

Mauritius

Ethnicity in Mauritius

Group selection

Mauritius is an ethnically unusually diverse country where the whole population consists exclusively of descendants of immigrants that have arrived since the 18th Century (²⁷²³, 552). As a former colonial possession of first France (until the Napoleonic wars) and subsequently of Great Britain (until 1968), these immigrants had extremely varied socio-cultural backgrounds: Major waves of immigration saw the arrival of French planters (in the 1700s), African and Malagasy slaves (in the 1700s and 1800s), Indian laborers (in the 1800s), and Chinese merchants (in the early 1900s) (*ibid.*). In a country marked by such ethnic diversity, the formal ordering of the population into ethnic groups has continually been a contested political issue: Both the counting formulas for official censuses and the recognition of specific groups in the constitution have changed frequently and presented enormous difficulties of operationalization, even leading to the intermittent abolition of an ethnic count altogether (cf. ²⁷²⁴ for an overview).

²⁷²³ [Eriksen, 1994]

The classification schemes used since the 1962 census and the existing constitution recognize four ethnic groups: Hindus (51-52%), **Muslims** (16-17%), Sino-Mauritians (3%) and the umbrella category of the “general population”, which includes both the large Creole minority and the small numbers of descendants of the French immigrants who are both mostly Christian (29% in total) (²⁷²⁵, 27, ²⁷²⁶, 59, ²⁷²⁷, 552). However, this ordering scheme, apart from being extremely contested internally and obscuring Mauritius’ ethnic diversity, does not offer a valid point of departure for the EPR coding for another reason as well: It is not based on socially constructed self-identity groups (²⁷²⁸, 552).

²⁷²⁴ [Christopher, 1992]

²⁷²⁵ [Carroll Carroll, 2000]

²⁷²⁶ [Christopher, 1992]

²⁷²⁷ [Eriksen, 1994]

²⁷²⁸ [Eriksen, 1994]

²⁷²⁹ [Eriksen, 1994]

Eriksen (²⁷²⁹, 552-3) argues that there are at least eight groups based on self-identity, which are reflected in high rates of endogamy and existing myths of shared heritage. Using this broader classification scheme results in the splitting up of Hindus and of the “general population” into three distinctive (sub-)groups each, with the other two groups corresponding to the groups in the census. The **Hindus** were thus coded as an umbrella group with three sub-groups, the **Creoles** as an umbrella group with two sub-groups, and the **Franco-Mauritians** as an independent group (as is done frequently in the literature). The following groups and sub-groups are the re-

sult of this classification. The Hindus (52%), are an umbrella group and include the “Hindi-speaking Hindus”, the “Marathis”, and the “Tamils and Telugus”.

- “Hindi-Speaking Hindus” are the first sub-group of the Hindus, a term which colloquially encompasses exclusively the Hindus of North Indian origin (ibid.). This group has ancestors in what today are the Indian states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and mostly speaks Bhojpuri (a Hindi dialect) as a common language (²⁷³⁰, 9). It encompasses around 40 percent of the total population (²⁷³¹).

²⁷³⁰ [Srebrnik, 2000]
²⁷³¹ [Srebrnik, 2000]
- The “Marathis”, who are Hindus with ancestors in Maharashtra, are the second Hindu sub-group (²⁷³², 553; ²⁷³³, 9). They comprise around 2 percent of the total population (²⁷³⁴, 71).

²⁷³² [Eriksen, 1994]
²⁷³³ [Srebrnik, 2000]
²⁷³⁴ [Statistics Mauritius, 2012]
- The “Tamils and Telugus” who are Hindus (or by self-designation “Dravidian” or “Saivists”) stemming from what today are the states of Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in South India (²⁷³⁵, 552; ²⁷³⁶, 9), are the third Hindu sub-group. They comprise around 10 percent of the total population (²⁷³⁷, 71).

²⁷³⁵ [Eriksen, 1994]
²⁷³⁶ [Srebrnik, 2000]
²⁷³⁷ [Statistics Mauritius, 2012]
- The “Muslims” who are mostly of North-Indian descent, predominantly Sunni, and speak Urdu, Gujarati and Bhojpuri among others, are the second main ethnic group and comprise around 16% of the population (²⁷³⁸, 552; ²⁷³⁹, 9)

²⁷³⁸ [Eriksen, 1994]
²⁷³⁹ [Srebrnik, 2000]
- The “Sino-Mauritians”, who are of Chinese descent, predominantly of Catholic, Buddhist or Confucian religion, and speak Mandarin or Hakka Chinese, are the third main ethnic group, comprising around 3% of the population (²⁷⁴⁰, 553; ²⁷⁴¹, 9).

²⁷⁴⁰ [Eriksen, 1994]
²⁷⁴¹ [Srebrnik, 2000]
- The “Creoles” are an umbrella group comprising around 27% of the total population and consisting of two subgroups: The “Black Creoles” and the “Gens-de-Couleur”.
- The “Black Creoles” (or “Blacks”) (²⁷⁴², 552; ²⁷⁴³, 9) are the first sub-group of Creoles. They are mostly dark-skinned, speak Kreol as a mother tongue and make up a large part of Mauritius’ economic and social “underclass” (²⁷⁴⁴, 27). They make up between 20 and 25 percent of the total population (ibid). As more exact figures were hard to find, the “middle” figure of 22.5 percent was used.

²⁷⁴² [Eriksen, 1994]
²⁷⁴³ [Srebrnik, 2000]

²⁷⁴⁴ [Carroll Carroll, 2000]
- The “Gens de Couleur” (or “Mulattos”) (²⁷⁴⁵, 553; ²⁷⁴⁶, 9) are the second sub-group of Creoles. They are mostly “descendants of encounters between French plantation owners and African slave women” and - in general - more economically prosperous, wield greater political influence than the “Black Creoles” and are strongly influenced by French culture and language (²⁷⁴⁷, 27). By using the 27% given for all Creoles in the literature and subtracting the 22.5 percent calculated for “Black

²⁷⁴⁵ [Eriksen, 1994]
²⁷⁴⁶ [Srebrnik, 2000]

²⁷⁴⁷ [Carroll Carroll, 2000]

Creoles”, they were coded as making up 4.5 percent of total population.

- The “Franco-Mauritians” (or “Europeans”) are the fifth main ethnic group. They are white descendants of the former French colonial administration and European settlers, making up around 2% of the total population (²⁷⁴⁸, 553; ²⁷⁴⁹, 9).

²⁷⁴⁸ [Eriksen, 1994]

²⁷⁴⁹ [Srebrnik, 2000]

Power relations

The Sino-Mauritians, who apparently played no role neither in terms of mobilizing nor in terms of being excluded on purpose, are left out of EPR coding, as they are politically “irrelevant” throughout all periods (cf. ²⁷⁵⁰, 12).

²⁷⁵⁰ [Srebrnik, 2000]

1969: Post-Independence Communalist Politics and MLP-CAM-IFB Government

As Mauritius was preparing for independence from Great Britain, the decisive issue in the 1967 elections for a general assembly were not “purely ethnic concerns” but the power balance after such a move (²⁷⁵¹, 201). Two main parties competed in these elections: The pro-independence Mauritian Labor Party (MLP), which was largely dominated by Hindu plantation workers and small-scale sugar farmers, and the anti-independence Parti Mauricien Social Democrite (PMSD), which was based on Franco-Mauritian planters and Creole voters frightened by the prospect of Hindu domination following independence (²⁷⁵², 49).

²⁷⁵¹ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

²⁷⁵² [Bräutigam, 1997]

Following the elections, the MLP formed a coalition government with two other ethnicity-based parties, the Muslim Action Committee (CAM) and the Independence Forward Bloc (IFB), which was based on Hindu nationalists (²⁷⁵³, 49; ²⁷⁵⁴, 201).

²⁷⁵³ [Bräutigam, 1997]

²⁷⁵⁴ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

While riots at the end of 1967 between Creoles and Hindus and the rise to power of the two Hindu parties raised the specter of ethnic conflict as the country moved towards independence (²⁷⁵⁵, 49, ²⁷⁵⁶, 202), other developments quickly created intra-ethnic division within the Hindu block. Due to personal and ideological differences, the ruling coalition came apart quickly after independence in 1968 on March 12, 1968: The IFB ministers were dismissed from the government and a new government was formed in 1969 (²⁷⁵⁷, 202).

²⁷⁵⁵ [Bräutigam, 1997]

²⁷⁵⁶ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

²⁷⁵⁷ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

As the country only became independent during 1968, this first EPR-period starts on January, 1, 1969. The Hindus were coded as an umbrella group as being the “senior partner” and the Muslims, part of the coalition government throughout this time, as the “junior partner”. The other groups, not involved or represented by these two ethnicity-based government parties, were coded as “powerless”. No group has regional autonomy due to the centralized nature of the Mauritian state.

1970-1976: MLP-CAM-PMSD Alliance government

In March 1969, following the dismissal of the IFB from the executive, a new government of “national unity” was formed by including the PMSD into the existing MLP-CAM coalition (2758, 49; 2759, 201). This meant that all relevant ethnic groups were now included in this coalition government: The Hindus through the MLP, the Muslims through the CAM and the Franco-Mauritians and Creoles through the PMSD.

Several developments during this period served to weaken intra-ethnic block-voting and general political cohesion of the ethnic groups: First, the dismissal of the IFB had already weakened the Hindu block’s internal cohesion. Second, in protest against the joining of the Hindu-led government, several MPs from the PMSD created a new splinter party, thus weakening cohesion in the Franco-Mauritian, Creole and Gens-de-Couleur block as well (2760, 203). Third, ethnic mobilization was greatly curbed in general by the government’s move to forbid ethnic mass rallies (2761). And fourth, the rise of a new, anti-communalist leftist opposition force, the Mouvement Militant Mauricien (MMM), saw the appearance of a first party that explicitly appealed to voters of all ethnic backgrounds (2762, 50).

Dissatisfaction with the ideologically diverse government and the above-mentioned weakening of intra-ethnic cohesion enabled the MMM to score an overwhelming victory in a by-election in 1969 (2763, 50). In response to increasingly radical mobilization of MMM voters and the “destabilizing” potential of the MMM-induced strikes, the government called for a state of emergency, postponed the 1972 general elections and intermittently even detained MMM leaders (2764, 50; 2765, 206). This authoritarian phase in Mauritian politics only lasted until the next general elections of 1976, however, which took place as scheduled and, again, in a free and fair manner.

Divisions between the MLP and the PMSD over a wage freeze policy led to the expulsion of the PMSD from the government in 1973. The MLP and CAM, however, were subsequently able to carry on the coalition with the help of walk-over opposition MPs from the PMSD and the IFB (2766, 207). The bulk of the PMSD however was in opposition now, and together with the MMM mobilized workers along more ideological lines, especially in the export processing zone of the country (2767, 208).

For the whole period, the Hindu coded as an umbrella group were in the position of a “senior partner” as, represented by the MLP, they were in control of most posts in the cabinet. The Muslims (represented by the CAM), the Creoles and the Franco-Mauritians (both represented by the PMSD) were coded as “junior partners”. Despite leaving the government in 1973, significant deviating elements from the PMSD continued to support it, which is why the coding of the three latter groups was left unchanged for the years 1974-1976 as well. No group has regional autonomy due to the centralized nature

²⁷⁵⁸ [Bräutigam, 1997]

²⁷⁵⁹ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

²⁷⁶⁰ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

²⁷⁶¹ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

²⁷⁶² [Bräutigam, 1997]

²⁷⁶³ [Bräutigam, 1997]

²⁷⁶⁴ [Bräutigam, 1997]

²⁷⁶⁵ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

²⁷⁶⁶ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

²⁷⁶⁷ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

of the Mauritian state.

1977-1982: MLP-PMSD coalition government

In the 1976 elections, the MMM came out as the strongest party, but could not win a majority of seats (2768, 50; 2769, 209). In order to prevent the inclusion of its ideological enemy, the leftist MMM, into the government, the center-right PMSD again joined a coalition government with the MLP, with which it had a two-seat majority in parliament (2770, 50; 2771, 209).

A notable development during the 1976 election was the strong potential of the MMM to mobilize ethnic minorities, with the Muslims joining the MMM "en bloc" (2772, 211).

The late 1970s and early 1980s were characterized by a budgetary crisis, forcing the Mauritian government to appeal to the IMF and the World Bank for help and to institute austerity policies (2773, 50). This led to considerable political instability in the government and to various internal splits in all the major parties: As a response to the austerity policies, the MLP's left wing broke away; similarly, the PMSD split into two ethnic factions, with one (led by PMSD leader Duval) representing the "more privileged, lighter-skinned Creoles and Franco-Mauritians" (the former being the Gens-de-Couleur in this classification) and the other the "less privileged" Creoles (meaning, the "Black Creoles" in this classification) (2774, 212-3). However, despite these splits, a succession of MLP-PMSD governments was able to maintain its grip on the country's executive also owing to defections from opposition parties (2775, 50; 2776, 213).

Based on these developments, the Hindus were again coded as the "senior partner" and the Creoles (still as a "united" umbrella group) and the Franco-Mauritians as "junior partners". The Muslims are coded as "powerless".

1983: MMM government

The 1982 elections resulted in a disaster for the "Grande Alliance" of the MLP, PMSD ("privileged faction") and CAM: All sixty seats in the General Assembly went to the MMM and its coalition partners, the PSM (an MLP break-away) and the OPR (a small party representing the people of Rodriguez Island) (2777, 51; 2778, 213-4). The new government was a "balanced compromise of ethnic considerations and ideological preferences" (2779, 214), being made up of Prime Minister Aneerood Jugnauth (a Hindu), President Paul Berenger (the MMM's leader, a Franco-Mauritian), thirteen MMM cabinet ministers, five PSM ministers and one OPR minister (2780, 213). The "Grande Alliance" only picked up eight parliament seats allocated to the "best losers" under a special provision of the electoral system of Mauritius (2781, 214).

In contradiction to its electoral promises, the MMM-led government was forced to continue the austerity policies of the previous ruling coalition (2782, 51; 2783, 215). In response to the resulting in-

2768 [Bräutigam, 1997]

2769 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2770 [Bräutigam, 1997]

2771 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2772 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2773 [Bräutigam, 1997]

2774 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2775 [Bräutigam, 1997]

2776 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2777 [Bräutigam, 1997]

2778 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2779 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2780 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2781 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2782 [Bräutigam, 1997]

2783 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

ternal divisions in the government, the MMM politburo demanded the dismissal of all PSM ministers from the government. This demand was refused by MMM Prime Minister Jugnauth, however (2784, 216). When President Berenger and twelve MMM ministers withdrew from the cabinet in protest, Prime Minister Jugnauth founded a new MMM-split-away party, the Mouvement Socialiste Mauricien (MSM), supported mainly by the MMM's former Hindu parliamentarians (2785, 216). The MSM continued a coalition government with the PSM, preparing for new elections in the same year (1983). In the same time, the opposition MLP reformed itself and joined with two Muslim parties, the CAM and the Parti Islamique Mauricien, to bolster its electoral support (2786, 216-7).

2784 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2785 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2786 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

The Hindus were coded as “senior partner”, based on their predominance in cabinet positions both of the MMM and the PSM. The Muslims, Franco-Mauritians and Black Creoles were coded as “junior partners” as they were the minorities that the MMM explicitly sought to represent. The Gens-de-Couleur were coded as “powerless”, as the party representing their interests, the PMSD was excluded from the new government. Also, as in all periods, no group was coded as having regional autonomy due to Mauritius' centralized state form. The coding reflects the status as per January 1, 1983, with the political crisis of March 1983 and the split of the MMM not being included due to its short-livedness.

1984-1987: Renewed MSM-MLP-PMSD “Alliance” Coalition Government

The 1983 election campaign saw a return to communalist politics: A Hindu-dominated “Alliance” consisting of the MSM, MLP and PMSD competed against the MMM. The MMM's Franco-Mauritanian leader, Berenger, was portrayed as “anti-Hindu” and most of the “Alliance's” candidates were Hindus themselves (2787, 217-8). The MMM's campaign to reach out to poorer and minority Hindus was an apparent failure in that it did not mobilize support in the elections.

2787 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

The “Alliance” won the majority of votes and two thirds of Assembly seats (2788, 51; 2789, 218). The subsequently installed MSM-MLP-PMSD coalition government was exceptionally diverse in ideological terms and included cabinet members from different ethnic backgrounds as well: Thirteen Hindus, five Creoles and one Muslim (2790, 219).

2788 [Bräutigam, 1997]

2789 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2790 [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

Based on this, the Hindus (as an umbrella group) were coded as a “senior partner”, the Creoles (as an umbrella group) and the Muslims as “junior partners”. The Franco-Mauritians are coded as “powerless”, as they did not have any cabinet posts. Also, as in all periods, no group was coded as having regional autonomy due to Mauritius' centralized state form.

1988-1991: Continued “Alliance” Coalition Government; Splits in the Hindu Umbrella Group

In the 1987 elections, the “Alliance” consisting of the MSM, RTM (a follow-up organization of the MLP) and PMSD remained in power, winning again a two-thirds majority (²⁷⁹¹, 51; ²⁷⁹², 220). While this meant the endurance of the previous predominantly Hindu cabinet, the Hindus themselves as an umbrella group began to splinter with the creation of the Tamil Telugu Marathi Movement (TTM). This movement campaigned against the dominance of Hindi-speaking Hindus in the government (²⁷⁹³, 31; ²⁷⁹⁴, 221).

²⁷⁹¹ [Bräutigam, 1997]

²⁷⁹² [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

²⁷⁹³ [Carroll Carroll, 2000]

²⁷⁹⁴ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

During this period, the coding of the previous period was continued accordingly (reflecting in the unchanged composition of the ruling coalition), with one small change in the Hindu umbrella group: Only the sub-group of Hindi-speaking Hindus were coded as “senior partner”, while the newly mobilizing groups of Marathis and Tamils and Telugus are coded as “powerless”. Also, as in all periods, no group was coded as having regional autonomy due to Mauritius’ centralized state form.

1992-2005: MSM-MMM / MSM-MLP coalition governments

The period of 1992-2005 saw the emergence of three subsequent governments that were very inclusive in ethnic terms: First, during the 1991 elections, a “surprise coalition” between the Hindu-dominated MSM and the minority-mobilizing MMM won a supermajority of parliament seats by a “landslide” (²⁷⁹⁵, 52; ²⁷⁹⁶, 73). Second, four years later in 1995, this coalition was defeated in the next general elections, with the MMM (again representing the minorities) deserting the MSM and joining a broad coalition with the MLP (which, similarly to the MSM, mostly represented the Hindu majority) (²⁷⁹⁷, 8). This coalition accounted for around two thirds of parliament seats (²⁷⁹⁸, 52). And, third, the year 2000 saw a renewed resurgence of the MSM-MMM coalition, with MSM leader Jugnauth and MMM leader Berenger sharing the post of prime minister. This was the first time in Mauritius’ history that this influential post went to a non-Hindu (²⁷⁹⁹, 8).

²⁷⁹⁵ [Bräutigam, 1997]

²⁷⁹⁶ [Mathur, 1997]

²⁷⁹⁷ [EISA, 2005a]

²⁷⁹⁸ [Bräutigam, 1997]

²⁷⁹⁹ [EISA, 2005a]

While these three governments may have had different ideological backgrounds, their ethnic composition was broadly the same: The majority of Hindus were represented through the MSM or by the MLP respectively, while the vast array of minorities were represented by the MMM in all three cases. This more generally reflected Mauritius’ shift from an electoral system based on purely ethnic parties to one in which “two Hindu-dominated multi-ethnic coalitions” competed for power. (²⁸⁰⁰, 32).

²⁸⁰⁰ [Carroll Carroll, 2000]

According to these considerations, the Hindi-speaking Hindus were coded as “senior partner” and the ethnic minorities of Marathis, Tamils and Telugus, Creoles (as an umbrella group), Franco-Mauritians and Muslims as “junior partners”. Also, as in all periods, no group was coded as having regional autonomy due to

Mauritius' centralized state form.

2006-2010: MLP-PMXD-MMSM-MSD Alliance government

The 2005 elections saw incumbent MSM-MMM coalition replaced by the “Alliance Sociale”, which was made up of the MLP, the PMXD, the MMSM and the MSD (EISA 2005b: 7). The Parti Mauricien Xavier Duval (PMXD) was an offshot of the PMSD, led by its former leader Duval (²⁸⁰¹, 9). The Mouvement Militant Socialiste Mauricien (MMSM) is a break-away of the MSM (²⁸⁰², 9).

²⁸⁰¹ [EISA, 2005a]

²⁸⁰² [EISA, 2005a]

While the PMXD party could be classified by statements of its leader as representing the Gens-de-Couleur and the Franco-Mauritians (²⁸⁰³, 213), the other two ruling parties were predominantly based on Hindi-speaking Hindus - the MLP by its history, and the MMSM as a break-away of the predominantly Hindu MSM. Additionally, Muslims were also included through the MLP owing to its previous merger with the CAM. The Hindi-speaking Hindus were coded as “senior partner” and the Gens-de-Couleur, the Franco-Mauritians and the Muslims as “junior partners”. The other groups are coded as “powerless”. Also, as in all periods, no group was coded as having regional autonomy due to Mauritius' centralized state form.

²⁸⁰³ [Mukonoweshuro, 1991]

2011-2016 MLP-PMSD-MSM coalition government

The 2010 elections saw the “Alliance of the Future” compete against the MMM-led “Alliance of the Heart”, with the former winning two thirds of parliament seats. It was comprised of the MLP, the PMSD and the MSM, thus marking a small change in ethnic representation in the government: While Hindi-speaking Hindus clearly still held the strongest influence through the MLP and the MSM, the inclusion of the PMSD meant that now not only Gens-de-Couleur but, in addition to the previous period, Creoles were now also represented in the government. (²⁸⁰⁴: n.p.)

²⁸⁰⁴ [Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2013]

Accordingly, the Hindi-speaking Hindus were coded as “senior partner” and Creoles (as an umbrella group), the Franco-Mauritians and the Muslims as “junior partners”. The other groups are coded as “powerless”. Also, as in all periods, no group was coded as having regional autonomy due to Mauritius' centralized state form. In the 2014 elections, L' Alliance Lepep (MSM-PMSD-MLP) won 47 seats, thus beating the alliance between the Labour party (PTR) and the MMM party (²⁸⁰⁵, 9). The power relations did not change in this time.

²⁸⁰⁵ [Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2016]

2017

However, in December 2016, the PMSD resigned from the coalition government – thus destabilising the influence of the Creoles and Franco-Mauritians from government ⁽²⁸⁰⁶⁾. The Hindi-speaking Hindus remain senior partner as the MLP and MSM remain united in the government, both of which are influenced heavily by the Hindi-speakers. Jugnauth, the Prime Minister in this period (holding more executive power than the presidency), is a Hindu. Muslims remain junior partner, from the MLP influence in the L'Alliance Lepep. No other evidence is found that would suggest power relations changed further in this period. As the “junior partner” status of the Creoles and Franco-Mauritians was founded mainly in their influence through the PMSD in the coalition government, they now receive “powerless” status.

²⁸⁰⁶ [Le-Express Newspaper, 2017]

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Political status of ethnic groups in Mauritius

From 1969 until 1969

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Hindus	0.52	SENIOR PARTNER
Creoles	0.27	POWERLESS
Muslims	0.16	JUNIOR PARTNER
Franco-Mauritians	0.02	POWERLESS

From 1970 until 1976

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Hindus	0.52	SENIOR PARTNER
Creoles	0.27	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.16	JUNIOR PARTNER
Franco-Mauritians	0.02	JUNIOR PARTNER

From 1977 until 1982

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Hindus	0.52	SENIOR PARTNER
Creoles	0.27	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.16	POWERLESS
Franco-Mauritians	0.02	JUNIOR PARTNER

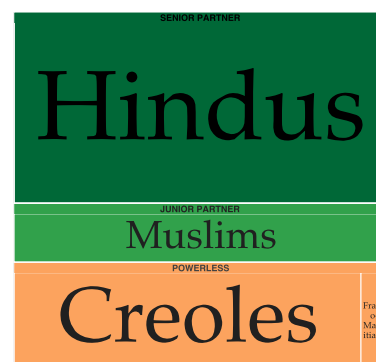


Figure 571: Political status of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1969-1969.

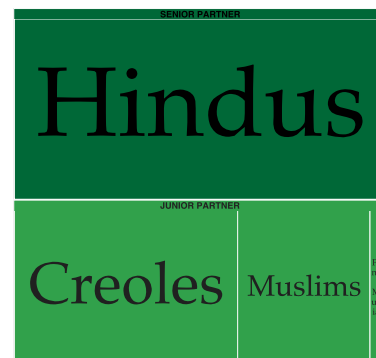


Figure 572: Political status of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1970-1976.

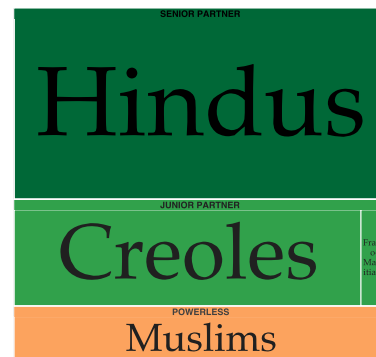


Figure 573: Political status of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1977-1982.

From 1983 until 1983

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Hindus	0.52	SENIOR PARTNER
Black Creoles	0.225	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.16	JUNIOR PARTNER
Gens-de-Couleur	0.045	POWERLESS
Franco-Mauritians	0.02	JUNIOR PARTNER

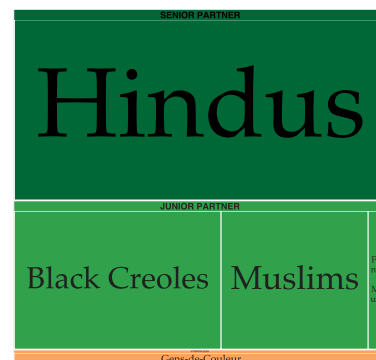


Figure 574: Political status of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1983-1983.

From 1984 until 1987

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Hindus	0.52	SENIOR PARTNER
Creoles	0.27	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.16	JUNIOR PARTNER
Franco-Mauritians	0.02	POWERLESS

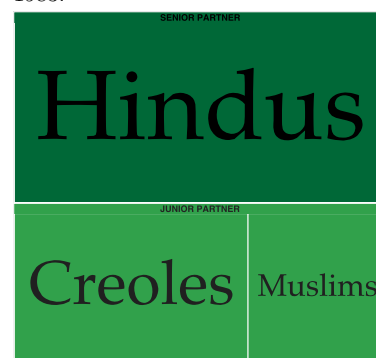


Figure 575: Political status of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1984-1987.

From 1988 until 1991

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Hindi-speaking Hindus	0.4	SENIOR PARTNER
Creoles	0.27	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.16	JUNIOR PARTNER
Tamils and Telugus	0.1	POWERLESS
Franco-Mauritians	0.02	POWERLESS
Marathis	0.02	POWERLESS

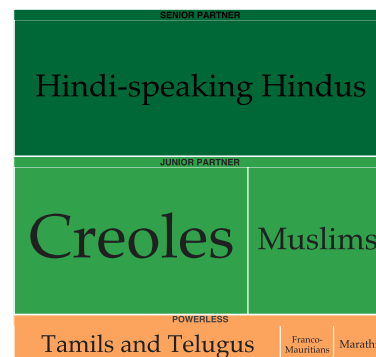


Figure 576: Political status of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1988-1991.

From 1992 until 2005

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Hindi-speaking Hindus	0.4	SENIOR PARTNER
Creoles	0.27	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.16	JUNIOR PARTNER
Tamils and Telugus	0.1	JUNIOR PARTNER
Franco-Mauritians	0.02	JUNIOR PARTNER
Marathis	0.02	JUNIOR PARTNER

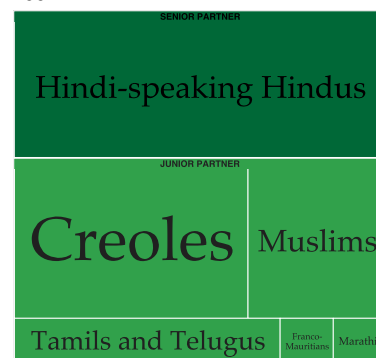


Figure 577: Political status of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1992-2005.

From 2006 until 2010

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Hindi-speaking Hindus	0.4	SENIOR PARTNER
Black Creoles	0.225	POWERLESS
Muslims	0.16	JUNIOR PARTNER
Tamils and Telugus	0.1	POWERLESS
Gens-de-Couleur	0.045	JUNIOR PARTNER
Marathis	0.02	POWERLESS
Franco-Mauritians	0.02	JUNIOR PARTNER

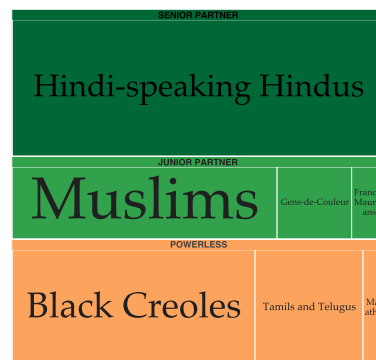


Figure 578: Political status of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 2006-2010.

From 2011 until 2016

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Hindi-speaking Hindus	0.4	SENIOR PARTNER
Creoles	0.27	JUNIOR PARTNER
Muslims	0.16	JUNIOR PARTNER
Tamils and Telugus	0.1	POWERLESS
Franco-Mauritians	0.02	JUNIOR PARTNER
Marathis	0.02	POWERLESS

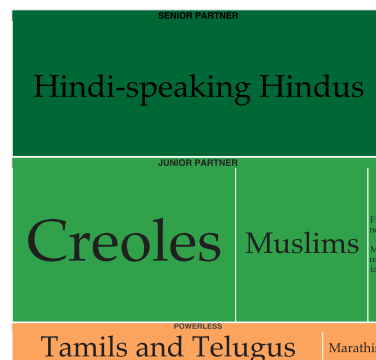


Figure 579: Political status of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 2011-2016.

From 2017 until 2017

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Hindi-speaking Hindus	0.4	SENIOR PARTNER
Creoles	0.27	POWERLESS
Muslims	0.16	JUNIOR PARTNER
Tamils and Telugus	0.1	POWERLESS
Franco-Mauritians	0.02	POWERLESS
Marathis	0.02	POWERLESS

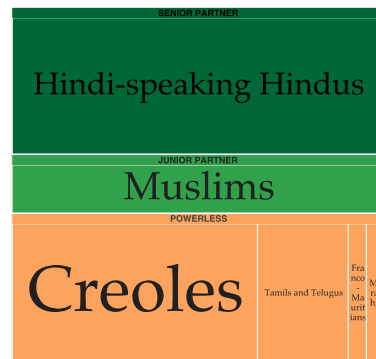


Figure 580: Political status of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 2017-2017.

Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Mauritius

From 1969 until 1982

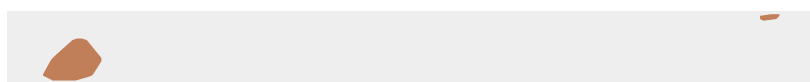


Figure 581: Map of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1969-1982.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■ Hindus	2133	Statewide
Muslims		Dispersed
Creoles		Dispersed
Franco-Mauritians		Dispersed

Table 201: List of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1969-1982.

From 1983 until 1983

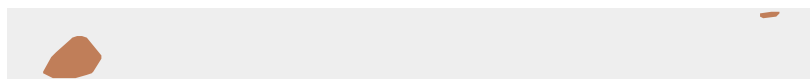


Figure 582: Map of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1983-1983.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■ Hindus	2133	Statewide
Muslims		Dispersed
Franco-Mauritians		Dispersed
Black Creoles		Dispersed
Gens-de-Couleur		Dispersed

Table 202: List of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1983-1983.

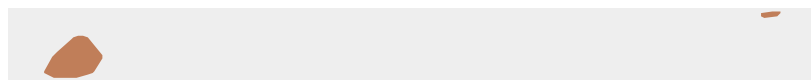
From 1984 until 1987

Figure 583: Map of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1984-1987.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■ Hindus	2133	Statewide
Muslims		Dispersed
Creoles		Dispersed
Franco-Mauritians		Dispersed

Table 203: List of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1984-1987.

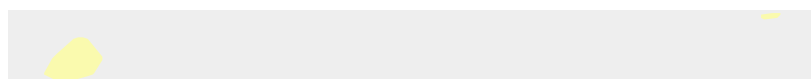
From 1988 until 2005

Figure 584: Map of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1988-2005.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■ Hindi-speaking Hindus	2133	Statewide
Muslims		Dispersed
Creoles		Dispersed
Franco-Mauritians		Dispersed
Marathis		Dispersed
Tamils and Telugus		Dispersed

Table 204: List of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 1988-2005.

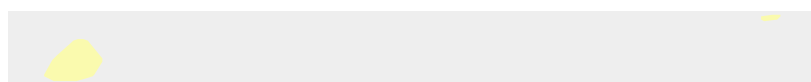
From 2006 until 2010

Figure 585: Map of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 2006-2010.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■ Hindi-speaking Hindus	2133	Statewide
Franco-Mauritians		Dispersed
Muslims		Dispersed
Tamils and Telugus		Dispersed
Black Creoles		Dispersed
Gens-de-Couleur		Dispersed
Marathis		Dispersed

Table 205: List of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 2006-2010.

From 2011 until 2017

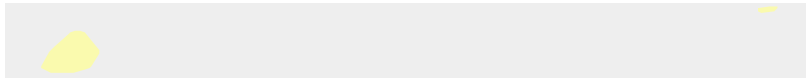


Figure 586: Map of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 2011-2017.

Group name	Area in km ²	Type
■ Hindi-speaking Hindus	2133	Statewide
Muslims		Dispersed
Creoles		Dispersed
Franco-Mauritians		Dispersed
Marathis		Dispersed
Tamils and Telugus		Dispersed

Table 206: List of ethnic groups in Mauritius during 2011-2017.