnected. The whole universe is also permeated by God. The three-fold ‘*Shanti*’ (peace) recitation is further a prayer for both inner peace and outer peace, one for the physical realm, the mental realm and the spiritual realm. Upadhyay and Pandey (2016) also argue that:

‘*Shanti*’ or the equivalent Hebrew word ‘*Shalom*’ go beyond internal individual peace or personal tranquillity. These refer to broad concept that

⁵⁷ This is one of the main 108 Upanishads or Hindu philosophical treatises. It promotes the idea that human beings are not separated from the cosmos.

implies entire well-being or total health, in both a material and spiritual sense.

What becomes clear through this analysis is that whether in Daoism, Confucianism, Hinduism and Judaism, the concept of ‘wholeness’ is predominant in an understanding of peace and its promotion. I consider in the next section the meaning of the term ‘Shalom’ which point to the sense of ‘wholeness’.

Judaism and ‘Shalom’

Jacobson and Steigmann (2010) highlight that the etymological meaning of the root of ‘shalom’ is ‘making whole’. ‘Shalom’ is more than a simple word of greeting or departure. It is also a societal aspiration. Jews are enjoined to create a peaceful home and society, and subsequently help to make the world complete and whole. I believe in this context it is important to reiterate Buber’s (2004) philosophy of ‘I-It’ and ‘I-Thou’. The ‘I-Thou’ relation is inclusive. It is described as a meeting of ‘self’ with the ‘Other’. For Buber, every individual should endeavour to be in the ‘I-Thou’ relation for peace and harmony. I have made constant reference to this in the thesis. In the next section, I refer to the concept of ‘wholeness’ as interpreted in Islam.

Islam, ‘tawhid’ and ‘dar-as –salaam’

Al Zeera (2001) highlights that Islam recognises the importance of collective action for the performance of any task. ‘Tawhīd’ or oneness of God keeps the balance among diverse multiplicities and contradictions. Al Zeera (2001) emphasises that the concept of ‘wholeness’ and interdependence is important in Islam. Islamic epistemology and ontology address the ‘wholeness of the cosmos’ and the natural order. An eternal divine principle of unity pervades and rules all things. Hassan (1987) further argues that

Muslims are called upon by the Qur'an, and the example of the Prophet of Islam to strive for peace through all available means. Acquisition of knowledge is not limited to what is learned through the reasoning mind or the senses. It involves the 'total person' in relationship with total reality. She adds that:

To become a "total" or "whole" person, integration of the diverse, often mutually conflicting, aspects of one's outer and inner self is required (ibid: 95).

Köylü (2004) highlights that while the very term '*Islam*' is derived from a root word one of whose basic meanings is peace, it is ironic that it is identified with war and militancy. During the interview with Bilkis who is a Muslim, the latter says:

when we meet someone, when Muslim meets another Muslim, we greet each other. We say "*salaam*". "*Salaam*" means you know you are sending peace with someone. When you are doing salaam, you are sending peace to somebody. Islaam taught us no revenge. When somebody has hurt you, don't take revenge. Just forgive and forget.

Hassan (1987) also argues that peace permeates the daily lives of Muslims so that whenever they greet each other, they say '*salam alaikum*' and '*alaikum assalam*', meaning 'peace be upon you' and 'peace be upon you, too'. He shows that within the Qur'an, God is depicted as the source of peace or '*as-salam*', and he invites humanity to '*dar-as-salaam*' or the abode of peace.

What I have shown here is that in different Eastern traditions the concept of 'wholeness' is important. The individual and the society are seen as interdependent. There is recognition, that for peace to be possible, the individual needs to get rid of its ego-centeredness and identify with the 'Other'. A 'holistic' approach to life is emphasised. Peace is possible through balance and harmony. Unfortunately, as I have shown in the

previous chapter, often within education there is more emphasis on academic rather than mental or spiritual development. Within a neoliberal economy and increasing marketisation of education, the business model drives quality education. Profitability, competitiveness, accountability and performativity are prioritised. Concepts such as care, love and peace are side-lined. There is greater emphasis on rationality and reason than the affective domain.

Maebuta (2010) argues how in the context of Temotu Nendo, Solomon Islands, it is important to consider indigenous practices such as the peace concept of '*Nowe*' within the peace education curriculum. This connotes that any conflict has to be resolved in an atmosphere of calmness. He believes that it '...has the potential to address ethnic hatred, environmental destruction, interpersonal conflict and structural violence' (Maebuta, 2010:3).

Parsuramen (2001) has also emphasised on the importance of indigenous practices for Africa. Though Mauritius has no indigenous population, yet it is a '*potpourri*' of different cultures and traditions that have their origins in the East and West. It is important in the future to build on the richness of various Eastern traditions in the Mauritian context for strengthening relationships, increasing an understanding of the 'Other' and building sustainable peace. I have also shown in Chapter Three that Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori have a long time back tried to bridge the divide between East and West and they drew attention to the importance of promoting a philosophy of education that is based on the concept of 'wholeness'. Gandhi promoted the 'education of the 'head, hand and heart'', Tagore, the 'education of fullness' and Montessori,

‘cosmic education’. Affect, care, spirituality and aesthetics were also emphasised. Practices such as meditation was further observed.

In their recommendations, students have advocated the need for activities such as ‘Yoga’ and ‘Tai-Chi’. Wiggins (2010) states that ‘yoga’ can help in calming a stressful mind, bringing inner peace and providing gentle stretching to engage the body/mind connection. Since 2015, the United Nations General Assembly also declared the 21st June as International Day of Yoga. In a similar way to ‘Yoga’, ‘Tai-Chi’ can strengthen the mind and the spirit by bringing those who practice it in touch with their personal body rhythms, range of movement, and breathing patterns. It can promote a sense of well-being. It is grounded in the philosophy of ‘Yin’ and ‘Yang’. Unfortunately, it does not seem that there is an emphasis on these Eastern practices in schools though in the extensive list given to schools by the Mauritius Ministry of Education for the organisation of extra-curricular activities, ‘Tai-Chi’ and ‘Yoga’ are recommended.

Cremin and Bevington (2017) have also highlighted that many peace workers and educators who are engaged in various practices such as meditation, mindfulness, prayer and music in their personal lives, do not feel able to incorporate them in their professional lives. These ways of conceptualising peace, including ‘energetic peace’ (Dietrich, 2012), have mostly evolved from the global East and South, and their value has started to get recognition in the West only in the recent past. English, Fengwick and Parsons (2004) also contend that this Eastern attention to the mind, spirit and body together is somewhat foreign in the West. Yet in Mauritius, where there is already so much emphasis on ancestral cultural heritage and language, this should not be a problem. I have discussed this in Chapter Two.

In the future practice of peace education, it is worth considering such practices to promote a more ‘holistic’ learning that can also reduce the pressures of the academic schooling on students and help support their well-being. Cremin and Bevington (2017) contend that well-being (emotional, psychological, social and spiritual) are equally important in building peace. Well-being is, in fact, considered as one of the three pillars of peacebuilding, which they propose together with inclusion and citizenship. Cremin (2007) and Cremin and Bevington (2017) have also emphasised the need to consider feminised perspectives of what it means to be a citizen. For the Mauritian context, I also recommend the importance of deconstructing gender stereotypes. I discuss this below and at the same time expand the recommendation for a peace-focused-feminism which I have grounded in Eastern philosophy.

Deconstructing gender stereotyping

It is clear from the findings that there is a need to deconstruct gender stereotyping in the Mauritian context. The findings show that boys can be ridiculed because of their participation in peace activities. Being associated with ‘peace’ is considered as unmanly by other boys. There is the belief that boys need to demonstrate their strength and force. If a boy portrays some effeminate behaviour, he is ridiculed. This also happens when a boy participates in activities for peace. Involvement in such activities is considered as unmanly. It is mostly senior boys who make negative comments and contend that they are wasting their time. I have reported previously that junior boys were more receptive to various projects and activities. Tom (pseudonym) from the single-sex state school shares his experience. This is translated from Creole to English.

Tom : Ena de fwa bann zanfan ki sikann nou parski nou partisip dan enn proze pou fer lape. Zot trouve sa ki lape se pa pou bann misie. Pou zot enn

misie li bisin montre ki li ena lafors, grander, ki li pli siperyer ki so kamarad. Si nou pe partisip dan enn proze pou fer lape, bannla plito pou riy nou, pou sikann nou. Sa bann difikilte ki nou rankontre. Tom (pseudonyme).

Sometimes, there are students who tease us because we are participating in a project for peace. They are of the view that building peace is not for men. For them, men should show his power, greatness, and that he is more superior to his other friends. If we participate in a project for peace, these students will laugh at us, ridicule us. We encounter these difficulties.

Thus, according to Tom, other boys at school tease and ridicule them when they engage in activities to promote peace. On a continuous basis, it becomes bullying. Those boys who deviate from traditional forms of masculinity or “what it means to be a man” are more vulnerable to bullying. Boys are compelled to abide by a hegemonic masculinity.

In the case of girls, I have shown in the previous chapter that there is a neoliberal tendency ascribing girls’ non-participation in activities due to their own shyness and difficulties in communicating. Some girls may hold themselves accountable for this. When not encouraged to speak out by management or teachers, they may keep quiet. They may feel that their views are not valued if continuous attention is also given to that of boys. However, there are hints to show that they no longer want to be marginalised. I have shown in Chapter Five, that according to Diya, girls are becoming tougher.

It is noteworthy to point out that in 2013, 300 girls of a single-sex state secondary school in Mauritius collectively protested against certain decisions of their rector and other administrative tasks (see, L’Express, 2013). They were demanding her transfer. The girls made their voices heard in the press and ensured that concerned authorities, such

as MOEHR took note of their problems. This incident shows that young girls want their voices to be heard.

What appears from the findings, is the possibility that structures, rules, and disciplines may not be supportive of students' peaceful development, whether girls or boys. These have important implications for future peace interventions with young people. They show the importance of deconstructing a gender stereotyping role related to peace, conflict and violence. They also indicate the need to project a positive image of the male being 'peaceful' and taking an interest in peace-related issues. Similarly, images of confident girls handling conflicts and violence peacefully can be an inspiration for other girls who want to contribute to the well-being of society but remain silent and passive due to social barriers and lack of encouragement from elders who may be having more conventional thinking.

I mentioned in Chapter Three, that in Brazil, 'Program H' is helping young men to question traditional views of what it means to be a man. Similarly, Program M' enables young women to reflect on rigid non-equitable stereotypes about masculinity and how they affect their lives and those of men. The programme shows the importance of having an alternative male peer group that supports more gender-equitable attitudes or even to have a role model (male or female) who presents alternative gender roles associated with the traditional discourse (Ricardo et al., 2010). Even in Mauritius, such a programme can be replicated to enable young boys and men to question taken-for-granted assumptions, and empower girls to express themselves and feel valued.

The example of the Pakistani schoolgirl Malala Yousafzai can also be used as an inspiration for girls. When the Taliban prevented girls in the Swat Valley from attending schools, Malala could not accept that imposition and in a diary for the BBC showed her resistance. Her actions are evidence of her espousing a more liberal view of femininity not in conformity with her community. When in 2012, the fifteen-year-old girl was shot in the head by the Taliban on her way to school, this was meant to silence her activism for girls' rights and education. Around the world, there are many girls like Malala who are being oppressed and treated as malleable objects to fit gender stereotype norms in patriarchal societies. They are being socialised to think, speak and act in specific ways. When Malala won the International Children's Peace Prize, Ghafour (2013), foreign affairs reporter showed the controversies regarding her and how she is portrayed as a "...western stooge, CIA spy and a prostitute" in Pakistan. Girls like Malala may be seen as deviant in their community.

When in Mauritius, the 300 girls were trying to make to make their voices heard, certain members of the public were condemning them, arguing that they were breaching school rules and regulations. I mentioned in Chapter Four that I interviewed a representative from 'Gender Links' in Mauritius who also conducts activities with young girls and boys in schools and the community. I asked her if there were any different strategies adopted for girls and boys in matters of bullying and violence. She replied:

For us in Gender links, what we do is we treat both the girls and boys the same because we keep talking to them and saying that both the boys and girls are different but equal. They are different because sexually they are different, biologically they are different, but apart from that, they are just the same. So, anything a boy can do, a girl can do socially but not biologically. So, when we are treating bullying, we are treating it exactly the same. But, then we have questions coming up from girls' mouth that would not come out from the boys. And, they are kind of very different, but

we keep it very open. We don't kind of put them in little clusters, you know to get them silos, to get them to think of you know, you should talk about that and girls' you know, you should think of tackling the problem, no. The way we do it is extremely large, but then they comment, and then we start canalising it into more details, into their issues.

The representative of 'Gender Links' draws attention to the fact that the questions coming from girls often differ from those of boys. The current findings also show that girls can respond differently to bullying and violence. However, from the statement of the representative, it does not seem that there are specific strategies for boys and then, girls. Yet girls have emphasised that a major source of conflict can be related to boyfriends. They have also asked for special training on anger management and evacuating stress. In the future practice of peace education, it is important to bear in mind the needs of both boys and girls and that different sexes may require different support strategies.

I also believe that it is paramount to move beyond the girls-as-victims discourse to provide girls with effective support to deal with self-inflicted violence, manage violent behaviours and report violence when they become victims of it. I have mentioned in the first part of the thesis that a young girl in Mauritius joined ISIS and there have been various cases also in the UK and elsewhere. Interestingly, one girl has argued that girls can engage in activities for peace better than boys because the latter are more aggressive than them. Yet the findings have also shown that girls can engage in violence. The tendency is more towards verbal violence though there can be isolated cases of physical violence. The senior member of the teachers' union has further reported cases of girls' harassing male teachers. Such problems need to be brought to the forefront and discussed. I realise that these can be seen as a backlash for feminists who portray girls

as essentially peaceful. Yet in future peace intervention programmes, it is important to address such issues.

In the second part of this recommendation on deconstructing gender stereotyping, I reiterate my emphasis on peace-focused-feminism, which I proposed in Chapter Three. I also suggest the names of some Hindu women who were educationists and reformers and whose work can be explored for future peace education practices.

Peace-Focused-Feminism

Here, I ground the concept of peace-focused-feminism in philosophical analysis drawing from Indian tantric philosophy of '*Shiva*' and '*Shakti*', the concept of '*Purusha*' and '*Prakriti*' within the '*Samkhya*'⁵⁸ school of Indian philosophy and the '*Yin*' and '*Yang*' philosophy.

Within the Hindu Tantra, '*Shiva*' and '*Shakti*' is portrayed as one being. The Sanskrit name attributed to that form in the Indian tradition is '*Ardhanarishwara*'. It is a combination of three words '*Ardha*', meaning half, '*Nari*' or woman, and '*Ishwara*', lord. When combined, the meaning is, 'the lord whose half is woman'. The word 'Tantra' itself means that which expands awareness. Tantrism uses the human being's physical, psychic, intellectual and spiritual potential to realise the connection between the physical body and the cosmic body.

⁵⁸ The '*Samkhya*' School of Indian Philosophy explains the creation of the world through two dual eternal principles, '*Purusha*' (consciousness) and '*Prakriti*' (matter). These also represent the male and female energies. Samkhya and Yoga are intricately linked. Yoga is the practical portion of the '*Samkhya*', which symbolises the theoretical teachings.

Whether in the Hindu, Buddhist or Daoist version of Tantrism, the ultimate aim is the sublation of dualities to realise the cosmic oneness. In both ‘*Samkhya*’ and ‘*Yoga*’ schools of philosophy, the ultimate purpose of life is also the self-realisation of ‘*Purusha*’ through ‘*Kaivalya*’, a state of bliss and freedom from suffering where dualities vanish to give place to oneness. It is possible to argue, that though reflecting two individualities, ‘*Shiva*’ and ‘*Shakti*’, ‘*Purusha*’ and ‘*Prakriti*’, ‘*Yin*’ and ‘*Yang*’, cooperate for the blossoming of the universe, for balance, harmony, and peace. While ‘*Yin*’, ‘*Shakti*’ and ‘*Prakriti*’ represent in each of these traditions the female energy, ‘*Yang*’, ‘*Shiva*’ and ‘*Purusha*’ symbolise the male energy. In these three cases, the ‘female’ and ‘male’ are seen as complementary opposites. Their existence is dependent upon each other. Below is an image representing the form of ‘*Ardhanarishwara*’.



Figure 6.3 ‘*Ardhanarishwara*’

Source: Google

What can be learnt from these philosophies is the importance of the ‘male’ and ‘female’ collaborating for peace and harmonious living. They become one inseparable ‘whole’ as is clearly depicted in Figure 6.3. Their complementarity is emphasised within each philosophy. Their dual nature does not clash but is transposed in one another. Moreover, they do not lose their individuality but learn to work together despite their opposite nature. It is from such a kind of relationship-building that I imagine a ‘peace-focused-feminism’ drawing its moral imperatives.

A bridge is built between the two extremes, masculine and feminine and they both meet in the ‘middle’ to accomplish their purpose which in this case will be the flourishing of peace. This can be synonymous with Gautama Buddha theory of *‘Madhyama Pratipada’* or the ‘Middle Way’ which avoids the extreme of eternalism and nihilism, and self-mortification and self-indulgence (Harvey, 2000). Buddha propounds the ‘Middle Way’, which consists of the Eight-fold noble path (right view, right discrimination, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration) in the attainment of *Nirvana* (a state of enlightenment free from suffering). It again shows the importance of ‘balance’ in leading an ethical and peaceful life.

Thus, in this case, two opposites, female and male energies try to live in harmony and understand their interdependence. There is an attempt to build a relationship with the ‘Other’. The focus is no longer be on the ‘I’, the ego-self much emphasised within the Cartesian concept of *‘Cogito ergo sum’*. There is an expansion of ‘self’ to include the ‘Other’. This sublation of dualities can be similar to the relationship between ‘Yin’ and ‘Yang’, ‘Shiva’ and ‘Shakti’, ‘Purusha’ and ‘Prakriti’ who personify the ‘whole’.

Here, I revert back to Page's (2008) argument for an 'inclusive ethics of care'. He advances that it is important to bear in mind that man can be equally as caring as a woman and an 'ethics of care' must not be considered as essentially a 'feminine' or feminist ethics. I think what is important to bear in mind for the task of peace education is that both the 'masculine' and 'feminine' energies and voices are essential. I showed in Chapter Four the importance of an 'ethics of care' and an 'ethics of justice'. As Ragland (2015) also argues, in the promotion of a 'universal ethics of care', it is vital to remember women's contribution to the promotion of peace.

It should not be the case that while trying to make an 'ethics of care' universal and non-gendered, we risk overlooking the importance of the 'feminine' at the expense of the masculine. I believe there is much to learn here from the doctrines of 'Yin' and 'Yang', 'Shiva' and 'Shakti', 'Purusha' and 'Prakriti' and their inter-relationship whether for the future practice of citizenship education or peace education. As remarked by Reardon (2001), it is the 'gender apartheid' that has caused a great divide and brought a lot of injustice and oppression on womankind. This gap needs to be bridged for peace and harmony to reign. Mutual recognition of their importance is needed. In the next paragraphs, I propose the names of some Indian women whose life and works can be explored for the future practice of peace education.

Indian Women Reformers

Something I noticed during the review of the literature and the chapter on '*Hinduism and peace education*' (Upadhyaya, 2010) is that no mention was made of women. While there was an elaboration on modern thinkers, such as Sri Aurobindo (1993) and Jiddu Krishnamurthi (1953) and new religious and social reform movements in Hinduism

such as the Ramakrishna Mission⁵⁹, the Sathya Sai International organisation⁶⁰ and the Art of Living Foundation⁶¹, yet no mention was made of women.

However, within Hinduism literature, Knott (2016), for instance, mentions the contribution of Indian women to educational and social reforms. Like Paulo Freire, they may not '*per se*' be linked directly to peace education, but it is worth exploring their views for peace education scholarship. Knott mentions Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922) who published '*The high caste Hindu women*' in 1887. She publicly campaigned for the education of child-widows, women's admission to medical colleges and the training of teachers. The name of Sarojini Naidu (1879-1926) also appears. She was a close associate of M.K Gandhi and had, in fact, studied at King's College London. She participated in the freedom struggle in India and campaigned for unity.

I also believe it is worth exploring the works of feminist activist and educator, Savitribai Phule (1831-1897). Along with her husband Jyotirao Phule, Savitribai Phule founded the first girls' school in Pune in 1848. She is considered as one of the first generation of modern Indian feminists and credited to be the first woman teacher in India. In 2015, the University of Pune was renamed after her in recognition of the work she accomplished in the educational field. She is also one of the pioneers of women's rights, denouncing exploitation and discrimination within the Indian society of her time.

⁵⁹ It was founded by Swami Vivekananda, a disciple of the revered '*guru*' or teacher Ramakrishna Paramhansa. It promotes harmony of religions, the spirit of cooperation and an attitude of tolerance and respect for others faiths.

⁶⁰ It promotes the universal values of *sathya* (truth), *dharma* (righteousness), *shanti* (peace), *prema* (love) and *ahimsa* (non-violence). The organisation has various schools in India and around the world and its own institute of Higher Learning where emphasis is laid on an education of the heart, head and hands. It also promotes unity of mankind. The organisation follows the teachings of the revered guru, Sathya Sai Baba, also considered an incarnation of God.

⁶¹ It was founded by the revered '*guru*' Sri Sri Ravishankar. It is engaged in social service, promotes the importance of human values and various breathing techniques for inner peace. It also has various educational institutions.

Another female Indian activist and writer, Tarabai Shinde (1850-1910) is much known for her work '*Stri Purush Tulana*' (A comparison between Women and Men). It is a powerful condemnation of social and religious conventions that seek the submissiveness of women in a patriarchal society. Her feminism is emancipatory and constructive, demanding the replacement of existing gender dynamics with a more equitable relationship in the domestic and public/social spheres (Dev, Tiwari & Khanna, 2006).

In the next section, I now move on to the importance of promoting 'active learning' whether in considering peace education, intercultural education, citizenship education, or values education in schools.

Active learning

I have shown that there is a consensus among boys and girls about the need to promote more group-activities and team building exercises if we want to promote peace. For instance, students in the MGI/RTI have been critical of 'Culture Education', especially of the way it is taught. They suggested the need to make it more interactive. Jean from the school argues:

We should not teach peace. We should show peace, implement projects, help students by doing group works and they should experience peace by themselves. They should not be taught peace. Peace cannot be taught. It should be experienced. It should be feel. That's how peace is, that's how people can have a culture of peace. They should not be taught. They should know how peace feels. They should have their own conception of peace, their own conception of life, how for them the definition of a peaceful life, how they can improve their own life for it to be peaceful, how they can develop a peaceful mind. It's all about the individual. It's not about a subject. Peace, it should not be taught. It should be shown. People should be shown how to develop a culture of peace. What to do, how to do it. They

need help. They need someone to listen to them. They don't need a teacher. That's how I think it is.

The statement of Jean is actually quite pertinent. He argues that peace cannot be taught, at least not like other subjects. It must be experienced. In his view, young people must be given the opportunity to discover the meaning of peace in their lives. Emphasis is laid on group-work and implementation of various projects. There is the contention also that a 'teacher' in the traditional sense is not needed. Rather, there is the need for a 'facilitator', somebody to listen, help, and guide the young. This suggests a paradigm shift from a 'teacher-centred approach' to a 'learner-centred approach', one that has been emphasised by educationists such as Paulo Freire, Maria Montessori, M.K Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Nel Noddings.

It is evident from the findings that if we want to teach peace to children and young people, we cannot simply do so through 'bookish' knowledge. Teaching peace must be engaging. Thus, we must not only teach *about* peace but also *for* peace. Jenkins (2007) shows the difference between these two. The first one teaches, for instance, about great figures such as Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr and Nobel Peace Prize laureates. Students also study various peace movements in history. There is emphasis more on the content rather than the process.

In an 'education *for* peace', students confront taken-for-granted assumptions and reveal structural and cultural violence. They are equipped with the knowledge, skills and attitudes to resolve conflicts peacefully. They become active participants in the promotion of a culture of peace. The approach is more child-centred and promotes 'positive peace' (Galtung, 1990), which includes the absence of structural and cultural

violence. It emphasises social justice and focuses on unveiling the root causes of conflict and violence. As stated by Hicks (1988:5):

Education for peace, then, is an attempt to respond to problems of conflict and violence on scales ranging from the global and national to the local and personal. It is about exploring ways of creating more just and sustainable futures.

The emphasis is on long-term strategies and the need to be proactive with regard to the promotion of peace. An ‘education *for* peace’ will also adopt more of a ‘crisis-responsive’ approach than one that is ‘crisis-driven’. It is this approach to peace education that I emphasise for the future practice of peace education in Mauritius. I argue that just teaching about peace is not enough. Students must also be encouraged to engage in building and promoting peace actively. The strategies that girls and boys have suggested point to the need that we must not simply have interventions in place to deal with the aftermath of conflicts and violence, but we also need to have those that teach young people how to respond to them. Peacemaking and peacebuilding strategies must be proactive. From the findings, there is also a need to review the way of educating young people for peace and in the future lay greater emphasis on ‘active learning’.

In Chapter Four I mentioned that within the context of Citizenship Education Huddleston and Kerr (2006) lay emphasis on such type of learning. They propose various ways of encouraging young girls and boys to be active members of the school community. For instance, they suggest project work where students can conduct research on an issue that concerns them, the barriers to change and possible ways of overcoming them. They can design their questionnaires, carry out interviews, engage in analysis, present their findings through reports or public speaking and make

recommendations. In their views, this kind of project work can be a powerful motivator for citizenship learning. A similar procedure is used in CATs/SQCs. Mir (2012) comments on the implementation of SQCs.

Students identify problems in their immediate environment, prioritise them, apply appropriate tools and find out several solutions. After going through a very effective process, the best solution is applied to eliminate the most important cause of the problem (Mir, 2012: 418).

In the current research, an attempt has been made to engage students in these ways though as I discussed in Chapter Four, it was not without challenges. However, there is no doubt that the ‘group process inside inquiry’ supported by group-diagramming has provided the young girls and boys with a platform to discuss problems, share their views and opinions and learn from each other. It has enabled them to look at their own schooling and practice as school leaders in a critical way.

Similar to other studies (Ardizonne, 2003; McIntyre & Thusi, 2003; Drummond-Mundal & Cave 2007; Leonard, 2013; Quaynor, 2015), the current findings show that youth are not ‘apolitical’. They want their voices to be heard. I believe this kind of group-enquiry can pave the way for critical thinking and help young girls and boys to express themselves without feeling threatened. The diagrams used have also been very helpful in triggering reflection. I said before that while preparing for my fieldwork, I was anxious that I would end up with just a few statements. However, this method has generated a large amount of useful data, which also shows that young people can be agents of change.

In the case of the ‘open boundary inquiry’, I will not hesitate to do it again, but I will make sure that the co-researchers ‘fully’ inform their participants about how the data is going to be used, perhaps by being present during the explanatory session. I will also make sure that I personally obtain the written informed consent of the parents of my student participants. The potential risk of harm if the research is made public remains an issue of concern in a small-connected community. As the initiating researcher, I will personally speak to the participants of my co-researchers and explain about the importance of not being ‘vocal’ about their participation in the study, for their own protection and that of the co-researchers. If the ‘Data Collection Box’ and questionnaire are maintained, there may potentially be less risk of the researcher’s participants being identified than by using video recording and photography. For the co-researchers, the risks of them being identified may be less if the researcher is not an ‘insider’.

There is a further observation that I want to make. I have found the process of students designing their questionnaires helpful because it provided them with a discursive space to share their views, discuss problems and engage in critical reflection. For a researcher, it was enlightening because I could also understand issues that were of importance to them. It can be argued that I gave them two questions to direct the way they designed their questionnaires and this in some way could have made some restriction on their thought processes. I am aware of that, but as the initiating researcher, I needed to make sure that the participants did not digress from their topic.

The ‘Data Collection box’ was also useful because it enabled me to access a large amount of data about how young girls and boys conceive of peace. I would to a certain extent be careful of its use in future research as a single researcher with a limited time-

frame if this is made available to a large number of participants. Sorting out the data can be time-consuming. In this current research, the 'Data Collection Box' was made available to researchers' classmates with a number of thirty students approximately. In all cases, participation was voluntary. While I decided not to use the data from the questionnaires and data collection box for the various reasons I explained in Chapter Four, there is no doubt that such methods can be used in future research if appropriate 'safeguards' are put into place.

I continue to adopt a reflexive approach to my own practice and draw attention to the need to consider ethical issues that can arise while using collaborative strategies in schools where students become co-researchers and co-subjects. I argue that before schools start to embark on such projects, these need to be properly discussed. I would like here to share my experience as a former CATs facilitator and trainer in Mauritius. I believe this can enlarge the debate on this issue. Thus, while at school students were encouraged to become researchers in the same way as mentioned by Huddleston and Kerr (2006), there was a point when teachers started to resent such practice. I have discussed some of these problems in Baligadoo (2012a).

During the CATs project in Mauritius, we found that some students were critical of their own schooling and their teachers. Some teachers had to be called by the rector to give their version of the situation. In this current study also, students, as I have shown, have been critical towards their schooling, teachers and rectors. It is paramount to give ample thought on how to deal with these matters for the safeguarding and well-being of those young people who are conducting the research and that of the school personnel. It is important to make sure that management provides support strategies to teachers and

students to deal with problems. These must not be confrontational but exploratory and built on dialogue to find alternative solutions to problems encountered. As highlighted by Cremin and Bevington (2017), it is important to ‘attack’ the problem and not the person. Otherwise, this can breed further conflict at school and cause resentment among staff, especially those who adopt an authoritative stance in schools.

What has appeared during the analysis of the findings is that, especially among some adults, there has been a reticence to talk about problems while students have been quite ‘vocal’ about them. It can be owing to the fact, that it is not often that students get such opportunities to ‘voice’ out their opinions. It is also possible that adults are not ‘fully’ aware of what is happening, due to the dearth of research on such topics in schools, or still that they have the worry that if they say something and it is reported in the public domain, it will be scrutinised and lead to further problematic issues. Hence, having such kind of ‘active learning’ at school can, however, gradually pave the way for a discursive space where problems are brought to the forefront, discussed, analysed and solutions found. Finally, in line with the ‘holistic’ approach taken in the thesis, I recommend in this last section the need for an inclusive and collaborative approach for peaceful schooling.

Inclusive and collaborative approach

The findings have shown that there are obstacles to the promotion of a culture of peace in schools with top-bottom management and an authoritarian approach. It is clear that the Head of the school must not have an autocratic attitude. The latter must be more of a collegial leader. He/she must practise a bottom-up process of management, agree to

share power and authority, and delegate responsibilities whether to staff or students. As the rector of the boys' school states:

...if I adopt a bureaucratic attitude, or even an autocratic attitude, it won't help. Unless my shoulders are very broad where I take all, I can shoulder all these kinds of responsibility, then I myself I move around and talk about peace. It's going to be difficult.

There is an indication that he/she must encourage team building and collaboration. With a consultative attitude, the Head can make sure that all the voices in the school system are represented whether they are female or male and belonging to different groups of people. When problems are shared and discussed at regular intervals, collective solutions can be found. This can prevent resentment and make students and staff feel that they are part of a system that values them. The key words are inclusion and collaboration.

Among the '2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development'⁶², goal four urges Governments and institutions to 'ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and provide lifelong learning opportunities for all'. No one must feel marginalised or discriminated against. Similarly, goal sixteen specifies the need 'to promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels'. From the findings, it does seem that the rector of the single-sex boys' school supports various initiatives of the students, like enabling them to conduct talks and video presentation to create awareness about certain problems that affect young people. There is an effort to

⁶² The Agenda seeks to build on the MDGs and complete unachieved targets. It sets goals and targets to be achieved by 2030 in five main areas of critical importance for humanity and the planet: people, planet, prosperity, peace and partnership.

create a platform at the school where young boys can discuss problems. He draws attention during the interview to a greater consciousness of the rights of the child and that children and young people are also more aware of them.

I have discussed in Chapter Four some of the rights of the child. However, like other students in the two schools, the boys also feel that they require a ‘regular’ class to discuss problems and share their experiences. I have mentioned in the previous chapter such practice as ‘sit-in’ in schools which sometimes can degenerate into violence. It is important for the future practice of peace education to develop a more collaborative approach and include young people, be they boys or girls, in decision-making. At the same time, as suggested by various adults themselves and the students, parents need to be more involved in the schooling of their children.

In the view of Brantmeier (2013) also, future research in the field of peace education needs to engage citizens in dialogue about how we are all in it together. The interdependence, connectedness to the whole, our responsibilities, and relationships to others need to be emphasised. He highlights the importance of working in partnership with others, which in Mauritius is already an instilled culture. This has, however, to be reinforced for sustainable peace. In Diagram 6.1 on the next page, which I have conceptualised, I depict the importance of an inclusive and collaborative approach for improving the future practice of peace education and promoting the ‘holistic’ in peace education. Through the diagram, I emphasise the importance of ‘holistic learning’ for peace as emphasised by Gandhi, Tagore and Montessori; a ‘holistic inquiry’ and ‘holistic ethics’ as I discussed in Chapter Four and a ‘holistic’ vision of peace as I discussed earlier in this chapter.

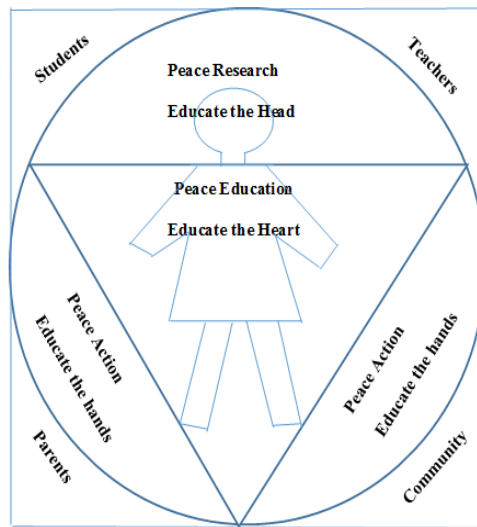


Diagram 6.1 The ‘holistic’ in peace education

From Diagram 6.1, it is possible to see an inverted pyramid symbolising a bottom-up process of management that is needed for the promotion of a culture of peace. The circle is a reminder that there must be a never-ending process for peace. It is also not the affair of one person, but a collective enterprise. It involves the participation of girls and boys, men and women. It concerns the younger as well as the older generation. It is based on dialogue. Shakeel from the single-sex boys’ school shared his experience of participating in the current project and the way it has helped him to mend his relationship with another boy in the school.

As far as I have heard from other of my friends, they told me, yea “that guy agrees that he hates you. He is jealous of you.” And with this project, we have worked together and tried to figure out things. He did mention that yea he was jealous and that he hated me, but we tried to figure out things and take a new start and be good friends.

Hence, creating opportunities for students to work together in groups, to share their experiences, to engage in dialogue cannot be underestimated.

Similarly, in the promotion of peace, we need peace research to conceptualise about peace, peace action to act for peace and peace education to transform, more importantly, our hearts for peace. Of course, there are overlapping with these three. This is inevitable. They are interdependent and actually, must not be seen as separate. As I have shown in Chapter Three, whether Gandhi, Tagore or Montessori, they engaged in interdisciplinary studies. They also emphasised the importance of both ‘practice’ and ‘theory’ in the schooling of the child. Their lives also demonstrate how theory is used to validate practice and vice-versa. From the diagram, it is also possible to see an emphasis on the education of the head, heart and hand as emphasised by Gandhi. The whole diagram shows the interrelatedness that exists at various levels for the promotion of peaceful schooling.

There is partnership among students, teachers, parents and the community. A relation is built with the ‘Other’ for peace. As the findings have shown, there are relational problems between teachers and students, teachers and parents and among teachers themselves that need to be addressed. It is also important to strengthen relationships and this must be the target of future peace work starting with young people in schools. I have discussed in Chapter Three Noddings (2003) four major components of moral education, namely modelling, dialogue, practice and confirmation. These can be considered for the future practice of peace education. I believe that, overall, when we have these bearings in mind, we know on what to focus in the future practice of peace

education. Such an inclusive and collaborative approach can pave the way for durable peace.

Chapter Summary

This Chapter concludes the analysis and recommendations section of this thesis. It also precludes the conclusion. I have made some recommendations which I hope can help in the future practice of peace education and promote peaceful schooling. I have emphasised the importance of ‘holistic learning’ and shown what can also be learnt from Eastern practices for a holistic and peaceful living. I have reiterated my emphasis on a ‘peace-focused-feminism’, which I have grounded in philosophical analysis. The importance of a gendered perspective in peace education has been stressed with a special focus on deconstructing gender stereotyping. I have also recommended the names of a few Indian women educators and reformers who might be worth exploring for the future practice of peace education. I further argued about the need to increase an understanding of the ‘Other’ and a *rapprochement* in the future. While this is not without challenges, there are possibilities to build on existing strengths and commonalities in various ancestral traditions whether from Asia and Africa. The chapter ends with a recommendation for ‘active learning’ and an inclusive and collaborative approach that can pave the way for durable peace.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

Introduction

I end this thesis with an ‘inner’ sense of ‘fulfilment’. At a personal level, the research has enabled a process of self-transformation. At a professional level, it has equipped me with the knowledge and skills to improve my future practice. However, as I remarked by the end of Chapter Three, there is the need to convince an international academic audience which is not impressed by missionary advancement for peace but want to see convincing evidence backed by theoretical arguments and empirical findings. It is clear that the research has resulted in ‘thick’ data. I hope it can bring a critical collective consciousness that can ensue in positive change for peaceful schooling. I discussed in Chapter Four that it is not possible to make a neat generalisation from this qualitative and participatory research. Yet this should not deviate from the contribution of the study to knowledge growth. The research has drawn from various theories emanating from East and West to promote a ‘holistic’ peace education, which I argue, is much needed for the twenty-first-century education. In this last chapter, I summarise the key findings of the research, which to my belief has added to the existing ‘body’ of knowledge and can help to determine future policy-making in Mauritius. In the first section, I start by reiterating the aim, objective, and purpose of the research.

Reiterating the aim, objective and purpose of the research

I started this research with the aim to improve my practice as a peace educator. The problems that I faced in the small island developing state of Mauritius brought me to undertake a PhD. I have discussed in Chapter Two some of the challenges, such as remnants of colonial education, a neoliberal economy, a competitive schooling,

performativity pressures, the religious and secular divide and structural and cultural violence. These problems are not specific to Mauritius. They affect other countries like UK, Canada, USA, Australia, Trinidad and Tobago and India.

However, I highlighted that in Mauritius, there was a dearth of research on peace education and its 'co-disciplines'. In SIDS also, such research was rare. There can further be difficulties in just incorporating 'best practices' from outside in the Mauritian context given its specificities. Moreover, the island is relatively peaceful and stable despite past evidence of ethnic conflicts and violence. I argued that it was important to find out problems that can hamper a culture of peace in schools so that appropriate strategies could then be implemented. Otherwise, we could miss the goal of sustainable peace. The aim of the research was primarily to improve practice. I also believed that it could provide a groundwork for future policy decisions and a springboard for further research. I had two main research questions:

1. What are young girls' and boys' perspectives and experiences on the promotion of peace through schooling in Mauritius?
2. How can peace education be promoted in Mauritius?

The immediate objective of the research was to provide a platform for both boys and girls to share their views and experiences on issues, which they believe, can affect peaceful schooling. I have shown in Chapter Two that there is increasing awareness about the need to include the 'voices' of young girls and boys in decision-making. Otherwise, they can feel marginalised (Ardizonne, 2003). The research was gender-sensitive responding to the call to fill the 'gender-apartheid' (Reardon, 2001) in peace

education and highlight the problems that girls can face in engaging in activities for peace (Pruitt, 2013). It was carried out in an exploratory mode. The two main research questions were further guided by three sub-research questions:

- a. What are the problems that affect the promotion of a culture of peace in the single-sex and mixed state secondary schools in Mauritius?
- b. What is being done to curb the problem of violence?
- c. How effective they are, and how can these problems be resolved?

The fieldwork was conducted in three state schools: a single-sex girls' school, a single-sex boys' school and a mixed school also governed by the Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore Institute. The research has sought to respond to contemporary debates about the decolonisation of the practice of peace education and incorporate Eastern perspectives, which I believe is important for a multicultural country like Mauritius. In the next section, I highlight the empirical contribution of the research. I have discussed them in greater details in Chapters Five and Six.

Empirical contribution

1. There can be a 'fideistic' attitude towards Gandhi and Tagore among certain people in Mauritius

Some adults have been explicit that the school of the MGI/RTI where the fieldwork was conducted is an example about how the pursuance of academic excellence is possible alongside peaceful endeavours. This is why I have considered in more details the modelling of the MGI/RTI in Chapter Six.

I have discussed that it is not impossible that there is almost a 'fideistic' attitude towards Gandhi and Tagore. There is a tendency to believe that because the school promotes the

philosophy of Gandhi and Tagore, there will not be problems related, for instance, to ethnicity, religion and communalism. However, the findings have shown that there can be problems related to these. In the school, there can, for instance, be an assimilationist tendency where it can be difficult for non-Hindus to study.

These findings are important for the future practice of peace education and add to the literature on the importance of decolonising the practice from its Eurocentric perspective. It gives a different perspective about how in a post-colonial setting, with a large demographic of ‘Indo-Mauritians’, it is important to develop a critical consciousness towards Gandhi and Tagore, similar to Freire, in the Westernised discourse on peace education. It is important to promote a ‘critical’ peace education and question assumptions.

2. Problems in schools can be hidden and not discussed and reported

I have discussed in Chapter Six that in a small-connected island community like Mauritius, it is not impossible that people become experts at muting hostility and avoid a dispute in the interests of stability and compromise. In schools also, there can be a tendency not to report problems, if they are related to sensitive issues, such as gender, religion and ethnicity. In this study, I have shown that there are more problems with structural and cultural violence than direct violence. Many problems can remain hidden.

While there is in every school a ‘Student Council’, the findings show that it does not necessarily facilitate the active participation of all students in their schooling. This is restricted to a small number of student leaders. In their recommendations, students have proposed a ‘*Problem-Sharing Class*’ where they can on a regular basis discuss problems, share views and experiences, and subsequently find support from adults and

peers. Other recommendations of students can be found in Chapter Five. They point to the need for more proactive strategies for sustainable peace.

While conducting the analysis, I have also juxtaposed the views of the students with that of adults who were interviewed for a more 'holistic' understanding of the situation. Most of them are involved in policy-making in Mauritius. There are commonalities in what they say and the students. At the same time, it is possible to see that they may not be aware of various problems in schools. I have discussed these in Chapters Five and Six.

3. While there are consistencies about problems in the three schools, there can be different issues affecting the peaceful schooling of boys and girls

In Chapter Five, I have discussed the perspectives of student leaders on problems that can hamper peaceful schooling in the single-sex girls' school, the single-sex boys' school and the mixed school. These include ethnic conflicts, gender barriers, bullying and violence, a negative culture, lack of opportunities to discuss problems and share views and experiences, unhealthy competition, favouritism, jealousy and lack of respect and values. Within the three schools, there are consistencies about these findings, though there are problems, which have been mentioned specifically by boys and girls.

- Girls emphasise that conflicts arise mainly because of boyfriends. These can result even in isolated cases of physical violence.
- There seems to be a neoliberal tendency where girls discuss their own 'shyness' as an obstacle to participating in activities for peace.

- In the mixed school, it is also possible that sometimes the views of girls are belittled by boys. However, there are indications that boys and girls are re-negotiating heterosexual relationships and learning to work collaboratively.
- With boys, the problem is that they can be ridiculed and discouraged by peers when they participate in activities for peace. This can be considered as ‘unmanly’.

In Chapter Six, I have recommended that there should be specific activities that address the needs of boys and girls.

4. Gender deviance, heroic masculinity and protectiveness of boys in the MGI/RTI

Further findings in the mixed school show that there is an understanding among students, that if a boy misbehaves with a girl, the latter can slap him. This is not seen as gender deviant and is regarded as culturally acceptable. I argued that this could lead to violent femininity. Another finding in the school is the heroic masculinity portrayed by boys. If a boy slaps a girl or beat her, the boys in the school will beat him. In the school, girls also feel that boys can be protective towards them. I have discussed these in detail in Chapter Six under the section, *‘The mixed schooling of the MGI/RTI’*.

In Chapter Six, I have also argued that it is important to move beyond the girls-as-victims discourse and consider promoting strategies that support boys’ and girls’ peaceful development.

5. Violence seems to be contained

I have reported in the first Chapter that according to NESC (2012), violence in schools is taking an alarming proportion. The findings show that in the three schools, violence seems to be contained. There are security and disciplinary measures in schools to maintain peace. At the same time, there are restorative practices such as pastoral care and a 'Counselling Desk' run by teachers for peacemaking in the aftermath of a problem. Further findings show partnerships at various levels between different Ministries, NGO's, and other organisations to improve the schooling of young people and to curb violence.

For the future, such partnerships need to be encouraged. However, there needs to be more coordination and sharing of 'best practices' among the various ministries and organisations to channel peace work in the right direction.

6. There can be an over-reliance on peacekeeping and peacemaking

According to concerned authorities, there are many activities that are organised in schools and can be seen as leading to peace. However, some of these can be 'one-off activities' and may not necessarily lead to sustainable peace. The findings also show that there can be a reluctance on the part of 'Heads of school' to 'focus' specifically on the theme 'peace' for fear that it may portray that there are problems within the school and thus, project a negative image of it.

For the future practice of peace education, there needs to be more emphasis on 'peace', inner and outer. I have proposed in Chapter Five a paradigm shift from peacekeeping and peacemaking to peacebuilding in Mauritius. It is important to be proactive and not

be complacent about the situation, especially that the findings show the need to strengthen the ‘bond’ between people of various ethnicities and religions.

7. There are relational problems in schools that cannot be ignored

The findings have shown that there are problems among students and teachers or between teachers and students and between teachers and parents. Sometimes, there can be an element of favouritism where some teachers give more attention in the class to a group of students. Others can feel discriminated against and marginalised. Further findings show that in the case where there is a majority of one ethnic group in a school, the minority group can be bullied. Students can further group themselves according to their ethnicities and religions. I have discussed these in Chapters Five and Six.

For the future practice of peace education, it is important to lay emphasis on the four components of moral education as proposed by Noddings (2003) and strengthen relationships.

8. There are gaps between policy and practice

Findings have shown that there are problems with the organisation of the ‘Activity Period’ which in the future need to be better organised and structured. Often students are just supervised during these periods by teachers. While there is an endeavour on the part of policy-makers, as I have shown in Chapter Two, to promote ‘holistic’ development of the child, the findings show that the competitive and academic schooling can act as an obstacle towards this. Some elite students can be reluctant to participate in activities. From the findings, there are also possibilities that the same

group of students can participate in different activities while the larger group do not adequately benefit from ‘holistic learning’.

In the future, it is important that ‘Activity Periods’ are better structured, planned and organised. I have shown in Chapter Two that in the new NCF (MIE, 2015ab, 2016), the list of co-curricular activities is increasing. It is not impossible that in practice, there can be difficulties with their implementation. It is important to be foresighted and address this.

9. There are indications about an ‘epistemological shift’ from ‘I-It’ to ‘I-Thou’

I have mentioned previously that Mauritius is a relatively peaceful and stable country. Findings show that conditions already exist in schools for proactive prevention of destructive conflict and strengthening of the ‘bond’ with the ‘Other’. Peacemaking and peacekeeping strategies are helping towards this. There has been an ‘epistemological shift’ from ‘I-It’ to ‘I-Thou’ (Buber, 1965). There can be lapses. I have discussed problems in Chapters Five and Six. Yet there is also evidence from the findings that some adults and students are willing to treat each other as ‘I-Thou’. There are Mauritians, belonging to different ethnicities who have emphasised the importance of working with the ‘Other’ and respecting the beliefs and values of the ‘Other’. There is an endeavour to transcend ethnic and religious barriers for peace and development.

I argue that Mauritius has presented itself as a good case study for the ‘praxis’ of peace education. It is an example of how people from different parts of the world and depicting various values, religious and cultural beliefs have tried for decades to maintain a peaceful existence. It can inform future practice of peace education in multicultural

countries, which are having difficulties in maintaining peace with increasing globalisation and ‘intersection of cultures’ (Spring, 2008). The findings show how cultures of the East and West meet for the promotion of peace. In the future, priorities will need to be on promoting equity, fairness, unity and relationship-building. In the next section, I consider the theoretical contribution of this research.

Theoretical contribution

1. The concept of wholeness

In the thesis, I lay emphasis on the concept of ‘wholeness’ in the promotion of a culture of peace through peace education. In Chapter Three, I have highlighted that M.K. Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and Maria Montessori promoted an ‘education of the heart, hand and head’, an ‘education of fullness’ and a ‘cosmic education’. Their philosophy of education and peace can be seen as grounded in the concept of ‘wholeness’. They focused on ‘holistic learning’ for peace. I argue that there is much to learn from these age-old thinkers and reviving their theories can act as counter opposition to the challenges for peace education that I have discussed in this thesis.

In Chapter Six, I have shown how the concept of ‘wholeness’ is emphasised in various Eastern traditions, such as Daoism, Confucianism, Modern Chinese, Hinduism, Judaism and Islam as opposed to the Western Cartesian dualism. Concepts like ‘*Yin*’ and ‘*Yang*’, ‘*Ren*’, ‘*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*’, ‘*Tawhid*’ and ‘*Shalom*’ emphasise an acknowledgement of the ‘Other’ and show the interrelationship between the individual and the cosmos. There is much to learn from this for the future practice of peace education in multicultural societies. In Mauritius, it is possible to build on

commonalities in ancestral traditions for the promotion of peace. Diversity must be celebrated.

While I have discussed in Chapter Two, the secular and religious divide in Mauritius, I have also shown in Chapter Six that it is possible to promote a ‘holistic’ vision of peace that bridge the gulf between secularism and religion. It is possible to link the promotion of peace with spirituality, building on Eastern practices. Dietrich (2012) have tried to bring closer the philosophies of peace in the East and West through his concepts of ‘trans-rational peace’ and ‘energetic peace’. What I have also done in this thesis is to show how promoting the concept of ‘wholeness’, and its participatory worldview can help in the future practice of peace education.

2. Peace-Focused-Feminism

I coined the term ‘peace-focused-feminism’ and ground it in philosophical analysis. This has been inspired by Eastern Daoist philosophy of ‘*Yin*’ and ‘*Yang*’, the Tantra philosophy of ‘*Shiva*’ and ‘*Shakti*’ and the *Samkhya* philosophy of ‘*Purusha*’ and ‘*Prakriti*’. I also describe it as an inclusive, collaborative, and interdisciplinary approach that recognises the oppression of ‘mankind’ and ‘womankind’. It promotes a pedagogy that unifies the heart, mind and hand for a culture of peace. It brings together theory and practice. It further aligns peace education with peace research and peace action.

It is important to note that while I bring together in this thesis different approaches and traditions, I do not expect them to become a single unified theory. My aim and purpose are to show possibilities for the future practice of peace education and how it is possible to learn from the East and West for a ‘holistic’ understanding of reality. With the concept of ‘peace-focused-feminism’, I highlight the importance of the ‘male’ and

‘female’ energies for harmonious living. Their complementarity is emphasised. Despite their dual nature, they learn to engage in collaborative endeavours for peace.

I argue that what is important for future practice of peace education is a recognition of both the ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ energies in building peace. In Chapter Four, I have also shown the importance of an ‘ethics of care’ and an ‘ethics of justice’ that can help to avoid the reproduction of structural and cultural violence that peace work seeks to address.

A note on ethics in small-connected communities

The methodology that I used was based on a ‘participatory worldview’ (Heron, 1996). The methods, such as the active interviewing and the ‘group process inside inquiry’, supported by group-diagramming and built around the concept of circle processes have generated ‘thick’ data. The research journey has, however, not been easy. I have discussed in Chapter Four the ethical dilemmas that I faced while conducting research with young people in a ‘small-connected community’ like Mauritius. I believe that the research has to a certain extent enlarged the debate in relation to this. I could not find much research that explores the perspective of a ‘native’ researcher on ethical challenges that can arise in specific circumstances that I discussed in Chapter Four.

Concluding thoughts

I believe there is much that can be learnt from this research, whether in terms of the empirical findings, the theoretical and philosophical perspectives and ethical practice for future researchers and peace educators. Issues that have been brought on the forefront, especially those related to ethnicity, religion and gender are rarely talked openly in the Mauritian context. There is a dearth of research which explores these

issues from the perspectives of young girls and boys in schools. I believe that despite certain limitations, this study has contributed to additional knowledge in the field of peace education. It has responded to contemporary debates about decolonising the practice of peace education and has contributed to the discussion in this area. It has also shown what should be the focus of peace education in the future in Mauritius.

Within the research, I have laid much emphasis on the ‘holistic’ in the promotion of peace education. As I showed in Figure 6.1 on page 300, this relates to an inclusive and collaborative approach for ‘holistic’ peace education. It is based on the concept of circle processes, a bottom-up process of management, an education of the heart, hand and head and partnerships between parents, schools, teachers and students.

Finally, I feel that I am now more equipped with the knowledge and skills to promote a culture of peace through peace education. The findings have been enlightening. Ahead of me, I see many possibilities for the future, and one that links my interdisciplinary studies for the promotion of a culture of peace. I see this as a strength that can help in the promotion of peace education that links philosophies of East and West. I end this thesis on a note that I wrote to myself on 8th January 2018:

I searched for wisdom and peace. In return, I found myself with problems to solve and experienced peacelessness. I learnt by experience, through trial and error. The research process was educative and transformative. At the end of this journey, I now feel humble. The vast expanse of knowledge that lies in front of me is immense. I realise what it means to feel like you are a small drop in the ocean. New possibilities lie ahead. There are still so much more to learn and discover. I'm opened to that. I am also glad that I have now found my 'niche'.

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APPENDICES

Appendix One Consent Forms

Minor consent form

GENERIC PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Authorisation for a minor to participate in research

Project title: Youth in peacebuilding: Educating for a culture of peace in the small island state of Mauritius.

Researcher's name: PriyaDarshiniBaligadoo

Supervisor's name: Professor John Morgan

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and allow my ward to take part.
- I understand the purpose of the research project and my ward's involvement in it.
- I understand that my ward may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect his/her status now or in the future.
- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, my ward will not be identified and his/her personal results will remain confidential.
- I understand that my ward will be audiotaped during the interview.
- I understand that data will be stored safely by the researcher in both soft and hard copy. I understand that the transcription will be done by the researcher and only she and her supervisor will have access to it.
- I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my ward's involvement in the research.

Signed (Parent or Guardian)

Print name Date ...27/06/14.....

Prudena
Contact details

Researcher: txpdbal@nottingham.ac.uk

Supervisor: john.morgan@nottingham.ac.uk

School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator: educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix One

Head of school consent form

GENERIC PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Consent to undertake research in the school

Project title: Youth in peacebuilding: Educating for a culture of peace in the small island state of Mauritius.

Researcher's name: Priya Darshini Baligadoo

Supervisor's name: Professor John Morgan

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- I authorise the researcher to be present in the school, making notes and observations, interviewing participants and working with respondents for her research.
- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.
- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential.
- I understand that I will be audiotaped during the interview.
- I understand that data will be stored safely by the researcher in both soft and hard copy. I understand that the transcription will be done by the researcher and only she and her supervisor will have access to it.
- I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

Signed (Rector)

Print name .. Date 24.6.2014

Contact details

Researcher: ttxpdbl@nottingham.ac.uk

Supervisor: john.morgan@nottingham.ac.uk

School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator: educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix One

Generic participant consent form

GENERIC PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Project title: Youth in Peacebuilding: Educating for a culture of peace in the small island state of Mauritius.

Researcher's name: PriyaDarshiniBaligadoo

Supervisor's name: Professor John Morgan

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.
- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.
- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.
- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential.
- I understand that I will be audiotaped during the interview.
- I understand that data generated by the research will be kept in a safe and secure location and will be used purely for the purposes of the research project (including dissemination of findings). No-one other than supervisors or examiners will have access to any of the data collected.
- I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

Signed

..... (Research participant)

Print n:

Date 8 October 2014

Contact details

Researcher: txpbal@nottingham.ac.uk

Supervisor: john.morgan@nottingham.ac.uk

School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator: educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix Two

Information sheet for participants (Part 1)

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS



YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Research Title: Youth in peacebuilding: Educating for a culture of peace in the small island state of Mauritius

I invite you to participate in this research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Research Aims

The purpose of the research is to create a platform for Mauritian youth to dialogue about peace, share information on peacebuilding and reflect critically on obstacles affecting their peaceful living. Peace educators, facilitators, and academicians working in the field of peace and gender education may be interested in this research. It may throw light on the promotion of a culture of peace through education and the ways to carry it forward. The research is gender sensitive.

Who have I asked to participate?

I have invited youth leaders in schools and the Mauritian community. I have also contacted adults engaged in policy-making on this issue. Rectors of different schools are also potential participants for the research.

When and where will the study take place?

The study will take place at school during the "Activity Period" at a time that is convenient to students, rectors and teachers. Interviews will be carried out with regard for mutually convenient times and negotiated in a way that seeks to minimise disruption to schedules and burdens on participants.

How long will the study last?

The researcher will be present at school during "Activity Period" for a period of 6 weeks.

Appendix Two

Information sheet for participants (Part 2)

What will the students be asked to do?

- The student will be asked to answer some questions about his/her behaviour, how he/she copes with conflicts and violence, his/her conception of peace and the promotion of a culture of peace within the school and the community.
- The student will be asked to participate in a research project. He/ She will work with other students in the group to find out about students' views on peace and peacebuilding. Together with the group, the student will present the findings of the project to the researcher.

Are there any risks involved in participating?

The risks involved in participating are minimal. The information that the student give me during the interview will be anonymised. All necessary steps will be taken to protect the privacy and ensure the anonymity and non-traceability of participants – e.g. by the use of pseudonyms, for both individual and institutional participants, in any written reports of the research and other forms of dissemination

The audiotapes will be kept in a safe and secure location and will be used purely for the purposes of the research project (including dissemination of findings). No-one other than supervisors or examiners will have access to any of the data collected. If at any moment, the student feels any discomfort while engaging in the research project, he/she is allowed to withdraw from the study.

Your responses to my questions will remain completely confidential unless you tell me something to indicate that your own health and safety are currently in danger.

Are there any benefits involved in participating?

The student will be given training by the researcher about how to solve problems in a systematic manner. He/ She may possibly develop teambuilding, conflict management skills and pro-social attitudes.

What if I have questions about the project?

You may either contact Priya or one of her two supervisors or the research ethics committee. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form.

Contact details

Priya: ttxpdbal@nottingham.ac.uk

Supervisor: john.morgan@nottingham.ac.uk

School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator: educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix Three

Code of conduct

PROJECT: THINK PEACE CIRCLE AT SCHOOL

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS SHEET

Researcher: Priya D. Baligadoo

Research Title: Youth voice on peacebuilding: Peace education towards a gender perspective in the small island state of Mauritius

Code of Conduct

- Data generated through the project needs to be kept safe. It must not be divulged to anyone. Only members of the group and the researcher can have access to the data. This is important to ensure the safety of group members and prevent school from being identified.
- The findings of the data collection need to be presented only to the researcher.
- Team members need to observe confidentiality.
- All throughout the project, students are advised to use pseudonyms to prevent themselves or any participants from being identified.
- Any problems that arise during the study need to be reported to and discussed with the researcher.

Role of the students

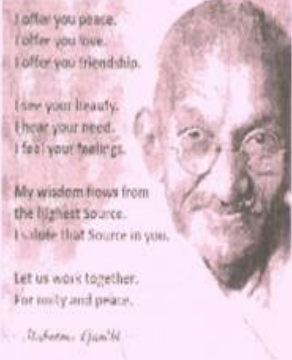
- The students voluntarily participate in all activities such as meetings, data collection, project experiments, and presentation of the findings.
- They work as a team.
- They meticulously observe the role of conduct.
- They make notes of incidents and problems that arise during the project.
- The students are advised to think creatively about how they are going to gather the data.
- The members can keep a notebook where they can write down their thoughts and feelings about the project and their participation within it.

Appendix Four

MGI/RTI Gandhi Day celebration programme

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS / THANK YOU

- Mrs. K. Ram, Senior Advisor, PMO
- Mr. B. Madhu, Director-General (MGI/RTI)
- Mr. R. Dwarka, Chairman (MGI/RTI)
- Mr. T. Mauro, Ag. Director Schooling (MGI/RTI)
- Mrs Chummin Ramyasud, Officer-in-Charge, RTI
- President and Members of the RTSS PTA
- Teaching, Non Teaching Staff & Students Council RTSS
- Police Force
- RTI Staff
- All our Sponsors
- Everyone who has contributed in one way or the other in the making of this day a success.



**RABINDRANATH TAGORE SECONDARY SCHOOL
IN COLLABORATION WITH
THE RTSS PARENTS TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION**

**WELCOME YOU
GANDHI DAY 2014
IN THE RTI AUDITORIUM
THURSDAY 1st OCTOBER 2014
CHIEF GUEST: MRS K. RAM, SENIOR ADVISOR, PMO**


PROGRAMME

9.30 Welcoming of Inmates in the Auditorium

9.45 - 11.30

1. Arrival of Mrs. K.Ram, Senior Advisor, PMO
2. Lamp Lighting Ceremony
3. Garlanding Ceremony
4. Welcome by the Master of Ceremony Mrs Seerulfun-Dosieah.
5. Bhajan 'vairav jana to' by staff members.
6. Welcome Speech by the RTSS Ag. Rector, Mrs Achameesing.
7. Sitar Recital 'Raghupati' set in Kahenea Taal Prepared by Mr Sandeep Gooloop
8. Speech by Vice President of RTSS PTA Mr Narainen
9. Tabla recital in Teen Taal in Vilambit and DruL Laya prepared by Mr Sakrapani and Mr Ancharaz
10. Speech by Chief Guest Mrs Ram
11. Kathak Dance (Mangalam Song) prepared by Mrs Lutchmee Urchaph.
12. Bharatanatyam Dance - Pushpanjali. Prepared by Mrs Mangala Seegoolam
13. Bharatanatyam Dance by Reshma Seebanuth F4 Eco1 by Mrs Sadhna Permali
14. Kathak dance. Tarana in Raag Jog set in Teen Taal. By Mr Yash Veeri Kumar Donoo.
15. Distribution of roses and gifts.
16. Vote of thanks by Mrs R. Barymandhub, Ag. Deputy Rector RTSS.

11.45 Lunch is served to inmates, guests, pupils & staff.



The best way to find yourself is to lose yourself in the service of others.

We must become the change we want to see.

Whenever you are confronted with an opponent, Conquer him with love.

The weak can never forgive. Forgiveness is the attribute of the strong.

They cannot take away our self-respect if we do not give it to them.

Sayings of Mahatma Gandhi

Appendix Five

Mural painting made by girls in the single-sex state school

