ABSTRACT

Investigating the Cultural Identity of The Bahamas
through a Study of Bahamian Primary Education

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Thirty-six years ago, The Bahamas attained independence from Britain. With this change, the nation's leaders determined that a core element in building an independent nation was forming a sense of cultural identity among its people. Since then, there has been a continual effort by the government to develop cultural identity among its citizenry, particularly through education. The purpose of this study was to investigate how curriculum and instruction in Bahamian public primary schools are presently serving to develop cultural identity among Bahamian students. Oral traditions are considered to be a significant part of Bahamian history and culture. Moreover, Bahamians widely practice and depend on oral forms of communication. For these reasons, the cultural expression chosen to facilitate this investigation of Bahamian cultural identity was oral traditions. The theoretical framework of this study was based on the ideologies of cultural literacy and multicultural education. Although these ideologies are usually seen as opposites within the discourse of American education, I propose that these two approaches may actually be used in conjunction with each other as a means to develop cultural identity

within the Bahamian context. Based on this premise, this study explored how a select number of primary school teachers use Bahamian oral traditions in several content areas to help primary schoolchildren develop a sense of cultural identity. This study used an ethnographic case study design, which included document analysis, questionnaires and interviewing. Findings from this investigation revealed that oral traditions were integrated across several content areas to various degrees, but received the greatest support in language arts and social studies curricula and instruction. Other observations included the use and influence of Bahamian dialect in the practice of oral traditions, and the prevalence of native oral traditions in mostly indigenous learning resources. Implications of these results are discussed in relation to the development of cultural identity among schoolchildren. I offer several suggestions for improving the present practice of content integration, alternative means to produce more native learning materials to stimulate increased pedagogical inclusion of oral traditions, and discuss possible effects of social attitudes towards Bahamian dialect on oral traditions instruction.

Investigating the Cultural Identity of The Bahamas
through a Study of Bahamian Primary Education

by

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A Dissertation

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Fr. Crosley and Mrs. Janet Walkine, who mean everything to me.

Thank you for the endless doors of educational and personal development that you continually open to me and for the sacrifices you selflessly incur to make it all possible. Without those opportunities, I would not be the person I am today. I hope I always make you proud in everything that I do. Thank you for loving me the way you do, and thank you for never giving up on me.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Family is the pulse beat of every society.
Through it are passed on customs and history.
Into this context old stories and riddles are our heritage,
Told by lamplight and never written on any page.

There comes a time when people are maturing,
And they seek to preserve cultural traditions in writing.
We are four years old as a nation; maturing I would say!
So preservation must be the order of the day.

Psychologically, to know roots is most important.
Cultural identity consists of past and present.
Hence to be a full person and secure
Includes accepting ancestry, even the obscure.

Many of our youth now do not know
Their heritage and what it is all about,
Parents do not tell them whence they came
And how they survived by various games.

It seems that old stories and riddles are good tools
With which to teach certain subjects in schools.
These forms are attractive and natural to us,
So with them children will learn without much fuss.

Thus 1 created in the spirit of past ages
The stories and riddles on the following pages.
It is my wish that they be enjoyed by the whole family
And help to revive our folklore as formerly. (Tertullien, 1977, p. 5)

In 1973 the Bahamas attained independence from England. Four years later, Tertullien (1977) wrote this poem, proposing the idea that a nation cannot mature without preservation of its cultural forms and a sense of cultural identity. The challenge facing any young country involves identifying and passing along its own unique culture.

Nettleford (1998) has observed that "[n]ew nations usually give large portions of their creative energy to what may be termed the 'identity problem' and the mid-twentieth century with its flux of emergent countries in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean is particularly noted for this aspect of nation-building" (p. 19). Like other Caribbean countries, The Bahamas, too, has encountered an "identity problem." Bethel and Glaser (2006) suggest younger Bahamians lack sufficient awareness of and exposure to cultural forms which has consequently left the sure existence of a Bahamian culture among the general populace as questionable. The challenge of identifying and transmitting Bahamian culture to younger generations may be faced within schools which serve as agents of social change and media for proliferating cultural forms. The purpose of this study is to investigate how Bahamian culture is being passed on to primary schoolchildren as a means to develop Bahamian cultural identity.

Because no culture can be limited to defined boundaries or totally measured, only one element of Bahamian culture will be studied in order to complete this investigation. Bethel and Glaser (2006) describe The Bahamas as being "a highly oral society. This is a fundamental trait that applies to all sectors of Bahamian society…[having] affected European and African populations of The Bahamas alike…" (p. 7). Based on their observation, the cultural expression being examined in this study is oral tradition. Bethel and Glaser (2006) also propose that the oral nature of Bahamian cultural expressions combined with the nation's archipelagic situation has stunted the development of a coherent approach to culture among the citizenry. I propose that the development of a coherent approach to culture can be facilitated through the teaching of cultural forms,

such as oral traditions, in school curricula. This may be accomplished by basing cultural transmission on the models of cultural literacy and multicultural education.

Definitions of the Study

The term "oral tradition," as used in this dissertation, covers several practices and interpretations. For example, oral traditions may be regarded as verbal messages depicting past occurrences in the form of speech, song, or acclamation accompanied by music (Vansina, 1985 as cited in le Roux, 2000). Oral traditions can also be described as the passing down of folklore across generations by word of mouth (le Roux, 2000). This then begs the definition of folklore which similarly can be described as beliefs, customs, and stories that are transmitted from one generation to the next (le Roux, 2000). As can be seen, oral traditions may then be considered as a process and as a product (le Roux, 2000).

Much of Bahamian oral folklore has been presently celebrated in song, especially through Junkanoo. Glinton-Meicholas (2000) notes that:

> once Majority Rule was won, the official drive to examine, preserve, and promote cultural art[i]facts was, until quite recently, focused almost exclusively on Junkanoo, a colorful portmanteau kind of art form that includes the plastic arts, music, and dance. Bahamians, except a few hardy souls, saw little economic utility in other art forms and therefore considered them unworthy of promotion. (p. 2)

Junkanoo has been generally considered among the Bahamian populace as the quintessential object of Bahamian cultural identity. Because relatively more attention has been socially and empirically placed on the musical and pageantry types of oral traditions, the term oral traditions in this study will refer primarily to riddles, proverbs,

and storytelling since these forms are celebrated on a smaller scale compared to junkanoo.

Although any form of identity is fluid, one of my assumptions in this study is that cultural literacy can aid in developing a consistent, dynamic approach to the national discourse and maturation of Bahamian cultural identity. This assumption is based on Hirsch's argument that a nation without linguistic and cultural standardization is vulnerable to "cultural fragmentation, civic antagonism and illiteracy" (Giddings, 1998, p. 111) and that cultural literacy is a process of acculturation into a literate society (Hirsch Jr., 1983). Along this same line, I believe it is possible for cultural literacy to allow Bahamian students to become "acculturated" into their native community using cultural knowledge of the type Hirsch deems necessary for preservation of traditions and promotion of national pride (Giddings, 1998).

When attempts are made to preserve cultural forms as part of a national heritage, however, exclusion of certain members of society may occur (Scher, 2002). Such exclusivity may be detrimental to the formation of a nation's cultural identity since only a limited number of cultural expressions of certain units of the entire society would be represented. Multicultural education may assist in diminishing any sense of exclusivity in the creation of a national public discourse, as suggested by Hirsch, and a coherent approach to culture among Bahamians.

In his conceptualization of multicultural education, James Banks (2001) provides a model of cultural identity which may be applied to this investigation. The archipelagic nature of the Bahamas has ensured cultural diversity among the scattered islands. It is proposed that without having a firm sense of cultural identity, the different cultural

expressions found within the archipelago cannot be fully appreciated and developed. This proposition may also be understood on a more individualistic scale using Banks' (2001) model of cultural identity. According to Banks (2001), the typology of cultural identity includes six stages. Although these stages are not fixed boundaries of cultural identity and may each be expressed at any time throughout a person's life, Banks (2001) hypothesizes that students must have clarified positive cultural identifications, as in Stage 3, before being able to have clarified national and global identifications as in Stages 5 and 6 of the typology described below:

> Stage 1: *Cultural Psychological Captivity* – The individual internalizes the negative societal beliefs about his or her cultural group.
> Stage 2: *Cultural Encapsulation* – The individual is ethnocentric and practices cultural separatism.
> Stage 3: *Cultural Identity Clarification* – The individual accepts self and has clarified attitudes toward his or her own cultural group.
> Stage 4: *Biculturalism* – The individual has the attitudes, skills, and commitment needed to participate both within his or her own cultural group and within another culture.
> Stage 5: *Multiculturalism and Reflective Nationalism* – The individual has reflective cultural and national identifications and the skills, attitudes, and commitment needed to function within a range of ethnic and cultural groups within his or her nation.
> Stage 6: *Globalism and Global Competency* – The individual has reflective and positive cultural, national, and global identifications and the knowledge, skills, and commitment needed to function within cultures throughout his or her nation and world (p. 60).

In this case, the cultural knowledge to be shared among the populace would be oral traditions. Despite each island having several variations of the same traditional themes of Bahamian oral folklore and even linguistic variations, it is assumed that the common orality among Bahamians throughout the archipelago (Glinton-Meicholas, 2000) would serve as a unifying factor upon which an appreciation for the practice and celebration of other cultural traditions of different islands may be founded. Mimicking the structure of

Banks' (2001) identity model, I propose that cultural literacy may help establish some clarified sense of how Bahamian culture should be recognized and what it may entail as postulated in stage three of Banks' (2001) model. Rather than cultural literacy and multicultural education be negating of each other, it is proposed that cultural literacy can be used as a stepping stone to multicultural education in order to develop some appreciation for diverse cultural expressions as demonstrated in stages four, five, and six. Culturally responsive teaching, an element of multicultural education, may bring about this desired effect.

Using an ethnographic case study approach, the inclusion of oral traditions in public primary school curricula will be examined and evaluated for possible support of national cultural literacy, lending to the development of a national cultural identity, appreciation of cultural diversity, and preservation of oral folklore. This analysis will occur within the frame of Bahamian public primary schools since this is the area in which I am most interested in making educational contributions.

Important Historical Background of the Study

Altogether The Bahamas constitutes a part of the West Indies region. Although not directly geographically situated in the Caribbean Sea, the Bahamas may still be considered a part of the Caribbean. This consideration is in part due to the Bahamas having common sociohistorical circumstances, such as the Atlantic slave trade and sugar industry era, with other island colonies under British rule. This topic now provides a background for understanding:

1. The development of some slave communities which have become significant elements of Bahamian society and, for this reason, will be used in this study as areas from which participants are sampled;
2. How the purposeful deculturation of slaves and lack of literacy instruction may have lent to the retention of African forms of oral expressions which contributed to educational development among blacks in The Bahamas;
3. How blacks in The Bahamas became the numerical majority but were socially and politically marginalized compared to white Bahamians who, during the time discussed, formed the minority; and
4. How education served as a pivotal tool in proliferating British customs and culture among Bahamian students of all complexions, lending to Bahamians becoming a cultural minority in their own environment.

The last two points are instrumental in appreciating the model proposed in this study, which suggests that cultural literacy would allow Bahamians today, who are still the numerical majority and cultural minority, to develop an appreciation of their cultural heritage and cultural identity. The following section attempts to build a historical context in which the four points listed above may be illustrated and expanded upon.

Overview of Slavery in The Bahamas

Although a few slaves were the first to come to The Bahamas during the migration of the Eleutherian Adventurers (Saunders, 1982; Cash, Maples, & Packer, 1978),[1] even more came with Loyalists—Americans who resisted the American War of

[1] In 1648, Cash et al. describes, about 70 Puritans and 28 slaves arrived on the island of Eleuthera and became known through history as the Eleutherian Adventurers. The Eleutherian Adventurers were a group of Englishmen who had migrated to the Bahamas from Bermuda seeking religious freedom. Like

Independence and wanted to remain under British rule (Cash et al., 1978). Most of these supporters of British rule resided in the southern colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia which had close ties to Britain because of the tobacco and cotton trade (Cash et al., 1978). Condemned for their political desires, the Loyalists frequently received harsh treatment from the American rebels who often ridiculed, tarred and feathered them, or prevented them from purchasing goods, or even confiscated their land (Cash et al., 1978). While some Loyalists sold their property and relocated to Canada, others left to begin lives in West Indian countries (Saunders, 1982). Also, Eastern Florida, being British in 1773, became the home of many Loyalists who took their slaves and plantation lifestyle there (Cash et al., 1978). However, East Florida became Spanish territory again after the signing of the treaty of Versailles in 1783 (Cash et al., 1978). Following this, the British government gave land in the colonies to the Loyalists who had lost their possessions in America; from this stemmed the migration of Loyalists to the Bahamas in 1783 (Cash et al., 1978). Some Loyalists came from New York and migrated to the islands of Abaco and Cat Island with many inundating the island of New Providence between 1784 and 1785 (Saunders, 1982). Within those two years, between six and seven thousand Loyalists arrived in the Bahamas (Saunders, 1982), causing the Bahamian population to increase from 4,000 in 1783 to 11,300 in 1789 and the ratio of negroes to whites, which was equal before, to be three to one (Cash et al., 1978). Three major reasons have been suggested for the Bahamas being chosen as their new settlement: (1) the islands were geographically close to America, (2) the soil would support cotton farming which the

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their fellow Puritans who left England to settle in Massachusetts, the Eleutherian Adventurers wished to worship in a manner that was different from that practiced by the Anglican Church of England.

loyalists could continue to do as before and (3) many of them left in fear of the Spaniards when Florida was given back to Spain at the end of the war (Saunders, 1982).

Although many Loyalists left the Bahamas around 1800 because of an economic drop in cotton exports due to an attack of the chenille and red bugs and growingly infertile soil, they left long lasting effects on the society of the Bahamas (Cash et al., 1978). Besides bringing with them skills such as boat-building (Cash et al., 1978), for example, one of the most crucial improvements made to the country was that of education. The Loyalists had started many schools, thereby giving education a new impetus (Cash et al., 1978) and were considered to be “cultured and educated people with a rigorous and lively interest in the provision of education for their children… It was then in 1795 that the government, which now included some Loyalists, passed a most enlightened school Act which promised the development of an education which could have compared favorably with that found elsewhere, including the United Kingdom” (Turner, 1968). Like the 1725 mandate issued by the Governor in Council (Sands, 1998), the 1797 Consolidation Slave Act forced Bahamian slave owners, including Loyalists, to arrange for their slaves to receive religious instruction, giving some of them, both free and bound, their first educational experience (Collie, 1982). This circumstance was similar for indentured African servants as well (Sands, 1998). However, many of them received instruction from Baptist and Methodist missionaries (Sands, 1998). While this law did not provide formal education for free negroes, the Associates of Dr. Bray opened a school for them in 1793 whereby the Madras System of Education began in the Bahamas (Sands, 1998).[2] Along with an attempt to centrally supervise the state of

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[2] In 1817 school segregation became official policy and practice after Dr. Bell’s Madras system was introduced to the Bahamian educational system (Trainor, *Education,* 2-4). Having become known as

education, the Loyalists, with their relatively advanced cultural and educational background, proved to be positively influential in the development of Bahamian public education (Turner, 1968).

After the population of slaves grew with the oncoming of Loyalists to the Bahamas, the sugar revolution increased the number of slaves in the West Indian region significantly. The Spaniards introduced sugar to the West Indies in 1493 but it was Aguilon who in 1505 crushed canes into sugar and began the sugar industry in the region (Greenwood & Hamber, 1979). As the sugar demand in Europe increased, the Spaniards needed laborers to replace the Carib and Arawak Indians whose population was quickly declining (Cash et al., 1978). They found a solution to this problem in West Africans who were seen as defenseless, inferior to Europeans, pagans who needed to be enslaved and learn about Christianity, and an inexpensive, profitable source of labor (Greenwood & Hamber, 1979). Antislavery groups, however, challenged the morality and legality of slavery until slavery was declared illegal in England in 1772 by the British Chief Justice, Lord Mansfield (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987a). Despite this declaration, the actual slave trade continued on legally until its abolition in 1807 (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987a; Saunders, 1982). Meanwhile in the Bahamas some slave owners created manumission contracts for their slaves who could thereby work to buy their freedom (Cash et al., 1978). Other slave owners in the Bahamas remained opposed to the abolition of slavery based not only on religious convictions but also on economic need. Since all slavery was not clearly condemned in the Bible, opponents argued that it was a divinely ordained act which would help civilize African negroes as they intermingled with Caucasians and also

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the monitor system, one teacher could instruct a large number of students. That teacher would then instruct monitors who were then given responsibility of teaching the classes. However, it had been criticized for reinforcing the notion that blacks were to be educated to fulfill lower class lives (Trainor, *Education*, 4).

be converted to Christianity (Cash et al., 1978).[3] This idea at times contrasted with some other planters' fear that Christianity would create a common bond among the slaves which could unite them against their masters who, out of this fear, sometimes refused to let Christian missionaries on their plantations (Claypole & Robottom, 1980). More importantly, however, opponents argued that slaves were needed to maintain the plantation economy in the production of cotton, tobacco, and sugar and that in the Bahamas slaves were not being abused or overworked (Claypole & Robottom, 1980). Nonetheless, an act passed in 1833 in the British Parliament went into effect on August 1, 1834 and forced the end of slavery in the British Caribbean (Claypole & Robottom, 1980).

Following this legal change, the apprenticeship system was created in order to facilitate the onset of freedom (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987b). So that plantations would not be immediately devoid of laborers, former slaves were forced to remain on the plantations for six years while their former owners were recompensed for "property" loss (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987b). Whereas Barbados and Antigua ended slavery without apprenticeship in 1834, other colonies that attempted to implement the system, including The Bahamas, found it too difficult to administer (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987b). One of the reasons included the reluctance of those in power to provide civil rights for this new body of citizens seen as legally equal, where beforehand only a few of them had been granted such rights (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987b). Another reason included the fall of

[3] Also, as described by Claypole and Robottom (1980), for example, Vodun, a belief system based on recognition of a creator male-female god, Maur-Lisa, and lesser gods called voduns, was mainly practiced by African slaves in French St. Domingue, now modern Haiti. As many slaves were forced to partake in the sacrament of baptism in the Roman Catholic faith, it is believed that Voodoo arose out of the mixture of Catholic and African beliefs. Also mentioned in this text is the practice of Obeah, known to have been practiced by slaves and their descendents in the Bahamas, which is based on sorcery used to heal or harm persons thought to be behind ill-doing.

sugar prices (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987b). The West Indian sugar industry became threatened by competition from other producers such as Cuba and Brazil, producers belonging to the British empire (such as India, South Africa, and Australia), and European and American beet sugar producers (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987b). In addition, labor costs increased as former slaves could now be recognized as legitimate wage laborers with the right to negotiate compensation (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987b). As a result, apprenticeship in the Bahamas and other colonies came to an early end in 1838 (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987b).

Even after the British slave trade had ended and slavery and apprenticeship in the Bahamas had ceased, Africans continued to be relocated to the Bahama Islands (Saunders, 1982). These Africans would be seized from ships that had been captured or shipwrecked while en route to America or Cuba where slaves were still being traded (Saunders, 1982). Regarded as "liberated Africans," they became indentured laborers for masters or mistresses who helped them become accustomed to their new environment by teaching them a trade or handicrafts (Saunders, 1982). To accommodate the numbers of liberated Africans, the government provided land for them to create their own settlements (Cash et al., 1978). Examples of these settlements include Bain Town, Fox Hill, Adelaide, Carmichael, Gambier Village, and Grant's Town where a school was built to provide education to the liberated Africans (Saunders, 1982). Because of the historical significance of these same settlements, they were chosen as points of interest in the methodology of this study, as described later in Chapter Three.

Changes in Caribbean demographics during the slave trade. With the introduction and continuing development of slavery, economic trade and indentured

labor, The Bahamas, like other West Indian nations, witnessed the collective formation of complex social identities based on class and physical racial features alongside increasing demographic changes. Approximately 47 percent of the 10 million African slaves brought to the Americas landed in the Caribbean before the end of the Atlantic slave trade, and about 17 percent were situated in the British Caribbean (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987a). Sugar and slavery gave to the region a predominantly African population (Meditz & Hanratty, 1987d), as demonstrated by the southern island of Barbados (Greenwood & Hamber, 1979, p. 87) in Table 1:

Table 1

Demography in Barbados before, during and after the Sugar Revolution

Year	Total Population	White	Black	Landowners
(Before sugar)				
1639	30,000	29,000	1,000	7,000
(Sugar revolution under way)				
1645	46,000	39,000	7,000	12,000
(After sugar)				
1666	70,000	18,000	52,000	760
1685	66,000	20,000	46,000	700

As more and more slaves were brought to the region, whites became a numerical minority while still maintaining their social and economic superiority (Greenwood & Hamber, 1979). During the early 1800s, whites made up less than 5 percent of the total population of Jamaica, Grenada, Nevis, St. Vincent, and Tobago whereas only in the Bahamas, Barbados, and Trinidad did they comprise more than 10 percent of those total populations (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987a).

With demographic changes during slavery, social divisions based on class and caste grew within the increasingly heterogeneous Caribbean region with the three main

groups being free whites, free nonwhites, and slaves (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987a). Among the whites were the "principal whites" and "poor whites" who altogether formed three ranks (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987a). The elite whites—the plantation and slave owners—established the top ranking, followed by merchants, officials, and professionals like doctors and clergymen, whose complexion was less fair than the plantation owners, thereby making them second in rank (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987a). Finally, the bottom rank belonged to the "poor whites," who were sometimes referred to in a derogatory way as "red legs" in Barbados or "walking buckras" in Jamaica (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987a). Among them were small-scale farmers, servants, and servicemen such as policemen, smiths, and persons fulfilling the "Deficiency Laws" which mandated that a minimum number of whites be present on each plantation as protection against slave revolts (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987a).

Between the free whites and the slaves existed free nonwhites, the "free persons of color," originating from the union between European masters and their African slaves (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987a). In 1802, Governor Francis Seaforth of Barbados described this group as "the Black and Colored people who are not slaves, and yet whom I cannot bring myself to call free. I think *unappropriated people* would be a more proper denomination for them, for though not the property of other individuals they do not enjoy the shadow of any civil right" (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987a). While the free nonwhites economically competed with slaves who were attempting to earn enough money to purchase their freedom, they also competed with lower ranking whites (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987a). Using their access to political power from the home government in Britain or their own local power, the higher ranking whites created laws to undermine the

free nonwhites, such as denying them the right to practice certain professions (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987a).

Difference in color of skin not only affected the way Bahamian residents interacted with each other and what economic opportunities were afforded to each group, but they also influenced opportunities for academic advancement. Although there were different levels of treatment in regard to education among all residents along the hierarchical line of economic status, the most obvious disparity of educational opportunities in the Bahamas and interests in being educated was seen mainly between whites and blacks.

Attitudes toward education during the 1700s to early 1900s in The Bahamas. Although West Indian folklore is steeped in African origin, it has, along with other cultural traditions, retained a small number of purely African characteristics (Abrahams, 1967). This can be mainly attributed to the cultural stripping of the slaves' African heritage, believed to be important to the economic success of the plantation system (Abrahams, 1967). It was intended for slaves' cultural expressions to be mainly modeled like that of slave masters, despite being denied the chance to be recognized as a member of the plantocrat class and enjoy rights associated with their European institutions and value systems (Abrahams, 1967). Another perceived element of the plantation system's success was the division between field laborer and supervisor—positions that were to be strictly maintained and accepted by those serving in such capacities (Abrahams, 1967). Rather than beating slaves to force this acceptance of roles, deculturation was used and seen as a "more effective and basic technique" (Abrahams, 1967, p. 459). Abrahams (1967) goes on to say "By cutting off all ties with the past in which the slave played some

other, generally less subservient role, the plantocracy was able to undermine all sense of the psychological self-sufficiency of both individual and group and force the slave to accept white values and attitudes, including their image of the nature and capacity of the negro" (p. 459). This process of deculturation was made successful in part by education.

In Britain, abolitionists argued that Christian education would provide slaves with training in obedience and industry, for example, and it would also allow slaves to develop literacy skills for Bible reading and growth in moral character (Blouet, 1990). Meanwhile in the West Indies, slave masters viewed literacy as potential threat to the stability of the plantation system (Blouet, 1990). They feared slaves being able to read literature of a rebellious nature, which would then inspire slaves to revolt, attain power, and gain independence (Blouet, 1990). Out of Christian obligation, however, some West Indian slave masters allowed their slaves to receive Christian instruction (Blouet, 1990). Such efforts were later followed by the Methodists, Presbyterians and other missionary groups and, in time, by the Established Church of England (Blouet, 1990) which would prove to be an influential force in the provision of education to blacks in the Bahamas.

As Trainor (1982) suggests, the earliest educational work in the Bahamas was started by laymen of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) from the 1720s. The SPCK was founded by Dr. Thomas Bray in 1698 in England to help manage the efforts of numerous charities which, through contributions, had developed many schools aimed at improving morality among the poor through Christian education (Bain, 1989). Dr. Bray also founded the Associates and the SPG, which was founded in 1701, in order to educate Negroes and maintain libraries in America and the West Indian region (Sands, 1998).

This work was carried out through the work of missionaries who supervised catechists and schoolmasters who served settlers, natives, and slaves in the colonies (Sands, 1998). Fulfilling the requests of Governors Rogers and Fitzwilliam, missionaries came to the Bahamas in the 1730s and by the end of the decade the SPG had introduced an education grant and established a school (Trainor, 1982). Although the main purpose of the education provided by the SPG was based on morality and religion, arithmetic, writing, reading, accounts, and navigation, among other subjects, were also taught (Sands, 1998). And although the church groups were mainly concerned with converting slaves, they also educated fee paying whites and free blacks (Trainor, 1982).

Whereas religious missionary groups continued to show interest in offering education to the Bahamian population, the government lacked the same consistency in providing education to all. In the mid-1820s, the House of Parliament neglected education because of the drop in the colony's economy due to the decline of cotton plantations (Trainor, 1982). Having offered schooling to the poor and not seeing desired results to justify continued funding, provisions for education had then been reduced during this economic plight—a consequence which continued on into the mid-1920s (Trainor, 1982). While blacks were not involved with government schools, poor whites suffered from the reduction in education opportunities which, as Trainor (1982) insinuates, may have been fueled by the apathy of poor whites towards education, especially those located on the Out Islands (Trainor, 1982). As quoted in Trainor's (1982) report of the Bahamas' educational history during this same era, Bain's description of the period ending in 1823 may give insight into how the attitudes of poor whites towards education reflected their lifestyles on the Out Islands:

> As life offered no serious challenges similar to the frontier problems of America, the need for hard work, ingenuity and skill on land was not pressing. The important occupations were seamanship and shipbuilding, neither of which could be learned better than by experience and practice. No schooling was really necessary so there was no need for an educational policy to meet local demand arising naturally out of enterprise and development. Nor was there a strong religious motive for education as in the New England Colonies. Schools were moral and social embellishments; not an economic or religious necessity. (Trainor, 1982, p. 5)

While poor whites appeared to have little interest in education, blacks regardless of personal interest were excluded from government educational initiatives as the House of Assembly resisted attempts made by the Home Government in England to promote racial equality or the slaves' emancipation (Trainor, 1982). Even though the House did not vote to support other schools in the colony except the Central School, interest in schooling increased within the colony, particularly among the free blacks who were described by Governor Grant around 1826 as wanting their children to be literate (Trainor, 1982).

Nurturing this growing interest among blacks in the Bahamas around this time was Sir James Carmichael Smyth, an Englishman appointed Governor of the Bahamas on May 8, 1829 (Trainor, 1982). Known as "an uncompromising abolitionist," he expressed that he would "consent to no law in which the color of a man's skin was made a reason for debarring him from enjoyment of his civil rights…" (Trainor, 1982, p. 7). One important accomplishment of Smyth was his work with Kings School where he promoted integration and set a policy practiced in government schools that from thereon no distinction in race would be used to determine the admittance of students (Trainor, 1982). This policy was continued by B.T. Balfour who succeeded Smyth in June 1833 (Trainor, 1982). Despite education being a lesser priority during Balfour's administration because of Emancipation and its consequent issues, Balfour still advocated for increased

educational opportunities for blacks in the Bahamian colony (Trainor, 1982). For example, in late August 1834, after observing that places offering free education were admitting white students disproportionately, he required admissions to be held openly for ten days with "black and colored" pupils having one half the places reserved for them, and then all places being made available to all children for admission consideration (Trainor, 1982).

The oncoming of Emancipation fueled the continual interest of free blacks in education who were described as showing "…great anxiety for the instruction of their children while the parents of the lower class of white do not value education in the same way." (Trainor, 1982, p. 9).[4] This great interest among blacks came even as education in the Bahamas was of a poor state:

> At the time of Emancipation there were five public schools in the whole colony, four of which were in the out-islands, servicing a population of approximately twelve thousand people inhabiting several islands and cays. Less than eight hundred out of two thousand eight hundred children between the ages of six and fourteen went to school. As stated above, the standard of teaching and work was bad; the schools were poorly equipped and worse staffed. In a school in Eleuthera, one pupil out of seventy-seven had progressed beyond the four fundamental processes of arithmetic. In fact, on islands with a school, conditions were little better than among slave children and among children on islands where no schools existed. On Eleuthera, the islands referred to above, and which had a school almost continuously for sixty years, and two for that time, not one in three of the inhabitants could read or were learning to read. (Sands, 1998, p.142)

Despite these challenging conditions, interest in education among Blacks accelerated even more after Emancipation, leading to an increase in the numbers of free black children being admitted into previously white dominated schools, especially in the Out Islands (Trainor, 1982).

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[4] As quoted by C.R. Nesbitt, the Acting Colonial Secretary in July 1834, in Trainor, *Education in the Bahamas*, 9.

Following emancipation, the Negro Education Grant came into effect in 1835 and was designed to provide each colony in the British Empire with £20,000 to school freed slaves and £5000 to train qualified teachers (Trainor, 1982). Rather than being controlled by the colonial legislatures, this money was to be dispersed by religious groups; therein competition was stirred among the religious societies to contribute to education and influence in the Bahamas since those funds were not intended to substitute the groups' already existing funds but to supplement them (Trainor, 1982). Some of the church groups included Baptists and Wesleyans who had worked among slaves for more than 20 years, and in later years the Church of England which had increased its educational efforts within the colony (Trainor, 1982). Despite the expansion of education throughout the colony spurred by the Negro Education Grant, it was followed by the development of a more divided approach, unoriginal repetitious initiatives, and no established centralized system to organize provisions for education (Trainor, 1982). A year later, the Board of Public Education was founded to establish and regulate public education (Saunders, n.d.).

Throughout the British Caribbean before the mid-1800s, education was provided to white students who either attended schools abroad or local exclusive schools for those not able to afford a foreign education, while the intermediate group of nonwhites considered academically able attended other schools (Meditz and Hanratty, 1987c).[5] During the late 1800s, however, despite emancipation and attempts by different bodies to integrate schools, racial and socioeconomic status prejudices continued to perpetuate

[5] See quote at http://countrystudies.us/caribbean-islands/11.htm (accessed February 16, 2006): The wealthy planters generally sent their children abroad, mainly to Britain, but a surprisingly large number went to study in British North America. Alexander Hamilton, born in Nevis in 1755, attended King's College (later Columbia University), where his political tracts attracted the attention of George Washington. Other students attended such colleges as the College of William and Mary in Virginia and the College of Philadelphia. Indigent whites attended local grammar schools founded by charitable bequests in the eighteenth century, such as Codrington College and Harrison College in Barbados and Wolmer's, Rusea's, Beckford and Smith's, and Manning's schools in Jamaica.

marked differences in the pattern of schooling seen among different classes of whites and blacks. As many whites thought "Africans and their descendants were sub-human, ignorant, and savages, and their cultures inferior" (Saunders, n.d., p. 2), attitudes which may have stemmed from Loyalist heritage (Trainor, 1982), it was believed to be fruitless to teach poor blacks since they were primarily fishermen and farmers,[6] thought of as being incapable of learning, and feared that education may make increase their status in society (Saunders, n.d.). Yet, to maintain the "laboring classes" or "lower orders" (Trainor, 1982) under Whites, young black girls were taught to be housewives and mothers (Saunders, n.d.) while many other blacks were provided with only a primary education. Whereas some colored children from well-off families were privately tutored, usually by white male teachers, most working class families could not afford to pay fees charged by secondary schools while few colored parents could (Saunders, n.d.).

Secondary schools at the time were geared to provide education for mostly the elite and some middle class blacks. One of these schools was the Anglican Nassau Grammar School for boys, which was established in 1864 by Bishop Venables and taught the Classics, Mathematics, and the "usual studies of a good English School" (Saunders, n.d., p. 5). The school sometimes accepted colored boys, though they were mostly of very light complexion, and those who received a high school education had better chances of being employed in the Bahamian Civil Service (Saunders, n.d.). Likewise, the Church of England established an all girls school called St. Hilda's in 1886 on East Street for elite white girls and accepted a few who were of fair complexion (Saunders, n.d.).

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[6] This may be evidenced by the story of the Archer family who were freed slaves living in the settlement of Marsh Harbour, Abaco during 1843, as retold by Beneby (2006): "Coming from America, they brought the skills of shipbuilding. During the Civil War the British and the Americans used the skills of the black boatmen to negotiate the rivers and coastline of the eastern seaboard of the U.S….Farming and fishing were the growing industries."

Another religiously affiliated secondary institution was Queen's College, established in 1890 in the Victoria Hall, Charlotte Street (Saunders, n.d.) It was at this institution where the sons and daughters of white Wesleyan and Presbyterian church founders were educated, consequently decreasing the need to send them to America or England for schooling (Saunders, n.d.). The curriculum taught at Queen's College included English, French, German, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, History and Geography (Saunders, n.d.). It mimicked the curriculum taught in English middle class schools which prepared students for the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations (Saunders, n.d.). While parents requested for segregated schooling, some blacks were still accepted for admission in the school (Saunders, n.d.). After the Anglican Grammar School had closed in 1922, the church with the help of a grant from Bray's Associates substituted the school with two small secondary schools for students of color, thereby marking the first attempt to offer secondary education for colored children (Turner, 1968). When the Government began to provide secondary education in 1925 (Saunders, n.d.) these two schools were closed by the church in order to complement the Government rather than compete (Turner, 1968).

The above description of the type of education provided for Bahamians, white and black alike, demonstrates how education was and can be used as an agent in proliferating culture as this study suggests. In the case above, that culture being transmitted was inevitably British, regardless of whether education was being provided by the church or state. Throughout the British colonies of the Caribbean, students learned only about British history and heroes (Morrissey, 2000), although their actual reality in the islands was comparably different. Glinton-Meicholas (1998) further describes this form of education:

> Our school system was British. It taught us British geography, giving us a greater familiarity with the Thames than with the Gulf Stream, which influences our climate considerably.
>
> Children who grew up before independence, could recite the names of British kings and every Royal House from the time of the Norse conquest to the reign of Queen Elizabeth II, not forgetting to emphasize the regrettable interregnum of Oliver Cromwell's protectorate. In History classes, we mourned the loss of the great seamen such as Sir Francis Drake, and Lord Nelson, and our cheers were so loud at the British victories against the Spanish Armada and at Trafalgar, they probably echoed through the ages and spurred on the men who fought those naval battles (p. 97).

Moreover, Bahamian students did not formally learn about their native folklore as it is understood by the general population today. Instead, students learned about fairytales, such as Cinderella, and other literary forms that were included in the "Royal Readers" reading series. The "Royal Readers" were a series of textbooks used throughout schools in The Bahamas, as in other British colonies. Besides fairytales, other oral literary forms include moral stories, poems for recitation, dialogues, a comprehensive list of words, and songs such as "England and her Queen" (Royal School Series, 1987). This type of curriculum was taught as far as the early 1960s (Strachan, 2000). It was around this time that political and social transformations were also occurring in the Bahamas, some of which later brought about changes in cultural representation in Bahamian education.

Racial Relations and Educational Advancements in the Modern Bahamas

During the 1950's and 1960's, racial tensions in The Bahamas were based primarily on economic differences rather than mere complexion (Marquis, 2005). Although there were a considerable number of black entrepreneurs during this time, white Bahamians, for the most part, dominated the business sector (Marquis, 2005) while black Bahamians were denied equal employment opportunities (Rolle, 2005). Menial

jobs, which often came with low wages and poor working conditions, were reserved for black Bahamians (Rolle, 2005). These economic differences extended into other social settings, however, where blacks were not allowed in certain public places (Rolle, 2005), such as the Nassau Theatre (Campbell, 2005b). Although these differences among whites and blacks eventually led to labor tensions and amendments to civil rights for black Bahamians, the impact of these racial prejudices were not experienced to the extent as blacks in America. In fact, many black Bahamians who sought employment or residence in America during this time often experienced some type of culture shock when they received the same treatment as black Americans. That is, experiencing racial prejudices as a numerical majority in their own country did not prepare black Bahamians for the experiences of racial prejudices in America where blacks comprised the minority. This phenomenon is described here in an excerpt from an interview conducted with Sir Sidney Poitier, a native of Cat Island, Bahamas, and popular actor in American films:

> When I went to Florida for the first time, I was being introduced to an entirely new culture. It was so different from Cat Island and Nassau. Though there was segregation in Nassau. For instance, I could not go to the Nassau Theatre. The impact of race was not as intense or impressive because there was a majority population of black people. British colonialism required that you train a native constituency to administer rules; the subjects of the British Empire far outnumbered the English themselves. Colonial administration meant that they had to have black policemen.
>
> …Nassau had segregation colonial-style. …When I got to Florida, the segregation there was different. It was not colonial. …Blacks did not really have leadership roles in America. But in The Bahamas you had a police force that was 99% black. …everywhere I looked there were a black people. I saw a system, which had at its heart a black community.
>
> On the other hand, Miami had no black policemen. Florida said to me "You are not who you think you are." But at the age of 15 I insisted, "No, no, I AM who I think I am". …When you have transplants from the Caribbean, they have a more solid sense of self. They are less scarred by race than African-Americans because

> they come without having grown up with that kind of discrimination (Campbell, 2005b, p. B3).

Sir Poitier's experience of racial discrimination in the southern region of America was similar to that of some of other Bahamians who migrated there to work on farms as a part of a contract made between The Bahamas and United States (Bethel, 1998). The discrimination many of them had to endure in the United States made them more critical of the segregation in their own country (Bethel, 1998). With this increased awareness, many of them joined the movement for social change and desegregation in The Bahamas (Bethel, 1998). The Progressive Liberal Party (PLP), the first Bahamian political party, was a leader in this movement (Bethel, 1998). Established in 1953, the PLP sought to represent the interests of the population masses, particularly those of the black community who were being marginalized in society (Bethel, 1998). In 1967 the PLP was elected and attained majority rule, overthrowing the white oligarchy that had maintained power up to that time (Bethel, 2000). Despite this monumental political and social transformation, a sense of Bahamian identity separate from England was still lacking (Bethel, 2000). One way this could be attained was to make The Bahamas an independent country (Bethel, 2000). This became the object of the PLP's fight for re-election in 1972 (Bethel, 2000; Gibney 2002). However, the opposition party, the Free National Movement, which comprised of both white and black Bahamians, appreciated the idea of becoming independent, but argued that the country was still not prepared to become fully self-governed (Bethel, 2000). This position was popularly interpreted with racial undertones to mean that black Bahamians, led by a black government, were not ready for independence (Bethel, 2000). The leader of the PLP and then premier the late Sir Lynden Pindling perpetuated the black-against-white rhetoric in order to retain the

party's position and his premiership (Marquis, 2005). Founding their campaign on the issue of race (Marquis, 2005), the PLP won the 1972 elections and The Bahamas attained its independence from Britain in 1973 (Bethel, 2000). Still, the search for a sense of Bahamian identity remained a top priority among the nation's leaders. One way they sought to accomplish this was through education.

The PLP's first educational policy statement was *Focus on the future: White paper on education* in which the government's independence plan regarding the educational system was outlined (Davis, 1992). The importance of Bahamian cultural and social heritage was emphasized in this plan, along with the idea of Bahamianization which was presented ideologically as Bahamian nationals forming the teaching workforce (Davis, 1992). Another educational plan, presented in *Education for national progress: Guide for educational planning for The Commonwealth of The Bahamas for the period 1976-1981*, reinforced this notion of Bahamianization, but extended it to include the development of indigenous curriculum components which, as was proposed, could strengthen the nation's cultural identity (Davis, 1992). Further developments came in the form of assessment. In place of the British administered General Certificate of Education, the Bahamas General Certificate of Secondary Education, along with the Bahamas Junior Certificate designed for junior high school students, was created (Munroe, 2000). These examinations and corresponding curricula were based on Bahamian history, literature, geography, and culture.

Today, the Ministry of Education, in continuing the mandates set forth in previous education plans which rose in the wake of the country's independence, is still endeavoring to Bahamianize the country's educational system, particularly through

curriculum design. Another ramification stemming from the move for national independence and racial rhetoric used by the early PLP administration is the occasional reference to race made by the PLP during election campaigns[7] (Bethel, 2000). This practice is also often observed among ordinary Bahamians in very socially or politically tense situations (Marquis, 2005). Marquis (2005) suggests that it is among the less enlightened members of the electorate that race is still effectively being used to sway political persuasions. However, he finds hope for a better appreciation and understanding of racial relationships in younger, more educated Bahamians, particularly those who have studied abroad in First World countries and have experienced multiculturalism to some degree (Marquis, 2005). Marquis (2005) affirms that "[c]ompared with the United States, or some Caribbean territories, there is no doubt that racial relationships in The Bahamas are good. There is very little open tension between the races, and hardly ever is crime attributed to racial motives" (p. 3C). Supporting this notion of sound racial relationships is Bethel's (2000) observation that:

> …the older racialist hegemony is gradually giving way to a more pluralistic discourse which recognizes the Bahamianness of white and coloured Bahamians as well as affording a place in society to foreigners who have the good of the nation at heart. Although the rhetoric of nationalism has yet to become as pluralistic as those of Jamaica and Trinidad, and although all Bahamians of whatever background have yet to feel that they have an *equal* position in society, at least they feel freer to claim *some* position there. The multiplicity of identities that constitute Bahamians' realities is slowly being incorporated into the nationalist rhetoric of the country (original emphasis, p. 13).

This discussion of racial relations in today's Bahamas and the ongoing quest to Bahamianize the curriculum is important in understanding this study's stance. This study supports the development of culturally relevant curriculum as a means to develop

[7] This practice among PLP candidates proved successful until 1992 when the party, after serving successive terms since their initial win in 1967, was defeated by the FNM (Bethel, 2000).

Bahamian cultural identity, as did the former administration when national independence was attained in 1973. In light of the racial rhetoric that drove the push for national independence, however, this study will not aim in any way to encourage the development of Afrocentric curricula nor an Afrocentric cultural identity using oral traditions. Because of the predominant African influences on Bahamian oral traditions and many other social customs (Glinton-Meicholas, 2000), however, references will inevitably be made to the cultural and linguistic contributions of the African community to Bahamian oral folklore. In concordance with Marquis' and Bethel's observations provided above, and based on my personal experience as a cultural insider to the social context being studied, it can be argued that Bahamians of both African and European descent have culturally influenced each other to some extent. This point is similar to Banks' suggestion that the White Anglo-Saxon protestant group has both influenced and been influenced by other minority groups, and vice-versa, in the American context (Banks, 2001). This proposition serves as the basis for Banks' idea of multiple acculturations, in which he argues against cultural influence and assimilation being unidirectional (Banks, 2001). Based on these viewpoints, it is believed that the use of native oral traditions in primary school curricula will not in any way promote any form of cultural imperialism against Bahamians of European or otherwise mixed descent.

It is also worthwhile to note that Bethel's aforementioned perspective on Bahamian racial relations highlights the existence of Bahamians of various cultural backgrounds; not simply black or white but others who may not fit in these simple categories. Because of this popular twofold perspective of racial relationships in The

Bahamas, the contributions of other minority immigrant groups are often ignored in the consideration of the country's development as described below.

Nature of Oral Traditions in The Bahamas

Throughout The Bahamas' development, traces of European and African heritage permeate through the social and cultural customs of the country. This is not to suggest, however, that only these two ethnic groups made up the country's population. In fact, smaller groups of various nationalities, including Chinese, Lebanese, Greek, and Jewish migrants, had settled in The Bahamas beginning in the late nineteenth century (Craton and Saunders, 1998). Although these groups' contributions to Bahamian development are more clearly evident in terms of economic benefits to the country, they did not have any significant impact on native Bahamian art forms (Glinton-Meicholas, 2000). Within the context of Bahamian oral folklore, the influences of African and British oral practices are more obvious (Glinton-Meicholas, 2000). The greatest evidence of British influence on Bahamian oral traditions is seen in traditional chants sang among children, such as this:

> Bluebird, bluebird through my window
> Bluebird, bluebird through my window
> Bluebird, bluebird through my window
> O, Johnny, I'm tired.
>
> Just take a little tap right on my shoulder
> Just take a little tap right on my shoulder
> Just take a little tap right on my shoulder
> O, Johnny, I'm tired (Glinton-Meicholas, 2000, p. 5).

Apart from these chants, the African influence on Bahamian oral folklore has demonstrated more persistence through time. "Bahamian proverbs, sayings, and various allusive and locutions…reflect many features of our history and geography and,

frequently, the many African cultures that have made a contribution to that of the Bahamas and exhibit many stylistic features recognizable as coming from those cultures" (Glinton-Meicholas, 2000, p. 4). As in other Caribbean islands or other regions involved in the Atlantic slave trade, suppression of slaves' native practices:

> accounts for the elimination or modification of African traits on most levels of organization—religion, government, family and so forth. But habits of expression were almost impossible to control except by undermining their functional value. The most public forms of traditional expression, such as rituals and festivals, could be discouraged, but most of the more private modes of performance, such as story-telling, divining and healing, even singing, could hardly be policed out of existence (Abrahams, 1967, p.459).

The expression of such slave practices was enjoyed and encouraged by some slave masters who thought these practices supported the notion of blacks as being "happy, child-like animal[s]" (Abrahams, 1967, p.459). Unbeknownst to some slave masters in America, this "child-like" behaviour was used by slaves to relay important information regarding escape from their owners through hidden meanings in their words (Papa, Gerber, & Mohamed, n.d.).

While oral folklore amongst African Americans is popular today for tales and songs reflecting slaves' distress, loss and trickery, oral folklore in the Bahamas today is strongly associated with "ole stories." Of the oral traditions present in the Bahamas, one of the most celebrated is storytelling. Storytelling, in days of old, was a magnet that reinforced family bonds and sparked community life through social gatherings centered around storytelling sessions in yards. Gail Saunders (2005e) describes that:

> stories were told in the evening, in 'yards' or in a house usually inhabited by families or individuals who had much in common. Story-telling and the telling of Riddles, usually followed singing when children and adults gather at bed-time, lay on the floor or sat on rocks in the yard and listened to an adult, 'talk old stories.' Storytelling usually continued until midnight. Tales were divided into 'old stories' and fairy tales which had roots in Europe and Africa. …The characters of

> B'Rabby and B'Booky popularized in America by Joel Chandler Harris, were favourites occurring in Haiti, St. Lucia, Trinidad, Jamaica and other Caribbean Islands as do most Bahamian Characters. The B'Anansi West African spider trickster, a symbol of passive resistance and particularly popular in Jamaican folktales, also is present in Bahamian folk tales. Very often 'old stories' included tales of ships and wrecks, of large hauls of fish, or various adventures, or misfortunes such as the cholera and the 1866 hurricane. Both men and women were storytellers. (p. B1)

Besides the practice of call and response and repetition in oral traditions (Sale, 1992), dialect also served as an important element in Bahamian storytelling. In fact, it is quite often that one may find traditional stories printed in local Bahamian patois instead of Standard English. Furthermore, Bahamian storytelling followed a particular structure.[8] For example, a doggerel verse was commonly used to signal the beginning of a story:

> Once it was a time, a very good time,
> De monkey chewed tobacco,
> An' 'e spit white lime
> 'T wa'n't my time;
> 't wa'n't you' time;
> was old folks time. (Saunders, 2005e, p. B1)

And just as expressively as the story began, it was ended in similar fashion:

> E bo ban, my story's en',
> If you doan' believe my story's true
> Hax my captain an, my crew. (Saunders, 2005e, p. B1)

Similarly, riddles, which were often the introduction to storytelling, followed a certain structure with a customary opening:

> "Me riddle me riddle
> Me randy oh.
> Fader had a t'ing…" (Parsons, 1928, p. 475)

After this, the thing or subject would finally be described.

[8] For detailed discussion of this structure and examples of Bahamian traditional stories, see D.J. Crowley's (1990) "Bahamian Narrative as Art and as Communication" in *Western Folklore, 49*(4), 349-369.

Besides stories and riddles, as described above, proverbs also pervade the rich collection of Bahamian oral folklore. Winnis Felecia Bethell, my grandmother and a native of Arthur's Town, Cat Island, provides this example of a proverb: "This one hairpin what don't stick in every kinda hair" (Campbell, 2005a). Using this proverb, she advises her listeners not to involve themselves with any and everybody.

Overall, these forms of Bahamian oral folklore tend to "reflect Bahamian culture, their understandable distrust of foreigners, their desire for education, their naiveté and isolation and their recognition of it, their concern for family relationships, so that even the Devil must have a wife, their belief in immanent magical power and its control by mortals, their admiration for cleverness, quick thinking and acting, and bravado, all those structural and stylistic choices discussed above" (Crowley, 1990, p. 366). While Bahamians saw little use in recording their own oral folklore, several folklorists, who were mostly foreign, had taken interest in this art form (Glinton-Meicholas, 2000), lending to a collection of 553 texts available for study by the time Crowley (1990) gave his description above. For this study, a compilation of works containing transcriptions of Bahamian riddles, stories and proverbs by various ethnographers and folklorists has been included as a reference guide to determine whether findings in this study constitute a native story, riddle or proverb (see Works Consulted, p. 204).

Overview and Assumptions of the Study

Based on the historical, cultural, and educational values of Bahamian oral traditions, the purpose of my study is to investigate how oral traditions are related to curriculum and pedagogy in today's Bahamian primary schools (which typically comprise of first through sixth grade). It is hoped that the findings from this study will

aid in the development of Bahamian cultural identity, enhance national discourse of Bahamian culture, and preserve oral traditions for future generations. In conducting this study, two major questions will be explored:

1. How are Bahamian oral traditions revealed in the official curricula of Bahamian primary schools today?
2. How do teachers incorporate the use of oral traditions in the official, operational, hidden, and extra curricula in Bahamian primary schools?

Overall, this study seeks to understand the discourse and development of a cultural identity within Bahamian education.

My interest in performing this study stems from my desire to learn more about traditional Bahamian forms of telling stories, riddles, and proverbs that appear to be more well-known among older generations and less celebrated among children and adolescents. This topic was also chosen as a means to address a public concern commonly expressed regarding the need to record and disseminate traditional forms of native oral culture. For instance, Patricia Glinton-Meicholas, has stated that "unless storytelling receives a fresh infection of creativity and recaptures its audience, the tradition will be lost to us" (as cited in Saunders, 2005e, p. B5). It is my hope that this audience will be young children since this is the age level I am interested in teaching.

One way this audience can be easily accessed is through learning materials used by teachers and students. In general, indigenous materials help to enrich and expand students' understanding of their local culture and society in ways that foreign materials usually cannot. Based on this premise, I assume that Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs will be found mostly, or solely, in locally produced learning resources.

Furthermore, it is assumed that the aims and findings of this study will support the Ministry of Education's philosophy which is partly based on (1) "an appreciation of the significance and value of the rich diversity of The Bahamas and its people and of the responsibility of the educational process to reflect and respond to that diversity with tolerance and understanding" and (2) "an appreciation of the natural and cultural heritage of The Bahamas" (Archer, 2001, p. 6).

To enhance understanding of this topic, this study goes on to explore the concepts of cultural identity, Bahamian cultural identity, cultural literacy, multicultural education, and cultural preservation in the literature review provided in Chapter Two. Chapter Three discusses the methodology of the study, including the research design and its possible challenges. This study used a qualitative research approach, based on a case study design, to explore how cultural identity was being developed in primary school curricula. Methods used to collect data included document analysis, questionnaires, and an interview. Chapter Four follows with descriptive reporting of the findings gleaned from each research strategy implemented. Following this, common themes and attitudes found among the research sources used are discussed in relation to cultural identity formation in Chapter Five. Also included in this chapter are possible implications of the study's results, limitations encountered while conducting the study, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Introduction

To investigate how native oral traditions can be used to develop a coherent approach to Bahamian cultural identity, the nature of culture and identity must first be understood. Second, some theoretical background regarding the inclusion of cultural content in curriculum and instruction is needed to understand education's role in developing cultural identity. This literature review is divided into three segments to address these matters. The first section introduces the reader to the idea of cultural identity in general. In doing so, a conceptual understanding of cultural identity is established to introduce the topic of Bahamian cultural identity which is presented in the second section. In this section, some of the major criticisms and general perspectives in the discourse of Bahamian cultural identity are shared. Finally, the third section explores how culture is integrated into curriculum and instruction based on the ideologies of cultural literacy and multicultural education. It will be argued that cultural literacy, in relation to the context of The Bahamas, can be used in conjunction with multicultural education to develop a coherent approach to Bahamian cultural identity

Cultural Identity in General

Culture and identity may be conceived and understood in several ways. In particular, identity may be described as a construct of culture that relates to how people

perceive themselves, their environment and realities, and how they relate to each other (Henry-Wilson, 2003). Werbner (1998) explains that:

> Identities are not simply pre-given or inherited: they are formed, made and remade; they exist in practice, dialogically, through collective action and interaction. …That a person has heterogeneous identities, a multiplicity of identities, does not imply contradiction, ambivalence or a lack of commitment, because identities matter *in context.* They are played out in different identity spaces… (original emphasis, p. 24).

As persons encounter new experiences, they negotiate them with previously held understandings and assumptions and, consequently, continually form their identity (Santora, 2003). In this way, an individual can support several identities (Rubidge, 1998). These may include micro-identities whose formation and expression are based on individual experiences and perception of one's personhood (for example, identification based on parentage). They may also include macro-identities (based on nationality, ethnicity or culture, for instance) from which persons identify themselves as belonging to a larger unit of society or sharing distinct customs and belief systems of that unit (Rubidge, 1998). Hence, identity can be described as being of two kinds: (1) identity relating to a group situation and (2) identity relating to a person's own subjective perspectives of his or her environment, or how selfhood is experienced (Khan, n.d.). In regards to cultural identity, the former—fact identity—is more applicable than the latter—sense identity (Khan, n.d.). Fact identity entails characteristics that members of a group share and that are used to distinguish a person as belonging to a particular group (Khan, n.d.). An elemental part of identity, then, is the idea of community (Hecht et al., 1993) which is the basis of culture.

Stuart Hall (1994) expands the discussion of cultural identity with relation to the Caribbean community. He, along with other writers such as Clifford (1997) and Gilroy

(1994), has used the homophones “roots” and “routes” to illustrate two approaches to cultural identity. “Roots” is used to suggest that persons of a community share common traditions, distinctive cultural practices and origin (Gilroy, 1994). On the other hand, “routes” is used to suggest continual transformation within a community, especially as the result of migration and intercultural movement (Gilroy, 1994). Arguing against the existence of a single, homogenized Caribbean culture that represents all black Caribbeans, Hall (1994) suggests that cultural identity is not just rooted within a historical context, but also en route. This implies that cultural identity is dynamic, constantly becoming different in some way or as something new. Hall further explains that cultural identity is not an essence but rather a “positioning.” Positioning refers to the idea that aspects of cultural identity may be found within historical circumstances, as well as being positioned or developed within and outside the culture. Positioning also refers to geographical locations in which cultural identities are rooted. Hall suggests that various cultural identities may be found in different physical locations or boundaries despite any common historical roots that those locations share. Hall demonstrates this notion using the islands of Martinique and Jamaica whose respective development in history, culture and identity are en route in different directions regardless of these countries’ similar sociohistorical or geographical roots. In addition, Hall suggests that a single nation may also be comprised of different cultural identities, making the identification of one single cultural identity difficult or even impossible. The geographical case of the Bahamian islands demonstrates this difficulty, as well as supports Hall’s earlier example of how physical locations sustain various dynamic cultural identities.

Bahamian Cultural Identity

Roots and identity in The Bahamas. Glinton-Meicholas (1994) suggests that "[t]o complete your identity, you must choose your ethnic affiliation" (p. 109). As was depicted in Chapter One, The Bahamas has not experienced racial disharmony to the degree that has been witnessed in parts of American history and social development. Like in America, however, race and ethnicity in The Bahamas have and continue to be used as a means of distinguishing peoples residing in The Bahamas (although Bahamians identify themselves by several factors[1] such as religious denomination or political affiliation). Glinton-Meicholas (1994) suggests that this type of racial and ethnic categorization is supported by other factors such as family descent (as indicated by surnames), island heritage, and stereotypical generalizations of persons belonging to different racial groups. No one black-and-white dichotomy exists among Bahamians. Rather, Glinton-Meicholas (1994), in her satirical description of Bahamian life, describes that:

> [h]ere, only three racial groups are accepted as true-true Bahamians: black, conchy-joe, Long Island or Eleuthera red. We recognize two groups of 'Bahamians': greeks and chinese and two groups of 'permanent residents'- 'hyshuns' and expatriates.
>
> If you desire to be a true-true Bahamian, being called 'white' is the kiss of death. If we call you 'white', it means that we consider you a foreigner or a tourist (pp. 109-110).

According to Glinton-Meicholas (1994), Blacks, regardless of colour, may be anyone whose surname is a popular black name, who works as a civil servant, or lives "over-the-hill" (a location described later in Chapter Three of this dissertation). Conchy-

[1] See Appendix A for statistics on how Bahamians identify themselves by sex, age, religion, and nationality, taken from the Report of the 2000 Census of Population & Housing (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, Ministry of Economic Development, 2000).

Joes, on the other hand, have Caucasian physical features, bear popular surnames and heritage descending from the islands of Abaco or Northern Eleuthera, and own successful businesses on Bay Street (a popular business area historically known as dominated by non-blacks). In between the hues associated with blacks and conchy-joes are those Bahamians whom Glinton-Meicholas (1994) has termed as Long Island or Eleuthera Red (or simply "red" as generally described by most Bahamians). These Bahamians "are of the [C]aucasian persuasion, but have close relatives who appear to have more coffee than cream in their genetic brew," have surnames and heritage descending from Long Island or Eleuthera, and are known for having a strong work ethic (Glinton-Meicholas, 1994, p. 115).

Apart from those sub-groups of "true-true Bahamians" described above, are "Bahamians" whose origins can be more clearly traced to farther, foreign regions, particularly Asia and Greece, rather than immediately traced to one of the Bahamian islands. Because of this difference in roots, persons of Asian or Greek descent are not generally considered as "true-true Bahamians."

Besides "true-true Bahamians" and "Bahamians" are those who are generally not considered to belong to The Bahamas in any way, regardless of their economic or social contributions or the amount of years spent living in this country. These persons are usually categorized as "hyshuns" (Haitians, pronounced in a form of Bahamian dialect) and expatriates (persons from other countries, particularly North America and Europe) who descend from none of the Bahamian islands. Expatriates are often viewed by "true-true Bahamians" as being detached from the rest of the society by their refusal to associate themselves with ordinary Bahamian citizens. Negative stereotypes and a

general dislike of “hyshuns” among many Bahamians have lent to the exclusion of Haitians in The Bahamas as belonging to the collective ideal of being Bahamian. These stereotypes are based on the view that the influx of poor Haitian immigrants has strained the employment market and social services offered by the government.

As a cultural insider, Glinton-Meicholas (1994) has captured the view of how average Bahamians generally identify themselves and others residing in The Bahamas. In her summation of ethnic identification among Bahamians, she describes that:

> Like most Bahamian attitudes, race relations in The Bahamas have two faces. On the one hand, one of the virtues of The Bahamas is a degree of racial harmony, unheard of elsewhere in this world. We can socialize together in public places, and work together with noticeable goodwill. On the other hand, while we cook peas and rice together in the same pot, the two remain quite separate, but together create a dish that does not offend the stomach (Glinton-Meicholas, 1994, p. 124).

The interaction among Bahamians of different racial/ethnic backgrounds has undoubtedly affected the formation of Bahamian cultural identity and how this topic is generally approached; so, too, has the distribution of the populace around the archipelago. In the case of The Bahamas, the islands not only provide a point of reference for determining one’s “Bahamianness” and roots, but also influence how Bahamian culture is expressed on each island due to variations in geographical situation and access to resources. Moreover, not only do Bahamians’ perceptions of themselves influence the way they culturally identify themselves, but also their internalization of foreigners’ perceptions of them, namely tourists. The effects of such factors as these will now be discussed based on Hall’s concept of identity and routes.

Routes and identity in The Bahamas. As an archipelagic nation, The Bahamas comprises approximately 700 islands, rocks, and cays, covering about 100,000 square

miles in the western Atlantic Ocean, with a total land area of about 5,350 square miles (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 2004). The Bahamas stretches from Florida's coast to Haiti's north shore, with the Bimini Islands 50 miles east of Florida's coastline and Great Inagua 50 miles northeast of Cuba (Butler & Smith, 1983). Of the thirty islands which are inhabited there are twenty distinctive administrative and social districts. Two hundred thousand Bahamians, that is approximately two-thirds of the nation's entire population, reside in Nassau, the nation's capital found on New Providence, a land mass of 80 square miles (Bethel & Glaser, 2006). Clearly, the disposition of the islands has helped create diversity in cultural expressions (Glinton-Meicholas, 2000) and cultural identities seen around the country (Bethel & Glaser, 2006). With each island having its own unique characteristics, "Bahamians occupy shifting ground" (Bethel and Glaser, 2006, p. 11) which allows them to "navigate identities through a cognitive archipelago of possibilities" (Bethel and Glaser, 2006, p. 8).

The fluidity of identity may be explained using one of the models discussed in intercultural literature that addresses changes in cultural identity during the adaptation process seen in immigrant students. This model suggests that "it is possible for individuals to: (1) guide their identity enactments according to the value system of more than one culture; (2) value their identities as members of more than one culture; and (3) feel a sense of belonging in more th[a]n one culture simultaneously" (Maloof et al., 2006, p. 259). Considering the fluidity of Bahamian cultural identity as mentioned above, and the general dynamic nature of any form of identity, it may seem futile to explore the possible existence or establishment of a national cultural identity in the Bahamas. However, cultural identity gives people a sense of belonging and, hence, is important on

an individual, community and national level (Kamba, 2002). Nettleford (1998) further explains the need to explore the issue of identity, stating that:

> The need for roots and the attendant quest for identity are said to be natural to peoples everywhere. The phenomenon may be said to inhere in a people's desire to collate and codify their past collective experience as well as to lay foundations for the realization of future aspirations (p. 19).

Furthermore, Rubidge (1998) suggests that cultural identity, relating to both self and society, can indeed be expressed as a relatively stable form. This stabilization occurs as a result of a person's multiple identities interacting and accommodating change, as a response to variation in situations, while maintaining a sense of consistency and order (Rubidge, 1998). Similar to the structure of a person's identity, a network of multiple parallel identities constitute the overall identity of a nation or culture (Rubidge, 1998). It is the fluidity, stability, and multiplicity of identities which may allow nations or cultural groups to maintain a distinct cultural heritage while sharing a modern or global culture. This may be seen in several countries where "the traditional and the contemporary, co-exist, interact, frequently interpenetrate, with the stress variously on traditional forms, on Western contemporary forms and (when they have been developed) on indigenous contemporary forms" (Rubidge, 1998).

While Rubidge (1998) suggests that traditional and contemporary forms of cultural heritage can coexist, the question arises regarding which groups should be represented. This concern may arise in part because of the social power that cultural representation may afford to certain communities, and also because of the threat of homogenization, for which globalization has often been blamed. Globalization can be described as a "global movement to increase the flow of goods, services, people, real capital, and money across national borders in order to create a more integrated and

interdependent world economy" (Michigan State University, 2007). Globalization has been viewed in a negative light because of standardized approaches used in the production of goods which is believed to support homogenization to the point that cultural customs are affected. Tomlinson (2003) illustrates this negative attitude towards globalization by describing it as being "associated with the destruction of cultural identities, victims of the accelerating encroachment of a homogenized, westernized, consumer culture…[and] a seamless extension of—indeed, as a euphemism for—western cultural imperialism" (p. 269). Those who are believed to be most susceptible to this imagined homogenization and loss of cultural identities are among the world's small states, such as the Bahamas, whose populations total less than 1.5 million (Louisy, 2001). Factors which support such nations' vulnerability to global economic and cultural pressures include: "remoteness and isolation, their greater degree of openness and greater exposure to global events over which they have little influence; their susceptibility to natural disasters and environmental damage; their limited scope for diversification; their limited manpower and institutional capacity; their income volatility and their limited access to external capital" (Louisy, 2001, p. 429).

In the case of the Bahamas, not only does the country's geographical proximity to the United States and easy access to American cultural products incline Bahamians to identify with foreign cultures, but also its historical circumstances aid this identification. Bethel (2000) suggests that:

> the Bahamas has no pre-colonial past upon which to build...[and] is an entirely invented nation. With this contradiction at the root of Bahamian identity, it is not surprising that the tradition/modern community/nation dichotomies apply very poorly, both in the creating of Bahamian nationalism, and the study of it. Bahamians present a somewhat puzzling case to the research in that they appear not to be overly concerned with 'tradition' in *any* form, preferring rather to

> emphasise flux, change, and the reshaping of the present in spite of, or perhaps to spite, the past. (original emphasis, p. 14-15).

Between the late 1940s and early 70s, many citizens expressed little interest in Bahamian cultural heritage and found identity in other cultures (Rommen, 1999). This attitude grew out of a lack of confidence in Bahamian culture which many believed could not provide a means to advance socially, compared to foreign cultural forms emanating from America and other larger West Indian countries (such as Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, to which Bahamians were exposed by various forms of media) (Rommen, 1999). By 1973, this invented Bahamian nation gained independence after struggling for political representation by a black majority, equal opportunity, and improved quality of life (Bethel & Glaser, 2006). As the country grew, racial relations continued to be questioned (Bethel & Glaser, 2006) and, as had been the case during the primary expansion of formal schooling during slavery, Nassau continued to develop at a faster rate than the other Family Islands. Despite this difference in civic progression, altogether the Bahamas was continually influenced by more dominant cultures from surrounding countries, particularly America, while maintaining some sense of "Bahamianness." According to Urwick (2002):

> Americanization is neither visualized simply on a spatial-synchronic dimension nor treated crudely as the foreign invasion of an indigenous cultural setting. Rather, it is seen as occurring within a wider process of institution building, perceived by the decision makers as developmental, in which there have been opportunities both for various foreign influences and for some distinctively Bahamian features. (p. 159)

American influences continued to be very easily made available to Bahamians not only because of close proximity, which allows for relative ease of travel both ways, but also through electronic media and music. Around the late 1970s, however, Bahamians began

to reidentify and reappropriate symbols and customs that might help to establish a distinct cultural identity (Rommen, 1999). This patriotic fever spurred the view of Junkanoo as the epitome of Bahamianness, and was used to unify the nation and distinguish it from other countries (Rommen, 1999).

Although tourists are welcomed to observe and freely participate in Junkanoo, performances within the actual Junkanoo parades are primarily directed towards the celebratory and competitive spirit of a Bahamian audience. Yet, Junkanoo, being a national symbol of Bahamianness, has been one of the greatest marketing tools in tourism,[2] although no real visible public preparations are made for full participation by tourists. Perhaps the only private preparations made for any substantial participation by tourists in Junkanoo are those made by vacation resorts. Far from Bahamians' true reality, where Junkanoo, particularly in Nassau, is traditionally performed on Boxing Day and New Year's Day, Junkanoo is now being seen in hotel shows for tourists' personal entertainment and pleasure.

In his description of the influences of tourism on Caribbean identity, Ian Strachan (2000) provides a description of the disparity between Bahamians' cultural identity as a construct of tourism and as a construct of ordinary social experiences:

> The revues that are performed in hotels and clubs that showcase "native culture," are often caricatured displays, removed from the communities of people who were alleged to have created them. They typify…*nativeness* packaged to enhance the tourist experience, replete with limbo dancing, fire spitting, and sure-footed walks on broken glass. Governments…are cultivating a colonial past that adds to the visitors' sense of a quaint island atmosphere. They are keeping alive the Royal Police Marching Band, and preserving the plantation Great Houses. Private concerns occasionally purchase such relics of slavery and turn them into inns for tourists. Seventeenth- and eighteenth- century forts are refurbished and the

[2] Tourism is considered to be the major foundation of Bahamian economy, being the largest source of employment within the country's private sector and, hence, a critical staple of Bahamian life (Strachan, 2000).

> exploits of long dead pirates are heralded. The natives give tours of the old colonial buildings; they give vacationers rides by horse and carriage, and perform the quadrille while dressed in the style worn by slaves more than a century before (straw hats, scarves and all). Here, nostalgia for a time when things were "much simpler" is evinced. Proof is offered to the Northern leisure-seeker that the natives are indeed grateful for all that colonialism has given them, that the privileges they have won at the expense of others are not begrudged them. But however distant this imagined, heavily promoted, and staged Eden may be from the everyday experience of the majority of Caribbeans, it is a fantasy which the region's nations—many of whom have achieved political independence from European colonial powers and represent the formerly colonized majority—encourage their citizenry to maintain for the benefit of tourists (p. 2).

Strachan's (2000) descriptions support Hall's concept of identity formation in relation to others. Hall believes that identities may be formed from other people's perceptions which are used to distinguish one group from another, and which that group then appropriates as a point of self-recognition (Hall, 2004). This results in a dynamic cognitive interaction within Caribbean people which involves acceptance or acknowledgment of the "others'" perception of them, and a challenging of those perceived identities based on their own perceptions of self (Hall, 2004). Perhaps it is this same continual resolution and negotiation of self-perception and recognition from "others" that explains the two sides of expressions of Bahamian cultural identity—those which Bahamians exclusively share with themselves and those which are reserved for outsiders. Bethel (n.d.) reviews this phenomenon quite comprehensively by suggesting that there are two main sets of tales that describe Bahamian national identity:

> The first is the set told within the boundaries of the nation, the tales told by Bahamians to one another to invoke a sense of unity. The second, equally prominent and sometimes difficult to distinguish from the first, is the set of tales told to strangers about the Bahamas. The latter set of tales always exists within any country, but it does not always have the prominence that it does in the Bahamas; for in a nation that makes its income from the exchange of services of all sorts with the outside…the tales told to the 'other' are as much a part of the national consciousness as the tales told to the 'self'. What is more, as each set of

> tales affects and shapes the other, it is difficult, if not impossible, to state decisively where one leaves off and the other begins (para. 18).

Bethel's observations also exemplify the fluid nature of Bahamian cultural identity and the inherent challenges that exist in studying it.

Not only do globalization and commodified identity performances facilitate cultural distortion and ambiguity in Bahamian cultural identity, but so do the lack of sufficient cultural education and the general reliance on orality. Bahamians have been criticized for not effectively passing on basic cultural traditions to younger generations (Bethel & Glaser, 2006). This phenomenon is described by Angel Watkins (2006):

> If you were to ask a child what Bahamian culture is, you'll most likely hear "Junkanoo" as an answer. Many of our children do not know or simply do not understand just what our culture is or its origin. They are taught the basics of our culture but have no idea just how it came about, what has influenced it, or just how deeply it affects us as a people. I have also discovered, from speaking to children that they have not been exposed to other cultures, even though The Bahamas has become a multicultural society through migration and immigration. Our country can boast that it is comprised of over forty nationalities and just over twenty religions, including a hundred different denominations, but even with this cultural mix, many of our children know little about them. (p. L1).

Adding to this situation is the oral culture of Bahamian people which discourages the general validity of printed literature, despite being a highly literate nation, unless it is performed or read aloud (Bethel, 2006). Bahamians generally exhibit particular characteristics that are associated with orality (Bethel & Glaser, 2006). These traits include lack of: objectivity, abstract analysis, concern of history, critical discussion; along with "conscious resistance to change" and "unconscious adaptation to change" (Walter Ong and Daniel Chandler, n.d. as cited in Bethel & Glaser, 2006, p. 7). These features may be evident in Bahamians' steadfast views about what things constitute as being uniquely Bahamian (Bethel & Glaser, 2006). Yet, the question of national culture

often melts away such steadfastness concerning particular circumstances in Bahamian life (Bethel & Glaser, 2006). Such inadequate exposure to cultural traditions throughout generations has lent to "a sense of national unease and sometimes crisis about an apparent lack of identifiable culture" (Bethel & Glaser, 2006, p. 28).

As can be seen, the country's archipelagic nature, youth, size, disposition to foreign cultural influences, colonial history, and ineffective cultural transmission across generations have contributed to a general lack of direction (Bethel & Glaser, 2006) and insecurity about cultural and national traditions—all stunting the development of Bahamian cultural identity.

In this dissertation, I propose that cultural literacy may provide some support in developing cultural identity in the Bahamas. Cultural literacy was chosen as a point of reference for this theoretical framework because:

1) it is a model that takes an agglomeration of common speech and writing tendencies to create a coherent approach to culture
2) it is based on communication, which would perhaps support the oral nature of Bahamians
3) it promotes knowledge of basic facts which oral traditions also encourages, and;
4) although usually criticized for not serving minorities within an American context, it could possibly still serve Bahamians who are a cultural minority within their own country despite being the numerical majority.

Cultural Literacy, Cultural Preservation, and Multicultural Education

Cultural literacy is based on the assumption that every culture has a certain amount of shared knowledge which is needed for a literate society to function (McLeod,

1990). According to E.D. Hirsch, Jr. (1985), who developed the theory, the "term is based on the idea that literate people have a stock of shared background information which enables them to communicate effectively through reading, writing and speaking. This shared background information, or cultural literacy, is an important requirement for real literacy" (p. 47). This cultural knowledge includes "specific events, characters, books, locations, phrases in the national vocabulary" (Hicks, 1988, p. 120), attitudes, and assumptions shared by literate Americans as revealed in "What Literate Americans Know"[3] (Mulcahy, 1989). Cultural literacy may also be described as the "ability to construe the characteristics of a culture in terms of social organization, legal systems, religious beliefs, and kindred topics on which the social sciences concentrate their attention" (Broudy, 1990, p. 10).

While some interpret Hirsch's concept of cultural literacy as encouraging the practice of rigid pedagogy based on traditional paradigms and the classics, Hirsch believes school curricula should be a canon that undergoes continual changes and redefinitions (McLeod, 1990). This view supports the notion of identity being fluid. That is, as transformations of a community's cultural identity continually occur—either through variation in positioning or being en route in a different direction as suggested by Hall (1994)—so too should school curricula in order to maintain the connection between students' learning experiences and present cultural reality. Hence, cultural literacy may afford teachers more flexibility in designing their operational curricula. Furthermore, Hirsch (1985) suggests that a major element of cultural literacy is that it promotes the development of background information, a "secret" that he suggests is utilized by literate people. Having students armored with background information, Hirsch believes that

[3] This is now an appended to *Cultural Literacy*, written by E.D. Hirsch Jr. (Mulcahy, 1989).

learning may occur through intensive teaching of the extensive information that cultural literacy affords, while allowing teachers more flexibility to choose which topics are of importance and worthy of deeper investigation (Hirsch, 1985). Hirsch's *Core Knowledge Series* "provides topics, information on some of those topics, and lists of readings. The series does not prescribe any instructional methods through which teachers might teach the topics" (Johnson et al., 2001, p. 263). In a study involving Hirsch's curriculum, teachers who adapted the curriculum into their already existing framework, rather than wholly adopting it to teach in its entirety, did not find it to be "prescriptive" or "stifling" of their pedagogy (Johnson et al., 2001, p. 271). By incorporating the factors of student inquiry and choice into their pedagogy, the teachers used Hirsch's recommended topics to expand learning opportunities for students (Johnson et al., 2001). It may be suggested that instruction and inclusion of oral traditions in primary school curricula may provide the same kind of opportunities for children to explore our own cultural identity.

Rather than emphasizing critical thinking skills, Hirsch believes that all students should have some general knowledge of facts and traditions from subject areas such as geography, mathematics, science, history, literature, politics and democratic principles (Hicks, 1988; Giddings, 1998). Oral traditions inherently allow the teaching of such topics through the various possible interpretations that may be made and through thematic teaching. In the African American context, slaves incorporated everyday life situations in their stories, including Christian influences to which they were exposed, and used them to teach ideals, morals, and cultural values across generations (Papa et al., 2006). Likewise, riddles aid in social learning and socialization of children as they can be used to pass on skills and knowledge needed to function in society (Ishengoma, 2005).

Traditional riddles could be likened to modern psychological tests that measure "knowledge and creativity in associating, differentiating, establishing cause-and-effect etc." (Ishumi, 1980 as cited in Ishengoma, 2005, p. 141). Moreover, riddles, as well as other oral traditions such as folktales and proverbs, can help to teach history, geography, social studies, languages, biology, and mathematics (Ishengoma, 2005).

Despite such social and cognitive advantages of cultural literacy, it has often been criticized for being western-centric and classist. A major part of this argument is that "culture" may be interpreted within innumerable dimensions. For example, culture may be described in terms of historical and social heritage, traditions, shared learned behaviors, or rules for living that are transmitted from one generation to the next (Bodley, 1994). Culture, then, influences the development of attitudes, problem solving tendencies, and modes of social interaction (Smith & Ayers, 2006). While general descriptions of cultures may be offered, it is unfathomable for any culture to be exclusively defined or outlined in the form of a dictionary of specific knowledge or any other manuscript (Simpson, 1991).

While a culture may be founded upon the acceptance and proliferation of some shared knowledge, Hirsch's creation of a specific set of knowledge necessary for participation in a literate culture has been criticized for being too simplistic considering the complexity of "culture" as an idea (Simpson, 1991). Not only does Hicks (1988) suggest that Hirsch's subscribed set of knowledge does not necessarily lead to complete literacy, but he also argues that such knowledge is inherently biased. MacKinnon and Manathunga (2003) suggest that multiple literacies may be found within a single space, but are hierarchically valued according to "the nature and function of the society's social,

legal, educational, and governmental environment" (p. 131). Out of this hierarchy, a dominant cultural literacy is established (Gallego and Hollingsworth, 2000 as cited in MacKinnon and Manathunga, 2003). Because cultural literacy calls for the population at large to become familiar with the dominant culture, it has often been criticized for potentially enforcing elitism through education (Christenbury, 1989). Although Hirsch has been praised for his efforts to include the contributions of African Americans, Native Americans and women in his *Core Knowledge Series*, its content has been heavily criticized for being "monocultural" in its emphasis of the contributions made by Europeans and European Americans (Johnson et al., 2001). Not only has this been seen as detrimental to cultural diversity but also as a means for middle-class populace in power to impart that same power to their children (Johnson et al., 2001).

Oftentimes, minorities—especially those lesser in number, cultural influence, or socioeconomic status—are those whose culture and heritage are typically excluded from school curricula and from public consideration as corporate contributors to a nation's cultural identity. However, any group, in fact, may fall victim to exclusion from cultural representation and identification, whether on an educational, cultural or civic level. Stemming from Hirsch's critiques as being exclusionary, it may be argued that cultural exclusion in national curricula may be reflective of cultural exclusion of certain groups within the larger society. Even attempts to preserve cultural forms, as in this study, or governmental efforts to safeguard against appropriation of cultural customs may support exclusion of cultural representations by various groups. This may be seen, for example, in the rejection of young middle class women's participation in Trinidad's pre-Lenten

Carnival celebrations[4] as an authentic component of Trinidadian Carnival culture (Scher, 2002). According to the National Carnival Commission (NCC), authentic Trinidadian culture has been corrupted by other cultures, resulting in the loss of a clear, distinct culture that would be marketable to tourists (Scher, 2002). It is believed that if tourists cannot distinguish between Trinidadian Carnival and other Caribbean festivals, then Trinidad would lose its edge in the market of cultures, fail to attract as many tourists, and consequently face some economic loss (Scher, 2002). Moreover, it is feared that without formal preservation and clarified identification of Carnival forms, Trinidad would lose its authority or authorship of Carnival and become vulnerable to cultural appropriation (Scher, 2002).[5]

The hybridized and commodified "wine and jam" Carnival of young middle class women today has been heavily blamed for this perceived corruption of Trinidad's traditional carnival culture (Scher, 2002). Trinidadian carnival was primarily based on "playing mas'" (that is, masquerading as specific Carnival characters which each have a corresponding performance and distinct costume), calypso (Carnival's traditional music), and pan (music played on steel pan, an acoustic instrument invented in Trinidad in the twentieth century) (Scher, 2002). From the 1930s to 1950s, Carnival was dominated by Afro-Trinidadian working class males (Scher, 2002). As Carnival evolved throughout the years, the participation of women—who used to be outnumbered by men by eighty percent in the 1950s—grew to the extent that by 1981 they had outnumbered men four to

[4] For more descriptions of this festival, see Crowley's (2006) *Carnival, Canboulay, and Calypso: Traditions in the Making,* Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University.

[5] According to Scher, "the concept of cultural appropriation suggests that culture belongs to a corporate, definable group bounded in space and across time, and that a group's identity is, tautologically speaking, defined by its cultural forms and practices. Those cultural forms or objects that are being protected presumably *belong* to everyone in the group equally and constitute their public domain and their intellectual legacy to their children" (original emphasis, p. 458).

one (Scher, 2002). Moreover, more middle class people began to participate in Carnival, particularly middle class women (Scher, 2002). Along with this change in the class and gender composition of Carnival, changes in the tempo, style, instrumentation and performance of music during the masquerade, as well as the construction of costumes, also followed (Scher, 2002). Now, instead of pan music which had traditionally accompanied revelers during the street bacchanal with the sounds of calypso, a fusion of American soul and calypso is commonly heard blasting from amplified instruments and enormous sound systems (Scher, 2002). And although revelers today still "play mas," traditional costumes and characters have fallen to the wayside, displaced by costumes that are "very minimal, with a bikini as the basic garment, along with a collar-piece of sequins and braid, a 'head-piece,' something for the shins or ankles and bands for the wrists. Masqueraders are also given a 'standard,' a long wooden or fiberglass rod with some emblem attached to signify the section of the band" (Scher, 2002, p. 475). These costumes are more popularly adorned by young middle class women whose gyrating bodies move to the fast paced rhythms; movements which are oftentimes looked upon by traditionalists as vulgar, unpatriotic and scandalous bodily expressions (Scher, 2002). Although this group of women is considered as being the life of today's Carnival and those to whom Carnival bands[6] look for profit, the NCC, instead, seeks to portray "true" Carnival from the perspective of the Afro-Trinidadian working class male of the 1930s to 1950s (Scher, 2002).

Through his interpretation of the exclusionary actions of the NCC, Scher (2002) supports the critiques of Hirsch's cultural literacy and illustrates some of the problems

[6] Carnival "bands" are not musical performers, but are organized groups with whom revelers register and pay in order to officially partake in Carnival celebrations with those exclusive groups. See Scher (2002), p. 481, for more information about the structure of these organizations.

associated with the creation and preservation of a cultural identity. First, the culture of any nation or group is dynamic, may lack a clear definition, and transcends space and time. Second, even within the same nation, multiple cultural identities exist which may be en route in different directions despite having common historical roots (Hall, 2004). Therefore, observable attributes from the experience of a single majority may become nationalized while those of other cultural groups get marginalized despite sharing the same physical space (Khan, n.d.). Third, preservation of culture and heritage may primarily serve to establish and maintain power held by some single majority or hegemonic body. This power lies in validating which cultural expressions may be considered authentic, indigenous, and/or necessary for preservation and generational or scholastic transmission. Of course, this leads to the core problem, as revealed in the concept of cultural literacy and the aforementioned Trinidad Carnival debate, of determining who or what gives any one person or group authority to declare what is authentic or inauthentic forms of culture and heritage.

Although no single definite or easy solution may be offered to address these challenges associated with cultural identity, it is proposed that any analyses and preservation of identity must, as much as possible, include consideration and accommodation of the experiences of all groups which constitute the community under investigation (Khan, n.d.). With reference to the archipelagic nature of the Bahamas and the ramifications of racial relations founded during slavery, each island—and various communities on each island—has had diverse experiences and reactions to their sociohistorical circumstances, leading to the production of diverse cultural identities. Celebration and maintenance of this diversity is necessary if cultural exclusion is to be

diminished and cultural hegemony as a by-product of globalization is to be prevented (Louisy, 2001). Fulfilling this need for diversity would also help to encourage mutual efforts in sustaining civic and social development (Kamba, 2002). Moreover, to acknowledge the Bahamas' diversity would be to recognize and protect the narratives of ordinary "roadside geniuses"—a term Christian Campbell (2005c) uses to describe "mad people (or people playing crazy), beggars, straw vendors, preachers, any Bahamian who in their mundane roles perform in ways that sometimes surpass the work of Oscar-winning actors" (p. 2). Maxine Henry-Wilson (2003), former Minister of Education, Youth and Culture of Jamaica, elaborates on how celebration of diversity serves to protect the cultural identity of ordinary folk:

> Culture was and still is about providing a voice for the ordinary man in the face of the baggage of colonial power-play; it is all about giving recognition to the small man's struggle for self-creation through the telling of his story. It is still about the capturing of his images and the creation and interpretation of his own meaning of life, which are the psychological trappings of human achievement…Our mission was and is to use culture to offer the ordinary man a point of convergence and recognition for the meaning of self and environment (para. 19, 21).

Considering the civic, social and personal value of preserving cultural diversity and some weaknesses of cultural literacy in its approach to cultural diversity, it is believed that multicultural education should follow cultural literacy in the development of a consistent and cohesive approach to a cultural identity. Multicultural education is included in the structure of this theoretical framework because it fundamentally celebrates and maintains diversity; defends against homogenization; encourages cultural aspects to be included in curricula and supports the production of indigenous learning materials; and promotes cultural transmission across generations—all of which may

nullify, or at least, alleviate, some of the imagined weaknesses of cultural literacy mentioned above.

The model I propose in this work does not seek to eliminate or substitute multiculturalism with cultural literacy as a means to develop a common cultural identity, but rather to use cultural literacy as a stepping stone to multicultural education. Multiculturalism, often confused with multicultural education and used by critics of diversity, refers to educational practices those critics deem as opposed to the Western canon, to democracy, and to a universalized and free civilization (Banks, 1997). According to James Banks (1997), multicultural education may be understood in three ways. First, as an idea or concept, supporters of multicultural education believe that all students, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender or socioeconomic status (SES), are entitled to an equal opportunity to learn (Banks, 1997). Second, multicultural education is a reform movement that stemmed from the American civil rights movement during the 1960s and 1970s that continues to be a means of transforming educational institutions in ways that would successfully prepare students to function in society (Banks, 1997). Third, multicultural education is a continuing process of promoting democratic ideals such as justice, equality, and freedom (Banks, 1997).

Sonia Nieto (2000) also offers a comprehensive description of multicultural education. She characterizes multicultural education as being: (1) "antiracist education," (2) "basic education," (3) "important for **all** students," (4) "pervasive," (5) "for social justice," (6) "a process" and, finally, (7) "critical pedagogy" (Nieto, 2000, original bold emphasis, p. 305). Developed in part by Paulo Freire, critical pedagogy, to which Nieto (2000) refers, helps students to critically reflect on the concepts of voice, power, culture,

and ideology, and prepares them to take action for social change and empowerment (Banks & Banks, 2004). Freire saw communication in learning settings as being horizontal between instructor and student, where both share equal status as teacher and learner but not necessarily equal beliefs (Banks & Banks, 2004). This view is opposed to vertical dialogue in which teachers simply deposit information into students who then regurgitate it, as described in Freire's banking concept (Banks & Banks, 2004). Freire's views of dialogue also support a key component in multicultural education, intercultural competence, as suggested by Christine Bennett (1995), which enables effective communication across different cultural groups. The views of Pope John Paul II about dialogical communication provide further support for Freire's emphasis on horizontal dialogue and its relationship to multicultural education:

> Dialogue among cultures [is] an intrinsic demand of human nature itself, as well as of culture. It is dialogue which protects the distinctiveness of cultures as historical and creative expressions of the underlying unity of the human family and which sustains understanding and communion between them. The notion of communion .... never implies a dull uniformity or enforced homogenisation or assimilation; rather it expresses the convergence of a multi-form variety, and is therefore a sign of richness and a promise of growth (Pope John Paul II, 2001, pp. 11-12).

Not only is dialogue a key component in multicultural education, but also essential in identity formation. Hecht et al. (1993) argue that "identity is inherently a communication process and must be understood as a transaction in which messages are exchanged" (p. 161). Interestingly, Peterson (as cited in Hicks, 1988, p. 260) notes that Hirsch's *Core Knowledge* curriculum fails to serve minority students but does seek to address stratification in society and unequal access to knowledge and literature. As Hirsch's curriculum has been criticized for being predominantly Euro-centric in nature, Freire would argue that the type of knowledge presented in Hirsch's curriculum represents that

of the mainstream hegemonic group. Thus, any communication between members of the hegemony and those of the minority would result in the continued oppression of the minority. This is because the minority's backgrounds would not provide them any realistic context in which to assimilate such a curriculum proposed by Hirsch, nor would it allow the minority to challenge the oppressors.

In rebutting these claims, Hirsch argues that cultural literacy is inherently classless since the prescribed body of knowledge is an agglomeration of common speech and writing tendencies by mainstream Americans from diverse ethnic backgrounds (Hicks, 1988). Furthermore, minorities in an American context, whom Hirsch is charged of neglecting, can be understood as those groups in American society that are underrepresented numerically and culturally. In the case of the Bahamas and this study, however, minority may refer to the collective body of ordinary Bahamian citizens who, despite being the numerical majority, are in fact the cultural minority in their own country. This is due to the heavy, steady influx of foreign cultural products into the country, and the generally willing reception of these products by Bahamians. Hence, Hirsch's cultural literacy, while faulted for facilitating only the communication and literacy forms of a numerical majority, may facilitate the oral dialogical communication of a Bahamian cultural minority. In this way, cultural literacy does not negate multicultural education, but rather supports it.

Multicultural education involves five dimensions (Banks, 1997). The first involves the process of knowledge construction in which teachers help students understand how knowledge is created and influenced by race, ethnicity, gender and socioeconomic status (SES) (Banks, 1997). To do this, teachers help students understand

their own personal/cultural knowledge, popular knowledge, mainstream academic knowledge, and transformative academic knowledge which in turn challenges mainstream academic knowledge (Banks, 1997). The second dimension focuses on reducing prejudice as a means to help students develop more positive racial and ethnic attitudes (Banks, 1997). Third, teachers must use equity pedagogy to encourage academic achievement of students irrespective of gender, race, SES, or ethnicity (Banks, 1997). Fourth, multicultural education empowers school culture and social structure by transforming school structure from within the system (Banks, 1997). Finally, and most importantly for this paper, multicultural education involves content integration (Banks, 1997). Content integration tends to be the most commonly expressed dimension of multicultural education where teachers use examples and information from different cultures and groups to convey major concepts, generalizations, and principles in particular content areas (Banks, 1997).

One approach which may be used to incorporate content integration is culturally responsive teaching. I propose that culturally responsive teaching supports the inclusion of oral traditions in Bahamian primary school curricula since students would be coming from highly oral environments within the wider community outside of the classroom. Moreover, culturally responsive teaching may aid in the construction of personal/cultural knowledge since oral traditions would help students understand concepts, explanations and interpretations that they draw from personal experiences within their homes and community culture (Banks, 1997). Culturally responsive teaching—sometimes referred to as culturally compatible, culturally congruent, or culturally relevant teaching—is instruction that parallels cultural experiences students bring with them and is a way of

implementing multicultural education (Phuntsog, 2001). Vice versa, multicultural education can be understood as culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2002).

Built upon the framework of academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness (Gay, 2000 as cited in Barnes, 2006), culturally responsive teaching promotes the achievement of all students, regardless of cultural or linguistic backgrounds, while requiring teachers to construct learning environments that are conducive to achieving such success. Culturally responsive teaching can also be described as validating, comprehensive, multidimensional, empowering, transformative, and emancipatory (Gay, 2000). Based on the premise that all cultural heritages are valued, culturally responsive teaching maintains that multicultural information and resources should be consistently used in instruction (Gay, 2000). As culturally responsive teaching is aimed at holistically developing the whole child, emphasis is also placed on helping students maintain cultural identity and heritage (Gay, 2000). Moreover, culturally responsive teachers must understand that cultural heritages equip students with certain strengths which must be used effectively in order to further develop those strengths through instruction (Gay, 2000). Culturally responsive teachers are also advised to be culturally literate (Phuntsog, 2001), and have "critical cultural consciousness of self and others" (Gay, 2002, p. 619).

Hirsch (1983) proposes that school resources generally contain unfamiliar materials that promote some sort of "acculturation" that is inherent of any society. Not only are students lacking familiar culturally relevant reading materials left disadvantaged (McEachern, 1987 as cited in Giddings, 1998) but so are white mainstream students who lack culturally diverse learning materials (Giddings, 1998). Whereas people can ably

negotiate between their own cultural literacy and that of another dominant [extraneous] culture within ordinary social situations, in an educational setting, however, the disparity between one's cultural knowledge and unfamiliarity of the dominant cultural literacy may result in a "dislocation from the educational experience" (MacKinnon and Manathunga, 2003, p. 131). Based on the components of culturally responsive teaching previously mentioned, a culturally responsive approach to providing familiar educational materials reflecting a student's cultural expressions would prevent such a dislocation from occurring. Effective learning resources and materials should reflect and draw out cultural expressions that students naturally and consistently demonstrate based on how they engage in their learning experiences, how they organize and convey data, and what topics they consider worthwhile (Gay, 2002). Teacher resources and instructional strategies should also follow suit. For example, a comparison between the storytelling styles of ethnically diverse students reveals certain characteristics of the different speech communities: "participation, immediacy, and entertainment for the African-American children; distance, reported action, and moral instruction for the European-American children" (Nichols, 1989, p. 243). It has been observed that these same features in their speech are demonstrated in their efforts to practice written literacy (Nichols, 1989). By understanding the oral attributes of African American children, teachers may incorporate culturally responsive instruction and materials to assess students' cognitive processing strengths and weaknesses (Gay, 2002).

Because of the ethical and pedagogical questions raised by cultural literacy and its perceived opposition to multicultural education, it may initially appear contradictory that each concept be regarded in relation to one another or used for a common goal.

However, the theoretical framework previously proposed in Chapter One of this work may be supported greatly by Giddings' (1998) resolution regarding cultural literacy—points of which can extend to the issue of multicultural education:

> One attitude toward cultural literacy that might be worth adopting is that whatever is learned, regardless of its cultural origin, is potentially beneficial to an individual. Facts and information are not ends unto themselves. They can assist individuals in developing broader understandings and generalizations. They can be useful for building new ideas and for problem-solving. Further, the information embedded in cultural knowledge can provide substantive background and content for speaking, reading, writing, and thinking. (p. 112).

This statement demonstrates how cultural literacy and multicultural education not only supports the practice of certain academic skills, but also help students develop a sense of cultural identity. Just as content, as Giddings (1998) suggests, is not essentially its own end, so is identity which is ever changing. Thus, the construction of new ideas, based on cultural literacy and multicultural education, can lend to the fluidity of identity and the expression of multiple identities, one of which can be cultural identity.

Conclusion

The very essence of identity is its fluidity. This aspect of identity was a key point presented in the overall literature review and, especially, a major theme revealed in the discussion of Bahamian cultural identity. The fluid nature of Bahamian cultural identity has been attributed in part to an unawareness of the nation's culture and history among the citizenry. This has lent to poor transmission of cultural forms from one generation to the next. Adding to this is the general lack of confidence among Bahamians in their own cultural products and ready acceptance of foreign cultural imports.

In order to develop a coherent approach to Bahamian cultural identity, cultural literacy and multicultural education have been proposed as compatible models to

incorporate into Bahamian curricula for primary schools. To research these ideologies, various interpretations and criticisms of cultural literacy and multicultural education by different scholars were explored. The most significant issue discovered from this research of both approaches was determining which cultural expressions from which units of society should be officially represented and, ultimately, who holds the power to make such a determination.

Based on the theoretical framework provided in this literature review, several research strategies, as discussed next in Chapter Three, will be used to explore how Bahamian primary schools are helping students develop a sense of cultural identity using native oral traditions.

CHAPTER THREE

Method

Introduction

This study aims to investigate how Bahamian culture is being passed on to primary schoolchildren as a means of developing Bahamian cultural identity. Because the Bahamas is a highly oral community, oral traditions will be the focus of this investigation. In this chapter, a research plan is described, including the methods used, the rationale behind those chosen methods, potential challenges involved with the methods, and the means used to overcome or compensate for those challenges.

Theoretical Background for Research Design

Given the nature of quantitative research in which the collection and analysis of numeral data is emphasized in order to explain or predict a particular phenomenon detached from its context (Gay, Mills, & Airasian, 2006; Yin, 1981), it is more appropriate to implement qualitative research methods to study the development of cultural identity using Bahamian oral traditions. Unlike quantitative approaches to research, qualitative studies are based on the premise that "all meaning is situated in a particular perspective or context, and because different people and groups often have different perspectives and contexts, there are many different meanings in the world, none of which is necessarily more valid or true than another" (Gay et al., 2006, p. 9).

Additionally, qualitative research approaches are inductive, where concepts, abstractions, and new theories are constructed, based on observations and interpretations

of information gained in real world situations, and then discussed in a rich description (Merriam, 1998). The nature of this study—based on topics of cultural interests—calls for the use of an ethnographic case study design. Through sociocultural analysis, ethnography allows for unveiling and description of particular characteristics upon which a group's behaviours are founded (Merriam, 1998). Similarly, a case study enables a researcher to offer rich descriptions and analysis of a single unit or bounded system which may be some topic of concern, an issue or hypothesis of interest (Merriam, 1998). In this paper, the case, or bounded system, would be the development of cultural identity and preservation of oral traditions in the Bahamas (Merriam, 1998). A case study approach is convenient when the phenomenon of interest and its context appear to overlap (Yin, 2003), which is expected to occur in this research. Three different types of case studies are possible—namely exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory (Yin, 1981). It is intended for this work to be an exploratory single case study, representative of the general situation encountered (Yin, 2003) involving the transmission of cultural heritage through curriculum and instruction and critical discourses about Bahamian cultural identity formation.

An ethnographic case study design holds numerous advantages for the researcher. These include the ability to generate theory, gather information from and analyze multiple sources of data, and alter the strategies and direction of research if need be. However, as Hamel (1993, p. 23 as cited in Merriam, 1998, p. 43) suggests, "the case study has basically been faulted for its lack of representativeness…and its lack of rigor in the collection, construction, and analysis of the empirical materials that give rise to this

study. This lack of rigor is linked to the problem of bias…introduced by the subjectivity of the researcher.”

Taking into consideration these advantages and limitations of this research design, an ethnographic case study design was still deemed to be the most appropriate to implement. This is because this design provided the ultimate advantage of allowing me to appreciate and explore the complexity of social interactions and culture, thereby allowing analysis of a phenomenon within its natural context.

Overview of the Research Design

For this study, data was collected using document analysis, questionnaires and a personal interview. The documents and questionnaires were expected to discover the official, operational, hidden, and extra curricula found in Bahamian public primary schools. It is believed that all four types of curricula are possible areas in which oral traditions may be included.

A compilation of works done by several noted ethnographers, folklorists and cultural anthropologists (such as Daniel Crowley and Elsie Clews Parsons who have extensively researched Bahamian oral culture) provided countless examples of traditional Bahamian riddles, stories, and proverbs told in different Bahamian islands (see Works Consulted, p. 204). This compilation served as a criterion to determine whether stories, riddles and proverbs found in the curricula and questionnaire analyses were consistent with those listed in the compilation in terms of particular characteristics such as structure, theme, characters, title, and plot.

Content areas included in the document analysis were social studies, language arts, mathematics, general science, religious studies, arts and crafts, and physical

education. Questionnaires were distributed to instructors of these subjects who teach in primary schools located in former slave and liberated African settlements. The personal interview was conducted with an education officer for primary language arts and was expected to provide an opportunity to corroborate findings from the document analyses and questionnaire results.

Drawing on these sources, an ethnographic case study was conducted to gain an understanding of how government primary schools are using native oral folklore to help students culturally identify themselves as Bahamians.

Documents

Yin (2003) suggests that "documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topic" (p. 85). Out of the intended methods of gathering information for this study, it is believed that this method will render the most information since "many documents are easily accessible, free, and contain information that would take an investigator enormous time and effort to gather otherwise" (Merriam, 1998, p. 125). Documents, whether of a primary or secondary source, are to be closely examined and not merely referred to as a resource (Hammersly & Atkinson, 1989). Because documents are liable to be biased, incomplete, and fallible (Yin, 2003), close examination of the origins, purpose and accuracy of the documents may help to ensure the authenticity of the documents (Merriam, 1998) and lessen these threats to the strength of the researcher's argument and construction of theory. Moreover, documents are considered to be a reliable source of data since they can be repeatedly reviewed, are unobtrusive, contain factual data, and cover a broad area of information (Yin, 2003).

Because cultural literacy has a close affinity with liberal education which, in turn, is often equated with study of the Humanities (Broudy, 1990), it is assumed that some efforts to include oral traditions will be seen in language arts curriculum for primary students. To confirm this and to explore other subject areas, document analysis was performed on official curricula for social studies, language arts, mathematics, general science, religious studies, arts and crafts, and physical education as prescribed by the state for instruction in Bahamian public primary schools.

Because oral folklore is usually associated with the disciplines of humanities and social sciences (American Folklore Society, 2007), language arts and social studies, being two areas of these disciplines, were included in this study to determine the extent to which oral traditions were included in these two subject areas.

Many oral proverbs traditionally shared among Bahamians may be found in the Bible. For this reason, religious studies was included in the document analysis in order to determine if native oral proverbs or other sayings were being included in this subject's curriculum and instruction.

Oral ring play games[1] are often played among primary schoolchildren (Strachan, 2007) and occasionally during physical education. Although the tradition of ringplay is not being included as an area of focus in this study, physical education was included as a subject to be reviewed in order to determine if any other native oral traditions—namely riddles, proverbs or stories—were being included in the teaching of physical education.

[1] Ring play games are another form of Bahamian oral tradition in which children gather in a circle to collectively sing songs or recite chants, some of which have remained relatively the same throughout the years and some which reflect children's experiences today. This practice is usually accompanied by individual expressions of dance or specific gestures corresponding to what is being said. For a more in-depth description of ring play, see Ian Strachan's (2007) "Show Me Your Motion: The Ringplay Games of the Bahamas".

Not only does the language used in telling traditional stories play an important role in entertaining, but also the mental imagery that the language produces. Listening to native stories may enhance children's imaginations—a skill which may be transferred in learning and appreciating the concept of imagery in arts and crafts. For this reason, arts and crafts were also included as a subject area to check for the inclusion of native riddles, proverbs or stories.

Traditional stories are sometimes used to offer some explanation for natural occurrences in one's environment; understanding certain proverbs and solving some riddles at times requires knowledge of basic mathematical and science skills (Ishengoma, 2005). To this end, mathematics and general science were also added as areas of assessment for inclusion of native oral riddles, stories and proverbs.

Essentially, no difficulties were encountered in gaining access to the official curricula for these subject areas and no formal permission from any governing authority was needed for access. Copies of the curricula were provided by the College of the Bahamas Library, the Learning Resources Section (LRS) of the Ministry of Education, and various officers and administrative assistants for the respective subject areas at the Ministry of Education's head office. Although no problems were experienced in accessing the curricula, challenges occurred when attempting to determine whether copies and/or revisions of the different curricula attained were the most recent versions being used. Ultimately, this was determined and confirmed by members of the LRS and senior officers of the Ministry of Education. After collecting these documents, categories were established for the purpose of coding possible common themes, patterns and/or ideas, thereby facilitating analysis and interpretation of the content (Merriam, 1998).

Questionnaire

Ethnographic Enquiry

As Linda Davis (1992) suggests, "surveys, or formal questionnaires specifically, are not a defining feature of ethnographic field enquiries, [but] they can be a useful tool in the exploration of social phenomenon." Questionnaires containing statements or questions are generated with the intent to obtain information regarding participants' perceptions, beliefs, assumptions, and attitudes (McMillan, 2004). One disadvantage of questionnaires is that certain answers given by some participants may be difficult to interpret without having prior knowledge of those participants' background or frame of thought (Davis, 1992). However, this limitation may be outweighed by the advantage of gaining a more holistic understanding of a phenomenon, or verification of a researcher's observations and perceptions, from using information obtained from questionnaires (Wallman & Dhooge, 1984).

Instrument

Description. The questionnaire to be used in this research included several forced-choice and open-ended response items. Both types of items were used to obtain demographic data, and teachers' perceptions of the inclusion and use of oral traditions in the four types of curricula. The aforementioned subject areas to be examined according to the official curricula were included in the questionnaire in the form of a Likert scale (see APPENDIX B for questionnaire items).

Sample. Throughout this study, purposeful sampling was used in the selection of participants. One of the fundamentals of purposeful sampling is that a sample is chosen when it is believed that the most can be learned from that sample (Merriam, 1998). Based on this, a typical sample—believed to be representative of the average participant, situation, or instance of the phenomenon being studied—was chosen (Merriam, 1998). For the distribution of questionnaires, this typical sample included public primary school teachers who teach the subject areas involved in this study from Grades One through Six at schools located in areas locally renowned for being settlements where strong slave and liberated African communities were established. These communities included Adelaide, Bain Town, Carmichael, Fox Hill, Gambier, and Grant's Town. Because of these villages' locations and sociohistorical significance, it is believed that within these areas the practice of oral traditions would have been most retained throughout the years.

Adelaide was established by Governor James Carmichael Smyth (described earlier in Chapter One) after 157 Africans were captured off the Portuguese slave ship *Rosa* in 1831 and were granted lots in Adelaide as freedmen (Saunders, 2005a). Adelaide was situated approximately 16 miles southwest of the capital city, Nassau. Its location made Adelaide an isolated community, with poor roads and little infrastructure, even up to the mid-1960s. Today, Adelaide is still considered to be a remote area with only one government primary school. That school, called Adelaide Primary School, was included in this study.

Although contact with Nassau was difficult, Adelaide villagers made some contact with inhabitants of Carmichael Village, another community settled by freed Africans (Saunders, 2005a). Contact was made possible by a path through the marsh

land, bushes and pine barren which linked the two villages. Many members of both communities made a living by farming and sold their produce at the Nassau Market. Because Grant's Town and Bain Town were much closer to the market, many of Adelaide and Carmichael's inhabitants relocated to these areas. Recently, Carmichael's economy and population have grown, leading to the establishment of three government-run primary schools: Carmichael Primary, Garvin Tynes Primary, and Sir Gerald Cash Primary Schools. All three schools have been included in this study.

Another settlement established by the governor Sir Smyth in the 1830s was Gambier, situated nine miles from the Nassau Market in the city (Saunders, 2005d). Similar to the inhabitants of Adelaide and Carmichael, Gambier was settled by freed slaves or Liberated Africans captured at sea by naval ships. Wanting to escape poor living conditions found in Gambier, many of its settlers chose to relocate to black suburbs of Nassau such as Grant's Town and Bain Town. Like other Bahamians throughout the islands, some of Gambier's inhabitants chose to move to Key West, Florida in the late 19th century to work in the cigar and sponging industries. Some also moved to Miami, Florida in the early 20th century to work in the fruit industry. After finding better economic opportunities in Florida, many of Gambier's residents never returned to The Bahamas or to the village, leaving Gambier relatively undeveloped and isolated until the 1950s and 1960s. Gambier Primary School, the only government primary school presently situated in this settlement, was included in this study.

As previously mentioned, the development of Grant's Town was in part due to the relocation of Adelaide, Carmichael and Gambier settlers to that area. Grant's Town, another region settled by Liberated Africans and freed slaves, was situated just "over the

hill" from Nassau (Saunders, 2005b). It is still thought of today as a part of the Over-the-Hill Community of Nassau. As was explicated in this study's questionnaire, Grant's Town is bordered by East St., Blue Hill Rd., Cockburn and Lee Sts., and Wulff Rd. Within these boundaries is Naomi Blatch Primary School.

The development of Bain Town was similar to that of Grant's Town. As Grant's Town expanded, its population overflowed into surrounding areas, lending to the formation of Bain Town (Saunders, 2005c). Bordered by Nassau St., Blue Hill Rd., South St. and Poinciana Dr., Bain Town is also similarly regarded as part of the Over-the-Hill Community. Two government primary schools are found within these borders: Albury Sayle Primary and Woodcock Primary Schools.

Residents of Bain Town often visited the town of Fox Hill during Emancipation Day and Fox Hill Day[2], forging a close relationship between the two communities (Eneas, 1976). Fox Hill was also settled by freed slaves and liberated Africans who made the town become known as the main fruit producer of New Providence (Bethel, 2007). Being about five miles east of downtown Nassau and connected to it only by track roads, Fox Hill farmers traveled to town mainly for trade of produce, livestock and straw-work. Not only did Fox Hill's physical location keep the inhabitants isolated from the main city of Nassau, but also their social relations with persons from that area whom they saw as "foreigners." Fox Hill was also associated with the practice of obeah,[3] a status which

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[2] Emancipation Day is nationally celebrated as a holiday on the first Monday in August each year to commemorate the emancipation of slaves in the British colonies on August 1, 1834. Fox Hill Day is celebrated on the second Tuesday after the Emancipation Day holiday. It originally was a party day set aside by the Baptist churches in the community to celebrate the success of Sunday school children's performances in school. Over the years, people from other settlements in New Providence joined the Fox Hillians' festivities, eventually leading to Fox Hill Day becoming an island-wide event today (Minnis, 2008).

[3] See description of obeah in Chapter 1, footnote 3, page 11.

deterred many outsiders from entering the village. Over the years, Fox Hill has seen many infrastructural and social changes but has maintained a strong sense of community. Bethel (2007) describes:

> …the immigration of various groups to the area has de-homengized the population: in and around Fox Hill live white Bahamian businessmen, Long Islanders of mixed origins, Haitian immigrants, and miscellaneous members of the new middles classes. In Fox Hill proper, a sense of community remains…
>
> Every Bahamian comes from a community, and Fox Hill symbolizes the ideal community. … No matter what, Fox Hill is seen to embody the ideal Bahamian character. Family life is stronger in Fox Hill than elsewhere. Fox Hill is more connected to the African past, and a greater knowledge of Bahamian culture imbues its spirit. …the village had a mythical quality that was emblematic not only of a special culture all its own, but also of the ideal Bahamian identity (pp. 85, 89).

Interestingly, Bethel expands the idea of Fox Hill identity to discuss Bahamian identity. This connection augments the significance of Fox Hill as a focus area for this study which seeks to explore the issue of Bahamian cultural identity. Within the heart of Fox Hill is Sandilands Primary School, the only government primary school in the area which had also been included as a target school for questionnaire distribution.

In summary, the schools found in each community involved in this study are as follows in Table 2 (see p. 76).

Public (government) primary schools were chosen for this study since they are all mandated to use the national curricula, whereas private schools have the freedom to construct and implement their own. Clearly, limiting the study to public primary schools provided a better sample from which multiple findings and perspectives on the same case could be effectively compared. Primary school in the Bahamas refers to first through sixth grades, although some primary schools do contain a kindergarten unit. Since the presence of kindergarten units is not typical in all of the targeted schools listed above,

only grades one through six teachers for the selected content areas were asked to participate in the questionnaire exercise.

Table 2

Schools Comprising Population Sample of Study

Area	School	Student Population[4]
Adelaide	Adelaide Primary	144
Bain Town	Albury Sayle Primary	583
	Woodcock Primary	394
Carmichael	Carmichael Primary	823
	Garvin Tynes Primary	904
	Gerald Cash Primary	836
Fox Hill	Sandilands Primary	581
Gambier	Gambier Primary	118
Grant's Town	Naomi Blatch Primary	227

Formal permission to distribute the questionnaires to the schools targeted in this study was requested from the Ministry of Education. After being granted permission (see APPENDIX C), questionnaires were hand delivered to each school involved in the study. Informed consent (see APPENDIX D) was requested from the participants, and anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed. Completed questionnaires, which represented only 24% of 150 distributed in total, were also collected personally by me. Because of this overall response rate, follow-up phone calls and visitations were made to each school in order to increase the number of responses and possible range of answers collected.

[4] Student populations according to Ministry of Education's 2007 estimated public school enrollment.

Analysis of Documents and Questionnaire Items

To analyze the data collected, the constant comparative method involving open, axial and selective coding procedures was used. In this method, comparisons are made among incidents, interviews, field notes or documents within the same set of data or in another set, whereby tentative categories can be formed which can be compared to each other and to other instances (Merriam, 1998). The data collected was disaggregated, examined, compared, conceptualized and categorized using open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Following this, the data was put back together in new ways to make connections between the categories using axial coding. Finally, selective coding was used to systematically relate one core category to the other categories through validation of development of their relationships (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These comparisons were continuously made until a conclusion could be formulated (Merriam, 1998). Descriptive reporting was used to share the findings of the document and questionnaire reviews.

Personal Interview

In case studies, personal interviews play an essential role in gathering information directly from respondents (Yin, 2003). Interviews are oral, question-and-answer sessions conducted between a researcher and a respondent (Gay et al., 2006) which allow the researcher to:

i. understand native conceptualizations of communication
ii. gather information about things or processes that cannot be observed effectively by other means
iii. inquire about occurrences in the past
iv. verify, validate, or comment on information obtained from other sources
v. achieve efficiency in data collection (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002, p. 173).

For the purpose of this study, interviewing was used to support information revealed from the questionnaire and document reviews. Using interview responses in this way helped me to: (1) clarify the meanings of common concepts and opinions; (2) distinguish the decisive elements of an expressed opinion; (3) determine what influenced a person to form an opinion or to act in a certain way; and (4) classify complex attitude patterns (Lindlof and Taylor, 2002, p. 178).

Not only do personal interviews provide the opportunity to corroborate data, but they also act as a convenient means to gain information from respondents rather quickly. In addition, the nature of personal interviewing allows the researcher to clarify questions for the participant, seek more information, and gain more in-depth responses than those typically offered in surveys (Frey, Botan and Kreps, 2000).

As with other types of primary sources, interviewing has some disadvantages, including bias, incompleteness, inaccuracy, incoherence of recollections, and the influences of emotion, trauma, and cognitive shortcomings on memory (Charlton, 1985; Yow, 2005). However, the effects of these limitations may be decreased through the use of triangulation of sources and analysis, allowing transcriptions to be checked for accuracy by those interviewed, and following up with interviewees during the analysis process and construction of interpretations.

Selection of Interviewee

Throughout the course of distributing and collecting questionnaires, and reading written comments directed to the researcher found within completed questionnaires, reference was frequently made to the *Preserving our Heritage* (POH) language arts series and its coordinator, Vanria Jack, who was constantly suggested to be a valuable source of

information and person of interest. Adding to Mrs. Jack's suitability as a candidate for interviewing is her present position as a language arts officer for the primary division within the Ministry of Education. Equally important is her insight as a cultural insider, socially and professionally, within the cultural context of this ethnographic case study. Based on the high frequency of reference to the POH series and Mrs. Jack throughout the data collection, it was decided to use Mrs. Jack as a point of corroboration and clarification in order to gain more understanding of information gleaned from the questionnaires and document reviews. Initial contact with Mrs. Jack was made via telephone, and later in person in order to arrange a meeting. Formal approval to interview Mrs. Jack was granted by the Deputy Director of Education who signed a written request from the researcher (see Appendix E). Mrs. Jack was also required to sign an informed consent form before commencing the interview (see Appendix F).

Data Collection

Case study interviews are usually based on open-ended questions which allow respondents to provide factual information along with personal opinions and insights (Yin, 2003). Open-ended questions were used in this study for this very reason. Based on a semi-structured format, the interview began with a specified set of questions but continued with questions prompted by the flow of the interview (see Appendix G). The former set of questions was generated from the discoveries made during document research and recognition of apparent common themes and attitudes presented in questionnaire responses. The interviewee's responses to these questions were used to:

1. understand the curriculum writers' purpose of including native oral traditions in the POH series

2. confirm my supposition for the exclusive representation of native oral traditions in language arts and social studies curricula and instruction
3. substantiate teachers' responses regarding the suitability of native oral folklore instruction in other subjects besides language arts and social studies; and
4. gain insight into questionnaire respondents' attitudes towards teaching Bahamian dialect as a by-product of native oral folklore instruction.

As Mrs. Jack provided responses to those questions, more information was sought through follow-up questions which were created as the interview carried on. These questions tended to address the sociohistorical, theoretical and conceptual framework introduced in earlier chapters. In this segment of the interview, the following was discussed:

1. the importance and critical need of indigenous textbooks, such as the POH series, in teaching native cultural forms and fostering a sense of Bahamian cultural identity within students
2. the present impact of foreign based textbooks and cultural products on students' general sense of cultural identity
3. the need for students to learn a set canon of locally relevant information in order to establish a learned citizenry knowledgeable and appreciative of its native culture; and
4. possible implications of teaching a set body of knowledge, particularly the exclusion or underrepresentation of minority ethnic groups represented in the Bahamas.

Although the interviewee was advised in the consent form that the session should take no more than thirty minutes, the interview lasted for about an hour. It was initially intended for the interview to be digitally recorded and then transcribed in order to facilitate the process of revision. However, the informant disagreed for this exercise to be carried out. Yin (2003) advises that a recording device should not be used if the interviewee does not grant permission to do so. In following Yin's advice and honoring Mrs. Jack's denial for a recorded interview, only written notes were taken during the entire interview.

Analysis of Interview

The transcription of the interview was reviewed for any possible themes or concepts similar to those provided in questionnaire responses or found during document research. The interview was also reviewed for any possible divergences from common themes revealed in earlier investigations. After this review, I linked interview responses with related findings from document research and questionnaire items and included these relations in the reporting of the overall results and conclusion of the study.

Internal Validity

In qualitative studies, validity refers to the degree to which information obtained accurately determines what the researcher is trying to measure (Gay et al., 2006). Yin (2003) also discusses construct validity as "establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied" (p. 34). Lincoln and Guba (1985) offer the terms 'credibility,' 'transferability,' 'dependability,' and 'confirmability' in their understanding of 'validity.' Similarly, Maxwell (1992 as cited in Gay et al., 2006) states that

‘descriptive validity,’ ‘interpretative validity,’ ‘theoretical validity,’ ‘internal generalizability,’ ‘external generalizability,’ and ‘evaluative validity’ should be used as criteria for the overall validity of qualitative research. While Wolcott (1990) argues the inappropriateness of validity as a construct for use by ethnographers, Yin (2003) suggests that internal validity only applies to explanatory or causal studies and not descriptive or exploratory studies, as this study intends to be. However, because this case study is being combined with an ethnographic approach, a proposition offered by LeCompte and Preissle (1993 as cited in Merriam, 1998, p. 203) regarding the high internal validity of ethnographic research is worth considering:

> First, the ethnographer’s common practice of living among participants and collecting data for long periods provides opportunities for continual data analysis and comparison to refine constructs; it ensures a match between researcher categories and participant realities. Second, informant interviews, a major ethnographic data source, are phrased in the empirical categories of participants; they are less abstract than many instruments used in other research designs. Third, participant observation, the ethnographer’s second key source of data—is conducted in natural settings reflecting the life experiences of participants more accurately than do more contrived or laboratory settings. Finally ethnographic analysis incorporates researcher reflection, introspection, and self-monitoring that Erickson (1973) calls disciplined subjectivity, and these expose all phases of the research to continual questioning and reevaluation. (p. 342)

Following this argument, several strategies will be used in this study in order to ensure the validity of an ethnographic case study. These include collecting various sources of data, triangulation of sources, detailed descriptions, and peer examination of interview questions and research findings (Gay et al., 2006; Merriam, 1998).

Generalizability

A common issue regarding ethnographic case studies is that of generalizability. Generalizability, sometimes called external validity, refers to the applicability of a

study's findings to contexts and settings different from that in which they were generated (Gay et al., 2006). Yin (2003) advises that "case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes…and in doing a case study, your goal will be to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)" (p. 10). Nonetheless, generalizability is still problematic since qualitative research is primarily concerned with individual cases and not with wider populations. Four ways that may assist qualitative researchers in appreciating generalizability is to consider it from the following perspectives (Merriam, 1998):

a. as working hypotheses which "not only take account of local conditions, they offer the educator some guidance in making choices—the results of which can be monitored and evaluated in order to make better future decisions" (p. 209)
b. as concrete universals based on the assumption that "the general lies in the particular; that is, what we learn in a particular situation we can transfer or generalize to similar situations subsequently encountered" (p. 210)
c. as naturalistic generalizations which involves "drawing on tacit knowledge, intuition, and personal experience [in order to]…look for patterns that explain their own experience as well as events in the world around them" (p. 211)
d. and as reader or user generalizability, sometimes called case-to-case transfer, which "involves leaving the extent to which a study's findings apply to other situations up to the people in those situations" (p. 211)

Based on any of these four interpretations of generalizability, several strategies, such as providing rich, thick descriptions of findings, noting of typicality, and multisite designs will be used in order to enhance the possibility of generalizability (Merriam, 1998).

Reliability

Reliability refers to the degree to which data measures what it is intended to measure and how replicable those findings are (Gay et al., 2006; Merriam, 1998). It is based upon the supposition that human behaviour is static enough to allow the same findings to be attained after completing the same study under the same conditions (Merriam, 1998). Another problem is that despite validity and reliability being independent of each other, a valid study may consistently measure the intended unit of analysis over time, but a reliable study may consistently measure the wrong unit of analysis over time (Gay et al., 2006). In order to better appreciate the concept of reliability, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest thinking of reliability in terms of a study's "dependability" or "consistency." This conceptualization mandates other researchers to question whether the results gained are consistent with the data obtained, rather then questioning whether or not a study's findings can be duplicated (Merriam, 1998). In order to ensure that this study will be as dependable as possible, the investigator's position, including personal assumptions and attitudes, will be clearly revealed, and triangulation of data collection techniques will be incorporated (Merriam, 1998).

Conclusion

Exploring cultural identity is essentially problematic since identity and culture are fluid in nature and can never be contained within definite geographical, chronological,

and spatial boundaries or any other margin of some sort. Despite the complexity of cultural identity, and the various limitations and challenges presented in attempting to research this concept, it was decided that an ethnographic case study would be the most effective means in which to investigate how Bahamian schoolchildren in select primary public schools are being taught Bahamian cultural identity. Because of the immeasurability of the country's culture, only one aspect of Bahamian culture was used as a tool in which to conduct this study. That is, native oral traditions, specifically riddles, proverbs and stories. Using the aforementioned research design delineated in this chapter, document research and questionnaires served as the principal instruments used in conducting this study, while a personal interview served as a point of triangulation to corroborate findings revealed during prior investigations. The information gleaned from these various sources of data are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

Introduction

As described in the preceding chapter, a qualitative approach was taken in carrying out this study, using document analysis, questionnaires and an interview. The documents analyzed were the Ministry of Education's curricula for the following subject areas used in all government primary schools: religious studies, mathematics, general science, arts and crafts, language arts, physical education and social studies. Questionnaires were distributed to first through sixth grade teachers of these subject areas employed at schools located in districts once settled by liberated Africans and freed slaves. Together, the questionnaires and document analysis revealed how the Ministry of Education's curriculum writers and in-service teachers incorporate native stories, riddles and proverbs in the official, operational, hidden, and extra curricula found in Bahamian public primary schools. In this chapter, an overview of the responses provided in the questionnaires will be given first. Following this, the findings from each curricula review of the subjects listed above will be reported in relation to the questionnaire responses. An interview with an education officer and curriculum writer was also conducted in order to clarify and corroborate the findings provided by the document analysis and questionnaire responses. An account of the interview, which will be the final report included in this chapter, will reveal links found among the results garnered from research.

General Overview of Questionnaire Results

Distribution and Response Rates

Nine schools located in six different villages were chosen as sample areas for this study. They are as follows:

Table 3

Schools included in Population Sample

Area	School
Adelaide	Adelaide Primary
Bain Town	Albury Sayle Primary
	Woodcock Primary
Carmichael	Carmichael Primary
	Garvin Tynes Primary
	Gerald Cash Primary
Fox Hill	Sandilands Primary
Gambier	Gambier Primary
Grant's Town	Naomi Blatch Primary

In total, 220 questionnaires were personally hand delivered to the schools listed above. With the exception of Carmichael Primary, where I personally distributed questionnaires to participating respondents, all other questionnaires were given to school officials who agreed to distribute them among teachers of grades 1 through 6 for the subject areas under study. Of the total questionnaires distributed in the study, only 53 questionnaires were collected. The percentages of questionnaires collected per school may be found in APPENDIX H, Table 1.

Upon collection of those completed questionnaires, several school officials apologized for their school's response rates, indicating that completing surveys was such a common request of teachers that they had simply become apathetic towards the exercise. Another reason offered by some participating teachers for poor response rates was lack of available time in their work schedules to complete the questionnaires. Perhaps an even more important factor contributing to the overall poor response rate is that the Bahamas is a highly oral society where face-to-face communication is the most valued means of interaction (Bethel, 2006). Bethel suggests that printed materials are a useful means of communication, but are meaningless without follow-up phone calls or face-to-face meetings. Being familiar with this aspect of Bahamian culture, I often telephoned and, in even more instances, visited several school officials, requesting their assistance in asking teachers to complete the questionnaires. Questionnaires that were completed were collected in person. Following this initial collection, further telephone calls and visits to several of the schools were made in order to collect any additional completed questionnaires. This procedure proved fruitful with Carmichael Primary and Gerald Cash Primary only.

Demographics of Respondents

Of the 53 respondents in this study, 51 were female and 2 were male. The following charts indicate the age, nationality and the number of respondents found within each school area studied (see Figures 1 – 3).

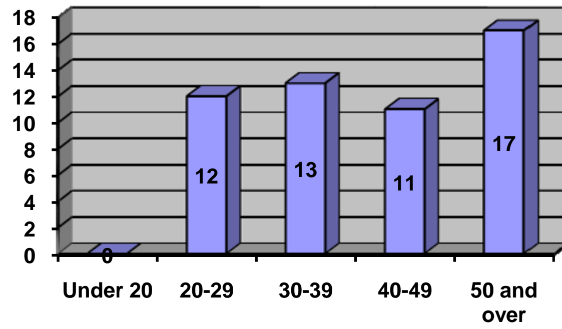

Figure 1. Age of questionnaire respondents.

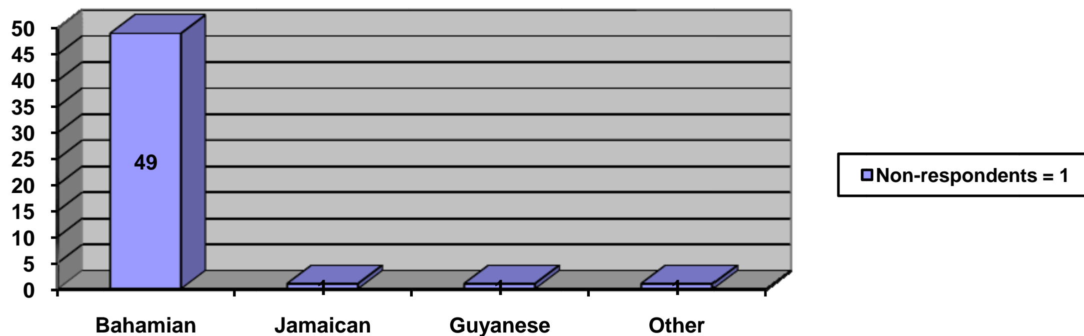

Figure 2. Nationality of respondents.

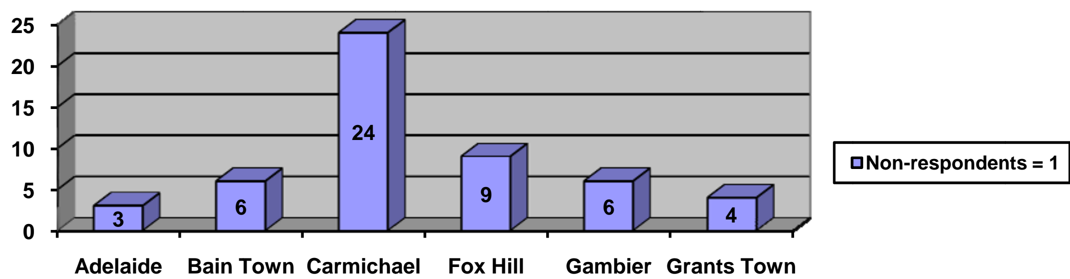

Figure 3. Number of respondents employed at government primary schools in each settlement.

Background of Respondents

Nearly all of the respondents (62%) spent most of their childhood (0 to 18 years old) in New Providence. The other respondents spent most of their childhood years on a family island[1], with the exception of 2 who were raised in Jamaica and 1 who was raised in Guyana. Most of the respondents were neither raised as children (85%) nor presently live in the school area in which they work (83%). The majority of respondents agreed that native riddles, stories and proverbs were considered important on the island/country (61%) and in their home where they were raised for most of their childhood (63%). Similarly, the majority of respondents agreed that during their primary school education they had learned about native oral traditions (63%). Some of the respondents to the questionnaire indicated that during their teaching training, they had learned how to include oral traditions in their teaching practices (54%).

Teachers' Use of and Attitudes towards Oral Traditions in Pedagogy and Curriculum

Nearly all of the respondents (98%) believed that oral traditions were a vital part of Bahamian culture. Based on this premise, they offered numerous reasons why Bahamian stories, riddles, and proverbs should be included in the teaching of the subject areas being investigated in this study. After examining and coding their various responses, three main arguments emerged for including native folklore in teaching. Respondents generally suggested that including native stories, riddles, and proverbs in primary school curriculum may:

1. help students to appreciate their cultural heritage and identify themselves as Bahamians

[1] These islands included Abaco, Acklins, Andros, Cat Island, Crooked Island, and Eleuthera.

2. provide students with more personally meaningful learning experiences through culturally relevant teaching and references to local cultural expressions, and;
3. be efficiently incorporated into curriculum and instruction through content integration.[2]

An overwhelming number of participants either disagreed (45%) or strongly disagreed (35%) that native stories, riddles and proverbs were less important than universal facts, concepts or principles from various disciplines. In fact, many of them (78%) indicated that Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs may be used to teach such content. Summarized below is a list of core concepts which responding teachers described teaching using Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs:

a) Family, culture, and community life
b) Character building, morals and values
c) Storytelling, playwriting, and dramatization
d) Reading concepts and language arts skills, including learning to correct dialect to Standard English
e) Background information/introductions to topics in social studies, religious knowledge, music, or other subject areas.

Many of the participants agreed that native oral traditions were suitable to teach in all the subject areas reviewed in this study (see APPENDIX H, Table 2). Yet, their questionnaire responses indicated that in practice they generally incorporated the teaching and practice of oral traditions in their operational (see APPENDIX H, Tables 3 and 4) and hidden curricula (see APPENDIX H, Table 5) of language arts and social studies

[2] See Appendix I for empirical examples of questionnaire answers used to make these three categories of responses.

more frequently than of other subject areas. Participants' responses also indicated that the Ministry of Education's national curricula for primary language arts and social studies, when compared to the other subjects, more greatly supported the use of native oral folklore (see APPENDIX H, Table 6). Possible explanations for the exclusive prevalence of native oral folklore in social studies and language arts curricula and instruction will be discussed later in Chapter 5. Interestingly, 98% of the respondents stated that more emphasis needs to be placed on Bahamian oral traditions in the national curricula. In addition, 38% of respondents who were involved in extra-curricular activities associated with the school at which they work stated that they sometimes encourage the learning and practice of Bahamian storytelling, riddles, and proverbs in those extra-curricular activities.

As the curriculum for each subject area is reviewed later in this chapter, teachers' views on the use of oral traditions in teaching each subject will be reported.

Materials used in teaching oral traditions. Although a few of the respondents commented on the paucity of reading materials made available by the Ministry of Education, 37% of them reported that they still provide their students with reading and listening materials which focus on Bahamian riddles, proverbs and stories. Materials listed were composed by some of the most renowned writers, advocates and preservationists of Bahamian culture and oral folklore, such as Susan J. Wallace, Hanna Dames, Telcine Turner, Mary E. Russell, and Mizpah Tertullien. Collectively, some of their works listed by respondents included titles such as *Back Home* (Wallace, 1997), *Really Bahamian* (Dames, 2001), *Once below a Time* (Turner, 1988), *Bahamiana Culturama #1* (Tertullien, 1977), and *Jewels of the Bahamas* (Russell, 1996).

A series called "Junka and Noo Vocabulary Development Programme" (Rolle, 1996) was also mentioned among the examples of materials used to teach oral folklore. Comprised of songs, games, reading and speaking activities, this program aims to teach primary schoolchildren about the Bahamas while simultaneously enhancing their vocabulary, social and numeracy skills. Although native proverbs and riddles are not emphasized in this program, the traditional story characters of Brer Booky and Brer Rabbie are used to tell more modern stories about cultural features and local events commonly recognized by schoolchildren today.

Another noteworthy example provided by participants is called "Our Bahamian Heritage: A Resource Guide for Teachers" (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 1995). In this educational and cultural kit, aspects of Bahamian culture, such as music, art, storytelling, foods and festivals, are covered. Along with color posters that depict various cultural features, the kit also contains two videos, "To be a Bahamian" and "Island Portraits: Traditional Culture in Andros," and two audio cassettes which allow students to hear traditional sacred songs and native storytelling.

Additionally, the textbook series for primary language arts and social studies, entitled *Preserving our Heritage* (Jack et al., 2002) and *Primary Social Studies and Tourism Education for the Bahamas* (Morrissey, 1992) respectively, were also included as examples of materials used in teaching oral traditions to primary school students. Because both textbook series are closely intertwined with the official curriculum for each subject, these series will be discussed later in this chapter when reviews of language arts and social studies, along with the other subject areas investigated in this study, are individually reported.

When asked for examples of Bahamian riddles, proverbs, and stories used by responding teachers, Bre Booky and Bre Rabby stories were the most common among answers. Numerous proverbs and a few riddles were also provided (see Appendix J for a summarized list of these responses).

Teachers' Perceptions of Bahamian Dialect in Teaching Oral Traditions and Bahamian Identity

Generally, 58% of answerers disagreed and 20% strongly disagreed that Bahamian dialect is destructive to effective communication among students. The majority (52%) also agreed that teaching Bahamian oral traditions support the use of Bahamian dialect in the classroom. When asked whether Bahamian dialect should be taught in primary schools to help students identify themselves as Bahamians, participants' responses varied greatly. Approximately 6% strongly disagreed, 27% disagreed, 33% agreed, 8% strongly agreed, and 27% remained undecided on the matter. Possible reasons for this varied response and the subsequent implications on oral folklore's role in curriculum and instruction will be discussed later in Chapter 5.

Overview of Document Analysis

Generally, curriculum writers for the various content areas examined viewed local references to students' background as important, including their cultural heritage. All curricula encouraged teachers to practice flexibility in their pedagogical strategies and resources in order to meet their students' individual learning styles and academic needs. Some curricula also encouraged teachers to incorporate subject integration in their teaching practices. While all curricula aimed at enhancing students' appreciation and proficiency of each subject's principles and skills, a common aim among each curriculum

was to prepare students to use those learned skills in a technological and globalized world. To encourage the formation of students as responsible citizens of the Bahamas, a constant call and continual praise were offered in the introductory pages of each curriculum for the ongoing work done in making content more culturally relevant.

In specifically addressing this study's first research question, investigating the inclusion of native oral traditions in official curricula, it was found that curriculum writers of some subject areas encouraged the general use of riddles and internationally familiar children's stories. However, only two subject areas specifically included Bahamian oral folklore in its content: language arts and social studies. For this reason, textbooks used in only these subject areas were examined for their support of native folklore. Moreover, these textbooks were not merely external resources, but in most cases served as the actual curriculum and instructional guides for certain grade levels. As will be seen, language arts profoundly outweighed all subject areas in its representation and support of Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs. This observation in part led to an interview session with the education officer in charge of language arts in the primary division of the Ministry of Education.

In this section of the chapter, specific observations regarding the inclusion of Bahamian stories, riddles, and proverbs in each content area will be noted. Also mentioned will be questionnaire responses regarding this subject matter for each content area reviewed. The content areas included arts and crafts, physical education, general science, mathematics, religious studies, social studies and language arts, discussed below respectively.

Art and Design

Across the grade levels of 1 through 6, the concepts of lines, shape, space, color, patterns, texture, balance, dominance, contrast, shade, crafts and art appreciation are identified and explored as elements of art and goals of teaching art in primary schools (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 1999c). As was mentioned in previous chapters, junkanoo is often the most prominent Bahamian theme used to teach concepts from a local perspective. Some of the suggested activities presented in this art and design curriculum support this emphasis of junkanoo, as well as getting students familiarized with some popular Bahamian artists. Although flexibility in methods and materials are encouraged in the general preface to the curriculum, no mention of native stories, riddles, or proverbs was made in the curriculum.

Teachers' responses to the questionnaire issued for this study confirmed the absence of native folklore in the art and design curriculum. In fact, many of the respondents to the questionnaire totally ignored any questions regarding native folklore in the arts and crafts curriculum and 31% were undecided as to whether the curriculum supported the use of folklore in their teaching (see APPENDIX H, Table 6). Of those who provided a response to Question 25 (see APPENDIX H, Table 2), 4% strongly disagreed, 4% disagreed, 7% were undecided, 61% agreed, and 25% strongly agreed that Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs would be suitable to teach in arts and crafts.

Physical Education

At the time of this investigation, no official curriculum existed for physical education in government primary schools although education officials were in the process of constructing one during the summer of 2008. The Ministry of Education's scheme of

work for physical education in primary schools aims at helping students develop motor skills and appreciate physical activity within a safe and enjoyable learning environment. In order to do this, the Ministry of Education highlights these specific goals for Grades 1 through 6:

i. To develop each child mentally, physically and socially
ii. To develop respect and appropriate attitude toward officials and team mates.
iii. To gain an understanding of Physical Fitness and its importance for a wholesome life.
iv. To create an awareness and understanding of safety on and off playing areas.
v. To introduce students to as many sports as possible, providing the avenue for life-long sports careers (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, n.d.).

The program is based on Body Management Competence which emphasizes the development of fundamental skills and then specialized skill training. Instructional programs included in this scheme of work for all grade levels are health and fitness, basic movement and gymnastics. Basketball, track and field, soccer, volleyball, softball/baseball are highlighted as being the core subjects of the scheme. Other sports to be taught throughout the primary grades are mini-basketball, cricket, swimming, tennis, and recreational activities. The physical education scheme of work does not include native riddles, stories or proverbs at all.

On the questionnaire, the majority of participants provided no response to items pertaining to the inclusion of these oral forms in teaching physical education. Of those whom answered such questions, 12% strongly agreed, 8% disagreed, 8% were undecided, 48% agreed, and 24% strongly agreed that Bahamian riddles, stories and proverbs are suitable to teach in physical education classes (see APPENDIX H, Table 2). Yet, 71% of respondents indicated that they never formally teach oral traditions to their students while 29% sometimes do (see APPENDIX H, Table 3). In contrast, the percentages of

participants who rarely, sometimes, or always casually share these oral traditions with their students was 17% in each case, whereas 50% stated that they never did (see APPENDIX H, Table 5). Respondents also indicated that they never (67%), rarely (22%), or sometimes (11%) allowed their students to tell their own versions of these oral traditions in physical education classes (see APPENDIX H, Table 4). When asked if the Ministry of Education's curricula for physical education supported the use of these Bahamian oral traditions, the majority of respondents were equally divided, with 40% disagreeing and 40% remaining undecided (see APPENDIX H, Table 6).

General Science

The goals of the science curriculum are generally founded on the development of the attitudes, knowledge and process skills necessary to become a scientifically literate citizen of the Bahamas. To accomplish these goals, the curriculum writers for primary science focus the program on life science, earth science, physical science and science, technology and society throughout the six grade levels. Below is a summary of the science and technology standards set for Grades 1 through 6:

1. Understands basic features of the Earth
2. Understands basic Earth processes
3. Understands essential ideas about the composition and structure of the universe and the Earth's place in it
4. Knows about the diversity and unity that characterize life
5. Knows the general structure, organization and functions of cells in organisms
6. Understands how species depend on one another and on the environment for survival
7. Understand basic concepts about the structure and properties of matter
8. Understands energy types, sources and conversions, and their relationship to heat and temperature
9. Understands motion and the principles that explain it
10. Understands the nature of scientific knowledge and inquiry (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 2001, p. 13)

Throughout the grade levels for the primary science curriculum, integration with different subjects is promoted, especially language arts. Native stories, proverbs and riddles are not mentioned at all in the curriculum although the general use of riddles as a suggested activity has been included. For example, first graders are encouraged to solve "What am I?" riddles to learn more about their five senses based on the colour, shape, and size of things in the classroom that the teacher describes. Another suggested activity is for third graders to learn about the functions of plant parts using riddles.

When asked if the science curriculum supported the use of Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs, 21% of questionnaire respondents strongly disagreed, 25% disagreed, 18% agreed, 7% strongly agreed, and 29% remained undecided (see APPENDIX H, Table 6). Approximately 71% of the respondents, however, agreed and 17% strongly agreed that these forms of native folklore were indeed suitable to teach in science classes (see APPENDIX H, Table 2). In addition, 52% of the answerers indicated that they never allow their students to tell their own native stories, proverbs or riddles during science classes, while 16% rarely and 26% sometimes did (see APPENDIX H, Table 4). Although 55% of teachers sometimes included these art forms in their formal instruction, 9% rarely, 9% very frequently, 6% always and 21% never did (see APPENDIX H, Table 3). Moreover, 27% never included oral folklore in their casual instruction, but 48% of teachers indicated that they sometimes did (see APPENDIX H, Table 5).

Mathematics

The Ministry of Education seeks to prepare Bahamian students to acquire the necessary skills to compute quantitative information and use technology effectively

(Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 2008a). In order to do this, curriculum writers of the mathematics program have outlined the following as goals for students throughout the first to the twelfth grade:

i. Become mathematical problem solvers
ii. Become proficient in the use of technology and other mathematical tools
iii. Learn to work together in teams
iv. Be able to communicate mathematically
v. Make connections within Mathematics and with Mathematics in the real world
vi. Develop self-confidence with Mathematics
vii. Learn to value Mathematics (p. v, Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 1999a)

Material presented in the mathematics curriculum is divided into six strands. These are number theory, sets, patterns and functions, geometry, statistics and probability, and measurement. Within these strands, specifically, students learn such concepts as data analysis, shapes, figures, lines, points, angles, relationships, algebra, symbols, notations, definitions, area, mass, volume/capacity, linear measurement, time, temperature, money, number sense, operation sense, and computation and estimation for: addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 2008b).

To facilitate student learning and application of these concepts, teachers are encouraged to use various strategies and relevant resources such as popular children's rhymes (e.g. Ten Little Monkeys Jumping on the Bed). Although native stories are not suggested as a possible teaching resource, integrating popular children's stories (such as The Little Red Hen) and allowing students to practice writing stories to solve math problems were encouraged. Similarly, native riddles were not included in the curriculum as a teaching strategy, but teachers were still encouraged to create their own riddles to reinforce student learning and practical application. Proverbs of any kind were not included in this curriculum.

Interestingly, 18% strongly disagreed, 35% disagreed, 24% were undecided, 15% agreed and 9% of respondents strongly agreed that the national curriculum for primary mathematics supported using Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs in classroom instruction (see APPENDIX H, Table 6). Despite 62% of respondents agreeing and 17% strongly agreeing that these oral traditions are appropriate to include in mathematics instruction (see APPENDIX H, Table 2), 47% of them never, 11% rarely, and 31% sometimes allowed their students to tell their own native stories, riddles or proverbs during instruction (see APPENDIX H, Table 4). On the other hand, 24% of teachers indicated that they never told students these types of oral forms during formal instruction, while 22% rarely, 37% sometimes, 15% very frequently and 2% always did (see APPENDIX H, Table 3). The majority of respondents stated that they never (30%), rarely (19%), or sometimes (41%) casually shared native folklore with their students, while others did so very frequently (5%) or always (5%) (see APPENDIX H, Table 5).

Religious Studies

Primary school students are taught religious studies from a Christian perspective based on a thematic approach. The religious studies curriculum focuses on Old Testament stories, the work of the apostles, the Christian church today, Christian ethics, and Christian perspectives on personal and moral issues (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 1998). The curriculum is designed to help students understand how religious influences affect their environment, society and global issues. Noting in their philosophical statement that religious beliefs are ingrained in the Bahamian language and culture, the curriculum developers believe that this religious studies program as described above may help students not only gain academic skills, but also a sense of personal

fulfillment and cultural appreciation. In order to achieve this, the curriculum writers have listed the following goals and objectives to be adhered to in the teaching of religious studies throughout the primary level:

Curriculum Goals:

- Create an awareness and understanding of the individual's relationship with God;
- Provide information, experience, language skills, and understand that would enable students to respond appropriately to religious concepts;
- Develop through the Bible and other contemporary literature, acceptable sound moral Christian values that will equip students with the desire to participate positively in the life and work of the community;
- Develop appropriate attitudes and beliefs of self and others;
- Show that the teachings of Christ are applicable to all persons of any or no religious persuasion;
- Understand the dynamics of group participation in the completion of a task as seen through the work of the apostles, in response to the command to 'go' and 'preach';
- Show respect and tolerance for different denominational views within Christianity and other religions (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 1998, p. 9).

Curriculum Objectives

- Identify and evaluate, through God's creation and redemption, man's relationship with God.
- Describe the role and importance of special persons, biblical issues and writings that improve Christian values and morals.
- Recognize and evaluate the view that the teachings of Christ are applicable to all people.
- Recognize self value and importance in the development of social skills through religious content.
- Identify life as a series of significant stages.
- Evaluate and give personal responses to moral issues.
- Identify key concepts in various religions and examine experiences and languages that will provide knowledge of the beliefs held by others.
- Stimulate curiosity and a search for knowledge about worship, ritual, festival and other expressions of religious life and practice.
- Use knowledge, via process skills, to communicate religious ideas in various forms such as: discussions, question formulation and response, role play, etc. (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 1998, p. 10)

Although there is no mention in the curriculum of any native stories, riddles or proverbs to incorporate in teaching religious studies, "Who am I?" riddles were suggested as an activity to use with second graders to teach the topic of Jesus choosing helpers. These type of riddles require students to use specific clues to identify a particular biblical character. Biblical proverbs were also used as a teaching resource, such as Proverbs 12:22, "God loves those who are honest," to teach third graders the topic of honesty. Despite the lack of native folklore in the religious studies curriculum, 13% of teachers strongly disagreed, 28% disagreed, 19% were undecided, 38% agreed, and 3% strongly agreed that the curriculum supported the use of native stories, riddles, and proverbs (see APPENDIX H, Table 6). Most respondents either agreed (64%) or strongly agreed (23%) that native folklore is suitable to teach in religious studies classes while only 2% strongly disagreed and 11% remained undecided on the matter (see APPENDIX H, Table 2). Forty-three percent of teachers sometimes included native oral traditions in their operational curriculum, while 14% did so very frequently, 7% always included the art form, 18% rarely took this approach, and 18% never did (see APPENDIX H, Table 3). On the other hand, 13% rarely, 48% sometimes, 10% very frequently, 5% always, and 25% never casually shared them while teaching religious studies (APPENDIX H, Table 5). Additionally, the largest number of respondents indicated that they either sometimes (46%) or never (35%) allow their students to tell their own versions of native folklore within religious studies classes (see APPENDIX H, Table 4).

Social Studies

The social studies curriculum is based on an integration of religious studies, history, geography, tourism education[3] and civics, aimed at teaching students the knowledge, skills and attitudes that the Ministry of Education and course writers deem necessary to develop learned responsible young citizens. This link between social studies and nation building has been made throughout the region where it had been introduced in several Caribbean countries, including the Bahamas, around the time their national independence was attained. Mike Morrissey (2000) describes that "[f]rom a subject introduced into the region only thirty years ago by a tiny radical fringe, quite at variance with traditions entrenched through a century or more of British colonial education, Social Studies have achieved region-wide acceptance at the primary and secondary level Education and has taken on a role of increasing importance in fashioning Caribbean societies" (p. 8).

The Bahamian social studies curriculum being followed in today's primary schools is comprised of a six book course on social studies and tourism education for The Bahamas. It is based on a thematic approach that introduces learners to their home and environment in the first grade; their community, island and country in further grades; and finally to understanding the world as a whole by the sixth grade. Based on a spiral design, each theme is taught at an increased level of critical thinking, vocabulary and conceptual understanding. Throughout the social studies primary program, integration

[3] Tourism education is a component of the social studies program that helps students to become "aware of the important role that Tourism plays in the economy; interested in careers in Tourism or related industries; knowledgeable about the components of the industry and its links with most other sectors of the economy; welcoming to all visitors to Bahamian shores; concerned that the physical and social environment be attractive to visitors" (Morrissey, 2000, p. 9).

with various subjects is strongly suggested and an enquiry approach to teaching is encouraged. In general, the role of social studies in Bahamian schools is to:

i. Equip young citizens with a sound knowledge of The Bahamas
ii. Foster nationalism
iii. Develop in youngsters a positive concept of self
iv. Promote the democratic process
v. Foster concern for the environment
vi. Teach institutional values
vii. Encourage regional and global cooperation (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 2008d).

Table 4 below summarizes the concepts taught at each grade level in the social studies program (see p. 106).

Junkanoo-related activities pervade the suggested student exercises provided for teachers in the curriculum. Additionally, teachers are advised to make up riddles to use with students. This example is prescribed for second graders:

> People use us all the time,
> sometimes we are standing in a line.
> Our walls are made of wood, bricks and lime
> With windows and doors to let in the sunshine. (Morrissey, 2000, p. 35)

Students are then asked to guess what is being described. In this case, the riddle is referring to buildings. Teachers are also encouraged to incorporate “Who am I?” forms of riddles in their lessons as well as rhymes. While riddles and stories may be encouraged in this way, well known native folklore forms are not explored until the third grade when Bahamian culture is emphasized. In the following excerpt taken from the third grade textbook correlating with the curriculum described above for this subject area, students are introduced to a well-known native proverb as an example of Bahamian sayings in which respect for the dead is admonished:

Table 4

Social Studies Concepts taught from Grades 1 – 6

	Grade					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Major Concepts:	▪ personhood ▪ our country ▪ personal needs and interests ▪ cooperation ▪ home and family life ▪ school life	▪ people, places and things in one's surroundings ▪ the nature of a community ▪ weather ▪ identifying and becoming community helpers	▪ early inhabitants of the Bahamas ▪ migration ▪ modern populace of the Bahamas ▪ Bahamian way of life ▪ national symbols ▪ leisure ▪ major characteristics and people of the surrounding Family Islands ▪ shared basic needs	▪ geography of the Bahamas ▪ major industries in our country, Junkanoo ▪ national pride ▪ tourism ▪ landmarks in the Bahamas' history ▪ Bahamian people ▪ nation builders	▪ sociohistorical, economical, and political connections between the Bahamas and regional countries as well as the USA ▪ religions in the Bahamas ▪ immigration ▪ Bahamian government and parliament ▪ national development ▪ national defense ▪ hurricanes ▪ higher education ▪ family life in other countries	▪ Bahamian government ▪ citizenship ▪ democratic principles and procedures in Bahamian elections ▪ laws and the judicial system ▪ Bahamian way of life ▪ different cultures from around the world ▪ cooperation ▪ conservation of natural resources

> "Yinna don point ya finga at de graveyard. It gan rotton off."
> Meaning: Don't point your finger at a graveyard. Your finger will go rotten/drop off.
>
> Have you heard that said before?
> It is something Bahamian people believe.
> It is written here the way we speak in The Bahamas. Our way of talking is another part of our way of life.
> Every island has its own way of speaking, and its own tales and beliefs.
> We also have to learn English and to speak it well.
> This will help us to understand people from many places in the world. It will also make tourists understand us.
>
> - What are some of the words or sayings or stories that are special to your island?
> - Act a little play using the language of your island and the language of an American tourist. (Morrissey, 1992, p. 26)

As may be seen from the above excerpt, the use of oral proverbs in teaching particular customs or beliefs in Bahamian culture is demonstrated. Not only does this excerpt acknowledge orality to be an important part of Bahamian life and a common practice generally shared across the islands, but it also helps students to recognize the diversity of orality throughout the archipelago. This textbook passage also indicates the significance of Bahamian dialect as an essential part in the practice of oral folklore. What is also revealed in this example is the relationship between Bahamian dialect and standard English within the Bahamian cultural context. Besides the sun, sand and sea, tourists visit the Bahamas to learn about and witness the country's local culture. Although oral folklore is widely considered to be an integral part of the local culture, as demonstrated in the above textbook passage, schoolchildren are taught to reserve dialect for interaction among locals only and among tourists to practice standard English. In doing so, children learn from an early age to appreciate the importance of tourism to the country's economy and to preserve the success of tourism by facilitating communication between locals and visitors.

The responses to the questionnaires confirmed what was found in the examination of the social studies curriculum. Fifty-one percent of teachers who answered social studies related items on the questionnaire agreed and 15% strongly agreed that the Ministry of Education's curriculum supported the use of Bahamian folklore in the teaching of social studies, but another 8% strongly disagreed, 15% disagreed, and 10% remained undecided on the issue (see APPENDIX H, Table 6). Out of the 48 respondents to Question 25 of the questionnaire (see APPENDIX H, Table 2), 26 agreed, 21 strongly agreed, and only 1 strongly disagreed that Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs were suitable to teach in social studies classrooms. Additionally, many of the answerers indicated that they sometimes (50%), very frequently (24%), or always (11%) share these forms of Bahamian folklore with their students (see APPENDIX H, Table 3). The majority of teachers (62%) stated that they sometimes casually told oral folklore during social studies instruction, while 12% did so very frequently, 7% included the art form always, 12% rarely practiced it, and 12% never did (see APPENDIX H, Table 5). Also, 45% sometimes, 11% very frequently, and 5% always allowed their students to tell their own versions of native folklore during social studies classes whereas 16% rarely and 24% never did (see APPENDIX H, Table 4).

Language Arts

Considering language arts to be "the foundation of all learning" (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 1999b, p. 1), the Ministry of Education's greatest goal of its primary language arts program is to ensure that all Bahamians become literate. In the introduction to the primary language arts curriculum, the following ideals were also listed as some of the Ministry's belief statements for the language arts program:

(a) We believe that all students should be able to communicate effectively and proficiently in internationally acceptable English, yet maintain a respect for and an appreciation of the Bahamian dialect.
(b) We believe that Thinking, Speaking, Listening, Reading and Writing are equally important aspects of the Language Arts programme, and that they should be taught using the integrated approach.
(c) We believe that the teaching of Language Arts begins with the student – the student's language, the student's own expressions and the student's world.
(d) We believe that the Language Arts Curriculum content should reflect the Bahamian culture, environment and heritage while allowing for exposure to other cultures (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 1999b, p. 1).

In order to fulfill these goals, the curriculum writers for language arts centered the program around the following areas: listening and speaking, handwriting, spelling, written composition, grammar and usage, and reading/literature. In reporting the review of the language arts curriculum, attention will be drawn to the areas of listening and speaking, written composition, grammar and usage, and reading/literature as certain objectives from each of these components relate to the research questions posed earlier and to emerging themes found during the process of continually coding data.

Within the Ministry's goals for listening and speaking for Grades 1 through 6, the significance of orality in children's language and social development is highlighted, as demonstrated in the following goals which require students to:

(a) use critical thinking and problem solving skills while listening
(b) recognize and use vocal characteristics that influence the meaning of oral language
(c) recognize and use levels of language, idiomatic expressions and figures of speech
(d) enjoy listening to and sharing personal experiences, stories, songs and dreams
(e) appreciate and interpret sounds, words, imagery, repetition, rhyme and rhythm patterns in language (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 1999b, p. 3)

Throughout the curriculum, teachers are advised to let students practice reading stories aloud with appropriate expressions as one way to accomplish some of these goals. To

help students practice this skill, groups of third graders, as suggested, can dramatize a popular folktale such as Beauty and the Beast, Careful Hans, and Brer Bookie and Brer Rabbie.

Among the various written composition skills set out for primary students, one is to recognize the link between spoken and written language. This awareness may be promoted using traditional folktale characters as in the following example suggested for third graders:

> Divide the class into three groups. Give each group the beginning of a folktale, and let them write the ending. Allow the group leader to read his/her story to the class. eg. Brer Bookie and Brer Rabbie went for a walk. Brer Rabbie saw a pen of crabs on the side of the road. What did he do? Write a story about it and then draw a picture (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 1997, p. 33).

Similar to suggested activities provided for teaching listening, speaking, and writing skills, students are encouraged to practice retelling and dramatizing stories in learning about literature and practicing reading skills. Students also practice drawing conclusions using informational clues given in a text. To enhance this skill among third graders, it is suggested that students compose riddles for their peers to solve. Not only are primary students required to identify literature from different genres such as fairy/folktales, but they are also to identify a variety of multicultural literature. One of the purposes for this end, as outlined in the reading/literature objectives for Grade 6, is to enhance students' understanding and appreciation of themselves and others through different forms of exposure and engagement with various multicultural materials. To provide this type of exposure, teachers may read fairy tales to their students or let them listen to stories from cassettes, as was suggested for first graders.

In learning the skills of grammar and usage, primary students must evaluate spoken and written language, and practice various levels of language usage. An appreciation for different cultural vocabularies and dialects is also fostered in teaching sixth graders reading/literature skills. In its overall description of the language arts program for all grade levels, however, the Ministry of Education clearly stresses the need to teach students how to distinguish between Bahamian dialect and standard English. This same mandate is reiterated as a goal in teaching written composition for Grades 1 through 6. The Ministry contends that sufficiently practicing the oral use of standard English will strengthen students' social skills and help them develop "healthy self-concepts" and language confidence (Commonwealth of the Bahamas, 2008c). To monitor students' use of Bahamian dialect and standard English (as a listening and speaking skill), third grade teachers, for example, are advised to listen to students' conversations and classroom oral responses in order to make observations and recordings of their language usage. Whereas the Ministry of Education expects students to master speaking and writing in standard English, it does not require the same for Bahamian dialect.

Besides the aforementioned findings, junkanoo was prominently featured as a Bahamian cultural aspect in suggested activities throughout the language arts primary program. Another general observation was that curriculum integration was encouraged, particularly in the second and third grades. When generally describing the primary language arts program, its curriculum writers admonished teachers to use an integrative approach to language arts instruction and reinforce learnt skills in different content areas. Given as an example of curriculum integration, a unit on hurricanes is provided in this

curriculum which integrates content and objectives from language arts and social studies. Teachers are also cautioned not to rely solely on textbooks in their pedagogy, since both print and non-print materials may be used in language arts instruction.

Findings gathered from review of the language arts primary program supported questionnaire respondents' perception of the program's use of oral traditions. Fifty-one percent of teachers agreed and 11% strongly agreed that the Ministry of Education supported the use of Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs in its national language arts curricula for primary schools, compared to 11% who strongly disagreed, 14% who disagreed, and 11% who remained undecided (see APPENDIX H, Table 6). The majority of participants either agreed (59%) or strongly agreed (33%) that native riddles, stories and proverbs were appropriate to include in language arts instruction, whereas 4% strongly disagreed and 4% were undecided on the matter (see APPENDIX H, Table 2). In addition, 60% of respondents stated that they sometimes formally shared native folklore with their students (see APPENDIX H, Table 3). Sixteen percent very frequently followed this practice and 11% indicated that they always took this approach (see APPENDIX H, Table 3). The majority of respondents (63%) reported that they sometimes casually shared these native oral forms with their students, with 12% very frequently engaging in this, and 5% always including these art forms in their hidden curriculum (see in APPENDIX H, Table 5). Also, 49% of teachers indicated that they sometimes allowed their students to share their own versions of native folklore in their language arts classes, while 20% revealed that they never carried this out and 20% rarely did so (see APPENDIX H, Table 4).

Preserving our Heritage. When asked in the questionnaire for examples of materials used in teaching native folklore, a very popular reply given by teachers was the *Preserving our Heritage* (POH) series which is designed for only fourth through sixth graders. Although a common set of objectives extends from grades 1 to 6 for all of the focus strands comprising the national language arts program, only complete official curricula for grades 1 – 3 exist while curricula for grades 4 – 6 are still being constructed. This common set of objectives, plus some specifically designed for grades 4 - 6, serve as teaching guidelines for these upper grades. This circumstance perhaps lends to teachers' extensive use of this series, and repeated references to it in their questionnaire answers and comments. Because of this situation and the POH series' popularity among teachers, each textbook in the series was scrutinized to determine its extent of support for Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs. Using the Bahamas as its core reference, the POH series comprehensively exposes students to Bahamian heritage and culture. Despite being Bahamian-centered, its writers have deemed the series appropriate for use throughout the Caribbean since the islands share similar cultural and sociohistorical circumstances, as was discussed in earlier chapters and will be further explored in Chapter 5.

In creating this series, its writers targeted students' interests and needs in order to increase student motivation in learning language arts skills. Using a knowledge/skill-building teaching approach, the concepts taught throughout the series include reading, writing, grammar, critical thinking, listening, speaking, drawing and designing, self-expression, study skills, and life skills relating to real world experiences. To facilitate the teaching and learning of these skills, poems, stories, factual accounts and abstracts from

various texts written by Bahamians are contained in the POH series. Traditional Bahamian stories are exposed to students in Level 3: Part 1 of this series. In fact, a whole unit, entitled "Old-time Bahamian stories," is dedicated to traditional oral forms of storytelling, proverbs, and riddles, among other traditional cultural and social practices. Within this unit, students are introduced to the traditional themes, setting, structure, and characters, as previously described in this study's introductory chapter, and the use of storytelling in teaching valuable lessons. This unit also helps students to appreciate the purpose of riddles in setting the mood for storytelling and to recognize the traditional introductory doggerel for presenting a riddle as described in Chapter 1. Similarly, students learn how other storytellers may use a biblical proverb to begin a story. To encourage appreciation and exploration of native stories, students are encouraged to write their own stories and read an example of a Brer Bookie and Brer Rabbie story written in Bahamian dialect for personal enjoyment. External resources suggested for implementation in oral folklore instruction include guest storytellers, such as Telcine Turner and James Catalyn who were profiled in the unit. Another external resource suggested in Level 2: Part 2 for helping students practice listening to and solving riddles is *Song of the Surreys* (Turner, 1977). Overall, it was generally observed that oral traditions presented in the text were used not only to teach students targeted language arts skills but also to exemplify the old and modern Bahamian way of life.

While analyzing the POH series for support of oral traditions, it was repeatedly observed that an effort to highlight the significance of Bahamian dialect was continually made. Throughout the series, Bahamian dialect was presented to students in several of the poems, stories, and dialogues used as examples in teaching certain aspects of

language arts. In Level 3: Part 1 of the series, the precarious positioning of Bahamian dialect in today's society is introduced to students. The text explains to students that Bahamian dialect is a part of the country's culture and what makes us Bahamian, but it is commonly denounced by some Bahamians who do not view it to be proper English. Generally, the usage of Bahamian dialect is dually seen as a marker of Bahamian cultural identity and as a threat to the attainment of cultural capital, which it is believed the practice of standard English accomplishes. In addition, the text raises the issue of Bahamian dialect's role in determining what makes someone a "true Bahamian." That is, persons who speak exclusively standard English are commonly regarded as being "less" Bahamian than someone who speaks predominantly Bahamian dialect. After making students aware of these different viewpoints, the text ensures students that speaking Bahamian dialect is socially permissible in informal settings but should not be practiced in other types of situations. To facilitate students' understanding and appreciation of these problematic issues surrounding Bahamian dialect and to illustrate situations in which it may be acceptably used, the following skit written by Ena Campbell (as cited in Jack et al., 2003, p. 28-29) is included in the text:

> **True, true Bahamian**
> *Characters* Andy, Deon
> *Setting* Lunchtime in the classroom
> **Andy** Deon, les go outside to eat we lunch over dere on da bench.
> **Deon** No, I am staying inside so I can eat at my desk.
> **Andy** You tink you home eh? Ain nuttin wrong wit eatin outside.
> **Deon** I am not used to eating outside.
> **Andy** Boy you ain born on the island[4] eh?

[4] "The island" in this case, and at large in the Bahamas, typically refers to any of the Family Islands. That is, those islands in the archipelago except New Providence. Ian Strachan (2000) describes the notion of "the island":

> The expression "Da Island'" becomes a metaphor for a particular style of life, one which is to be opposed diametrically to life on New Providence, or in the city of Nassau as it is broadly

Deon No, and I don't speak the way they do either.

Andy So you don know bout eatin cassava, banana, potato and dilly and bread. See my lunch.
(Opens brown paper bag.)
You wan some?

Deon What's that, banana and bread for lunch?

Andy Yes, boy, you say you born here but you ain no Bahamian if you never eat dis.

Deon Yes I am Bahamian.

Andy You don even talk like us.

Deon Because I speak properly.

Andy I could speak properly too you know, in two language.

Deon Two languages?

Andy Yes, Bahamianese and English.

Deon What's Bahamianese?

Andy The same way me and da res a der chirren does talk. Das we language.

Deon I don't understand.

Andy Yeh, you understand. Any true, true Bahamian does speak it all the time. We only speak English when necessary.

Deon I call that bad speaking.

Andy Well, das how us Bahamian does speak and it ain no bad.

Deon Why? You don't know how to speak English?

Andy Errybody does speak English, but only dey does also speak dere native language or dialect.

Deon Oh! So 'le we go' is really 'let's go' and 'gimme' is really 'give me'!

Andy See, I know you could talk like we, is part a ya culture. Das how other people over da worl know us. The way we talk, da way we dance quadrille, we Junkanoo and plenty more.

Deon I tink I ga start talking Bahamianese today and speak English only when necessary.

Andy Das right, now come les go play outside.
(Both boys exit singing 'If ya born dere, ya born dere'.)

> conceived. New Providence (which is almost always called Nassau) no longer exists as an "Island" in the popular imagination. It has the amenities and comforts, trappings and problems of the Metropolitan City (p. 13).

In contrast to Nassau, "Da Islan" is:

> …the past of most Bahamians, a past which is lost to them. Talk of the past when there was no crime and men were good, when children spoke only when spoken to and learned the Golden Rule, is to inhabit the space of "Da Islan'" (Strachan, 2000, p. 14).

The reading is followed by questions that challenge students to critically consider why Bahamian dialect is important, to explore their personal perceptions of Bahamian culture based on the skit, and to determine what the character Andy was trying to get Deon to do. Some of these questions specifically asked:

3. What was Andy trying to convince Deon to do?
4. After reading this skit, what can you say about Bahamian culture?
5. Why do you think the Bahamian dialect is important?
6. How are Andy and Deon alike? How are they different? (Jack et al., 2003, p. 29)

The question of Bahamian dialect's importance will similarly be explored in the following chapter of this study, as Bahamian dialect was found to be an emerging theme during the research and analyses of findings. More specifically, it will be discussed how Bahamian dialect is related to Bahamian cultural identity, and how the aforementioned contrasting attitudes towards Bahamian dialect may impact pedagogical strategies and resources implemented in teaching oral folklore.

Overview of Interview

A recent push for the production of indigenous textbooks for primary education came around 1989 – 1990 when social studies textbooks for grades 1 through 6 were created (Jack, 2008). The *Preserving our Heritage* (POH) language arts textbook series, designed for fourth to sixth graders, followed in 1999 (Jack, 2008). Based on local cultural references, the main focus of the series is reading comprehension. During the examination of the curricula for the various content areas explored in this study, it was found that language arts was the subject that placed the most substantial emphasis on the practice of Bahamian oral traditions. This was especially revealed in the POH series. For this reason, Vanria Jack, who served as the coordinator of that textbook series and

also the present language arts officer for the primary division, was interviewed. The following is an account of that interview.

In her description of the nature of the POH series, Mrs. Jack recounted how the content for the series was chosen. Some research methods used in establishing the series' content included conducting surveys throughout various primary schools to determine students' interests; interviewing persons representing a range of generations to gather and confirm data about our community; and researching documents contained at the national Department of Archives. Findings from these research efforts were combined with concepts from health and family life, social studies, science and life skills to construct the series' content base. Like the majority of the questionnaire respondents, Mrs. Jack agreed that native oral traditions are still an important part of modern Bahamian culture, although today it has become a minor practice. This is one reason why certain aspects of native oral folklore were tied into the themes presented in the series. Mrs. Jack explained that since riddles are not practiced as commonly in our society today compared to storytelling and proverbial sayings, Bahamian stories and proverbs are more focused on the POH series while native riddles receive less emphasis.

Although native oral folklore was mainly addressed in Level 3, Part 1 of the series only (the highest level in the series), Mrs. Jack believed that native oral practices were developmentally appropriate to teach at all age levels from kindergarten and onwards. Moreover, she considered native stories, riddles and proverbs to be appropriate to teach in other subject areas besides language arts and social studies. When asked why these two subjects were the only subject areas where oral traditions are included in the Ministry of Education's curriculum and instruction for the primary division, Mrs. Jack offered this

explanation: Social studies is the study of a people's customs and way of life, whereas language arts is the study of a people's language. Because oral traditions often reflect these very same things, social studies and language arts are "a natural fit" for Bahamian riddles, proverbs and stories. However, social studies and language arts are essentially interdisciplinary subjects. Therefore, Mrs. Jack suggested that Bahamian oral folklore could easily be used to teach concepts in other subject areas similarly related to social studies such as health and family life. Overall, Mrs. Jack contended that the standards and skills found within other subjects' curricula could still be met using native oral folklore.

Despite some of the time and financial challenges associated with creating indigenous learning materials, more Bahamian authors are now contributing to the production of local educational books for primary schoolchildren. Yet, to compensate for the paucity of local learning materials that still exists throughout the Bahamian educational system, many foreign textbooks continue to be imported. Mrs. Jack explained that since many of our schools' learning materials are imported from the United States, foreign traditional folktales, such as Cinderella or Jack and the Beanstalk which are portrayed in many American children's literature, take precedence over Bahamian stories and characters in today's classrooms. Hence, transmission of foreign cultural products to local Bahamian children continues to be facilitated through the importation and merchandising of foreign textbooks. With such a powerful influence on the Bahamian educational system and because of the Bahamas' colonial past, foreign traditional stories and characters, Mrs. Jack suggests, are those with whom primary schoolchildren generally culturally identify. Yet, she refused to recognize these foreign

traditional folktales as being a part of Bahamian culture itself. She agreed, though, that perhaps our prior colonization by Britain may have predisposed the Bahamas to some form of indirect American colonization through the importation of American textbooks and cultural products.

In order for students to know what it means to be a Bahamian citizen, Mrs. Jack agreed that a set body of knowledge, inclusive of Bahamian culture, was necessary to be taught to Bahamian schoolchildren. When asked whether the inclusion of Bahamian oral folklore of Afro origins in the POH series would exclude Bahamians who identify with a predominantly European background, Mrs. Jack assured that the series would not encourage this since it utilizes a variety of literary forms representing the sociohistorical circumstances and popular customs found within the Bahamas, many of which derive from both African and European backgrounds.

Finally, Mrs. Jack stated that Bahamian dialect is an essential part of learning Bahamian folklore. One may attempt to teach native oral folklore in standard English, but she warned that the stories and sayings would not have the same impact as they would if conveyed in dialect. Although speaking dialect is a common practice among many primary schoolchildren and many Bahamians across the archipelago, Mrs. Jack would not consider it to be the first language of Bahamian schoolchildren today. Her argument for this is that a child's first language is learned at home; if standard English is primarily learned and practiced at home, then that child's first language is standard English. The same is true for Bahamian dialect. Mrs. Jack also believed that there is an appropriate time to teach Bahamian dialect, such as in the teaching of native oral

traditions, and a time to teach standard English. In this way, students would learn how and when it is appropriate to use both forms of languages.

In summary, Mrs. Jack believed that Bahamian oral traditions are still an important aspect of Bahamian culture today and should be taught to help students culturally recognize themselves as Bahamians. Although riddles are less practiced than proverbs or storytelling, all three oral traditions should be celebrated and preserved, while simultaneously maintaining a delicate balance between the teaching of standard English and Bahamian dialect. Despite social studies and language arts being the only two subject areas in which the instruction of oral traditions were included in the national curriculum, she argues that oral folklore may be used to meet the standards and skills of other subject areas.

Conclusion

Throughout the study, it was found that the production of indigenous learning materials was encouraged and the importance of using local references in curriculum and instruction was highlighted. Bahamian folklore was also thought to be an important cultural feature that should be passed on to children to help develop their cultural identity and could be used to teach key universal concepts. The integration of popular international children's stories and generic riddles was encouraged in some curricula, and it was generally believed that Bahamian oral folklore was suitable to teach in all the subject areas considered in this study. However, the inclusion of Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs was generally supported in the curriculum and instruction of language arts and social studies only. Proverbs and stories, incorporating the popular characters Brer Rookie and Brer Rabbie, tended to receive more focus than riddles in oral

folklore instruction. Among teachers, it was generally suggested that more emphasis be placed on Bahamian oral traditions in national curricula. As Bahamian dialect is a natural element of oral folklore, teaching native oral traditions would essentially support the teaching of Bahamian dialect. Although Bahamian dialect is widely valued as a part of the country's cultural heritage, the idea of teaching Bahamian dialect in schools to develop students' cultural identity brought about mixed reactions among teachers. However, curriculum writers, including the interviewee, suggested that students should be taught to distinguish situations in which Bahamian dialect and Standard English should be used.

In the following chapter, several deductions for these observations and consequent implications will be discussed in order to further explore native oral folklore's role in current curriculum and instruction and its potential use in developing Bahamian cultural identity among primary schoolchildren.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion and Conclusion

The major purpose of this chapter is to enhance understanding of this study's findings with consideration to the theoretical and conceptual bases of the study presented in the opening chapters. Using an ethnographic case study design, this dissertation explored how primary school curricula incorporated native oral traditions and teachers' attitudes toward the incorporation of these traditions in various subject areas. To accomplish this end, document research, questionnaires, and personal interviewing were employed. The implications of the study's findings will be discussed in this chapter based on this methodology.

Overall, the study revealed that integration of native oral traditions across several subject areas occurred to various degrees. The advantages, difficulties and suggested improvements for this practice in Bahamian education will be explored first. Throughout the study, it was generally observed that native oral traditions received the greatest support in locally published learning resources. This observation confirmed an earlier assumption made in Chapter One that this circumstance would occur. From this observation it may be assumed that more publication of native learning tools would facilitate more inclusion of Bahamian oral traditions in curriculum and instruction. Challenges and alternative solutions to this proposal will be discussed next. Finally, the use and impact of Bahamian dialect in the practice of oral traditions was also observed during research. From this observation emerged a discussion on attitudes towards Bahamian dialect and possible implications of these attitudes on the teaching of oral

traditions. These topics are addressed as the first three sections of this chapter, respectively. After exploring these themes, the significance of this study's findings will be discussed in relation to the challenges of using cultural literacy and multicultural education to develop cultural identity as posed earlier in Chapter Two. Investigating any society's cultural identity presents numerous challenges since identity by nature is fluid and multifarious in definition. Given this complexity of cultural identity, the limitations of the study and suggestions for future research will also be mentioned at the end of this chapter.

Implications of the Study

Integration of Oral Traditions in Curriculum and Instruction

After examining the national curricula for the subject areas focused on in this study, I found that the topic of native oral traditions was presented in the language arts and social studies curricula only. These two subject areas received the most attention from teachers also in regards to including Bahamian oral folklore in their instruction. One reason proposed for this observation made during the review of both national curricula and teachers' responses is that native stories, riddles and proverbs are essentially components of language arts and social studies. Vanria Jack, in a personal interview, confirmed this assumption. According to Mrs. Jack, oral stories, riddles and proverbs are represented in the national curricula of language arts and social studies only because these content areas are traditionally the disciplines in which oral traditions are integrated. Oral traditions are included in the study of folklore which "comprises the spontaneous representation of a community's or a group's experience of ordinary life"

and "represents the popular or vernacular cultural expressions of past and present alike" (University College Cork, 2008). Folklore, then, is a part of the humanities and social sciences (American Folklore Society, 2007). Stemming from their parent fields, language arts and social studies are also interdisciplinary in nature. This element of the two disciplines lends to easy integration across subject areas, a teaching strategy that has been encouraged by the Ministry of Education in several of the content areas reviewed in this study. The Ministry of Education's support of subject integration may encourage the practice of culturally responsive teaching and, in turn, multicultural education. The interrelationship between culturally responsive instruction and multicultural education was discussed earlier in Chapter Two.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, some curricula, such as mathematics and general science, contained activities that required students to solve "Who am I?" riddles pertaining to the concept being learned. In this instance, interdisciplinary teaching is promoted under the premise that oral folklore, a component of language arts and social studies, can be integrated with mathematic or science content to help teach or reinforce new learning. Moreover, subject integration allows native riddles, stories or proverbs to be used as themes or central ideas from which skills across different subject areas are taught. In this way, oral traditions do not have to be limited to language arts or social studies only. Proponents for subject integration popularly argue that when instruction is delivered in a fragmented design, students may tend to recognize subjects as fragmented bodies of knowledge that are hardly related to each other (Jacobs, 1989). This contradicts their lived reality—that knowledge is transferred and applied in everyday life situations where issues and challenges associated with various disciplines arise in cohesion (Jacobs,

1989). Borrowing from this argument, it may be proposed that native oral traditions should not be confined to language arts and social studies instruction since in the real world students do not experience culture or orality in a fragmented fashion. Moreover, culture and identity are not fixed or rigid. Hence, teaching Bahamian culture and helping students develop a sense of cultural identity may be facilitated by the flexibility that subject integration affords.

The use of oral folklore across various subject areas supports Tertullien (1977), Ishengoma (2005) and Jack's (2008) views that oral folklore may be used to teach content and meet standards set for various subject areas as mentioned in earlier chapters. Many of the questionnaire respondents shared a similar perspective in this regard. The majority of them also indicated that during their early academic, home, and professional training, they were taught oral traditions and their significance to Bahamian culture. Despite exposure to oral traditions throughout their backgrounds and their acknowledgement of the potential use of oral traditions across subject areas, though, questionnaire responses indicated that in practice teachers generally associated oral traditions with language arts and social studies instruction only. Evidently, some discrepancy exists between what teachers realize they *can do* with oral traditions and what they *are doing* with them in pedagogical practice. One reason proposed for this response by teachers is that they are merely complying with the national curricula and therefore their support for oral folklore in language arts and social studies reflect that same support revealed in the national curricula. However, the Ministry of Education does implore teachers to use flexibility and creativity in their instruction and resources in each of the content areas reviewed in this study. While this may help to narrow the

discrepancy observed, I suggest that a more effective solution may be implemented through professional development opportunities that aim to sensitize teachers and curriculum writers to the importance and use of oral folklore in cultivating Bahamian cultural identity, and the practice of content integration in curriculum and instruction. As described in Chapter Two, content integration is one of Banks' (1997) five dimensions of multicultural education. In relation to this study, content integration would refer to the infusion of native riddles, stories and proverbs into subject areas to teach relevant concepts, generalizations, and theories. Banks (1993) warns, though, that:

> More opportunities exist for the integration of ethnic and cultural content in some subject areas than others. In the social studies, the language arts, and home economics, frequent and ample opportunities exist for teachers to use ethnic and cultural content to illustrate concepts, themes, and principles. There are also opportunities to integrate multicultural content into math and science. However, the opportunities are not as ample as they are in social studies and the language arts (pp. 20-21).

Although social studies and language arts may by nature offer a greater scaffold for oral folklore instruction, Banks' admonition still supports the argument that oral traditions can indeed be effectively integrated across various content areas and not exclusively limited to social studies and language arts. Ultimately, teachers' awareness and practical fulfillment of this possibility will be determined by their attitudes toward oral traditions, which may be influenced by their personal and pre-service backgrounds, and their own determination of how and to what extent they could use oral folklore in different subjects to teach certain topics. It is also believed that the availability of teaching and learning resources may influence teachers' use of oral traditions in instruction. In light of this theory, I propose that increased production of indigenous

learning materials that cater to oral folklore would encourage teachers to use the art form to help primary students develop a sense of Bahamian cultural identity.

Publication of Oral Traditions

Overall, Bahamian riddles, stories, and proverbs received little attention throughout curriculum and instruction of the content areas explored in this study. One explanation for this observation is that traditional practices such as storytelling or the sharing of proverbs and riddles have given way to more modern pastimes provided by technological advancements and exposure to foreign cultural products (Munroe, 2000). This societal phenomenon is reflected in the Bahamian educational system where foreign content and learning materials dominate. For the most part, teachers have had to generally rely on foreign learning materials that were usually either British or American based. Although teachers and curriculum specialists had for a long time lamented that such texts were not culturally relevant, American textbooks continued to dominate language arts instruction in public primary schools (Urwick, 2002). Along this line, it was believed that Bahamian oral traditions would be found in mostly, or even exclusively, in native learning resources, especially in the form of print. This assumption was confirmed during my investigation—most of the resources found during research that referred to Bahamian oral traditions came in the form of books. According to Cochran (1990), books, compared to other forms of technology, such as radio, film or video, which require more financial resources and infrastructure for production and distribution, provide the most feasible means for Third World countries such as The Bahamas to proliferate culture on a national level. Despite these advantages, publication of printed learning materials still remains a financial challenge to both the Bahamian

public and private sector (Jack, 2008). It was discovered from the interview with Mrs. Jack and from informal conversations with other educators that cost has been a major reason for the prevalence and use of indigenous products in the Bahamian education system. For writers, it costs much to produce printed literature on a large scale in this country, and for consumers, it costs much to purchase the products. Davis (1992) explains that:

> There is a limited market for indigenously produced books, small library systems in Third World contexts, a reliance on oral tradition for certain kinds of communication, and infrastructural factors. In addition, the costs of publishing are high and as governments or private firms are unlikely to consider publishing as a viable industry, loans are unlikely to be forthcoming. Simultaneously, one cannot ignore the argument that, in Third World nations such The Bahamas, importing foreign books costs valuable foreign-exchange earnings and, in turn, limit the potential for growth of an indigenous publishing industry (p. 145).

These factors, along with aggressive marketing schemes and prompt product supply, have led to American publishers becoming the dominant textbook suppliers in The Bahamas since the 1980s (Urwick, 2002). Altogether, these circumstances appear to present formidable challenges to the publication of native riddles, stories and proverbs for educational purposes in public primary schools.

Adding to these economic and infrastructural barriers to publishing literature on oral folklore is Bahamians' general disregard for reading literature. Although reading local daily periodicals and tabloids are a favorite pastime among Bahamians (Glinton-Meicholas, 1994), Bethel (2003) argues that this is as far as their appreciation for published literature extends. As was discussed through this study, Bahamians mostly communicate by oral means, and place more value on what is seen and heard, rather than what can be read or written, in order to acquire and share information (Bethel and Glaser, 2006). Because of this heavy reliance on orality, Bahamians have, for the most part, not

taken advantage of the power of print—an action that Munroe (2000) deems necessary in preserving oral folklore and validating Bahamian cultural identity. Bethel (2003), a popular Bahamian cultural critic, laments the cost of orality on Bahamians' appreciation for published work:

> ...we are living in the modern Bahamas, in a postcolonial society where reading is considered old-fashioned, European, unimportant. …we live in a society that chooses to inhabit a world without print. Publishers of Bahamian work are few and far between; Bahamian writers are the most obscure of all artists in the country; and, a full generation after Independence, there is no national library, no public collection of writing by and about our people that we can use to raise our children on, to give them an identity, a touchstone of print in a world where print is power. We live in a society where money is spent lavishly on street festivals and fireworks for rallies, but frugally on books and artists and libraries. …Oh, we have newspapers, for sure; but they tend to be compendia of other people's words, and hard, analytical reporting is difficult to come by. We live in a world in which the printed matter we get is produced by other people, and not by ourselves. …we live in a society that has chosen to relinquish the power that comes from print (para. 12-13).

The oral nature of Bahamians can be blamed for some of these issues relating to publication of Bahamian work, all of which conversely augment Bahamians' indifference towards the printed word. In this circumstance, it is seen how the very foundation of this study—orality, itself—may hinder attempts to preserve native stories, riddles, and proverbs as cultural expressions of Bahamians' orality. That is, attempts to preserve transcriptions of oral folklore as printed texts may appear futile when oral communication typically takes precedence over reading indigenous publications.

The POH series, to which many teachers referred, has appeared to overcome these challenges associated with producing native educational resources. The series, which is now being used extensively throughout public primary schools and even some private schools, caters to the cultural needs and interests of Bahamian children in ways that foreign textbooks for language arts were never able to (Jack, 2008). One way in which

the series addresses the culture of The Bahamas is through its inclusion of native stories, riddles and proverbs in its scope and sequence. The POH series is one example of increased efforts among the public and private sector to promote the production of culturally relevant materials. Despite the success of this textbook series, it does not provide sufficient evidence to suggest that books are the most efficient means of exposing Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs to schoolchildren. In contrast to Cochran's (1990) views on the use of film, video and radio to teach about culture, I suggest that other cost-efficient forms of technology, besides these media, may be used to supplement or even substitute the use of printed literature in the teaching of native oral traditions. For example, video or audio recordings of stories, riddles and proverbs may be posted on the Ministry of Education's website for teachers, students and other interested persons to download and experience online or on personal digital players. In this way, persons from all over the archipelago and world at large may be able to more easily access information and examples of Bahamian oral traditions compared to books like the POH series. Such an approach may be taken by not only curriculum officials within the Ministry of Education, but also teachers, storytellers, cultural advocates and ordinary persons from the wider public. Efforts such as these would help to: (1) more effectively disseminate oral traditions around the islands, (2) offset the economic challenges of producing indigenous learning resources for the teaching of oral traditions, and (3) continue to address the concern raised just three years after the nation attained independence that the overwhelming dependence on foreign school materials throughout the country would impair the process of Bahamianization within the education system (Davis, 1992).

However, it is assumed that a lack of confidence in Bahamian culture and identity, stemming from the colonization of The Bahamas and shared among the general Bahamian public, may impede the fulfillment or success of the aforementioned proposal. Henry-Wilson (2003) suggests that among Caribbean peoples, there is a lack of self-confidence and self-worth in Caribbean identity due to the effects of colonization. It is proposed that past, and in some ways present, colonization of The Bahamas have had a similar impact on Bahamians' perception of their culture and identity's worth as suggested by Strachan (2000):

> In the era of colonialism under Britain, and now in the era of neo-colonial dependence on the United States, the Bahamas is often situated on an imagined lower plain of existence. It was the Mother Country and its landscape (like its history, songs, and traditions) that were idealized, that were the subject of fantasy, of reverence. ... In our present context, existing in America's shadow, the notion is still alive to many that the Bahamas is less "real" as a nation than its powerful neighbor and other First World countries. This inferiority complex is not unique to Bahamians. What happened to Bahamians during British colonial rule, then, was a kind of alienation from the very land on which one lived. Bahamians dreamed of one world and lived in another, which was meaner and more crude. The same can be said of today's generation of cable satellite viewers (p. 10).

This "inferiority complex" to which Strachan refers may have led to not only a lack of a sure identity among Bahamians but a lack of confidence in the worth of indigenous creations throughout various industries and systems, including education. Bahamians have continually been criticized for their blatant preference of foreign imports over locally manufactured goods and services, as illustrated in the following cartoon (Cash, Gordon, & Saunders, 1991), Figure 4:

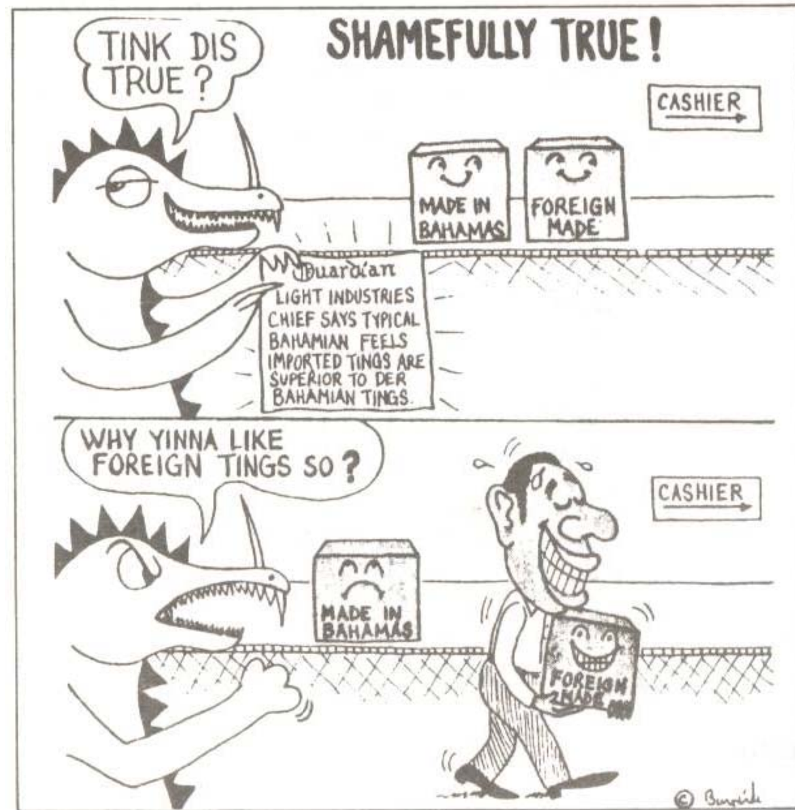

Figure 4. Bahamians' preference for foreign versus native products.

It is believed that Bahamians' partiality towards imported commercial products may have some influence on their acceptance of locally produced educational materials. The Ministry of Education acknowledges that "what students actually learn is affected by the attitude of both teachers and students" (Commonwealth of The Bahamas, n.d., p. 32). The teaching of native stories, riddles, and proverbs, then, is not only dependent on teachers' attitudes towards the art form, but also their attitude towards any resources that cater to oral folklore instruction. Thus, increased publication of transcribed oral folklore, for which this study calls, does not guarantee total acceptance and implementation by all primary schoolteachers throughout the Commonwealth since, by human nature, they will have varying attitudes towards the worth and appropriateness of the materials.

Thus far, it has been discussed how oral folklore may be taught across several subject areas. To facilitate this instruction, this study has suggested that teachers use subject and content integration to incorporate oral folklore in their pedagogy. Additionally, it has been proposed that increased availability of resources designed for oral folklore instruction would encourage teachers to include native stories, riddles and proverbs in their classroom practices. Next, another challenge facing publication and teaching of oral folklore will be discussed. That is, Bahamian dialect. Specifically, it will be shown how the nature of Bahamian dialect, its role in the performance of oral folklore, and social attitudes towards the language, may impact publication and teaching of native riddles, stories and proverbs.

Dialect and Preservation of Oral Traditions

Throughout the research conducted in this study using the methodology previously described, Bahamian dialect was found to be a core element of native stories, riddles and proverbs. In particular, questionnaire respondents indicated that Bahamian dialect was supported by the teaching of oral traditions in the classroom. Language is an integral part of any group's culture (Munroe, 2000; Bennett, 1995). Like Widdowson (1987), who recognizes that the study of culture and language are intertwined, Banks (2001) advises that "[b]ecause a cultural group uses a dialect to embody and transmit its cultural content, knowledge about the cultural group presupposes knowledge of its dialect. To better understand the people from a particular culture, one should study that people's dialect" (p. 283). Considering this, the relationship between Bahamian dialect and native oral folklore, and the possible impact of dialect on oral folklore instruction, was explored in this study.

Across the archipelago, Bahamians speak various forms of Bahamian English (Bethel and Glaser, 2006). Although a large majority of the population speaks these forms of Bahamian English, it is not nationally recognized as an official language of the country; standard English is. Collectively, these variations of Bahamian English all are referred to as Bahamian dialect among the citizenry. This language situation mirrors that which is found throughout the Caribbean where Creole languages are practiced. Creole languages emerge as mother tongues from the mingling of two or more languages, and simultaneously retain some of their own characteristics and some of the parent languages (Sullivan, n.d.). In the case of the Caribbean, Creole languages came about when slaves from different language backgrounds were forced to work with each other and use the language of their masters to establish some common form of communication (Bethel, 2004). Among the English-speaking Caribbean territories, this situation brought about an English lexicon based on a combination of West African and other ethnic languages but predominantly British English (Nero, 2000).

Because of this fusion of English and African linguistic forms, it is argued that Bahamian dialect is not really a dialect of English, but rather another language of its own (Donnelly, 2007). In fact, Bethel (2004) proposes that English can be considered a foreign language to Bahamians. Although English vocabulary serves as the main basis for Bahamian communication, African grammar rules and structural tendencies[1] are often applied during usage (Bethel, 2004). This synthesis of linguistic forms has led many Bahamians to view Bahamian dialect as an impure form of Standard English, although English itself is not a pure homogenous language but, instead, a conglomeration of

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[1] According to Bethel (2004), the most common traits followed are the "creation of plurals, the creation of possessives, and the conjugation of verbs." See Nero (2000) for examples of these applications in language usage.

dialects (Widdowson, 1987). Regardless, Bahamian dialect is widely considered to be "bad English" or "broken English."

Similar to the inferiority complex that Strachan (2000) described earlier, this regard of Bahamian dialect as inferior to Standard English has been attributed to the colonization of The Bahamas by the British. Through their education systems, the British influenced many of the Bahamian population to view their own culture as inferior to that of England (Munroe, 2000). To resemble the colonizers, then, was to share in a more superior culture and higher social ranking among the colonized. This phenomenon has also been observed among Trinidadians:

> …things in Trinidad are still judged by comparison with British culture and British standards, and…the whole structure of the society, including the ranking system, tends to acquire a legitimacy in terms of these standards and values. Furthermore, "Britishness" is a part of Creoleness. It is easy for the Trinidadian to play many characters and one of his favorite roles is that of being "British." … Thus, being educated in the Liberal Arts in England, to take one example, is considered to be the highest standard of education for any Trinidadian (Bonaparte, 1969, p. 289).

Like many Trinidadians described above, the desire to resemble the British in these ways has been and, in some cases, still is a constant feature among some of the Bahamian population. Many Bahamians assumed that social and economic advancement could be attained by assimilating the values and customs of the British (Munroe, 2000). This phenomenon may be explained using Fasold's ideology of a Fourth World in which "indigenous dispossessed minorities within the nation state decide that, because there is no realistic hope of sovereignty, the best way forward is to acquire literacy in the language of those who control society" (Nwenmely, 1999).

Over the years, this practice has not only helped to perpetuate the perspective that Bahamian dialect is inferior to standard English but it has also hindered the development

of a coherent approach to Bahamian cultural identity. It is proposed that these perspectives of British culture as superior and Bahamian dialect as inferior may have possibly been shared by some of the questionnaire respondents. This may help to explain why most teachers gave mixed responses to items referring to the inclusion of Bahamian dialect in oral folklore instruction.

Like many of the questionnaire respondents, Mrs. Jack, the interviewee, agreed that teaching native stories, riddles and proverbs would support the use of Bahamian dialect in primary schools. In concord with the curriculum writers for the language arts program, however, Mrs. Jack believed that students should be taught to appreciate Bahamian dialect as a part of the national culture, how to differentiate between dialect and standard English, and to determine when the usage of each is appropriate. Specifically, students are to learn that dialect should be reserved for informal situations while standard English should be used in all other formal settings. To not have this ability, or to not learn standard English at all, would severely disadvantage students in school and workplaces (Rubin, 1999). Language, then, becomes a means through which cultural capital could be gained. Cultural capital may be described as the knowledge, experience and connections gained throughout a student's life that predisposes him to success more so than another student from a less advantaged background (Edgar & Sedgwick, 2002).

It is argued by some that learning a Creole language may interfere with students' acquisition of standard English and, in turn, cultural capital necessary for success on both a national and international level. This concern for students' cultural capital and future success may provide another explanation for teachers' mixed responses to questions of

Bahamian dialect. In Jamaica, the simultaneous practice of both Jamaican patois and standard English by schoolchildren is commonly blamed for literacy problems among students (Herbold, n.d.). This reason is because children who speak patois at home have difficulty writing what they speak, and difficulty writing Standard English which they do not speak (Sullivan, n.d.). This is the case for many primary schoolchildren in The Bahamas whose first language learned and practiced at home is dialect. For this reason, many people, including educators, share a similar sentiment to critics of Jamaican patois that Bahamian students should not be formally taught Bahamian dialect since they are struggling with standard English (Forbes, 2003). This position, however, fails to recognize that dialect speakers, like students who learn English as a second language, need to be consciously aware of the characteristics of both their own language and standard English (Bryan, 2004). Teaching students how to translate from dialect to standard English may help to cultivate this needed awareness. In doing so, they would be better equipped with an understanding of the differences between the two languages, and would be better able to use each more effectively when appropriate (Bryan, 2004). Knowledge of Bahamian dialect and standard English, in this way, would then provide no danger to students' accumulation and maintenance of cultural capital. Furthermore, it would help teachers to recognize that appreciation of different language backgrounds is an element of multicultural education.

So far, it has been suggested that teaching oral traditions would involve the teaching of Bahamian dialect since dialect is a fundamental component of native oral folklore in the country. Because of this relationship between the native language and oral traditions, it has been proposed that teachers and curriculum writers may not show full

support for the teaching of oral traditions because of negative attitudes held towards Bahamian dialect. These include the perception of dialect as an inferior language to standard English that would restrict students' attainment of cultural capital needed for success in school and later in life. This study will now propose that curriculum writers may restrict their usage of native riddles, stories and proverbs in primary school subject areas because of inconsistencies in spelling of dialect and the loss of life of oral folklore when transcribed onto page.

As mentioned earlier, Bahamian dialect is varied throughout the Commonwealth. This is demonstrated in the different pronunciations of words as Glinton-Meicholas (2000) illustrates:

> Consider the case of the pronunciation of the vowel cluster in the word 'rain' in the Bahamas. Many Bahamians voice it as a long 'a'. For others, the people of Andros in particular, 'rain' rhymes with 'seen', and for Cat Islanders, it echoes 'men', except the vowel sound is of slightly longer duration (p. 2).

Such differences in speech patterns inevitably are reflected in spelling patterns of Bahamian dialect. The words "give me," for example, may be represented in text as "gimme" or "gimma" the word "the" as "de" or "der," and "Lord" as "lud" (Munroe, 2000). Variations in the written spelling of dialect are possible due to the fact that no final authority exists to stipulate how dialect words are to be spelt. This situation is the case for most of the Caribbean islands, such as Jamaica, where no standard spelling system for the native Creole language exists (Herbold, n.d.). Folklorists who transcribe Bahamian oral traditions in dialect, then, still resort to the spelling conventions of standard English, but alter them as necessary to reflect the phonetic sounds of Bahamian pronunciations of words. While this flexibility in spelling may provide oral folklorists much freedom of expression (Munroe, 2000), it presents a problem to curriculum writers

who base the accuracy of content matter on certain national and international standards. Since there is no correct or incorrect way of spelling words in Bahamian dialect, there is no standard to which children's understanding or usage of the spelling conventions of standard English, or even dialect for that matter, could be measured. This problem may discourage curriculum writers from including oral traditions in primary school textbooks since to do so often requires the use of Bahamian dialect. However, linguistics, as previously described in this chapter, is included in the disciplines of the humanities and social sciences. Language arts and social studies, component fields of the humanities and social sciences, may then allow more freedom for nonstandard spelling to be used in writing dialect than other subject areas in which standard English is the required form of communication. This occurrence may also explain why native oral folklore was found only in the primary social studies and language arts curricula.

Not only does the orthography of Bahamian dialect pose a challenge to curriculum writers but also the actual essence of the language. Although oral language may be written, and printed text may be spoken, without changing the basic idea being transmitted (Stahl, 1975), it is often commented by popular storytellers that oral folklore loses much of its life when printed onto page because of the difficulties in transcribing the dialect (Munroe, 2000). This standpoint stems from view that the theatrical performances that are used to transmit oral traditions cannot be efficiently conveyed through printed text (Munroe, 2000). In his description of dialect's role in storytelling, Bowen (2002/2003) helps to illustrate the importance of drama to the practice of oral traditions:

> Dialect plays an important part in telling a story. The use of local dialect makes the situation with the characters real and funny. It also gives the story color and life…the stronger the dialect the funnier the story. The use of voice, a command of local dialect, acting and musical ability, and a good memory and quick mind are all part of the tools of a storyteller. He or she must be able to draw the audience into the story, to actually see the characters. Timing and a sense for comedy is also another very important tool. The storyteller must also have the ability to read his audience. A story cannot be told the same way twice since the mood, location, age of the audience and time of day creates variables the storyteller must be sensitive to and make the appropriate changes, otherwise the dramatic of comic effect is lost (para. 11, 15-16).

Although the representation of such theatrical qualities may be limited or contorted in the attempt to transmit native folklore in dialect onto page, Munroe (2000) argues that transcriptions of oral folklore, because of its incorporation of Bahamian dialect, may entice readers to orally perform the texts that they are reading. She explains that:

> Bahamian English transcriptions—since the meaning of the vernacular is more easily grasped when heard as opposed to read—urge readers to read ol' stories aloud, to dramatise, and to tell them to others. Bahamian English has great potential to lure Bahamian readers to performance because it lives and thrives in the movements of tongue and lips, in facial expressions, and occasionally, in other gestures and body movements (Munroe, 2000, p. 82).

As such, Bahamian dialect facilitates the creation of a cycle or reciprocal relationship between the transcription and performance of oral folklore. That is, native stories, riddles, and proverbs are orally performed but it has been argued that transcription is needed in order to preserve these oral art forms. In transcribing oral folklore, dialect acts as a stimulant for their oral performance, but the argument still exists that that which is spoken should be transcribed into written text. In this sense, a continuous circle of practice and preservation of oral folklore is established. This result can serve as encouragement for curriculum writers to include more oral traditions and dialect in the subject areas reviewed in this study.

Although the writing of Bahamian dialect may appear as a deterrent to oral folklore inclusion in primary school curricula, it is believed that the above mentioned effects of transcribing oral traditions in dialect may help to counterweigh any challenges the language poses to curriculum writers. Thus this study remains steadfast in its proposition that publishing more oral traditions will not only offer a relatively feasible means of transmitting oral folklore to primary schoolchildren through teaching resources, but it will also help to preserve the art form and provoke their actual performance.

Significance of the Study

When this study was first introduced to the reader, it was proposed that the oral nature of Bahamians could serve as a tool for cultivating a sense of Bahamian cultural identity in primary school students. To explore this idea, native oral traditions, including stories, riddles, and proverbs, were examined. Using the methodology outlined in Chapter Three, it was found from analysis of curricula, questionnaire and interview responses that Bahamian oral traditions were supported in the curriculum and by teachers only in social studies and language arts. Although oral traditions were found mostly in those two subject areas, they were nonetheless considered to be an integral part of Bahamian culture. It has been suggested that the nature of social studies and language arts, the lack of relevant teaching resources, and attitudes towards Bahamian dialect may have affected the results of the study. Subsequent implications of these propositions have already been discussed with regard to pedagogy, teaching resources and curriculum writing. The significance of the findings in relation to the theoretical framework that was posed in the introductory chapters of this study will now be explored.

Throughout this study, it was been argued that oral traditions are an important feature of Bahamian culture and, particularly, of Bahamian orality. This raises several questions regarding the orality of the Bahamian people. One of those questions is whether traditional or modern forms of orality should be the basis for cultural identity development. For instance, James Catalyn, a prominent cultural critic and advocate of oral folklore preservation, posits that traditional storytelling has been replaced, or at least become equal to, the practice of mere gossiping—a phenomenon that he attributes to changes in Bahamian society (Munroe, 2000). Glinton-Meicholas illustrates the place of gossip in everyday Bahamian life:

> We love to talk and "bear witness". … When we talk, it is to complain incessantly about all things national and personal, especially the government, the laws of the country, national and international sports, our jobs, relatives, our mates, our health and other people's. …we know each other's business, and enjoy hearing and talking about it in great detail, the more salacious the better. "You say and I say" of the confusion that develops when our *gossiping* becomes known to the offended party is frequently the source of a "*falling out*" (original emphasis, 1994, pp. 13, 15-16, and 21).

Catalyn's observation of Bahamian oral practices relates to one of the major problems of both cultural literacy and multicultural education—how cultural content is chosen for inclusion in curriculum and instruction. That is, should content be chosen based on traditional cultural forms or more modern cultural forms? Or, considering the aim of this study, should content be based on the general perception of what comprises Bahamian orality today, rather than what may have been Bahamian orality in yesteryears? This conflict between old and modern perceptions of culture is similar to that debated among Junkanoo enthusiasts. Those who helped to develop the art form in earlier years complain that today's Junkanoo music and costuming too closely resemble that found in parades of other countries, especially Trinidad's Carnival which was described earlier in

Chapter Two of this study. Yet, hardly anyone would deny that Junkanoo is the quintessence of Bahamian culture. This point alludes to the next question concerning orality and native oral traditions in this study: Should foreign influences that have been adopted into our cultural norms and values over time, whether consciously or unconsciously, be included in school curricula designed to help develop cultural identity within primary students?

A question of this nature was posed to the interviewee, Mrs. Jack, who believed that although such stories and characters such as Cinderella were those with whom Bahamian primary schoolchildren culturally identify, such stories should not be considered a part of Bahamian cultural identity. Despite the cultural irrelevancy that many of these stories have to The Bahamas, Bowen (2002/2003) suggests that we as a people have not questioned what place such foreign cultural objects have in our own culture or identity because they were a part of our colonization and continue to permeate our imagination. This sociohistorical situation, which clearly still has effects on our perception of Bahamian culture today, has predisposed the population to a form of neo-colonization by America (Campbell, 2005b; Jack, 2008; Strachan, 2000). The result of these international influences on Bahamian perception of culture and identity is that:

> Culture in The Bahamas today is an amalgam of our British heritage, our African heritage and the effects of our closeness to North America. Our language is English, our Parliament follows the judicial procedure set down in England…Our courts follow the English system…Marry the above with the practice of obeah, the girating movements of the ring-play, the pulsating rhythm of Junkanoo and the goatskin drum, the hand-clapping jumpers, the use of bush medicine, the songs and the drinking of a wake and the consequent outpouring of public grief at the death of a loved one, our African-inspired neighbourhood banking system called *asue*, and you almost have a Bahamian. The final touches come in the form of the American jerry curl, the American Afro, American television, American and Japanese technology, the American system of higher education and

> its graduate degrees, hamburgers and hot dogs, coca-cola, the Chevrolet…the satellite dish (original emphasis, Cash et al., 1991, p. 337).

What this passage illustrates is that foreign influences have undeniably become part of Bahamian life. In spite of this obvious feature of Bahamian living, many of the population would deny that such things are themselves essentially Bahamian, as was previously warned by Bethel and Glaser (2006) and also demonstrated by the interviewee in regards to this issue. This denial is perhaps evidence of an ongoing search for things to identify as uniquely Bahamian, reminiscent of the search for Bahamian cultural identity during the 1970s when Junkanoo was claimed as being distinctly Bahamian. Whether or not international cultural factors have been officially or socially accepted as components or contributors to Bahamian cultural identity, they do augment the problem of both cultural literacy and multicultural education of which expressions from contributing cultures should be included in the taught content.

Another problem that was highlighted during the research of this study was the issue of conformity versus celebration of cultural diversity. This theme became evident during examination of the language arts curriculum in which Bahamian dialect was noted as a very important aspect of oral traditions and Bahamian culture. In the POH series, the textbook used for upper primary language arts instruction, Bahamian dialect was presented as a form of communication which Bahamians commonly share throughout the country that should be celebrated. In Chapter Four, special reference was made to an exercise in the POH series which aimed at helping students distinguish appropriate times for speaking dialect and appreciate it as something definitive of Bahamian cultural identity. The exercise required students to read about a dialogue between two characters: a schoolboy who spoke predominantly standard English and another schoolboy who

spoke predominantly Bahamian dialect. In this dialogue, the latter child helped the former to realize the appropriate usage of dialect and its role in Bahamian culture. However, an underlying intent that emerged in this reading exercise was the attempt by the vernacular-speaking child to convince the standard English-speaking boy that he should speak dialect too in order to be considered "more" Bahamian. This covert message reflects the general perception that only "true" Bahamians speak dialect (Glinton-Meicholas, 1994). Of course, this generalization obviously excludes those Bahamians who, like the second character in the passage, speak standard English as their first language. It is this same type of exclusion with which cultural literacy has been faulted. In trying to establish a common ground from which knowledge can be established, the risk is always present that certain groups in a society will get excluded from representation, be marginalized, or even have their cultural expressions—or in this case, language—deemed as "less" Bahamian than other expressions from different groups. Moreover, to suggest that someone engage in a cultural practice that qualifies one as being more Bahamian can be interpreted as a request for that person to conform to the majority beliefs and norms, another risk of cultural literacy. Minority groups may also pressure themselves to conform in order to prevent exclusion and establish some sense of belonging to the society at large. This study then highlights the potential problem of cultural literacy being used to persuade students to adhere to a set idea of what comprises Bahamian cultural identity, rather than helping students discover for themselves what Bahamian cultural identity is based on their exploration of things that simultaneously unite and differentiate Bahamians across the archipelago.

From the findings of the research, it has been seen how establishing Bahamian cultural identity in primary schoolchildren may support major problems associated with multicultural education and cultural literacy. First, the issues of old versus modern perceptions of cultural practices and indigenous versus foreign cultural expressions exhibited in everyday Bahamian life inevitably extend from the larger society into the classroom. Any discourse regarding these issues may initially seem all for naught, considering that culture is fluid and not bounded by time, space or single definition. Second, the changing form of Bahamian orality, from traditional oral folklore to casual gossip, may also appear to provide little foundation for cultural literacy and multicultural education to be used in conjunction to develop Bahamian cultural identity. Third, resorting to Bahamian oral traditions, and subsequently Bahamian dialect, to establish cultural identity may promote the idea that students must conform to cultural practices and norms expressed by the majority group in order to culturally identify themselves as Bahamian. Still, I contend that cultural literacy and multicultural education, together, may help students to develop a sense of cultural identity based on the theoretical framework outlined in previous chapters.

This study has strongly argued that cultural literacy and multicultural education in union may provide a viable model for studying a people's cultural identity based on their position as a society's numerical majority and cultural minority. Unfortunately, this study has not shown that the practice of oral traditions in The Bahamas provides the best instrument for utilizing this model. Earlier, Bahamian oral traditions were chosen as the tool to apply to this model based on the general oral nature of Bahamians and the desire to revive oral traditions as a part of Bahamian culture. However, the dying state of

Bahamian oral traditions may actually work against the success of the proposed model for this study. What the model needs, instead, is an instrument that is unquestionably alive in practice and in no immediate threat of becoming extinct like oral traditions. An instrument like this, for example, may be comprised of geographical, historical or civic facts. Although these sets of knowledge contribute in some way to Bahamian culture, I believe that orality provides a more interesting platform upon which this type of study and model should be built since, as Banks (2001) has suggested, to study a people involves studying their dialect. Even though Bahamian dialect, as was found within the POH series, was used to suggest conformation among different Bahamians, I will argue that dialect may still be used to celebrate diversity among Bahamians.

Whereas the example found in the language arts textbook exposed a major flaw in this model proposed, the primary social studies textbook discussed earlier supports the proposed model of multicultural education and cultural literacy working together to help students form cultural identity. Like the language arts program, the social studies curriculum also featured Bahamian dialect and oral traditions as significant elements of Bahamian cultural identity. Using a native proverb told in dialect written in one of the social studies textbooks, it was explained to students how Bahamians around the archipelago commonly share dialect but express it, and folklore, in different ways. With this approach, conformity is not suggested, but rather the awareness and celebration of common and diverse cultural expressions among the citizenry. This finding during the research supports the model proposed and suggests that, despite the many challenges pertaining to both ideologies, the model is still a viable means of helping primary schoolchildren develop a sense of Bahamian cultural identity. This would be achieved by

helping students to become knowledgeable of and appreciate characteristics unique to Bahamian culture without compelling them to practice such traits in order to be considered more Bahamian.

Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

Limitations of the Study

The aim of this study was to investigate how Bahamian cultural identity is being developed within primary schoolchildren in Bahamian public schools. Throughout the course of this research several limitations were encountered which warrant consideration in future studies of this nature. An ongoing limitation throughout this investigation was the lack of resources describing perceptions of Bahamian culture and identity held by numerically minority groups in the country. Social attitudes towards certain issues which are reported in this study mostly reflect the viewpoints of persons or units of society that participate in the majority ethnic and cultural group. Prior to attainment of national independence, most of the country's history and culture was written from the perspectives of foreign colonizers. The process of Bahamianization that was spurred on by independence took on an underlying Afrocentric rhetoric. Since that time, recorded conceptions and criticisms of what constitutes Bahamian culture and identity have been based on the perspectives of those who represent Bahamians of predominantly Afro descent. Besides them, other cultural groups within the country have not made such apparent attempts to define or construct Bahamian cultural identity to the same extent. As mentioned earlier, some minority immigrant groups have had an obvious impact on the country's economic development, but have not made any apparent contributions to

the country's cultural development. As such, study of Bahamian cultural identity includes the risk of bias towards people of mostly African background. Although Bahamian oral traditions and many cultural expressions are mostly based on the country's African heritage, care was continuously taken throughout this study to avoid any bias towards Bahamians of only African descent. Instead, the study maintained focus on the general development of Bahamian cultural identity using oral folklore without partiality to any specific racial or ethnic group.

Another set of limitations found in this study pertains to the methodology that was employed in this study. The first refers to the collection of questionnaires that were distributed to teachers in participating primary schools. Bahamians generally prefer face-to-face communication over written forms. This preference in communicative forms may have had the greatest impact on the number of completed questionnaires that were collected from respondents. It is believed that the number and depth of answers provided by participants could have been greater had the question items been orally presented to the participants. Obviously, to interview the number of teachers included in this study would have been not only impractical but unrealistic. Written questionnaires, then, provided the most apt means of collecting the information wanted from the respondents.

The second issue concerns the curricula review of subject areas covered in this study. The most prevalent versions of curriculum documents did not correspond with each other by year. This circumstance did not hamper examination of the inclusion of native stories, riddles, and proverbs in each content area. However, it did limit the extent to which yearly comparisons could be made among the goals of cultural identity formation targeted by curriculum writers for the various subjects. This type of

comparison may have provided some insight into: (1) what Bahamian cultural identity in general was perceived to be by the Ministry of Education at a particular point in time, and (2) what each set of curriculum writers perceived to be necessary for cultural identity formation in response to the country's circumstances at a given time.

Suggestions for Future Research

The aforementioned limitations of the study already point to some factors that can be considered when conducting future studies. Some more issues worthy of consideration will now be recommended. One of the major issues that this study brought to light was that traditional forms of Bahamian oral folklore are still valued as being part of the cultural heritage, but they are not being practiced to the same extent today that they used to be in earlier times. It would be of great worth in future studies to determine which oral practices Bahamians generally conceive to be valuable today as opposed to what was been presented in the literature review. This consideration would not only provide newer understanding of what constitutes Bahamian orality today, but it would also validate or challenge the worth of traditional oral traditions in modern Bahamian society.

One form of traditional oral folklore that has persisted through time without much change in nature or style is ring-play, as described in Chapter Two. Children can often be seen around primary school playgrounds participating in these dance games before and between lesson times. This type of oral practice provides the researcher an opportunity to observe unobtrusively children's dialect usage and language development since most of these games are recited in some form of Bahamian dialect. This type of study can aid in the above initiative of determining what constitutes modern oral practices and also

whether other forms of oral folklore—besides stories, riddles and proverbs—can support the integrated use of cultural literacy and multicultural education as proposed earlier in this study.

Learning about how children use Bahamian dialect outside of the classroom is equally important to understanding how they use or can use it in the classroom. For many Bahamian children, dialect is their first language practiced at home as the primary, and sometimes only, means of communication. On one hand, some of these children have difficulty writing Bahamian dialect since there is no standard spelling or grammar system for the language. On the other hand, they may experience difficulty with reading and writing standard English as a second language. It is believed that children can learn how to textually translate between the two languages based on phonics. It is worth studying if instruction of this skill would have any effects on children's development of phonemic awareness and application of phonics in reading and writing.

While it has just been suggested that Bahamian dialect can be used for teaching literacy skills, its effectiveness for this purpose can be severely impacted by teachers' attitudes towards dialect. Among the perceptions of dialect previously described, the regard for Bahamian dialect as an inferior cultural entity has also been typified in modern day relations between upper and lower classes. Whereas the practice of standard English is typically associated with persons of higher socioeconomic status (SES), the practice of dialect is associated with people of lower SES and linguistic inferiority. Oftentimes, these generalizations form the basis for teachers' primary perceptions of students and their abilities. In the American context, students who predominantly speak Black American dialect are commonly rated by their teachers as being lower class, possessing

fewer intellectual abilities, and attaining lesser academic achievements than students who are predominantly standard English speakers. Because of the cultural and social prejudices popularly held against Bahamian dialect and its speakers, primary schoolchildren in the Bahamian public system are at the same risk for being stereotyped like African Americans for their use of dialect in formal school settings. It is important that teachers do not allow such stereotypes to perpetuate social prejudices in the classroom, for doing so may dispose them to alienating certain students and encouraging social segregation. There is no room for alienation of students based on language, SES, ethnic or any other background in multicultural classrooms. For this reason, studies pertaining to multicultural education would benefit from gaining a clarified understanding of teachers' attitudes towards dialect in order to determine: (1) how language may perpetuate social segregation in the classroom, (2) how teachers' attitudes towards a dialect may affect the expression or usage of that language among its speakers within the student body, and (3) how teachers' attitudes towards a dialect may affect students' academic performance and classroom participation.

Lastly, this study suggested the increased publication of Bahamian oral traditions would provide more resources for teachers to use in oral folklore instruction. Based on this, future studies may explore whether the publication of oral folklore would support commodification of the art form on a wider scale similar to other cultural expressions such as Junkanoo. And, if so, it would be of great interest to investigate whether it would cause native folklore to enjoy the same national recognition and economic rewards like Junkanoo has as a signifier of Bahamian cultural identity and tourism campaigns. Tourists and Bahamian nationals alike who look to the printed word for knowledge of

The Bahamas, rather than the idyllic sun, sand and sea, would help to support the commodification of oral folklore. However, with cultural commodification comes the factor of globalization. This should also be considered in future studies regarding commodification of cultural art forms and how the processes of globalization affect the development of Bahamian cultural identity.

It has been seen throughout this study, then, that Bahamian cultural identity cannot be defined or bounded in any way, even when referring to traditional cultural expressions such as oral folklore. Investigation of identity involves many challenges mostly in part due to this lack of definition and the fluidity of identity. This fluidity allows Bahamians to navigate through several identities throughout the islands in response to varying social situations and, essentially, becomes the major basis of Bahamian cultural identity. Despite these challenges of studying identity, exploration of Bahamian cultural identity may help to enhance our understanding and appreciation of our history, social relations, our place in a globalized world, and ourselves as a young, independent people who, in following our national motto, continually strive to move *forward, upward, onward, together*.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Report of the 2000 Census of Population and Housing in the Commonwealth of The Bahamas

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND RELIGION

TABLE 7.0 ALL BAHAMAS

RELIGION AND SEX		TOTAL	AGE GROUP							
			0 - 4	5 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 64	65 & OVER	NOT STATED
TOTAL	TOTAL	303,611	29,120	60,209	51,211	53,021	46,901	45,958	15,777	1,414
	MALE	147,715	14,666	30,163	25,495	25,711	22,409	21,884	6,523	864
	FEMALE	155,896	14,454	30,046	25,716	27,310	24,492	24,074	9,254	550
ANGLICAN/ EPISCOPALIAN	TOTAL	45,993	3,714	8,056	7,026	7,291	7,373	8,898	3,541	94
	MALE	22,528	1,872	4,020	3,444	3,566	3,578	4,492	1,511	45
	FEMALE	23,465	1,842	4,036	3,582	3,725	3,795	4,406	2,030	49
ASSEMBLY OF GOD	TOTAL	3,611	383	829	591	601	630	467	107	3
	MALE	1,603	174	376	298	257	273	178	46	1
	FEMALE	2,008	209	453	293	344	357	289	61	2
BAPTIST	TOTAL	107,354	11,869	23,320	19,734	19,239	15,291	13,084	4,561	256
	MALE	51,178	5,913	11,653	9,743	9,072	7,052	5,884	1,736	125
	FEMALE	56,176	5,956	11,667	9,991	10,167	8,239	7,200	2,825	131
BRETHREN	TOTAL	6,540	537	1,196	955	953	1,119	1,228	541	11
	MALE	3,007	267	588	485	420	481	547	210	9
	FEMALE	3,533	270	608	470	533	638	681	331	2
CHURCH OF GOD	TOTAL	14,641	1,473	3,434	2,415	2,565	2,194	1,807	733	20
	MALE	6,808	780	1,719	1,163	1,142	981	732	278	13
	FEMALE	7,833	693	1,715	1,252	1,423	1,213	1,075	455	7
GREEK ORTHODOX	TOTAL	498	25	68	59	75	77	137	57	-
	MALE	260	13	34	26	43	38	85	21	-
	FEMALE	238	12	34	33	32	39	52	36	-
JEHOVAH'S WITNESS	TOTAL	3,706	285	711	718	637	626	566	156	7
	MALE	1,544	135	330	328	279	214	202	52	4
	FEMALE	2,162	150	381	390	358	412	364	104	3
JEWISH	TOTAL	228	16	36	4	29	31	82	30	-
	MALE	129	11	25	1	12	16	42	22	-
	FEMALE	99	5	11	3	17	15	40	8	-
LUTHERAN	TOTAL	532	23	72	53	74	88	162	58	2
	MALE	262	15	37	25	28	47	79	31	-
	FEMALE	270	8	35	28	46	41	83	27	2
METHODIST	TOTAL	12,903	961	2,253	1,880	2,013	1,910	2,631	1,238	17
	MALE	6,258	481	1,150	951	972	934	1,260	501	9
	FEMALE	6,645	480	1,103	929	1,041	976	1,371	737	8
PENTECOSTAL	TOTAL	24,527	2,671	5,808	4,444	4,349	3,691	2,818	722	24
	MALE	10,915	1,329	2,852	2,108	1,820	1,470	1,053	274	9
	FEMALE	13,612	1,342	2,956	2,336	2,529	2,221	1,765	448	15

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND RELIGION

TABLE 7.0 (CONT'D)

ALL BAHAMAS

RELIGION AND SEX		TOTAL	AGE GROUP							
			0 - 4	5 - 14	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 64	65 & OVER	NOT STATED
PRESBYTERIAN	TOTAL	851	58	92	83	96	134	267	119	2
	MALE	403	27	35	35	50	66	131	58	1
	FEMALE	448	31	57	48	46	68	136	61	1
ROMAN CATHOLIC	TOTAL	41,077	3,352	7,139	6,320	6,773	6,968	8,044	2,373	108
	MALE	21,183	1,672	3,688	3,191	3,526	3,728	4,240	1,074	64
	FEMALE	19,894	1,680	3,451	3,129	3,247	3,240	3,804	1,299	44
SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST	TOTAL	11,066	1,011	2,260	1,861	2,047	1,761	1,542	569	15
	MALE	5,389	545	1,120	905	1,005	869	705	226	14
	FEMALE	5,677	466	1,140	956	1,042	892	837	343	1
OTHER CHRISTIAN DENOMINATION	TOTAL	19,414	1,984	3,831	3,182	3,843	3,286	2,632	601	55
	MALE	9,327	1,026	1,956	1,541	1,823	1,505	1,177	277	22
	FEMALE	10,087	958	1,875	1,641	2,020	1,781	1,455	324	33
ISLAM	TOTAL	292	25	37	39	63	62	61	5	-
	MALE	181	14	12	21	45	41	44	4	-
	FEMALE	111	11	25	18	18	21	17	1	-
RASTAFARIAN	TOTAL	738	54	39	205	270	142	23	-	5
	MALE	627	31	21	178	238	133	21	-	5
	FEMALE	111	23	18	27	32	9	2	-	-
OTHER NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGION	TOTAL	227	11	39	33	39	42	48	5	10
	MALE	140	10	23	17	33	23	24	5	5
	FEMALE	87	1	16	16	6	19	24	-	5
OTHER	TOTAL	517	39	67	78	85	90	132	25	1
	MALE	276	26	32	31	51	47	70	18	1
	FEMALE	241	13	35	47	34	43	62	7	-
NONE & NOT STATED	TOTAL	8,896	629	922	1,531	1,979	1,386	1,329	336	784
	MALE	5,697	325	492	1,004	1,329	913	918	179	537
	FEMALE	3,199	304	430	527	650	473	411	157	247

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

TABLE 8.0

ALL BAHAMAS

CONTINENT AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP AND SEX		ALL AGES	AGE GROUP 0 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 64	65 AND OVER	NOT STATED
*** TOTAL ***		303,611	29,120	86,648	51,676	52,004	36,841	30,131	15,777	1,414
*** AFRICA ***	TOTAL	270	16	43	54	84	46	27	-	-
	MALE	170	8	20	37	59	30	16	-	-
	FEMALE	100	8	23	17	25	16	11	-	-
GHANA	TOTAL	67	4	9	15	17	13	9	-	-
	MALE	37	1	5	7	9	7	8	-	-
	FEMALE	30	3	4	8	8	6	1	-	-
NIGERIA	TOTAL	97	9	16	12	39	17	4	-	-
	MALE	69	5	7	9	30	14	4	-	-
	FEMALE	28	4	9	3	9	3	-	-	-
SOUTH AFRICA	TOTAL	91	2	18	25	22	11	13	-	-
	MALE	59	1	8	21	18	8	3	-	-
	FEMALE	32	1	10	4	4	3	10	-	-
OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES	TOTAL	15	1	-	2	6	5	1	-	-
	MALE	5	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	-
	FEMALE	10	-	-	2	4	4	-	-	-
*** AMERICA, CENTRAL ***	TOTAL	219	11	32	41	79	33	11	11	1
	MALE	113	3	13	20	46	18	5	7	1
	FEMALE	106	8	19	21	33	15	6	4	-
BELIZE	TOTAL	14	3	2	1	5	3	-	-	-
	MALE	5	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-
	FEMALE	9	2	2	1	1	3	-	-	-
COSTA RICA	TOTAL	68	1	14	11	27	11	3	1	-
	MALE	27	-	6	4	11	4	2	-	-
	FEMALE	41	1	8	7	16	7	1	1	-
GUATEMALA	TOTAL	16	1	3	1	5	1	3	2	-
	MALE	6	-	2	-	1	1	1	1	-
	FEMALE	10	1	1	1	4	-	2	1	-
HONDURAS	TOTAL	14	1	4	2	4	2	-	1	-
	MALE	7	-	2	1	1	2	-	1	-
	FEMALE	7	1	2	1	3	-	-	-	-

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

TABLE 8.0 (CONT'D)

ALL BAHAMAS

CONTINENT AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP	AND SEX	ALL AGES	AGE GROUP 0 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 64	65 AND OVER	NOT STATED
MEXICO	TOTAL	85	5	9	23	28	13	5	1	1
	MALE	56	2	3	14	24	9	2	1	1
	FEMALE	29	3	6	9	4	4	3	-	-
NICARAGUA	TOTAL	7	-	-	-	2	1	-	4	-
	MALE	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
	FEMALE	3	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-
PANAMA	TOTAL	15	-	-	3	8	2	-	2	-
	MALE	8	-	-	1	5	2	-	-	-
	FEMALE	7	-	-	2	3	-	-	2	-
***** AMERICA, NORTH *****	**TOTAL**	**5,885**	**716**	**1,284**	**477**	**747**	**863**	**1,264**	**519**	**15**
	MALE	**2,874**	**370**	**646**	**208**	**350**	**390**	**622**	**276**	**12**
	FEMALE	**3,011**	**346**	**638**	**269**	**397**	**473**	**642**	**243**	**3**
BERMUDA	TOTAL	14	1	3	-	6	1	1	2	-
	MALE	5	1	-	-	2	1	-	1	-
	FEMALE	9	-	3	-	4	-	1	1	-
CANADA	TOTAL	1,404	84	189	124	230	265	403	107	2
	MALE	699	48	91	55	110	122	217	54	2
	FEMALE	705	36	98	69	120	143	186	53	-
U.S.A.	TOTAL	4,467	631	1,092	353	511	597	860	410	13
	MALE	2,170	321	555	153	238	267	405	221	10
	FEMALE	2,297	310	537	200	273	330	455	189	3
***** AMERICA, SOUTH *****	**TOTAL**	**889**	**38**	**219**	**106**	**153**	**279**	**85**	**9**	-
	MALE	**411**	**18**	**113**	**41**	**60**	**126**	**46**	**7**	-
	FEMALE	**478**	**20**	**106**	**65**	**93**	**153**	**39**	**2**	-
ARGENTINA	TOTAL	9	-	2	3	-	2	2	-	-
	MALE	3	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-
	FEMALE	6	-	1	2	-	2	1	-	-
BRAZIL	TOTAL	48	5	5	12	17	7	1	1	-
	MALE	21	1	2	7	8	2	-	1	-
	FEMALE	27	4	3	5	9	5	1	-	-
COLOMBIA	TOTAL	35	-	5	7	9	13	1	-	-
	MALE	20	-	4	3	3	10	-	-	-
	FEMALE	15	-	1	4	6	3	1	-	-

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

TABLE 8.0 (CONT'D)

ALL BAHAMAS

CONTINENT AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP AND SEX		ALL AGES	AGE GROUP							
			0 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 64	65 AND OVER	NOT STATED
ECUADOR	TOTAL	16	-	-	3	5	7	1	-	-
	MALE	5	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	-
	FEMALE	11	-	-	-	5	5	1	-	-
GUYANA	TOTAL	709	30	194	75	107	229	68	6	-
	MALE	333	17	100	27	45	100	39	5	-
	FEMALE	376	13	94	48	62	129	29	1	-
PERU	TOTAL	41	1	5	4	7	15	8	1	-
	MALE	19	-	4	-	2	7	5	1	-
	FEMALE	22	1	1	4	5	8	3	-	-
VENEZUELA	TOTAL	25	2	8	2	4	6	3	-	-
	MALE	10	-	2	-	2	5	1	-	-
	FEMALE	15	2	6	2	2	1	2	-	-
OTHER SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES	TOTAL	6	-	-	-	4	-	1	1	-
	MALE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	FEMALE	6	-	-	-	4	-	1	1	-
***** ASIA, EAST *****	**TOTAL**	**165**	**10**	**25**	**36**	**41**	**33**	**12**	**5**	**3**
	MALE	**89**	**6**	**19**	**15**	**15**	**19**	**12**	**2**	**1**
	FEMALE	**76**	**4**	**6**	**21**	**26**	**14**	**-**	**3**	**2**
CHINA	TOTAL	97	4	15	23	14	25	12	2	2
	MALE	61	1	10	13	8	16	12	-	1
	FEMALE	36	3	5	10	6	9	-	2	1
HONG KONG	TOTAL	26	4	7	-	6	7	-	1	1
	MALE	17	4	6	-	3	3	-	1	-
	FEMALE	9	-	1	-	3	4	-	-	1
JAPAN	TOTAL	41	2	3	13	20	1	-	2	-
	MALE	11	1	3	2	4	-	-	1	-
	FEMALE	30	1	-	11	16	1	-	1	-
OTHER EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES	TOTAL	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	MALE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	FEMALE	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
***** ASIA, SOUTH CENTRAL *****	**TOTAL**	**251**	**16**	**36**	**24**	**67**	**51**	**51**	**6**	**-**
	MALE	**145**	**14**	**14**	**9**	**41**	**28**	**35**	**4**	**-**
	FEMALE	**106**	**2**	**22**	**15**	**26**	**23**	**16**	**2**	**-**

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

TABLE 8.0 (CONT'D)

ALL BAHAMAS

CONTINENT AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP AND SEX		ALL AGES	AGE GROUP							
			0 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 64	65 AND OVER	NOT STATED
INDIA	TOTAL	238	16	35	22	62	48	49	6	-
	MALE	136	14	14	8	37	26	33	4	-
	FEMALE	102	2	21	14	25	22	16	2	-
SRI LANKA	TOTAL	9	-	1	2	4	2	-	-	-
	MALE	5	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	-
	FEMALE	4	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
OTHER SOUTH CENTRAL ASIAN COUNTRIES	TOTAL	4	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-
	MALE	4	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	-
	FEMALE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*** ASIA, SOUTH EAST ***	TOTAL	160	5	9	29	58	31	25	2	1
	MALE	60	3	4	9	25	9	9	-	1
	FEMALE	100	2	5	20	33	22	16	2	-
PHILIPPINES	TOTAL	148	5	7	28	53	29	23	2	1
	MALE	53	3	2	9	22	8	8	-	1
	FEMALE	95	2	5	19	31	21	15	2	-
THAILAND	TOTAL	5	-	2	-	1	2	-	-	-
	MALE	4	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-
	FEMALE	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
OTHER SOUTH EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES	TOTAL	7	-	-	1	4	-	2	-	-
	MALE	3	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-
	FEMALE	4	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	-
*** ASIA WEST ***	TOTAL	30	-	7	8	8	4	2	1	-
	MALE	19	-	1	5	7	4	2	-	-
	FEMALE	11	-	6	3	1	-	-	1	-
ISRAEL	TOTAL	11	-	6	3	1	-	-	1	-
	MALE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	FEMALE	11	-	6	3	1	-	-	1	-
TURKEY	TOTAL	19	-	1	5	7	4	2	-	-
	MALE	19	-	1	5	7	4	2	-	-
	FEMALE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*** CARIBBEAN ***	TOTAL	291,874	28,125	84,575	50,545	50,172	34,965	27,852	14,933	707
	MALE	141,570	14,159	42,473	24,724	24,107	16,640	13,036	6,056	375
	FEMALE	150,304	13,966	42,102	25,821	26,065	18,325	14,816	8,877	332

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

TABLE 8.0 (CONT'D)

ALL BAHAMAS

CONTINENT AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP AND SEX		ALL AGES	AGE GROUP							
			0 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 64	65 AND OVER	NOT STATED
ANTIGUA/BARBUDA	TOTAL	8	1	-	1	2	4	-	-	-
	MALE	3	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
	FEMALE	5	1	-	1	1	2	-	-	-
BAHAMAS	TOTAL	265,157	25,469	77,302	45,929	45,263	30,958	25,337	14,304	595
	MALE	127,236	12,813	38,830	22,114	21,509	14,410	11,572	5,691	297
	FEMALE	137,921	12,656	38,472	23,815	23,754	16,548	13,765	8,613	298
BARBADOS	TOTAL	112	1	32	16	16	19	21	7	-
	MALE	68	1	23	10	4	12	14	4	-
	FEMALE	44	-	9	6	12	7	7	3	-
BRITISH VIRGIN ISLANDS	TOTAL	13	-	3	4	2	-	2	2	-
	MALE	7	-	1	1	1	-	2	2	-
	FEMALE	6	-	2	3	1	-	-	-	-
CAYMAN ISLANDS	TOTAL	9	2	3	-	3	1	-	-	-
	MALE	6	1	3	-	1	1	-	-	-
	FEMALE	3	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
CUBA	TOTAL	115	9	6	35	33	25	4	3	-
	MALE	48	5	4	5	12	18	3	1	-
	FEMALE	67	4	2	30	21	7	1	2	-
DOMINICA	TOTAL	48	1	11	7	14	8	7	-	-
	MALE	30	-	7	3	9	5	6	-	-
	FEMALE	18	1	4	4	5	3	1	-	-
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	TOTAL	87	8	23	9	23	19	5	-	-
	MALE	46	5	10	4	11	14	2	-	-
	FEMALE	41	3	13	5	12	5	3	-	-
GRENADA	TOTAL	27	2	5	5	1	7	5	2	-
	MALE	14	-	2	2	1	4	4	1	-
	FEMALE	13	2	3	3	-	3	1	1	-
HAITI	TOTAL	21,426	2,332	6,071	3,819	3,706	3,062	1,908	435	93
	MALE	12,333	1,184	3,073	2,323	2,227	1,915	1,241	297	73
	FEMALE	9,093	1,148	2,998	1,496	1,479	1,147	667	138	20
JAMAICA	TOTAL	3,919	235	883	585	983	727	410	79	17
	MALE	1,329	115	402	196	275	202	116	20	3
	FEMALE	2,590	120	481	389	708	525	294	59	14

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

TABLE 8.0 (CONT'D)

ALL BAHAMAS

CONTINENT AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP	AND SEX	ALL AGES	AGE GROUP							
			0 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 64	65 AND OVER	NOT STATED
ST. KITTS/NEVIS	TOTAL	13	1	4	2	1	2	3	-	-
	MALE	7	1	3	1	-	1	1	-	-
	FEMALE	6	-	1	1	1	1	2	-	-
ST. LUCIA	TOTAL	59	4	18	13	15	9	-	-	-
	MALE	27	2	7	3	9	6	-	-	-
	FEMALE	32	2	11	10	6	3	-	-	-
ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES	TOTAL	23	1	6	6	1	6	3	-	-
	MALE	14	1	1	5	1	4	2	-	-
	FEMALE	9	-	5	1	-	2	1	-	-
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	TOTAL	333	17	60	56	67	58	50	23	2
	MALE	161	7	30	23	26	27	30	16	2
	FEMALE	172	10	30	33	41	31	20	7	-
TURKS AND CAICOS ISLANDS	TOTAL	507	41	148	54	30	60	96	78	-
	MALE	231	23	77	32	13	19	43	24	-
	FEMALE	276	18	71	22	17	41	53	54	-
U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS	TOTAL	6	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
	MALE	4	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
	FEMALE	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
OTHER CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES	TOTAL	12	-	-	4	7	-	1	-	-
	MALE	6	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-
	FEMALE	6	-	-	2	3	-	1	-	-
***** EUROPE, EAST *****	**TOTAL**	**68**	**1**	**6**	**13**	**28**	**13**	**5**	**-**	**2**
	MALE	**43**	**-**	**3**	**2**	**22**	**9**	**5**	**-**	**2**
	FEMALE	**25**	**1**	**3**	**11**	**6**	**4**	**-**	**-**	**-**
POLAND	TOTAL	9	-	-	7	-	2	-	-	-
	MALE	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
	FEMALE	7	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-
ROMANIA	TOTAL	26	-	-	1	12	7	4	-	2
	MALE	26	-	-	1	12	7	4	-	2
	FEMALE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RUSSIA	TOTAL	26	1	5	5	11	4	-	-	-
	MALE	13	-	2	1	10	-	-	-	-
	FEMALE	13	1	3	4	1	4	-	-	-

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

TABLE 8.0 (CONT'D)

ALL BAHAMAS

CONTINENT AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP	AND SEX	ALL AGES	AGE GROUP							
			0 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 64	65 AND OVER	NOT STATED
OTHER EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES	TOTAL	7	-	1	-	5	-	1	-	-
	MALE	2	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-
	FEMALE	5	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-
***** EUROPE, NORTH *****	**TOTAL**	**1,931**	**120**	**252**	**166**	**336**	**349**	**513**	**192**	**3**
	MALE	**1,091**	**54**	**142**	**90**	**173**	**207**	**304**	**120**	**1**
	FEMALE	**840**	**66**	**110**	**76**	**163**	**142**	**209**	**72**	**2**
DENMARK	TOTAL	39	1	6	3	7	6	13	3	-
	MALE	22	1	3	3	2	4	6	3	-
	FEMALE	17	-	3	-	5	2	7	-	-
IRELAND	TOTAL	71	5	5	10	14	12	20	5	-
	MALE	44	2	3	6	9	4	16	4	-
	FEMALE	27	3	2	4	5	8	4	1	-
NORWAY	TOTAL	11	-	-	2	1	2	5	1	-
	MALE	8	-	-	2	-	2	3	1	-
	FEMALE	3	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-
SWEDEN	TOTAL	34	-	9	-	10	4	5	6	-
	MALE	15	-	4	-	3	2	1	5	-
	FEMALE	19	-	5	-	7	2	4	1	-
OTHER NORTH EUROPEAN COUNTRIES	TOTAL	5	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	-
	MALE	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	FEMALE	4	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-
UNITED KINGDOM	TOTAL	1,771	114	232	151	301	323	470	177	3
	MALE	1,001	51	132	79	159	194	278	107	1
	FEMALE	770	63	100	72	142	129	192	70	2
***** EUROPE, SOUTH *****	**TOTAL**	**221**	**11**	**31**	**23**	**46**	**35**	**55**	**20**	**-**
	MALE	**142**	**8**	**11**	**19**	**29**	**26**	**37**	**12**	**-**
	FEMALE	**79**	**3**	**20**	**4**	**17**	**9**	**18**	**8**	**-**
GREECE	TOTAL	57	2	16	6	4	8	17	4	-
	MALE	37	2	4	5	4	7	14	1	-
	FEMALE	20	-	12	1	-	1	3	3	-
ITALY	TOTAL	98	4	8	7	20	16	32	11	-
	MALE	59	1	3	6	12	11	19	7	-
	FEMALE	39	3	5	1	8	5	13	4	-

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

TABLE 8.0 (CONT'D)

ALL BAHAMAS

CONTINENT AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP AND SEX		ALL AGES	AGE GROUP							
			0 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 64	65 AND OVER	NOT STATED
PORTUGAL	TOTAL	9	-	-	1	4	2	2	-	-
	MALE	4	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-
	FEMALE	5	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	-
SPAIN	TOTAL	51	5	6	7	18	6	4	5	-
	MALE	37	5	3	6	10	6	3	4	-
	FEMALE	14	-	3	1	8	-	1	1	-
YUGOSLAVIA	TOTAL	6	-	1	2	-	3	-	-	-
	MALE	5	-	1	2	-	2	-	-	-
	FEMALE	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
***** EUROPE, WEST *****	**TOTAL**	**613**	**27**	**81**	**82**	**120**	**85**	**171**	**43**	**4**
	MALE	**343**	**12**	**31**	**38**	**75**	**49**	**111**	**25**	**2**
	FEMALE	**270**	**15**	**50**	**44**	**45**	**36**	**60**	**18**	**2**
AUSTRIA	TOTAL	23	-	2	5	8	2	1	5	-
	MALE	13	-	-	-	7	2	1	3	-
	FEMALE	10	-	2	5	1	-	-	2	-
BELGIUM	TOTAL	21	1	1	2	5	4	8	-	-
	MALE	14	1	-	2	2	3	6	-	-
	FEMALE	7	-	1	-	3	1	2	-	-
FRANCE	TOTAL	146	7	28	20	38	15	28	9	1
	MALE	82	3	10	9	29	9	17	4	1
	FEMALE	64	4	18	11	9	6	11	5	-
GERMANY	TOTAL	228	7	18	34	29	35	86	17	2
	MALE	126	5	10	13	13	19	54	12	-
	FEMALE	102	2	8	21	16	16	32	5	2
NETHERLANDS AND HOLLAND	TOTAL	32	2	4	3	4	4	11	4	-
	MALE	16	-	4	2	1	3	4	2	-
	FEMALE	16	2	-	1	3	1	7	2	-
SWITZERLAND	TOTAL	162	10	28	17	36	25	37	8	1
	MALE	91	3	7	11	23	13	29	4	1
	FEMALE	71	7	21	6	13	12	8	4	-
OTHER WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES	TOTAL	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	MALE	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	FEMALE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

TABLE 8.0 (CONT'D)

ALL BAHAMAS

CONTINENT AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP AND SEX		ALL AGES	AGE GROUP							
			0 - 4	5 - 19	20 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 64	65 AND OVER	NOT STATED
*** OCEANIA ***	TOTAL	87	3	4	17	22	14	24	2	1
	MALE	42	1	2	11	6	7	14	-	1
	FEMALE	45	2	2	6	16	7	10	2	-
AUSTRALIA	TOTAL	67	3	2	12	18	10	19	2	1
	MALE	33	1	1	8	5	6	11	-	1
	FEMALE	34	2	1	4	13	4	8	2	-
NEW ZEALAND	TOTAL	20	-	2	5	4	4	5	-	-
	MALE	9	-	1	3	1	1	3	-	-
	FEMALE	11	-	1	2	3	3	2	-	-
OTHER COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES	TOTAL	10	-	-	-	4	3	3	-	-
	MALE	4	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-
	FEMALE	6	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	-
OTHER NON-COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES	TOTAL	54	4	7	10	12	12	7	2	-
	MALE	36	2	6	6	8	10	3	1	-
	FEMALE	18	2	1	4	4	2	4	1	-
NOT STATED	TOTAL	884	17	37	45	27	25	24	32	677
	MALE	563	8	20	16	14	15	9	13	468
	FEMALE	321	9	17	29	13	10	15	19	209

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire

Instructions: Please tick only one box for each question you answer.

1. Are you male or female?
   - ☐ Male
   - ☐ Female

2. What is your age?
   - ☐ Under 20
   - ☐ 20-29
   - ☐ 30-39
   - ☐ 40-49
   - ☐ 50 and over

3. What is your nationality?
   - ☐ Bahamian
   - ☐ Haitian
   - ☐ Jamaican
   - ☐ Cuban
   - ☐ American
   - ☐ Other (please state): ___________________

4. On which island/country were you raised for most of your childhood (0-18 years old)?
   - ☐ New Providence
   - ☐ Grand Bahama
   - ☐ Abaco
   - ☐ Eleuthera
   - ☐ Andros
   - ☐ Other (please state): ___________________

5. Native oral traditions (including riddles, stories, and proverbs) were considered important on the island/country where you were raised for most of your childhood (0-18 years old):
   - ☐ Strongly disagree
   - ☐ Disagree
   - ☐ Undecided
   - ☐ Agree
   - ☐ Strongly agree

6. Native oral traditions were taught in your home where you were raised for most of your childhood (0-18 years old):
    - ☐ Strongly disagree
    - ☐ Disagree
    - ☐ Undecided
    - ☐ Agree
    - ☐ Strongly agree

7. I learned about native oral traditions during of my primary school education:
    - ☐ Strongly disagree
    - ☐ Disagree
    - ☐ Undecided
    - ☐ Agree
    - ☐ Strongly agree

8. In which school area do you presently teach?
    - ☐ Adelaide
    - ☐ Bain Town (bordered by Nassau St., Blue Hill Rd., South St., and Poinciana Dr.)
    - ☐ Carmichael
    - ☐ Fox Hill
    - ☐ Gambier
    - ☐ Grants Town (bordered by East St., Blue Hill Rd., Cockburn and Lees Sts., and Wulff Rd.)

9. Were you raised as a child (0-18 years) in the school area in which you work?
    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No

10. Do you presently live in the school area in which you work?
    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No

11. What grade are you presently teaching? (*please tick all that apply*)
    - ☐ 1
    - ☐ 2
    - ☐ 3
    - ☐ 4
    - ☐ 5
    - ☐ 6

12. During my teacher training, I learned how to include oral traditions in my teaching:
    - ☐ Strongly disagree
    - ☐ Disagree
    - ☐ Undecided
    - ☐ Agree
    - ☐ Strongly agree

13. In the following classes, I tell my students Bahamian riddles, proverbs and stories (*please answer only for those subjects that you teach*):

a) Mathematics	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
b) Language Arts	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
c) Physical Education	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
d) Religious Studies	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
e) Arts & Crafts	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
f) General Science	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
g) Social Studies	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always

14. Please give examples of Bahamian riddles, stories, and proverbs that you tell your students (*feel free to write on the back of this questionnaire if more space is needed*):

____

____

____

____

15. In the following classes, I allow my students to tell their own versions of Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs (*please answer only for those subjects that you teach*):

a) Mathematics	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
b) Language Arts	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
c) Physical Education	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
d) Religious Studies	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
e) Arts & Crafts	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
f) General Science	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
g) Social Studies	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always

16. I provide my students with reading materials which focus on Bahamian riddles, proverbs and stories:
    - ☐ Never
    - ☐ Rarely
    - ☐ Sometimes
    - ☐ Very frequently
    - ☐ Always

17. Please give examples of reading materials that you use that focus on Bahamian riddles, proverbs and stories (*feel free to write on the back of this questionnaire if more space is needed*):

    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____

18. I provide my students with listening materials which focus on Bahamian riddles, proverbs and stories (for example, books read aloud on tape/compact disc):
    - ☐ Never
    - ☐ Rarely
    - ☐ Sometimes
    - ☐ Very frequently
    - ☐ Always

19. If oral traditions are not included in the national curricula for some subjects, and if you do not include them in your own lesson plans, do you still casually share/practice oral traditions with your students for the following classes?

a) Mathematics	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
b) Language Arts	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
c) Physical Education	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
d) Religious Studies	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
e) Arts & Crafts	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
f) General Science	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always
g) Social Studies	☐ Never	☐ Rarely	☐ Sometimes	☐ Very frequently	☐ Always

20. Are you involved in extra-curricular activities associated with the school at which you work?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

21. If you answered yes to Question 20 above, do you encourage the learning and practice of Bahamian storytelling, riddles, and proverbs in those extra-curricular activities?
- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Very frequently
- ☐ Always

22. Do you consider oral traditions to be an important part of Bahamian culture?
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

23. Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs are less important than universal facts, concepts, and principles from various disciplines:
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

24. I can teach universal facts, concepts, and principles from various disciplines using Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs:
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Undecided
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

25. Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs are suitable to teach in:

a) Mathematics	☐ Strongly disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Undecided	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly agree
b) Language Arts	☐ Strongly disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Undecided	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly agree
c) Physical Education	☐ Strongly disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Undecided	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly agree
d) Religious Studies	☐ Strongly disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Undecided	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly agree
e) Arts & Crafts	☐ Strongly disagree	☐ Disagree	☐ Undecided	☐ Agree	☐ Strongly agree

f) General Science ☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Undecided ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly agree

g) Social Studies ☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Undecided ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly agree

26. Please state reasons for your answers to Question 25 above (*feel free to write on the back of this questionnaire if more space is needed*):

____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____

27. The Ministry of Education's national curricula for the following subjects support the use of Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs:

a) Mathematics ☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Undecided ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly agree

b) Language Arts ☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Undecided ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly agree

c) Physical Education ☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Undecided ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly agree

d) Religious Studies ☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Undecided ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly agree

e) Arts & Crafts ☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Undecided ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly agree

f) General Science ☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Undecided ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly agree

g) Social Studies ☐ Strongly disagree ☐ Disagree ☐ Undecided ☐ Agree ☐ Strongly agree

28. Do you think there needs to be more or less emphasis on Bahamian oral traditions in national curricula?

☐ More emphasis
☐ Less emphasis
☐ The same emphasis as already given
☐ No emphasis at all

29. Teaching Bahamian oral traditions supports the use of Bahamian dialect in the classroom:
    - ☐ Strongly disagree
    - ☐ Disagree
    - ☐ Undecided
    - ☐ Agree
    - ☐ Strongly agree

30. Bahamian dialect is destructive to effective communication among students:
    - ☐ Strongly disagree
    - ☐ Disagree
    - ☐ Undecided
    - ☐ Agree
    - ☐ Strongly agree

31. Bahamian dialect should be taught in primary schools to help students identify themselves as Bahamians:
    - ☐ Strongly disagree
    - ☐ Disagree
    - ☐ Undecided
    - ☐ Agree
    - ☐ Strongly agree

32. What Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs do you use in your teaching? (*feel free to write on the back of this questionnaire if more space is needed*):

    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____

33. What concepts do you use Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs to teach? (*feel free to write on the back of this questionnaire if more space is needed*):

    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____
    ____

Thank You for Your Participation

APPENDIX C

Bahamian Government's Permission to Administer Questionnaires

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, YOUTH, SPORTS & CULTURE
P.O. Box N-3913/4
Nassau, N.P., The Bahamas

3rd January, 2008

Ms. Jennette Walkine
Doctoral Candidate
Baylor University
P.O. Box N-7483
Nassau, N.P.,
The Bahamas

Re: Permission to Administer Questionnaires in New Providence Public Primary Schools

Dear Ms. Walkine,

It gives me great pleasure to inform you that the Minister of Education, Youth, Sports and Culture has granted permission for you to administer your questionnaire in several of our New Providence primary schools.

It is hoped that you will be able to successfully conduct your study, entitled "Investigating the Cultural Identity of The Bahamas Through a Study of Bahamian Primary Education", enabling you to receive your doctoral degree.

I would like to request that you provide the Ministry with a copy of your completed study so that we may have the benefit of reviewing its contents.

Once again, I would like to wish you all the best in your scholastic endeavours.

Sincerely,

M.C. Taylor,
Director of Educational Planning
(for) Permanent Secretary

MCT/

APPENDIX D

Questionnaire Informed Consent Form

"Investigating the Cultural Identity of the Bahamas through a Study of Bahamian Primary Education"

QUESTIONNAIRE INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Description of Procedure

You are being invited to complete a questionnaire that asks about your perceptions and use of oral traditions in your teaching. This study, as titled above, is being conducted by Jennette Walkine who is a doctoral candidate at Baylor University in Waco, Texas. The purpose of this study is to learn more about how primary schools use or could use oral traditions to pass on culture and develop Bahamian cultural identity. **YOU ARE ELIGIBLE TO PARTICIPATE BECAUSE (A) YOU TEACH AT A PRIMARY SCHOOL IN ONE OF THE FOLLOWING AREAS: ADELAIDE, BAIN TOWN, CARMICHAEL, FOX HILL, GAMBIER, OR GRANT'S TOWN; AND (B) YOU ARE A REGULAR TEACHER OF A CLASS FROM GRADE 1 – 6, OR YOU SPECIALIZE IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION OR GENERAL SCIENCE FOR GRADES 1 – 6**. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may discontinue participation at any time without penalty. Completion of this questionnaire will take approximately 15 to 30 minutes. If you wish to participate, please read the following sections and sign your signature at the bottom of this consent form.

Participant's Rights

Your name will not appear on the completed questionnaire and your responses will remain completely anonymous. Only the principal investigator will have access to the information you provide. Although the results of this research will be published and archived at Baylor University, your name will not be associated in any way with any published results.

There are no known risks from your participation and no monetary cost to you for completing the questionnaire.

You can obtain further information about this questionnaire from the principal investigator, Jennette Walkine, at (242) 324-5033 or Jennette_Walkine@baylor.edu. Alternatively, you may contact her advisor, Dr. Perry Glanzer, at Baylor University, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, One Bear Place #97314, Waco, Texas, 76798-7314, (254) 710-7581. If you have questions concerning your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Chair of the Baylor Institutional Review Board Committee at (254) 710-2236.

Consent to Participate

I acknowledge that I have read and understand this consent form. I hereby consent to participate in this research project and have my answers disclosed.

______________________________ ______________________________

(Participant) (Date)

APPENDIX E

Bahamian Government's Permission to Conduct Interview

June 25, 2008

RE: Requesting permission for interview of primary education officers

Lionel Sands
Director of Education
P.O. Box N 3913
Nassau, Bahamas

Dear Sir:

I am a doctoral candidate at Baylor University in Waco, Texas and am writing to request permission to interview education officers in the primary division in order to complete my dissertation. The purpose of my study is to learn more abut how primary schools use or can use oral traditions to pass on culture and develop Bahamian cultural identity. Participants in the interviews will be asked questions about their perspectives on the use of oral traditions in primary education to develop Bahamian cultural identity. Their participation is completely voluntary and may be discontinued at any time without penalty.

Due to the upcoming workshops in which several potential participants are scheduled to be attending, it is being asked for permission to be granted to allow education officers to be interviewed this week.

Please find attached a copy of the consent form which will be administered to participants prior to being interviewed.

Thank you in advance for your kind cooperation.

Sincerely,

Jennette Walkine

Enclosure (1)

(B) DDE
Approval given.
Please arrange with
SEO Rolle to facilitate
request.
25/6/08

(C) Education Officers
Primary Division

Grateful for
your assistance
in facilitating
this request.
25/6/08

APPENDIX F

Interview Informed Consent Form

"Investigating the Cultural Identity of the Bahamas through a Study of Bahamian Primary Education"

INTERVIEW INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Description of Procedure

You are being invited to participate in a personal interview in the above-titled study. This study is being conducted by Jennette Walkine who is a doctoral candidate at Baylor University in Waco, Texas. The purpose of this study is to learn more about how primary schools use or can use oral traditions to pass on culture and develop Bahamian cultural identity. If you participate in this project, you will be asked questions about your perspectives on the use of oral traditions in primary education to develop a Bahamian cultural identity. Your participation is completely voluntary, and you may discontinue participation at any time without penalty. Participation in the interview should take no more than 30 minutes. If you wish to participate, please read the following sections and sign your signature at the bottom of this consent form.

Participant's Rights

Only the principal investigator will have access to the information you provide. You may be identified by name and your answers may appear in the final documentation of the research results. You may have access to your answers for editing purposes before the study is finally submitted.

There are no known risks, monetary cost or compensation for your participation.

You have the right to ask and have answered any queries regarding this study at any time. You can obtain further information about this study from the principal investigator, Jennette Walkine, at (242) 324-5033 or Jennette_Walkine@baylor.edu. Alternatively, you may contact her advisor, Dr. Perry Glanzer, at Baylor University, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, One Bear Place #97314, Waco, Texas, 76798-7314, (254) 710-7581. Additionally, if you have questions concerning your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Chair of the Baylor Institutional Review Board Committee at (254) 710-2236.

Consent to Participate

I acknowledge that I have read and understand this consent form. I hereby consent to participate in this research project and have my name and answers disclosed.

______________________________ ______________________________

(Participant) (Date)

APPENDIX G

List of Interview Questions

1. What was your role in the production of the “Preserving Our Heritage” textbook series?

2. How was content chosen for the series?

3. Are native stories, riddles and proverbs present in the series?

4. How are native stories, riddles, and proverbs presented in the series?

5. At which grade level do you consider native folklore to be developmentally appropriate?

6. Why do you think native stories, riddles, and proverbs are found only in the Ministry of Education’s language arts and social studies curricula?

7. Do you think native riddles, stories and proverbs could be used to teach other subjects?

8. At what time did the recent movement for the production of indigenous textbooks come about?

9. Why do foreign traditional stories such as Cinderella or Jack and the Beanstalk take precedence over Bahamian stories and characters in today’s classrooms?

10. How much are those foreign traditional folktales a part of our Bahamian cultural identity?

11. One of the ways Britain continued to influence our cultural identity even after emancipation was through education, particularly the importation of British educational textbooks and other learning materials. Is the overwhelming influx of American educational textbooks similarly positioning us as being colonized by America today?

12. Are oral traditions still an important part of Bahamian culture today?

13. Is it necessary for a set body of knowledge to be taught in order for students to develop a sense of Bahamian cultural identity?

14. Will the teaching of native oral folklore of Afro origins in today's schools exclude Bahamians who identify with a predominantly European background?

15. Do you consider Bahamian dialect to be the first language of our schoolchildren today?

16. What significance does dialect have in learning native oral traditions?

17. From your professional experience, how would you generally describe teachers' attitudes towards teaching dialect in school?

APPENDIX H

Tables

Table H.1

Distribution and Collection of Questionnaires among Sampled Primary Schools

Area	School	Total Questionnaires Distributed (*n*)	Total Questionnaires Collected (*n*)	Total Questionnaires Collected (%)
Adelaide	Adelaide Primary	8	3	38%
Bain Town	Albury Sayle Primary	26	0	0%
	Woodcock Primary	23	7	30%
Carmichael	Carmichael Primary	44	17	39%
	Garvin Tynes Primary	38	1	3%
	Gerald Cash Primary	33	7	21%
Fox Hill	Sandilands Primary	27	9	33%
Gambier	Gambier Primary	9	6	67%
Grant's Town	Naomi Blatch Primary	12	3	25%
	Totals	220	53	24%

Table H.2

Teachers' Perceptions of the Suitability of Native Oral Instruction in the Selected Content Areas

Question 25: Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs are suitable to teach in:

Subject	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Non-responsive
Mathematics	5% $n = 2$	5% $n = 2$	12% $n = 5$	62% $n = 26$	17% $n = 7$	$n = 11$
Language Arts	4% $n = 2$	0% $n = 0$	4% $n = 2$	59% $n = 29$	33% $n = 16$	$n = 4$
Physical Education	12% $n = 3$	8% $n = 2$	8% $n = 2$	48% $n = 12$	24% $n = 6$	$n = 28$
Religious Studies	2% $n = 1$	0% $n = 0$	11% $n = 5$	64% $n = 28$	23% $n = 10$	$n = 9$
Arts & Crafts	4% $n = 1$	4% $n = 1$	7% $n = 2$	61% $n = 17$	25% $n = 7$	$n = 25$
General Science	3% $n = 1$	0% $n = 0$	9% $n = 3$	71 % $n = 25$	17% $n = 6$	$n = 18$
Social Studies	2% $n = 1$	0% $n = 0$	0% $n = 0$	54% $n = 26$	44% $n = 21$	$n = 5$

Table H.3

Teachers' Frequencies of Bahamian Riddles, Proverbs and Stories Inclusion in Operational Curricula

Question 13: In the following classes, I tell my students Bahamian riddles, proverbs and stories:

Subject	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Very frequently	Always	Non-responsive
Mathematics	24% *n* = 10	22% *n* = 9	37% *n* = 15	15% *n* = 6	2% *n* = 1	*n* = 12
Language Arts	7% *n* = 3	7% *n* = 3	60% *n* = 27	16% *n* = 7	11% *n* =5	*n* = 8
Physical Education	71% *n* = 5	0% *n* = 0	29% *n* = 2	0% *n* = 0	0% *n* = 0	*n* = 46
Religious Studies	18% *n* = 8	18% *n* = 8	43% *n* = 19	14% *n* = 6	7% *n* = 3	*n* = 9
Arts & Crafts	36% *n* = 4	9% *n* = 1	45% *n* = 5	9% *n* = 1	0% *n* = 0	*n* = 42
General Science	21% *n* = 7	9% *n* = 3	55% *n* = 18	9% *n* = 3	6% *n* = 2	*n* = 20
Social Studies	7% *n* = 3	9% *n* = 4	50 % *n* = 23	24% *n* = 11	11% *n* = 5	*n* = 7

Table H.4

Teachers' Frequencies in Allowing their Students to Share their Own Versions of Bahamian Riddles, Stories and Proverbs

Question 15: In the following classes, I allow my students to tell their own versions of Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs:

Subject	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Very frequently	Always	Non-responsive
Mathematics	47% n = 17	11% n = 4	31% n = 11	6% n = 2	6% n = 2	n =17
Language Arts	20% n = 8	20% n = 8	49% n = 20	5% n = 2	7% n = 3	n = 12
Physical Education	67% n = 6	22% n = 2	11% n = 1	0% n = 0	0% n = 0	n = 44
Religious Studies	35% n = 13	8% n = 3	46% n = 17	5% n = 2	5% n = 2	n = 16
Arts & Crafts	56% n = 5	11% n = 1	22% n = 2	0% n = 0	11% n = 1	n = 44
General Science	52 % n = 16	16% n = 5	26% n = 8	3% n = 1	3% n = 1	n = 22
Social Studies	24% n = 9	16% n = 6	45% n = 17	11% n = 4	5% n = 2	n = 15

Table H.5

Teachers' Frequencies in Including Native Oral Traditions in Hidden Curricula

Question 19: If oral traditions are not included in the national curricula for some subjects, and if you do not include them in your own lesson plans, do you still casually share/practice oral traditions with your students for the following classes?

Subject	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Very frequently	Always	Non-responsive
Mathematics	30% *n* = 11	19% *n* = 7	41% *n* = 15	5% *n* = 2	5% *n* = 2	*n* = 16
Language Arts	9% *n* = 4	12% *n* = 5	63% *n* = 27	12% *n* = 5	5% *n* = 2	*n* = 10
Physical Education	50% *n* = 3	17% *n* = 1	17% *n* = 1	0% *n* = 0	17% *n* = 1	*n* = 47
Religious Studies	25% *n* = 10	13% *n* = 5	48% *n* = 19	10% *n* = 4	5% *n* = 2	*n* = 13
Arts & Crafts	30% *n* = 3	20% *n* = 2	40% *n* = 4	0% *n* = 0	10% *n* = 1	*n* = 43
General Science	27% *n* = 9	18% *n* = 6	48 % *n* = 16	3% *n* = 1	3% *n* = 1	*n* = 20
Social Studies	12% *n* = 5	7% *n* =3	62% *n* = 26	12% *n* = 5	7% *n* = 3	*n* = 11

Table H.6

Teachers' Perceptions of the Ministry of Education's Support of Oral Folklore in National Curricula

Question 27: The Ministry of Education's national curricula for the following subjects support the use of Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs:

Subject	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree	Non-responsive
Mathematics	18% *n* = 6	35 % *n* = 12	24% *n* = 8	15% *n* = 5	9% *n* = 3	*n* =19
Language Arts	11% *n* = 4	14% *n* = 5	11% *n* = 4	51% *n* = 18	11% *n* = 4	*n* = 18
Physical Education	10% *n* = 1	40 % *n* = 4	40 % *n* = 4	10% *n* = 1	0% *n* = 0	*n* = 43
Religious Studies	13% *n* = 4	28% *n* = 9	19% *n* = 6	38% *n* = 12	3% *n* = 1	*n* = 21
Arts & Crafts	15% *n* = 2	15% *n* = 2	31% *n* = 4	23% *n* = 3	15% *n* = 2	*n* = 40
General Science	21% *n* = 6	25% *n* = 7	29% *n* = 8	18% *n* = 5	7% *n* = 2	*n* = 25
Social Studies	8% *n* = 3	15% *n* = 6	10% *n* = 4	51% *n* = 20	15% *n* = 6	*n* = 14

APPENDIX I

Empirical Examples of Teachers' Major Arguments for including Bahamian Oral Traditions in Curriculum and Instruction

Argument 1: Native Oral Traditions May Help Students to Appreciate Their Cultural Heritage and Identify Themselves as Bahamians

Examples of Responses Collected:

1. Assists with own identity (Bahamians)
2. Assists with generational gaps
3. Able to compare/appreciate own cultural identity
4. Identify with parents/Bahamian history and experiences.
5. Pride in knowing/sharing Bahamian identity
6. Able to maintain/evolve Bahamian culture/identity
7. Allow generations to keep them alive/handed down.
8. Because it lends to students learning more about themselves as Bahamians in all walks of life.

Argument 2: Native Oral Traditions May Provide Students with More Personally Meaningful Learning Experiences through Culturally Relevant Teaching and References to Local Cultural Expressions

Examples of Responses Collected:

1. Students identify with local cultures and are also motivated.
2. If the children can relate to what they are learning it becomes more meaningful and they tend to remember the concepts.

3. Some children learn best from their own experiences and environment. When a topic is broken down into their own native tongue. They seem to understand better.

Argument 3: Native Oral Traditions can be Efficiently Incorporated into Curriculum and Instruction through Content Integration

Examples of Responses Collected:

1. Can be used for aspects of application; can be used in grammar, reading comprehension
2. We can use Bahamian riddles in Mathematics also short stories in Math word problems.
3. I observed that the students captures the concept of the subject topic very quickly when Bahamian stories, riddles and proverbs introduces a lesson.
4. I agree in most subject area because you can use riddles in most every subject
5. Most disciplines are reinforced when local cultures are included

APPENDIX J

Empirical Examples of Bahamian Proverbs, Stories and Riddles Collected from Questionnaire Respondents

Empirical Examples of Bahamian Proverbs Obtained from Questionnaire Data

a) Always wear your clothes on the wrong side if you are lost

b) Walk backwards if you are passing a graveyard

c) Do no point your finger at a dead person

d) Be back home before my spit (saliva) dries

e) Don't long after your eyes at other people's things;

f) Dog bring bone carry bone.

g) The same thing that sweet you will sour you;

h) Blow your nose where you catch your cold;

i) If you lie with dogs you will catch fleas.

j) Stitch in time saves nine.

k) "If you spit in the wind it will fly back in your face"

l) Early bird catches the worm;

m) You can't hear, you'll feel

n) Its more important to have good character than education.

o) You'll never miss the water until the well goes dry. Crab don't get fat unless e walk.

p) Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child but the rod of correction drives it far from him. Good better best never let them rest, until your good is better, and your better best.
q) Spare the rod spoil the child.
r) If its worthwhile doing, it is worthwhile doing well. What sweeten your bouth will bitter you behind. If you cant hear, you will feel.
s) Proverbs: 1. You must fish, cut bait or get out of the boat. 2. It takes two to tangle
t) A bird in the hand is worth 2 in the bush. Honesty is the best policy.
u) You can't have your cake and eat it too

Empirical Examples of Bahamian Stories Obtained from Questionnaire Data

a) Ber Booky and Ber Rabby. (stories)
b) The Bugga Man; Charley and Miss Morley's Goat
c) Chickcharnie; Anancy Stories; Stories told to me about events (Burma Road Riot; Wakes); Fox Hill; Guy Fawkes) by parents, aunts, grandparents, uncles.
d) Who was Trannie's Grammy; Who Ate The Peas?; Old Bre Ten Tails; GrandDove and Snapper; CrummyCadunda; The Old Witch and the Tree

Empirical Examples of Bahamian Riddles Obtained from Questionnaire Data

a) Riddle ma riddle, John ma riddle my father has something that has eyes but it cannot see. What is it? The more monkey climbs the more he exposes.
b) Riddles: Ma riddle Ma riddle, ma fada had a ting – it white inside and white outside and it has a yellow eye inside. (What is it).

c) Tar Baby; Barrel of Syrup; Early to bed early to rise; Not everything in clothes is people; Bird catching

d) Jack and the Schoolmaster; The Gaulin Wife; Jack and B'er Debbil; The Old Witch and The Rooster

e) How the Bahamas became an archipelago; Hard-head Bird; Baa, Baa; Why Dogs Bark and Cats Meow; Why a Rainbow Comes after the Rain; Why the Rooster Has No Teeth.

f) Run Charley, Run (poem), The Spirit House (story), Brer Snake Wedding (story), The Race.

g) Why frogs live in water. Why roosters like to eat roaches. Why dogs bark and cats meow. Why the octopus moves backwards.

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