Heritage education — Memories of the past in the present Caribbean social studies curriculum: a view from teacher practice

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They

*

This story is about them,

Is about all that brought us here

Just then,

When I look back

I see the past,

**

A past that was theirs,

And that today answers

Questions about us

And who we were,

are and will be

***

Deepening myself

In their stories

I travel back

In time and there

I see us

In a day that is

Tomorrow

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Abstract

This doctoral study formed part of subproject 4 within the ERC-Synergy project Nexus 1492, which seeks to answer the question of how local communities interpret and engage with the past and what role the past plays in the construction of cultural identity and historical discourse in the present day. To approach this topic, this particular investigation focuses on the relationships that are constructed between individuals and the past in the context of the school environment.

Without a doubt, Nexus 1492's findings have highlighted that Caribbean heritages are under various forms of threat: Amerindian sites are rapidly disappearing due to climate change, which has spurred erosion processes that are washing out the remains of the material culture left by the Amerindians, as is the case on many of the islands, such as for example Guadeloupe, Grenada and Saint Kitts, where archaeological surveys and rescue research has recently taken place (Hofman and Hoogland 2016a). However, besides the natural threats that are continuously affecting the region, there is another major threat, one that consists in the way society engages with and understands the past: this research focuses on the latter issue, studying these relations as they appear in the school context.

Today the world is being swept up in a global culture that is no longer tied to specific places (e.g., buildings and monuments); technological advances have facilitated unprecedented mobility, creating new modes of culture that are more dynamic than in the past. This poses new challenges for the education sector, but at the same time, it could represent new opportunities to reflect on the way education is conducted in contemporary society.

This research navigated issues that affect macro-, meso- and micro-level processes in education; consequently, the discussion that follows frames the research findings within the larger debate on globalization and education in the Caribbean, since this is one of the recurring themes in education across the region. As a result, to shed light on how the school community interacts and engages with the past, it was first necessary to look at current discussions on education policy in the region, as well as how teachers deal with curricular reforms and education philosophy as concerns the subject of cultural identity. Thus the key topics that emerged from teacher interviews and conversations with stakeholders with respect to indigenous heritage and its representation in the school curriculum are addressed in the discussion section. Some of these key points concern two of the main research focuses of this study: the curriculum and teachers' knowledge of the concept of indigenous heritage.

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Chapter 1
General introduction: Perspectives on teaching indigenous heritage in the Caribbean

"Hundreds of years ago our forefathers were part of one or other of the great civilizations. Many of us are of mixed blood; each of us in the Caribbean has ancestors who may come from different ethnic groups. They also had different religions and beliefs" (Honychurch 2006: 13).

Figure 1.1: Mural depicting the lifeways of the Kalinago people before the European arrival, St. Luke's Primary School, Dominica (photo by author, 2016).

1.1 Introduction

Society changes continuously over time, just as the world around it changes. Today we are aware that, among such transformations, globalization plays a role in shaping how people connect across the world, in part by allowing technological advances to bridge physical distances. The many different ways people interact using technology influences how culture is perceived locally. In this context, our relationship with our heritage is rapidly changing due to the external influences to which we are exposed in our everyday activities; for example, we can easily connect with others through social media, by sharing music, stories and fashion trends from other regions that originally might have been foreign to us, but thanks to technology, we get to know and replicate these experiences in our own reality. To name one example, American hip hop culture has

been embraced in the Caribbean and Latin America; one of the most interesting factors is how trends are adapted to local contexts while still preserving some of their original nature. Questions about how local culture melds with popular culture lead to the consideration of broader issues, such as "what is Caribbean culture?" and what features does it consist of; in the Caribbean, for instance, we often refer to our "creole" culture, meaning a mix of cultural influences from the Amerindians, Europe, Africa, India and Asia (Reddock 1996; Nettleford 2003; Bryan and Reid 2012, Gackstetter Nichols and Robbins 2015). Today Caribbean people cherish their very diverse heritage, organizing festivals or commemorating historical events.

Within this research, the discussion of popular culture and how the creole culture positions itself in this new reality is relevant to understanding how people interact and add value to heritage in regional contexts within the Spanish and English Caribbean. It therefore considers heritage as a dynamic concept that constantly evolves across time, as described by Atkison: "Just as cultural values are always in flux, so our attitudes to heritage constantly change" (2014: 101–102). In a similar line of thinking, Holtorf argues that "we need to rethink thoroughly what cultural heritage can mean and do for contemporary society" (2011: 9). Today, social issues such as diversity, equality, feminism, inclusion and sustainability, to name a few examples, are prompting society to reflect on the way cultural values are perceived.

Consequently, the definition of heritage is changing, and is no longer associated exclusively with physical artifacts such as buildings and monuments; it is also connected to the meaning and interpretation people attribute to them. Thus, the way in which heritage is defined in today's society plays an important role for those who are interested in finding ways to safeguard it. Along these lines, subproject 4 seeks to shed light on understanding how contemporary Caribbean society defines and interacts with its very diverse heritage from various perspectives: land use, environmental threats to local communities, museum displays and education. These aims are especially relevant as Caribbean heritage is threatened by vandalism, climate change and most importantly, forgetting.

Following the ideas of Holtorf (2011) and Copeland (2009), heritage is dynamic, and so is our relationship to it; the only way to preserve Caribbean heritage is by taking action today. Therefore, one cannot treat individuals as passive observers of their heritage and expect them to learn why its safeguarding is important. This study looks at how teachers perceive their relationship with their heritage and, as a result, how they teach about their past within the curriculum objectives. Starting from the idea that contemporary society experiences heritage in a more constructivist way, by participating in its interpretation, provides a unique opportunity for reevaluating heritage management practices and making them more effective and sustainable. Within this framework, this PhD research, undertaken as a part of the ERC-Synergy project Nexus 1492's subproject 4, focuses on understanding how indigenous heritage is taught

in the Caribbean school context. Based on the premise that we as a research community wish to learn how people view or value their heritage, from my point of view we must consider how individuals learn about heritage in formal and non-formal settings. To achieve this objective, we must look to various sources of information, such as the school community (e.g. interviewing parents, teachers and students), education policy documents and school books, as well as further sources in the non-formal education sector, like museums, libraries and cultural centers. Since one of the main concerns of heritage specialists is protecting heritage, knowing how communities interact with and ascribe value to heritage in the school context can inform best practices for heritage education in the school context. Thus in this study I have adopted a teacher-knowledge approach combined with a heritage education framework, which will lead to a better understanding of how heritage is taught in the school setting.

1.2 Challenging traditional perspectives on Caribbean history: Why does it matter for educational practice?

Generally speaking, the idea that the Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean were driven to extinction after the European encounters has prevailed throughout time (Forte 2006; Reid 2009; Hofman et al. 2013). In this line of reasoning, the first inhabitants of the Caribbean did not survive the encounters. This position neglects other forms of indigenous expression: cultural stories and practices that did survive the transformations across the historical divide, but that have been overlooked as "creole" or "local" expressions (Forte 2006: 3). Regrettably, these views about the pre-Columbian and colonial past have endured in the Caribbean imagination.

In line with one of the two general objectives of the Nexus 1492 research project — namely to "provide a new perspective on the first encounters between the New World and the Old World by focusing on the histories and legacies of the indigenous Caribbean across the historical divide and by addressing the complex intercultural interactions over the ensuing centuries" — this study focuses on determining how indigenous heritage is represented in the school curriculum through the use of a case-study approach with examples that reflect the variety of the historical and cultural dynamics of the Caribbean region. Therefore, I aim to interpret the results based on their particular realities, yet still embedded in the wider context of regional policy. The social studies curriculum will be analyzed to understand how the prevailing, traditional views of the definition of indigenous heritage translate to teaching practices. Therefore, this study aims to understand the definition of indigenous heritage from the teachers' perspectives, and as well to gather information on the pedagogy of teaching about the indigenous past—taking into account that within the social studies curriculum, teaching about the past seeks to allow students to create meaningful connections with present-

day Caribbean society so students can become active and thoughtful citizens.[1] In this way, studying pedagogical approaches to teaching indigenous heritage appears quite challenging due to the nature of the school subject of social studies; therefore I anticipate that the theoretical approach of pedagogical content knowledge will aid in exploring how teachers conceive indigenous heritage and to what extent this influences their views on history, culture and citizenship. Some aspects to consider when understanding how indigenous heritage is represented in the social studies curriculum are the practical implications of traditional views of history teaching, such as for instance the prevalence of terminology that does not represent a balanced view of the past[2].

For instance, traditionally, in educational settings, the term "prehistory" has been used to refer to cultures that did not have written or oral records (Honychurch 2006). But to what extent does this concept contribute to creating an inferior image of the other individuals? And how do teachers face the challenge of teaching about prehistory while still drawing attention to the contributions of the cultures that lived in those times? In the Caribbean region, we have adopted the term "pre-Columbian history" to refer to a period in which there are no written records of the cultures that existed. This perception of history corresponds to a Western/Eurocentric conception of history, as argued by Reid (2009: 1):

> History is not based only on written records but on all human actions, including those recorded orally and reflected exclusively in the archaeological record. The conventional definition of history says that Caribbean history began with the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Caribbean in 1492. However, all events relating to nonliterate societies, whether before or after European contact, are historical by definition.

[1] The main goal of teaching history is teaching students about the past itself (Van Straaten et al 2015). Today there is considerable discussion concerning the significance of history for students' understanding of the present and future; this is further analyzed in Van Straaten et al. 2015. Because the content on the indigenous peoples/Amerindians/First Inhabitants revolves around teaching Caribbean history, this study has focused on how teachers specifically approach the indigenous past. In this study, "indigenous past" includes the accounts of the events, places and material culture of the indigenous peoples before the European encounters of 1492.

[2] Concerning the pedagogical approach to teaching history, there are several academic works by international specialists that precisely tackle new ways to understand historical thinking and history curricula so as to create a history curriculum that is engaging and relevant for students, namely by breaking with traditional ways of teaching history that tend to emphasize the learning of facts and chronological events. Some scholars who are working on this subject, to name a few examples, are Peter Seixas and Tom Morton (2012); Carla van Boxtel, Maria Grever & Stephan Klein (2016); and Dick Van Straaten, Arie Wilschut & Ron Oostdam (2016, 2018)

To avoid the use of the terms "pre-Columbian" or "precolonial period," this research adopts the term "indigenous heritage" and "indigenous past." First, the term *indigenous heritage* includes knowledge of the first peoples from the pre-Columbian period based on interpretations of the remains of their material culture and their transformation across time. It also refers to the influence of indigenous culture on contemporary Caribbean society, as well as to the indigenous peoples in the region who self-identify as indigenous or of Amerindian ancestry (Forte 2006). Secondly, the term "indigenous past" is used to refer to the knowledge of the life, culture and historical events of the indigenous peoples, which are learned from written historical records, archaeological findings and ethnographic research

I consider this distinction in terms to be relevant since school textbooks in the Caribbean often continue to refer to historical periods within the framework of a Eurocentric view of history. For example, content related to the topic of indigenous history and heritage is referred to by the phrase "pre-Columbian," which means before the arrival of Christopher Columbus (Honychurch 2006). Despite these implications in the wording of the textbooks, it is up to researchers to question how teachers understand historical knowledge, and how they perceive the knowledge of the earliest inhabitants' culture within the larger framework of teaching history.

School textbooks predominantly reflect education policies as mandated by the nation states; their content is based on the contributions of well-known historians as well as fundamental historiography readings. Still, in education, this vision of what history should be is quite traditional: "The dependence on dates of events supported by evidentiary facts continues to be advanced by educational associations, state education departments, curricular documents and classroom teachers" (Trofanenko 2016: 172).

Along these lines, this study focuses on the details of such educational resources as disclosed by teachers. Consequently, a revision of the textbooks' content is not intended. However, as contextual information, it addresses how teachers use the textbooks in their classes to teach about the past and whether they require additional resources to expand the content of the textbooks, especially relating to the indigenous past. As a result, the study aims at understanding how textbooks are adapted to the realities of the school settings in which they will be used (Kitson et al. 2011).

The Caribbean history curricula in the Commonwealth Caribbean (West Indies) and the Dominican Republic feature the topic of the Amerindians, "the first inhabitants of the Caribbean." Often, this topic is indicated by generic titles such as "The First People," "The People of Origin" or "The First Inhabitants." One may also ask how children learn about the Amerindians as they move on to the secondary-school level, where the social studies programs begin by picking up the topic of the earliest inhabitants of the Caribbean region (Commonwealth Caribbean) and by studying European colonial expansion and its relation to the Dominican reality (Dominican Republic).

However, besides history, Caribbean social studies teachers also teach about geography and citizenship education; this research poses questions about how this chapter of Caribbean history is taught from a pedagogical content knowledge approach, incorporating teachers' perspectives. In line with the Nexus 1492 research objective, namely to "raise awareness of Caribbean histories and legacies, striving for practical outcomes in future heritage management efforts with implications for local communities, island nations, the pan-Caribbean region, and globally," this investigation into the teachers' knowledge of indigenous heritage seeks to shed light on the implications of new approaches to teaching about Caribbean histories and legacies, and to view these pedagogical practices within the wider context of the school–community relationship.

1.3 Reviving the past in the present: Teaching about the past in the contemporary Caribbean

A global culture dominated by the communication era is expanding rapidly, and young people are the ones who most readily adopt the innovations it brings. For instance, in the Caribbean, where this research takes place, the discussion of how globalization affects various aspects of Caribbean life — economic, political and social — is at the heart of policy debates. A crucial point of interest for this research is the discussion of regional education experts who are concerned with the way this new global culture affects young people. This discussion primarily concerns the professional competencies young Caribbean students must acquire to meet the rapid changes in a globalizing world.

One challenge in meeting global educational goals in the Caribbean is precisely the complex regional differences that exist across its education systems, which vary from one subregion to the next. Due to their individual histories, Caribbean countries today have different political structures from each other. These differences also manifest in their cultural expressions, which differ from each other. Thus, in the Caribbean we find a very dynamic and changing culture whose local institutions and organizations are faced with reconciling various regionalization initiatives in the context of globalization.[3]

In this vein, Caribbean scholars such as Nettleford (1998, 2002) argue that there is a need to rethink the influence of culture and identity and its representation in the curriculum; this could provide researchers, educators and policy makers with a better understanding of the value of cultural heritage in the Caribbean learning community. Since the 1990s, the role of education in this sphere has gained attention in policy

[3] For a more detailed discussion on the effects of regionalization in the Caribbean education system, see Tavis Jules's (2012) article, "The Caribbean Educational Policy Space: Policy-making in the Caribbean", in which he addresses the effects of international, national and regional forces in policy-making within the Caribbean educational space.

debates; for example, Lousy (2001) and Nettleford (1998, 2002) discuss how economic development in the region must include strategies aimed at raising awareness of cultural identity among Caribbean students, as well as an appreciation of Caribbean cultures.

Certainly, we do not learn about heritage exclusively from schoolbooks: our knowledge of heritage is formed from our daily life experiences, the relationships we establish with our environment and the influences that surround us; these define what heritage is for us. Therefore, to understand the dynamic relation between heritage and society from a pedagogical perspective, this study will provide insights on how the relationship between the past and present-day cultural heritage is constructed in the school setting and integrated into the school curriculum by studying specific examples from the Caribbean region.

Because of the great geographic expanse and cultural diversity of the region, this investigation focuses on three specific case studies in Saint Kitts, Dominica and the Dominican Republic, which were selected on the basis of Nexus 1492's ongoing archaeological research in the region, each offering unique information that contributes to understanding the current state of teaching indigenous heritage in educational settings in the Greater and Lesser Antilles.

This study was conducted between 2013 and 2018 as part of the ERC-Synergy research project Nexus 1492: New World Encounters in a Globalising World. The Nexus 1492 project investigates the impact of the first interactions between the Old and New World, and the resulting transformations across the historical divide (Hofman et al. 2012). Within the scope of subproject 4, A Future for Diverse Caribbean Heritages, this research addresses how the history of the first inhabitants is taught in schools from the teachers' perspectives.

In this context, this Ph.D. research uses a teacher's knowledge approach to investigate how the indigenous past is taught in the school curriculum. In order to gain an understanding of how students learn about their history and cultural heritage, one has to look at their learning material: namely, the curriculum. Pedagogical content knowledge theory is used in this investigation in order to study the curriculum through the lens of the teachers, who are the ones implementing and adapting curriculum guidelines in the classroom. This approach that is explained in chapter 3, "Methodology: Approaches to assessing indigenous heritage education from the teachers' perspectives" allows for a better understanding of the predominant perspectives on teaching and learning about heritage expressions past and present.

Along these lines, the Nexus 1492 project focuses on using archaeological evidence to reconstruct the accounts of those whose stories that have been neglected in the historical record. I believe that looking critically at how these stories have been translated into study programs could help us rethink the conventional ways of teaching about the past in a classroom setting; therefore, in this study I intend to look at how

indigenous heritage is represented in teaching practices, aiming to understand how the relationship between heritage and identity is formed in school settings.

This study, which deals with issues such as teacher education and history and social studies education in the Caribbean context, seeks to understand how educational policies and practices can contribute to understanding the teaching of indigenous heritage in the public education system through analysis of specific case studies from within the Caribbean region. In order to achieve this aim the following secondary research aims have been established:

1. To explore educational policies concerning indigenous heritage from the perspectives of teachers in Saint Kitts, the Dominican Republic and Dominica;
2. To investigate the content and instructional strategies used in teaching indigenous history and heritage in the school curriculum and in classroom activities;
3. To analyze the role of non-formal education settings in the teaching of indigenous history and heritage;
4. To reflect on teachers' knowledge theory in understanding the teaching approach used for the subject of indigenous history and heritage.

These research aims are addressed by considering the following key points. *Education policies* for indigenous heritage are studied, taking into account the wider education agenda in the region, as well as considering the influence of the fluctuating political, social and economic climate of the Caribbean. In this way, it is relevant to study how heritage is conceived in the *curriculum*: as social studies and/or history and its implications, or as teaching the Amerindian past and indigenous heritage. The *context* is given a central focus in this study, since the context in which the school is located could represent opportunities or limitations for the education process. In the same way, the role of *informal education* will be examined in each case study by looking at how museums, libraries and NGOs provide schools with resources that can enhance pedagogical practices for heritage content related to the Amerindian past and culture.

1.4 Educational policies and Caribbean identities

One of the research aims of this study is to explore educational policies concerning indigenous heritage based on teachers' perspectives. In this context, a key focus of this study is to understand educational policies within the political configuration of the Caribbean. As a result of its colonial past, today the Caribbean is a multicultural region, where different languages are spoken, governmental models vary from each other and educational policies are continuously changing to meet the demands of a globalizing world (Hickling-Hudson 2004, George and Lewis 2011, Jules 2012). Therefore, to describe the educational policies across the region, a case-study approach is convenient for looking at localized examples in order to comprehend each policy in context. This

will allow for a better understanding of how indigenous heritage is taught, responding to the local and regional realities of each case study.

Figure 1.2: Map of the Caribbean and case-study areas (©Rafa Monterde).

The formation of regional bodies has been imperative to overcoming the economic challenges posed by participating in the international market. For this, the Caribbean has counted on the presence of regional organizations that aim to cooperate on political, economic and social matters in the interest of their member states; these include the Caribbean Community and Common Market (CARICOM), the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) and the Bolivarian Alliance for the People of Our America (ALBA). Most of these organizations have dedicated units working in the education sector. However, not all Caribbean states are part of these organizations, which makes it difficult to evaluate common pedagogical practices across the region, as educational agendas fluctuate per country. For instance, the educational body of the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC), which regulates certifications for higher and lower secondary-school education, is exclusively for member states; the Dominican Republic, for example, is not part of this regional body.

These regional bodies are also part of a larger context that is continuously influenced by pedagogical notions and discussions on a global level. In this sense, Caribbean education seeks to meet regional and international standards in a globalizing world. One of the main topics of debate in the region is in fact the challenges that the Caribbean region faces in this phase of globalization (Beckles et al. 2002; George and Lewis 2011; Jules 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016). Nevertheless, regional organizations are still

occupied with achieving a full harmonization of the education systems across the OECS. Although a full harmonization of the education system could be seen as favorable to improving the education system, as it could ease processes such as mobility, training and certification across OECS countries, it certainly implies challenges in responding to local interests.

An example of how regional policies are put into practice across the Commonwealth Caribbean countries is the adoption of the profile of the ideal Caribbean person in 1997 (EFA Caribbean Plan of Action 2000–2015), which constitutes part of a regional project aimed at regional integration in the Caribbean region. Along these lines, Jules (2014) addresses the implications of open regionalism in non-economic areas such as education. For the purposes of this study, Jules's analysis of the educational policies in the Commonwealth Caribbean is particularly relevant, since the profile of the ideal Caribbean person occupies a central role in social studies curricula across this region.

Along these lines, the social studies curriculum has adopted a focus on citizenship education in its learning content, which is aligned with overarching regional cooperation goals. Therefore "in the context of the Caribbean social studies can, for example, draw on knowledge of the past and present to empower young citizens by teaching them of their colonial past, and the struggle for self-realization by Caribbean peoples." (Howe and Marshall 1999: 6)The ultimate goal of the social studies curriculum is to educate Caribbean citizens who, in the context of regional cooperation, can fully participate and contribute to the development of the Caribbean region.

In 1997, CARICOM adopted the profile of the ideal Caribbean person (EFA Caribbean Plan of Action 2000–2015). Consequently, the concept of Caribbean identity in the Eastern Caribbean states has been adopted as regional education policy; Nettleford (2002) argues that this regional development will lead to a more civil society "with a growing awareness among the citizens of the region of their identity as Caribbean peoples and their place in the world" (p.v).

In education, this concept was put into practice via social studies, a school subject that "from its early beginnings, was intended as a nation-building subject, as distinct from other fields of study, because each country that adopts social studies as its citizenship education program uniquely develops the subject based upon that country's history, experience and social realities" (Griffith and Barth 2006: 1). Therefore, social studies initially sought to educate democratic citizens, placing emphasis on how the Anglophone Caribbean would look after adopting democratic values in their states, unlike the socialist state of Cuba in the Greater Antilles.

However, in the Anglophone Caribbean countries under investigation, the teachers and education stakeholders interviewed showed concern about the tensions between the Caribbean focus and the local focus in the school curriculum (interviews, 2014–2016); this concern coincides with recent scholarly debates in the region with regard to the challenges of finding a middle ground between global and local knowledge

(Hickling-Hudson 2004; Louisy 2004; George and Lewis 2011, Jules 2012, 2013, 2014, 2016). In response to increasing globalization, Louisy (2004) explains how culture has become essential to defining ourselves in order to participate in a global learning community.

In the context of the Dominican Republic, the concept of the ideal Caribbean person, which is fundamental to social studies programs in the Anglophone Caribbean, is not directly referred to in the framework of the social studies curriculum. The concept of citizenship education has also been present in the Dominican education system since it was first introduced into the school curriculum in the 1990s (Valera Acosta 2005: 22). The education policy that had been issued in 1995 was later modified, in 1999, through the "Ordenanza 03'99," under which the school subject *educación moral y cívica* was added to the social studies curriculum for all grades. Following the curricular reform in 2008 to 2018, which established a competence-based educational model, the former subject of moral and civic education was transformed into a key learning competency of the Dominican curriculum. As a result, in the new curriculum reform, effective since 2016, citizenship education has been prioritized as a transversal learning competency (CBL) across all subject areas, and is now called *competencia ética y ciudadana* ("ethical and civic competency").

In this way, the concept of citizenship education has been adopted as one of the pillars of the Dominican education system in "Bases de la Revisión y Actualización Curricular, 2016." The goal of Dominican education is the formation of thoughtful and critical citizens who can participate in the development and sustainable growth of the Dominican Republic in the light of a highly globalized world (MINERD 2016: 18). In addition to this, in this document, the education authority confirms its adherence to Education Goals 2021 (OEI), specifically with regard to the fifth goal, which establishes that the curriculum should guarantee children the basic competencies for their personal development and their role as democratic citizens (MINERD 2016: 23)

In this context, initiatives such as incorporating the notion of the "ideal Caribbean person" into the social studies curriculum — a regional education policy aiming to strengthen a sense of shared Caribbean identity — are explored in this investigation, as they could provide valuable contextual information about the case studies in the Commonwealth Caribbean. Along these lines, I also explore how, for instance, the social studies curriculum in the Dominican Republic has been influenced by its recent contemporary history, and how often regional reports on education tend to identify the Dominican Republic with the Latin American region.

1.5 Social studies: A window into understanding approaches to teaching and learning about the past in the Caribbean curriculum

To understand how history is integrated into the Caribbean school curricula in this study, the learning goals that are represented in the social studies curriculum were examined in order to identify how these goals reflect the concepts of historical thinking, identity and culture. Generally speaking, the school subject of social studies was envisioned to promote and strengthen national identity (Howe and Marshal 1999). In a similar way, social studies was introduced in the Caribbean after independence from colonial powers or historical disputes.

> "Social studies, from its early beginnings, was intended as a nation-building subject, as distinct from other fields of study, because each country that adopts social studies as its citizenship education program uniquely develops the subject based upon that country's history, experience, and social realities" (Griffith and Barth 2006: 1–2).

When one looks at the contemporary history of the Caribbean, one finds that Caribbean history is marked by the nation states' efforts to build a sense of national identity and moreover an ideal Caribbean individual. Thus, when we look at the ways the past is taught in the social studies curriculum, we should take into account the influence of political realities on the education agenda. Therefore, to understand the learning goals associated with content on the indigenous peoples, this investigation explores what pedagogical approach predominates in the teaching practices. In this way, I explore from the teachers' perspectives how heritage education is understood and applied in their daily classroom activities. Thus, the results of this study could aid efforts in understanding the role of heritage education in the teaching of indigenous heritage.

The social studies curriculum is relevant to research in education as it has served as a regulatory channel for implementing the nation states' interests. It has been observed that educational goals shift during and after times of conflict (Bellino and Williams 2016). The case of the Caribbean raises questions about how the school subject of social studies has been adopted as an instrument for contributing to the formation of cultural identity after periods of historical tension, revolts, dictatorship and even independence in the region. Thus, in order to study how these conceptions of the subject of social studies are reflected in the classroom setting and in teaching practices, this research will involve the participation of various stakeholders in the process of interpreting and implementing the education goals of the social studies and history curricula.

1.5.1 The role of teachers in defining indigenous heritage in classroom practice

To gain insight into how education policies are transformed into education practice, this study focuses on pedagogical content knowledge to learn, directly from the teachers who participated in this research, how the content of indigenous heritage is incorporated into the curriculum, based on the premise that this topic is taught within the school subjects of social studies and history. Due to the emphasis placed on researching teacher education in the light of student achievements on standardized tests in the region, it was interesting to conduct research on teacher education, which is an often neglected area of study in comparison with research on teacher effectiveness and its impact on student learning.[4] Most of the research on teacher efficacy values teachers' behavior and attitudes in classroom management and its influences on students' performance; this line of research has also been pursued in the Caribbean education research community.

From my point of view, research on teacher effectiveness does not yet include what teachers know and how they know it; it pursues different goals than those of teacher education, since it places the emphasis on the students' learning more than on the teacher himself or herself. However, teacher education and teacher efficacy research can be complementary to each other, as teacher efficacy studies in the Caribbean have shown by incorporating in their studies how teachers' beliefs can influence pedagogical practices (Cook 2015; Jaggernauth and Jameson-Charles 2015). For instance, Jaggernauth and Jameson-Charles (2015) refer to how there is a lack of research on teacher efficacy in Trinidad and Tobago "because teacher efficacy continues to be associated with teacher and student outcomes" (p. 23).

Therefore, this investigation is aligned with recent endeavors to expand the field of teacher education research worldwide (Adler 2004; Cochran-Smith et al. 2006; Goodland 2002; Menter 2017). In this respect, this study seeks to give voice to teachers who are responsible for bringing knowledge into classroom settings by transforming curriculum guidelines into education practices; this is done in such a way that teachers' perspectives on indigenous heritage are considered within the broader themes that are being discussed in education agendas in the region, e.g. quality education, student achievement, equity and teacher education (OAS 2005; OREALC/UNESCO 2008; OECS 2012; UNESCO/OREALC 2016). Among these themes, in particular I will explore how ideas of citizenship are treated in the curriculum guidelines in order to understand their implications for teacher practice and the learning process.

[4] Teacher effectiveness is an education research field that can be defined as "the power to realise socially valued objectives agreed for teachers' work, especially, but not exclusively, the work concerned with enabling students to learn" (Campbell et al. 2006: 2).

Small Island Developing States (SIDS) in the Caribbean have been continuously challenged to meet international standards, including with respect to their education agendas; in this vein, since the early 2000s, regional organizations in the education sector have prioritized certain focus areas that will still be valid for the coming years. Jennings (2001) explains how teacher education was recognized as a key to achieving the education goals in each area:

> "These areas included: the improvement of literacy and numeracy; the development of multilingual skills; student-centered teaching; teaching low achievers with special reference to male underachievement; the provision of universal quality secondary education by year 2000; and the application of technology as an aid to teaching and learning. Teacher education and upgrading were acknowledged as the key to the achievement of all these goals" (p. 107).

Thus, research on teacher education has gained priority in regional education strategies; along these lines, this research seeks to understand teachers' knowledge in teaching indigenous history and heritage. To this end, teachers of social studies are interviewed with the aim to gain insight from their practices, especially considering that social studies is a broad field of study that includes history, geography, culture and citizenship concepts at the core of its learning goals.

1.6 Research design for studying the teaching of indigenous heritage in the context of the study

This research is founded on an interpretative research approach of teaching and teacher education (Borko et al. 2007); thus the main interest lies in explaining how teachers perceive indigenous heritage education in order to contribute to the discussion on the research fields of heritage education and pedagogical content knowledge. To this end, the role that the context plays is relevant, as it provides valuable information for interpreting how the school community influences teachers' perceptions. The selected research method is that of case studies, as it allows for the combination of qualitative and quantitative data to construct an understanding of the phenomenon studied. The selection of the case studies was done in agreement with the research supervisors and local partners. The selected case studies are located in three Caribbean countries where either archaeological research is currently being undertaken, or researchers from the ERC Nexus 1492 project and its affiliated researchers were conducting studies at the time. Local partners also found it in their interest to explore the issue of indigenous heritage education. Each case study provides valuable information that can be

generalizable to the theory applied, but does not aim to establish generalizations applicable to the wider Caribbean region.

1.7 Outline of the study

Chapter 2, "Heritage education and teaching practice," is dedicated to the theoretical framework of this research. Here I address the definition of indigenous heritage education and teaching practice within the larger fields of heritage education and pedagogical content knowledge theory.

Chapter 3, "Methodology: Approaches to assessing indigenous heritage education from the teachers' perspectives," revolves around the methodological choices made for this study, being a qualitative study that uses quantitative data. In addition to this, the selection criteria for the participants are described. Moreover, the adaptation of the Teachers' Knowledge Base model proposed by Grossman (1990) is discussed in detail.

Chapter 4, "Finding Liamuiga: Teaching indigenous history and heritage education in Saint Kitts," discusses the first case study in this research, which took place in Saint Kitts with the participation of a group of teachers from two secondary schools in the towns of Old Road and Sandy Point, close to the fortress of Brimstone Hill, a UNESCO World Heritage site; these towns show traces of the Amerindian past that are well known among locals and tourists.

Chapter 5, "Teaching indigenous heritage in the light of the contemporary narratives of indigeneity in the Dominican Republic: Memories of Quisqueya," addresses the second case study of this research, which was conducted in the northern region of the Dominican Republic, more specifically in the area where archaeological investigations are being conducted by the Nexus 1492 research team.

Chapter 6, "The presence of Wai'tu Kubuli in teaching history and heritage in Dominica," revolves around the analysis of the third and last case study of this research, which took place in Dominica, primarily in the Kalinago Territory, where primary-school principals and teachers were interviewed as well as community members. This chapter also addresses the interviews conducted outside the territory in Roseau, capital of Dominica, with teachers from two primary schools in the area.

In chapter 7, "Discussion: The role of teachers in the formation of a balanced Caribbean identity in the framework of regional policies," the final chapter, a discussion and analysis is elaborated based on the main research findings. The key points are discussed in relation to the analysis of the research data in order to address future research prospects.

Chapter 2: Heritage education and teaching practice

> *When I visited the schools and presented the topic of my research to the education stakeholders as indigenous heritage, they advised me to work with social studies teachers, as this was their field. Its inclusion within the teaching of social studies did not surprise me; on the contrary, it confirmed my idea that heritage is mainly associated with history, culture and economy, and its full potential as an interdisciplinary subject is yet to be explored. (Eldris Con Aguilar)*

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview and discussion of the theoretical framework used for this investigation, which is centered around the concepts of heritage education and pedagogical content knowledge (PCK). Heritage education has been used to understand practices of teaching social studies and history. The concept of pedagogical content knowledge has been applied in this research to explore the role of teachers in introducing "indigenous heritage" in classroom activities.

When I started this investigation, I made an exploratory visit to Saint Kitts-Nevis and the Dominican Republic; these visits were essential to defining the conceptual framework of this investigation. I came to understand that stakeholders were acquainted with the concept of heritage education rather than that of archaeology education[5]. Consequently, the conceptual framework for this investigation revolves around heritage education and its implications for teachers' base knowledge in teaching social studies and history. In the next section, I address how the changing conception of heritage education has developed in recent years.

2.2 Heritage and heritage education

The term "heritage education" as such does not appear either as a school subject or as a curricular theme in the Dominican Republic, Saint Kitts-Nevis and Dominica. However, the concept of heritage education can be found among the goals of the social studies curriculum (see chapter 1). In this section, I explain the concept of heritage and heritage education as used in this investigation. To this end, I will first briefly describe how I understand heritage as a concept, and how I see its relationship with teaching and learning processes in the Caribbean context.

[5] Archaeology education consists in applying pedagogical strategies to teaching archaeological concepts and methods that could be incorporated in classroom content; for a more detailed literature reference on the concept of Archaeology Education, see Franklin and Moe 2012).

Heritage is a broad term that can be interpreted in different ways depending on the sociocultural context[6] (Okamura 2010, Dormaels 2013, Harrison et al. 2008, Harrison 2013). Even though this theoretical framework was adapted from different contexts, such as Europe, the aim was to understand these conceptual constructs within the local realities of each country where this research was conducted.

There are extensive academic debates about the definition of heritage: "the word 'heritage' has been used to describe everything from buildings to cooking styles, songs to personal belongings, ethnicity to religion" (Harrison 2013: 14). Harrison adds that, with such a wide variety of meanings, it is to be expected that there is some controversy concerning what heritage is. Here the aim is not to go into an in-depth discussion about the definition of heritage, but rather to shed light on how heritage is used throughout this work.

Following the ideas of Pearce (2000), Harrison (2008, 2013) and Russel (2010), heritage is defined as the relationship that occurs between material or immaterial representations and the individuals for whom these representations carry cultural meaning; "heritage is not something that is self-defining; it is defined with reference to social action that selectively commodifies and emphasizes particular places as important. It only exists through the reading which it is given by communities and human societies in the present" (Harrison et al 2008:3).

This understanding of heritage coincides with its notion as a social construct linked to identity; according to Dormaels (2013), these notions are far from absolute, and that is why identity and heritage have meaning within their specific context. Thus heritage refers to the set of values and meanings ascribed to the past and with which people have built up a connection (Harrison 2013); "heritage is therefore ultimately a cultural practice, involved in the construction and regulation of values and understandings" (Smith 2006: 11).

In fact, this is one of the facets of heritage that is most relevant to this study; namely, heritage is a relationship that is formed in the present and reflects inherited and current concerns about the past (Harrison 2013). The concept of heritage as a relationship with culture has been used in this investigation in accordance with Russel's (2010) ideas on the value ascribed to the heritage relationship:

> "Most definitions of heritage elaborate on its quality as a thing (or those things) that are passed on to future generations. The difficulty in quantifying these exchange relationships is that they are negotiated and mediated, often imperceptibly, over long periods of time" (p. 30).

[6] Dormaels (2013) addresses the issue of translating "heritage" into three different Western languages, English, French and Spanish, and how one can find differences in the meaning of this term in each of these languages.

How this relationship is formed over time is one of the questions that attract my attention, since it can help to understand in what ways people ascribe value to heritage. In the postcolonial Caribbean and Latin America, one of the main concerns of the political agenda has been nation state-building and how to define ourselves and our position in the contemporary world from that perspective. The relationships that certain parties form with other peoples, objects, traditions and places are useful in understanding how heritage is defined in contemporary Caribbean society. One aspect of this relationship is memory, and it is within the discourse of memory that heritage became popular as a concept in Western countries: "Memory discourses first emerged in the West in the 1960s in response to the rise of decolonization, new social movements and preserving the memory of the Holocaust" (Harrison et al. 2008: 2). Along these lines, Kaltmeier and Rufer (2017) explore the politics of heritage and the uses of memory in the light of the emerging nation states in the Americas. In their analysis, they pose questions about how the past is used in the present to construct the identities of the new nation states.

In the Caribbean, the discourse of heritage has been influenced by the region's indigenous and colonial past; here we also include the period before the European arrival. Most recently, contemporary Caribbean history has been characterized by decolonization movements, the emergence of nation states, revolutions and migration (Harney 1996; Hall 2006; Bryan and Reid 2012; Boufoy-Bastick and Chinien 2015; van Haesendonck 2015). As a result, after the colonial era, the concept of Caribbean cultural identity took on significance in the light of Caribbean nationalist movements (Hall 2006).

One finds references to culture and identity very often in Caribbean literature, particularly as the discourse of nation-building has influenced Caribbean society in the postcolonial era: "The new Caribbean nation states faced the challenge of creating a national identity: having established themselves as nation states, the question of whose heritage within the nation state became important" (Bryan and Reid 2012: 2). Therefore, the notion of heritage in postcolonial contexts such as Latin America (Kaltmeier 2017: 19) and the Caribbean, if considered in the same way as heritage discourse and practice in Western Europe and North America, cannot fully represent the local dynamics inherent to these postcolonial contexts.

Nationalism has defined contemporary Caribbean dynamics of identity and policy-making. This was indeed the case in the countries where this investigation took place. In the Dominican Republic, narratives of identity have been an essential part of political discourse from the period of the island's historical conflicts with Haiti (see chapter 5, "Teaching indigenous heritage in the light of the indigeneity narratives of the Dominican Republic: Memories of Quisqueya in the classroom") to the present. On the other hand, the contemporary history of Saint Kitts-Nevis and Dominica has been marked by their independence and the postcolonial reforms that have defined these

small island states' political agendas to date. Parallel to this, educational reforms have been influenced by the politics of identity, which has in turn influenced the social studies and history curriculum (Hutchinson 1989; Griffith and Barth 2006). Ideas about nationalism have been translated to education programs worldwide (Ahonen 2001; Banks 2008; Durrani and Dunne 2010; Osler 2011). These syllabi have been used to teach about the history and culture of a country in a quest to educate citizens who can contribute to state development. Ideas about the nation have been especially emphasized in the school subjects of social studies and history.

Just as heritage deals with issues of identity within the school subjects of history and social studies, in a similar way the past is used to form a sense of belonging among the students in each of the countries of this study. In such a context, where the teaching of heritage is linked to the formation of citizenship skills, I consider it relevant to study how the emotions associated with heritage, as indicated by Grever et al. (2012), can be reconciled with teaching practice in order to develop historical thinking skills in students.

To gather the most information about how "the emotional involvement with heritage" influences teaching practice, this study combines heritage education approaches with the prominent theory of teachers' knowledge; this is explained in the next section. To this end, I set out to learn first-hand how teachers define heritage education, and to explore to what extent their definitions are related to heritage as contemporary identity and culture, or if they are more closely associated with heritage and the historical past. In order to analyse the teachers' responses, I first established the conceptual framework presented here.

In the absence of a school subject labeled as "heritage education," in the context of this study I have found — consistently in line with the contributions of other scholars — that heritage in the Caribbean can be seen as an approach to teaching history and social studies. As explained by Grever et al. (2012), "in the context of school history the issue is how the emotional involvement with heritage and the tendency to project an identity on the past can be reconciled with the application of historical thinking skills to the teaching and learning of history, a development that has taken place in many countries since the late 1980s" (p. 874).

2.2.1 Heritage education

Equally as broad as the concept of heritage is the concept of heritage education. Therefore, in this section I explain my standpoint on the concept of heritage education first by addressing different academic perspectives on defining heritage education, and then how I have used these in defining the conceptual constructs applied in this research in the light of the local context of each case study.

To start with, one must realize that definitions of heritage education have two main dimensions: 1) heritage education as a school subject and 2) heritage education as a teaching and learning strategy. The first deals with how heritage education can be included in a school program as an independent school subject; "heritage education is profiled as a discipline that favors inclusion processes, and offers the ideal framework to justify, understand and promote the effective inclusion of all citizens in our institutions and cultural heritage" (Marín-Cepeda 2017: 108). The second, meanwhile, looks at the pedagogical aspect of heritage as a vehicle for teaching and learning about the past (García Valecillo 2009; van Boxtel et al. 2016). In this vein, "heritage education refers to teaching and learning settings in which material and immaterial traces of the past are used as primary instructional resources to strengthen students' understandings of history and culture" (Grever et al. 2012: 880).

The discussion of heritage education as a school subject is linked with an understanding of the place it occupies within the school curricula. Thus one can find authors who describe how heritage is included in history, social studies, arts education or environmental education (García Valecillo 2007; González Monfort 2008), as well as researchers that envision heritage education as a teaching strategy that can be used to bridge the gap with the past by organizing activities such as visits to museums and heritage sites in which students have the opportunity to closely experience the past. According to van Boxtel et al. (2016: 1), "All these sources serve as mediators between the students and 'the time that is lost forever.'"

Looking at the Caribbean case, heritage education can be seen through the lens of these two conceptual dimensions. Within the school subject of social studies, the role of heritage education goes hand in hand with the education goal of forming thoughtful citizens, while in the school subject of history, it can be seen as a teaching strategy that teachers use to engage students in learning about the past. Thus, in this research, both theoretical approaches are taken into account, and it is my aim to further explore them by interviewing and surveying teachers. In the end, this study seeks to define which of these dimensions predominates in each case study in this research (see chapter 7, "Discussions").

Considering that heritage education is not yet an independent school subject in the Caribbean, this study seeks precisely to investigate to what extent the concept of heritage education is present in the curriculum, and to understand its meaning on the basis of teacher testimony. Therefore I explain below the conceptual framework of heritage education in the Caribbean. Based on previous definitions, there are several components — such as citizenship, identity, material and immaterial resources, history and culture — within the concept of heritage education that can be of use in understanding heritage education in the Caribbean context.

Here the relationship between education and nation-building can shed light on how these elements are essential to heritage education in the emergent nation states in

the Caribbean. To this end, one has to look at the conceptual basis of the school subjects of social studies and history, while taking into account the differences that can arise in a study of countries where the educational programs vary from one place to another.

2.3 The link between heritage and citizenship education

In this section, I first explain the conceptual understanding of social studies education, and then address how this conceptual construct has been translated to the subject of social studies (*ciencias sociales*) in primary and secondary education in the Dominican Republic, Saint Kitts-Nevis and Dominica. In addition, I discuss how the school subject of social studies deals with heritage and citizenship education.

Social studies is a well-recognized school subject worldwide; as it is also known under other labels, such as "civic education" or "citizenship education" (Howe and Marshall 1999), the education goals of social studies are often associated with the idea of nation-building and the role of education in forming citizens that will contribute to the development of their nation. Following the ideas of Griffith (1990a), social studies in developing societies in the Caribbean and Latin American deal with issues such as nation-building processes, structural and institutional constraints and the consolidation of democracy. Moreover, until recently, education systems have still served to reinforce European culture and values (Griffith 1990a: 161–162).

In this way, the notion of heritage as a "relationship" can be found within the concept of social studies as a school subject that intends to cultivate thoughtful citizens by teaching them to appreciate the history and culture of their country; along these lines, García Valecillo (2009) adds that heritage is a resource for learning and teaching that provides students with the skills and competences to understand and make connections with cultural diversity and their social environment. Consequently, in this study, heritage education is explored from the perspective of social studies and citizenship education. Since the discourse of a Caribbean identity is embedded into the social studies syllabus, this investigation has relied on teachers of social studies and history in order to understand what heritage education is from their perspectives.

2.4 Indigenous heritage education

Even more complex than defining heritage education is defining indigenous heritage education; chiefly, one has to look at what indigenous heritage is, then look at the pedagogical practices used to teach the history and culture of the indigenous people. A set of pedagogical practices associated with indigenous heritage can be found under the umbrella of intercultural education. Intercultural education deals with "inherent tensions such as reconciling competing world views with each other. Such tensions reflect the diversity of values which co-exist in a multicultural world"; it seeks to bridge

the gap between "the practice of offering one curriculum for all children in a country, as opposed to offering curricula which reflect different cultural and linguistic identities" (UNESCO 2006: 9).

In this framework, teaching and learning indigenous heritage deals with key issues within intercultural education, such as: culture and education, culture and language, culture and religion, cultural diversity and cultural heritage, majority and minority cultures and multiculturalism and interculturalism[7]. These key issues, in relation to the emphasis on citizenship education, have informed the conceptual framework used in this research to define indigenous history and heritage in the local Caribbean context of each case study.

In a multicultural environment such as the Caribbean, questions of cultural heritage raise issues such as diversity and reconciliation and their implications for the school curricula. In this way, social studies and history programs in primary and secondary education address these questions within their learning goals. Along these lines, in the Commonwealth Caribbean, one of the educational aims is the formation of the ideal Caribbean person; in the Dominican Republic, one major aim is the education of thoughtful citizens who appreciate their culture and history and have an active role in their society. As a result, the syllabus for social studies and history includes topics that range from the pre-Columbian period to contemporary history. Thus, at the beginning of the social studies or, alternatively, history syllabus, students are taught about the Amerindians, their lifeways, culture and traditions before and after the European encounters.

Considering that education is an instrument for the transmission of cultural values, the social studies syllabus seeks to respond to sociocultural demands in a region where the challenges of nation-building, migration, social inequality and poverty requires committed citizens who are willing to contribute to the development of their countries based on a shared understanding of their culture and history.

In this respect, knowledge of the cultural heritage and history of the indigenous peoples in past and contemporary Caribbean society forms the basis of the social studies and history syllabus at the primary- and secondary-school level, and takes into account the cultural diversity of the Caribbean society: the indigenous peoples, Europeans, Africans, Asians and Latin Americans that have shaped contemporary Caribbean society across the historical divide.

2.5 Teachers' knowledge of indigenous heritage

Indigenous heritage education is included under other school subjects in each country where this research was conducted; my investigation aimed at understanding how

[7] These key issues can be found in the "UNESCO Guidelines on Intercultural Education."

teachers define indigenous heritage within the broader framework of heritage education and the school curriculum, as well as identifying the instructional strategies that teachers use for this topic, and to what extent institutions that offer informal education and the community take part in these activities. In order to gain insight into the teachers' perceptions on indigenous heritage education and the other factors described, I adopted the conceptual framework of pedagogical content knowledge due to the possibility it affords for exploring how indigenous history and heritage is reflected in different facets of teaching practice.

Thus, in this section I first explain how the theory of pedagogical content knowledge has been adapted for this study, and also address how previous studies in heritage education and social studies have addressed similar issues concerning teachers' perceptions. At the end, I illustrate how these concepts contribute to defining the theoretical framework for answering the specific research questions of this study.

2.6 Teachers' knowledge: "Pedagogical Content Knowledge"

The concept of pedagogical content knowledge was elaborated by Shulman (1986, 1987) as a result of his concern about how teacher assessments need to balance different dimensions of teaching practice, and how research on teaching needs to increase its focus on teachers' perceptions. "The teachers' emphasis is on how teachers manage their classrooms, organize activities, allocate time and turns, structure assignments, ascribe praise and blame, formulate levels of the questions, plan lessons and judge general understandings"; however, Shulman argues that central questions concerning "how ... teachers decide what to teach, how to represent it and how to deal with problems of misunderstanding" were missing in the literature of research on teaching at the time.

In the article quoted below, Shulman (1986) defines pedagogical content knowledge as a second type of content knowledge:

> "Within the category of pedagogical I include, for the most regularly taught topics in one's subject area, the most useful forms of representation of those ideas, the most powerful analogies, illustrations, examples, explanations and demonstrations — in a word, the ways of representing and formulating the subject that make it comprehensible to others … Pedagogical content knowledge also includes an understanding of what makes the learning of specific topics easy or difficult: the conceptions and preconceptions that students of different ages and backgrounds bring with them to the learning of those most frequently taught topics and lessons" (p. 9).

His ideas were informed by assessments of teachers and how policymakers and teacher educators saw teachers' competences and skills. He strongly criticized teacher evaluation at the time; according to him, descriptive or experimental studies were not enough to fully understand teachers' base knowledge: "critical features of teaching, such as the subject matter being taught, the classroom context, the physical and psychological characteristics of the students, or the accomplishment of purposes not readily assessed on standardized tests, are typically ignored in the quest for general principles of effective teaching" (Shulman 1987: 6).

Shulman's contributions to the field of teacher education have served as a theoretical basis for a growing quantity of field research into teacher knowledge (Berry et al 2008). According to Cochran et al. (1993: 263), "researchers have generally studied these methods without regard for specific content material; when they have included content in the research, they have used it primarily as a control variable rather than a topic of specific interest." In this way, this theoretical approach has been adapted across domains and worldwide[8]. For instance, in studying the PCK for science education, van Driel et al. (1998) argue, "The key elements in Shulman's conception of pedagogical content knowledge are knowledge of representations of subject matter on the one hand and understanding of specific learning difficulties and student conceptions on the other" (p. 675). Following recent studies on teachers' knowledge, such as van Driel et al. (2012, 2014), van Driel and Berry (2012) and Wongsopawiro et al. (2016) on the development of teachers' PCK with respect to a specific topic, I sought to adapt the pedagogical content knowledge construct and to explore key aspects of PCK with respect to indigenous history and heritage in the primary and secondary social studies and history syllabus within the Caribbean context of each case study. In a similar line of reasoning, even though he did not deal directly with the construct of PCK, Griffith (1999b, 2003) dedicated his efforts to examining the perceptions and practices of social studies teachers in the Eastern Caribbean; his work is also taken into consideration in this study.

The elements of PCK as originally used by Shulman (1986, 1987) have been readapted in similar studies on PCK[9]: "Shulman's notion of PCK created many varied responses, and has been interpreted in different ways … however regardless of interpretation PCK has become an accepted academic construct" (Berry et al 2008: 1272). According to Grossman (1990: 5), Park and Oliver (2008: 263), among the different interpretations of the concept of pedagogical content knowledge, there are four commonalities that appear consistently: pedagogical knowledge, subject matter knowledge, PCK and knowledge of the context. For this study, the following components

[8] In their chapter "Knowing how teachers know," Gitomer and Zisk (2015) provide examples of research in different domains, namely science, mathematics, English language arts, history and technology.

[9] Van Driel et al. (1998) illustrate in detail how other scholars have adopted and developed elements of Shulman's PCK model. In this article, they present a table representing the knowledge components in different conceptualizations of PCK.

were applied to the analysis of interviews and surveys (see chapter 3, "Methodology"): content knowledge of teaching heritage education, instructional strategies and representations, goals and objectives of the curriculum, student understanding and knowledge of the context. In the following, I outline how each component of PCK has been applied in this study, taking into account prior academic works on the topic.

2.6.1 Content knowledge

This category, also known as subject matter knowledge, "refers to knowledge of the major facts and concepts within a field and the relationships among them" (Grossman 1990: 6). In fact, what teachers know and what teachers should know within a discipline are questions linked to content knowledge, and should be considered in the design of a teacher education program (Darling-Hammond et al. 2005). In the field of indigenous heritage, these would be the questions to consider in designing teacher education programs for the subjects of social studies and history in which this topic is included. Therefore, the inquiry should focus on what teachers know about teaching indigenous heritage in the light the disciplines of social studies and history, which are explained later in section 2.8 ("Applications of the PCK model in indigenous heritage"). Along these lines, my interest was in exploring, from the teachers' perceptions, questions such as "what is social studies in the Caribbean?"; understanding the citizenship learning goals of the social studies curriculum; and determining to what extent teachers are informed of the concepts of citizenship, nation-building, identity and heritage education. Their answers were useful in developing an understanding of the key elements in defining the disciplinary structure of heritage education within the Caribbean context (see chapter 7, "Discussions").

2.6.2 Instructional strategies and representations

General pedagogical knowledge refers to how teachers prepare classroom activities to foster learning. This dimension of teachers' base knowledge is related to the array of resources teachers have for teaching a school subject. According to Morine-Dershimer and Kent (1999), one can understand the basis of general pedagogical knowledge "in relation to classroom organization and management, instructional models and strategies, and classroom communication and discourse" (p. 23). Out of all these aspects of general pedagogical knowledge, this study's emphasis was placed on instructional models and strategies for teaching indigenous heritage. Following Shulman's (1987) model of pedagogical reasoning and action, representation "includes analogies, metaphors, examples, explanations and so forth," while instruction is related to "management, presentations, interactions, group work, discipline, humor, questioning and other aspects of active teaching, discovery or inquiry instruction, and the observable

forms of classroom teaching" (p. 15). Along these lines, Grossman (2005: 426) indicates that teacher education programs should integrate aspects of classroom interaction that prospective teachers will encounter in their practices, including instructional discourse and representations of content. Since this investigation focused on a topic like indigenous heritage, which is not yet a separate subject in the curriculum, it was my aim to gain insight into these issues by focusing specifically on how the teachers participating in this study made use of instructional strategies and representations for teaching their lessons in social studies and history. Data collection instruments were designed (see chapter 3, "Methodology") to address the question of instructional strategies. In this vein, following Magnusson et al. (1999), the teachers' knowledge of instructional strategies "is comprised of two subcategories: knowledge of subject-specific strategies and knowledge of topic-specific strategies" (p. 109–110); accordingly, I explored both how subject-specific strategies were used in teaching social studies and history, as well as how knowledge of topic-specific strategies was applied to the specific contents of the social studies and history syllabus as related to indigenous history and heritage — for instance, "our first inhabitants" (*nuestros primeros pobladores*) (see chapter 1, "Introduction") — at the primary- and secondary-school level.

2.6.3 Goals and objectives of the curriculum

This category of teachers' knowledge, associated with what teachers know about the curriculum, appears in Shulman's 1986 and 1987 works, and has been adapted by other PCK scholars, such as Grossman (1990), who defines curricular knowledge as one of the four components of pedagogical content knowledge. According to Grossman (1990), "curricular knowledge includes knowledge of curriculum materials available for teaching particular subject matter, as well as knowledge about both the horizontal and vertical curricula" (p. 8). Because heritage education, or alternatively indigenous heritage, are not yet independent school subjects, I sought to understand how teachers situated this subject matter within the curriculum guidelines; consequently, data collection instruments included questions about the curriculum. In this way, teachers' responses would provide insight into understanding, from their own perspectives, how indigenous heritage is included in the school curriculum, and to what extent the school subjects of social studies and history are correlated with the teaching of indigenous heritage and from which standpoints on learning and teaching.

2.6.4 Student understanding

Knowing the goals and objectives of the curriculum allows teachers to have a better appreciation of the subject matter to be taught and especially of the expected learning outcomes. However, within this scenario, teachers should also take into account how

their students learn about certain subjects; this intersects with both professional knowledge as well with personal practical knowledge gained through experience. In this research, questions about student understanding were incorporated into the interviews in order to provide the teachers an opportunity to reflect on what aspects their students find difficult or enjoy the most in studying the topic of indigenous heritage. Following Grossman (1990; 2005), Cochran and Lyte (1993) ideas about student understanding, this component also includes students' cognitive abilities as well as beliefs and misconceptions about a particular school subject. This topic was included in the interviews as it is particularly relevant to identifying which common beliefs and misconceptions are most frequently expressed by students regarding the topic of indigenous heritage.

2.6.5 Knowledge of the context

Several PCK scholars (Grossman 1990; Cochran et al. 1993; Shulman 1987) include "knowledge of educational contexts" or simply "knowledge of the context" as part of teachers' base knowledge. Shulman (1987) referred to this as the knowledge "ranging from the workings of a group, or classroom, the governance and financing school district, to the character of the communities and cultures" (p. 8); in fact, how the school positions itself toward the community can influence teaching and learning opportunities. In this vein, teachers were asked about how they integrate activities involving some sort of interaction with the community into their lessons. A community of learners could positively influence children's learning; as such, it was my aim to explore to what extent teaching indigenous history and heritage creates opportunities for a participatory environment where children, adults, parents and teachers "engage in learning activities in a collaborative way," forming a "community of learners" (Rogoff et al. 2001: 7).

2.7 Applications of the PCK model in indigenous heritage education

Studies on PCK have focused on different domains (Gitomer and Zisk 2015); however, after reviewing the literature in the domain of heritage education for this study, I found that few studies specifically address the development of teachers' PCK of this topic. Consequently, for the conceptual background of this study, I referred to research on teachers' knowledge that could be applicable to the study of indigenous history and heritage education, taking into account that these subjects are taught as part of the syllabus of social studies and history; to this end, I sought to include the contributions of prior research on PCK in these domains (Gudmundsdottir and Shulman 1987; Powell 2017), as I explain in this section. Lastly, I looked at ways to set up a model to study the

development of PCK for teaching indigenous history and heritage, using the specific research on this topic to adapt the materials for collecting data.

2.7.1 PCK for social studies and history

This study, while ultimately situated in the context of the Caribbean reality, is embedded in a larger scholarly discussion about social studies education. Powell (2017) addresses some key factors that have influenced the development of a theory of pedagogical content knowledge in social studies.

> "[The] first important questions about the goals and purposes of social studies have never been resolved … until social studies educators take time to define more clearly what education for citizenship education looks like, and until a stronger consensus is reached on the key goals and aspirations of social studies education, efforts to strengthen teacher education in the field seem destined to come up short" (p. 2).

Consequently, when one is looking to understand how PCK is represented for social studies teachers, one has to bear in mind factors such as the purpose of teaching social studies. The social studies syllabus covers themes from history, geography, culture and economics, but what are the actual learning goals of teaching these subjects? I share Powell's views concerning the ambiguousness of the pedagogical goals of social studies education. How can teachers effectively teach a social studies course when the learning goals of the subject lack clarity? What aspects are teachers supposed to emphasize in the historical, geographical or cultural content of the social studies syllabus? This ultimately leads to the question, "what is social studies education?" According to Powell, this is the second reason for which there is not yet a formal PCK framework for social studies, and it is connected with the first reason, namely that when teachers do not have a clear understating of the subject matter, the pedagogical practices fail to facilitate effective student learning. Thus, he argues that researchers interested in developing a PCK framework for social studies need to be able to identify its disciplinary structures of knowledge.

For these reasons, I also sought to address the goals of social studies education and how these are defined in the contexts where this research was conducted, taking into account the scholarly debate around what teachers of social studies should know, and the need for having history, geography and economics as independent subjects instead of combining them into an integrated school subject (Withson 2004: 10). Thus, when one looks at conceptions of social studies education in the international sphere, one can find some common aims in

overseas curricula for teaching social studies; namely, as pointed out by Barr (1997), the "understanding of the world, and participating in society as responsible citizens" (p. 7). Thus social studies is about being able to understand the world we live in and to learning how to act conscientiously for the development of society. In this vein, Adler (2004) adds, "Many social educators would agree that social studies is, or should be, focused on the broad goal of enabling learners to acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions necessary for civic participation in a democratic and globally connected society" (p. 3).

Along these lines, in *Citizenship Education, Democracy and Global shifts. Rethinking Caribbean Social Studies,* Howe and Marshall (1999: 1) discuss the goals of social studies in the Caribbean context, and how the view of citizenship education as the overarching goal of social studies is also reflected in the Caribbean social studies curriculum. Social studies is defined in this research as the school subject in which students learn about the history, geography, culture and economy of their country from a global perspective; this knowledge is meant to empower learners to become active citizens that can contribute to the development of their country and society.

In the Caribbean, social studies was introduced into the curriculum in the light of the emergence of new, independent nations; its aim was to liberate society from the colonial past by empowering students with the knowledge to participate in the nation-building process. Consequently, I followed Griffith's contributions to understanding social studies in developing societies (1990, 1999a, 1999b, 2003). Griffith (1999a) underlines the role of social studies in the English-speaking Caribbean; he defines the teaching of social studies using a dynamic approach, challenging the traditional view "that social studies is mainly about the acquisition of knowledge and facts" (p. 163). For him, part of this school subject is associated with content knowledge: "[the students] will become more highly informed about their indigenous culture, heritage and societal systems," and develop knowledge "requiring the application of both social and thinking skills that can be transferred to other areas of learning." In this vein, I adhered to Griffith's ideas as I sought to understand where teachers place their emphasis when teaching about indigenous history and heritage, whether in the cultural, historical or civic sphere. Moreover, I intended to identify what kind of pedagogical strategies social studies teachers tended to use for this topic, and whether these are textbook- oriented or "experience and environment"-oriented.

In the next section I discuss how the goals of social studies education are reflected in the content knowledge required for teaching indigenous history and heritage. In particular, I focus on the conceptual relationship between citizenship learning and heritage and its implications for pedagogical practices.

2.7.2 PCK for indigenous heritage

Because of its nature, indigenous heritage is placed within the curriculum of social studies and history. Thus, a PCK model for studying teachers' knowledge in this context requires incorporating the PCK for social studies and history with contributions in the field of heritage education. In this section, I define the adapted PCK model for indigenous heritage that is used as a reference for this investigation.

Considering Powell's (2017) remarks on the need to define the conceptual structure of the school subject of social studies, I sought to establish a clear framework for defining what can be understood as the content knowledge of indigenous heritage. To this end, in order to develop the categorization matrix to analyse the interviews (see chapter 3, "Methodology"), the contributions of Copeland (2009), Estepa-Giménez et al. (2008) and Jiménez-Pérez et al. (2010) on the study of archaeological heritage education and heritage education served as references for establishing a framework. Their work corresponds to the larger discussion on teaching social studies and citizenship education, including key concepts and pedagogy.

Copeland suggests that there are two predominant views of the past based on how the material evidence relates to the public, and compares the implications of a positivist definition of heritage versus a constructivist definition; ultimately, his approach serves to elucidate the relationship between heritage education and citizenship education, which is a central goal of social studies education.

In the constructivist approach, heritage interpretation "enables the 'empowerment' of the public to construct their own pasts as individuals and communities" (Copeland 2009: 10); in the positivist approach, on the other hand, the public does not participate in the interpretation of the past, which instead is treated as a fact by the "expert." In this way, Copeland's conceptual framework of how the past can be interpreted from two different approaches — in which the participation of the public varies from one approach to another — was adopted in defining the PCK model for studying indigenous history and heritage in the design of the interview instrument[10]. As a result, the PCK category of purposes for teaching subject matter was adapted to both constructivist and positivist beliefs. In this framework, the teachers' feedback on indigenous history and heritage could be defined in relation to how teachers see the role of individuals in the construction of heritage (see chapter 7, "Discussion").

[10] In the interviews, teachers would have a forum to discuss their understanding of teaching indigenous history and heritage in greater detail. Due to time constraints, it would not be possible for them to elaborate on these answers to the same extent in the surveys; consequently, the question about defining indigenous history and heritage in the surveys followed the ideas of Jiménez et al. (2010), as the format of this instrument was more suitable for their approach to defining heritage education.

In addition to these views on heritage, to fully understand how teachers define heritage, the ideas of Estepa-Giménez et al. (2008) and Jiménez-Pérez et al. (2010) were used as a reference in the design of the data collection instruments (see chapter 3, "Methodology"). In their study on primary and secondary-school teachers' conceptions of heritage and heritage education, they developed various categories of analysis, including subject matter knowledge, pedagogical practices and student understanding. In a similar fashion, this approach was found useful to this study, as it could help us to understand to what extent teachers conceive of indigenous heritage as part of the various types of heritage present in their region — natural heritage, historical (colonial) heritage, archaeological indigenous heritage and intangible heritage — and to identify what characteristics they associate with the concept of indigenous heritage (see section 3.6.3 chapter 3 methodology)

Another interesting point raised in the previous research initiatives concerning heritage education is how heritage is linked to pedagogy. In his work, Copeland (2009) discusses the implications of a constructivist approach to heritage and citizenship education for museums and cultural sites. A common feature of museum education is the interest in bringing the audience closer to their environment. This coincides with heritage education as a form of pedagogy for teaching about the past, as defined by Grever and van Boxtel. (2011). Thus, one category that has been explored for the PCK model of studying indigenous history and heritage education is pedagogical practice. To complete the analysis of the data gathered, different categories were defined, taking into account the contributions of social studies, history, museum studies and heritage education to instructional strategies: classroom-based activities or strategies, outdoor activities and interaction with resource persons (see chapter 3, "Methodology").

2.8 The role of teachers' practical knowledge in defining indigenous heritage education

In addition to the *pedagogical content knowledge* construct, in this investigation I applied the concept of *teachers' personal practical knowledge*. Even though the research on practical knowledge is quite extensive (Pajares 1992; Meijer et al. 1999), I was interested in exploring the role of *teachers' personal practical knowledge* in understanding how teachers know about indigenous heritage. To be more specific, the topic of indigenous heritage deals with questions such as identity, which are related to personal interpretation and beliefs; to cite one example, a teacher could be more inclined to teach about the indigenous past because he or she ethnically identifies with the indigenous peoples and their culture, or simply because the teacher has a genuine interest in the topic. Besides cognitive abilities (professional knowledge), as illustrated by Blömeke et al. (2012), such questions also implicitly address affective characteristics (professional beliefs, motivation and self-regulation) within the construct of teachers'

knowledge (Shulman 1986, 1986). In this vein, following the conceptual framework of teacher competencies outlined in Blömeke et al. (2012), I treat this affective motivational dimension as part of to the concept of teachers' practical knowledge, as defined by Meijer et al. (1999), "as the knowledge and beliefs that underlie his or her actions; this kind of knowledge is personal, related to context and content, often tacit, and based on (reflection on) experience" (p. 60).

Because this research sought to understand current education policies and guidelines in the context of indigenous heritage, within this conceptual framework I addressed how teachers' personal practical knowledge could inform policymakers teacher educators, and local stakeholders such as heritage managers on how to better adapt resources and material to teaching practice (see chapter 7, "Discussions"). I thus followed the ideas of Connelly et al. (1997) on how to improve education: namely, that one has "to be concerned not only with what it is they wish to happen in learning but also with teachers' knowledge and the professional knowledge landscapes in which teachers work" (p. 674).

2.9 Chapter summary

This chapter outlined the main concepts that are used in this investigation. These are heritage education, and pedagogical content knowledge. The combination of these concepts was used to study, from an emic approach, how teachers in each case study defined the teaching of indigenous heritage, and what pedagogical practices were common among them. Because heritage education is not yet an independent school subject, I described the characteristics of the social studies and history syllabi, where this content is included in the Caribbean context. In addition to this, the conceptual framework this investigation is informed by scholarly contributions from previous studies on teachers conceptions' of heritage education and citizenship education; thus, one section illustrated how these were integrated into the PCK model for indigenous heritage developed for this study. Ultimately, the role of teachers' personal practical knowledge is explained in relation to how teaching practice is informed by the immediate context and by personal experience.

Chapter 3: Methodology
"Approaches to assessing indigenous heritage education from the teachers' perspectives"

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the relevant literature for this study was reviewed. In this chapter, the methodological framework used to conduct the research is presented. The chapter starts with a discussion of current tendencies in educational research, followed by a description of the research design and methods employed in conducting the investigation, including the main aspects of the research process. Finally, the procedures for the analysis of the collected qualitative and quantitative data are defined. This investigation was conducted primarily with qualitative research methods. Quantitative data was collected by means of (descriptive) questionnaires that the researcher distributed during workshops with schoolteachers about the didactics of teaching indigenous history and archaeological heritage. Qualitative data was collected by means of interviews, participant observation and document analysis.

3.2 Doing research in education

In the introductory chapter of *Introduction to Qualitative Research in Education*, Freebody (2003: 1) states, "Education research is a more intellectually and professionally challenging field than most. The challenges for the researcher arise from at least four aspects of education." To quote the first two of these aspects:

> "First, the importance of education is rarely denied. The last century, whatever else it may have been, was the century of schooling. … Second, educational activities are inherently complex and dynamic, both in the local settings in which they occur and, beyond those sites, as part of a society's publicly coordinated activities" (ibid.).

Educational research is seen through the lens of traditional scientific research and, more recently, from an interpretative view (Cohen et al 2000: 5). These competing views, however, have influenced how research in education is often evaluated from the traditional viewpoint of quantitative research — whose norms and standards are often inadequate for understanding the results of qualitative educational studies, which deal with feelings and personal responses that are not predictable or static (Atkins and Wallace 2012: 20). Therefore, in the following sections, the research design and the rationale behind the selection of methods and analytical procedures are carefully explained.

The study was undertaken in line with the concept and spirit of Weber's *Verstehen* ("understanding") as being a systematic process or method of the "interpretative and participatory" investigation of social phenomena (Smeyers and Smith 2014). This study is concerned with learning about a phenomenon, the teaching of

indigenous history and heritage in some Caribbean countries, through the perceptions and experiences of the key stakeholders, who are directly involved as participants. Thus, for the researcher, educational research takes place within the domain of *Verstehen*; it is precisely by understanding a phenomenon in the field of education that sense can be made of its meaning. In the particular case of this study, the author was seeking to understand how and to what extent teachers' practices are influenced and informed by their beliefs, curriculum policies, professional and context knowledge.

3.3 Research design

An interpretative research paradigm was adopted in pursuing this investigation. It is also known as the (social) constructivist paradigm (Lincoln and Guba 2000, Lodico et al. 2006). "An interpretative research contributes knowledge about how the societal and cultural context is implicated in and shapes people's ways of understanding themselves and others, thus making the link between macro structures and micro processes" (Magnusson and Marecek 2015: 4). It was precisely through sharing experiences with the research participants that the research is able to yield an understanding of the teaching of indigenous history and heritage based on the interpretation of the data (Cao Thanh and Thi Le Thanh 2015).

Educational research certainly is a very complex discipline. For example, as Berliner (2002) commented on the ongoing discussion about educational research as a science, "our science forces us to deal with particular problems, where local knowledge is needed. Therefore, ethnographic research is crucial, as are case studies, survey research, time series, design experiments, action research, and other means to collect reliable evidence"(pp. 18–20).

3.3.1 Selection of research design and approach

A mixed-methods research strategy was selected for this investigation; although qualitative research techniques were primarily employed, they were complemented by quantitative techniques. Furthermore, within this *mixed-method* research design, and to investigate the particular issue of the teaching of indigenous history and heritage in selected Caribbean countries, it was decided to employ a combined approach of *case-study research and collaborative research* so as to ensure the participation of local stakeholders, teachers, educational administrative and managerial personnel, staff members from museums and other cultural organizations and prominent community members.

3.3.2 The case-study approach

The *case-study approach* was selected as a research methodology for this investigation. There are many academic discussions about the nature of case studies, and whether they are to be considered exclusively as part of qualitative research methodology

(Merriam 1998: 27; Starman 2013: 30; Yazan 2015: 134). However, Yin (2003) has argued that a case-study strategy is distinct from qualitative research and can be based on any combination of quantitative and qualitative methods and empirical evidence. Stake (1995) explains that a case study is defined by interest in a particular phenomenon or relationship, and not by the methods of inquiry used. The existence of so many different perspectives on whether the case-study research methodology is qualitative or quantitative makes it necessary for the researcher to clearly delineate its use in the investigation. The case-study research methodology was considered primarily as a qualitative research method that can be complemented by quantitative data evidence. As Starman (2013: 30) points out, "A case study is therefore more qualitative than quantitative in nature, but not exclusively, for it can be qualitative, quantitative or a combination of both approaches (with both represented equally or one approach prevailing and the other supplementing)."

For the purposes of this investigation, the works of three prominent case-study researchers were consulted as fundamental readings in developing the methodology and methods for collecting and analyzing data: Robert Stake (1995), Sharan Merriam (1988, 1998) and Robert Yin (2003). In a recent article, Yazan (2015) reviewed and analyzed the different perspectives on the case study put forward by these three well-known researchers, whose work has had a notable influence on the field of educational research.

For Merriam (1998: 27), the defining characteristic of case-study research is the delimitation of the case. She views the case as a bounded system in line with Stake's view of the case as an integrated system. She sees "the case as a thing, a single entity and a unit around which there are boundaries." Merriam (1998: 21) conceived the (qualitative) case study as "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institution, a person, a process or a social unit."

According to Yin (2003: 13), a case study is an empirical inquiry that "investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." It is a particularly useful research strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being asked about a set of events or situations over which the researcher has minimal or no control. Yin's (2003) guidelines for the design of case studies were taken into consideration for the purpose of ensuring the validity and reliability of results.

The main purpose of this investigation was to study *how* educational policies and practices can contribute to understanding the teaching of indigenous history and heritage (*the phenomenon*) in the public education system of three selected countries in the Caribbean region (*the context*). The case-study research method contributed to answering how this question was understood from the real-world perspectives of the educational and non-educational stakeholders within the school communities. On the other hand, in this investigation, the researcher had no influence on the behaviors

manifested by the participants, which was another reason the case-study method was utilized (Yin 2014: 13).

Finally, in accordance with Yin (2013), a contemporary phenomenon was studied in the selected countries, namely the teaching of indigenous history and heritage in the public school system. In these countries, heritage education is not yet an independent subject in the school curriculum. The interviews, questionnaires and participatory activities were conducted in the "real-world" contexts of the schools. The case studies were also accompanied by fieldwork activities in the selected countries of study, to get a better insight into the educational practices regarding indigenous history and heritage education.

3.4 Description of the case studies: Research sites and subjects

Following the case-study method, there was no attempt at generalization; instead, the purpose of the study was to examine the particularities of the localized experiences that were represented in the selected research sites in each with respect to the teaching of indigenous history and heritage in public schools. In the end, the results will provide insights about how the theory could have possible applications in other contexts. As explained by Yin (1993: 38), in case-study research, "the theory becomes the vehicle for generalizing the results of the case study." In other words, rather than generalizing to a universe or population, case-study research should be used to "expand our understanding of theoretical propositions and hypotheses in these situations where (a) the context is important and (b) events cannot be manipulated (as in an experiment)" (ibid.).

The investigation was a "multiple case study" involving three countries; within each country, "two or more subjects, settings, or depositories of data [were] studied" (Bogdan and Biklen 2003: 62). For this study, a cross section of people was interviewed. The main sample group consisted of teachers with classroom duties. In addition, ministry officials and school management personnel were also interviewed. When there was the opportunity, staff members from museums and other cultural organizations were also invited. The researcher herself had little or no control over the selection of teachers participating in each country setting. This was largely determined by the local education authorities.

One can study more than one case at a time; multiple-case-study research consists of the study of several individual cases, known as "single cases." When working with multiple case studies, it is important to understand what each individual case is actually about (Stake 2006). The multiple case design is particularly relevant for providing a larger picture of a complex phenomenon. In this research, three individual country cases were defined; each of these cases was a separate entity where a phenomenon, the "teaching of indigenous history and heritage" was the object of study within its context of the "public school community." An important reason for doing

multiple case studies was to examine how the program or phenomenon performed in different environments. "When cases are selected carefully, the design of a study can incorporate a diversity of contexts" (Stake 2006: 23). This often means that cases in both typical and atypical settings should be selected. In this way, this particular multi-country case study examines how the "phenomenon," that is, the teaching of indigenous heritage, behaves under the diverse historical circumstances and educational contexts of the three countries.

Table 3.1: Participation of teachers in the research activities in the three country cases.

Dominican Republic	The majority of teachers who participated were social studies school teachers, and came from primary and secondary schools located in school districts in the provinces of Valverde and Montecristi; today, the ERC-Synergy project Nexus 1492 is conducting ongoing archaeological research in these provinces, where interactions between the Old World and New World occurred from 1492 onwards.
Dominica	Teachers came from primary schools in the Kalinago Territory, a district inhabited by contemporary descendants of the original Amerindian population. Two primary schools in the capital Roseau and one in the nearby town of Soufrière were also visited. At the time, the Nexus 1492 project was carrying out research activities in Dominica, undertaking investigations on museums, landscapes, heritage law and indigenous stories.
Saint Kitts	The participating teachers were almost all social science teachers from two secondary schools in villages near the Brimstone Hill Fortress Military Heritage Site, dating from the British colonial period. At the time, research teams from the Nexus 1492 and CARIB projects were visiting and carrying out archaeological and ethnographic surveys.

3.4.1 Participants and sampling procedures

As explained above, the study aimed at an in-depth description and understanding of the teaching of indigenous history and heritage in three selected Caribbean countries in the time frame from 2014 to 2016. It did not strive to be generalizable in the positivist sense of the term. Therefore, a relatively small, purposeful, non-random sample of stakeholders was called for interviews. This allowed for the selection of certain key people in the education policy and management process, as well as those directly involved in teaching. These were the key informants who needed to participate in the study and interviews. Their opinions and views were considered fundamental to this research. The informants were knowledgeable persons in the administration and management of the education system; teaching staff at primary and secondary schools;

staff members of museums and other cultural centers; and prominent members of the local communities. Finally, it was critical for the study design to be emergent, flexible and responsive to changing conditions (Merriam 1998). The number of participants in the study could not be determined in advance.

Sampling refers to the process of selecting the participants (or other data sources, e.g. documents) that will be involved in the study. The reasons for sampling in qualitative studies are different than those in quantitative research. The purpose of sampling in qualitative research design is defined by the selection of sites and research participants that can contribute to the understanding of a phenomenon within a specific context (Jensen and Laurie 2016: 104). As a consequence, the degree of representativeness (of the sample) will also depend on "the purpose of the inquiry, available time and resources" (Patton 1990: 184). The group of participants who took part in the investigation can be called a non-probability sample, as it "derives from the researchers targeting a particular group, in the full knowledge [that it might not] represent the wider population" (Cohen et al. 2000: 102). These samples were *purposefully* selected, meaning that the selected participants must be "information-rich cases" from whom the most can be learned for the benefit of the study (Patton 1990: 169). Following the ideas put forward by Patton, "*purposeful*" or "*purposive sampling*" was adopted for this study.

For the research design, the sampling strategy employed was to select samples that were flexible, opportunistic or emergent and responsive to changing conditions, which allowed for decision-making about the sampling to be done during the fieldwork (Patton 1990: 179; Miles and Huberman: 1994: 27; Jensen and Laurie 2016: 103). Sampling strategies in multiple case studies are sometimes the subject of criticism: what could the sample tell us about the population or about the theory? However, as Miles and Huberman (1994: 29) argue, the choice of cases is usually made on conceptual grounds, not on representative grounds.

In fact, the research design for this investigation consisted of multiple (country) case studies, selected based on the criteria of how they could contribute to a better understanding of teachers' perceptions of indigenous history and heritage education within each school context. The emphasis was placed on understanding the role of context in shaping teachers' practices in indigenous history and heritage education, rather than on establishing generalizations from the study sample to the population (Firestone 1993).

3.4.2 Sampling criteria

a) Sampling criteria for interviews with (internal and external) educational stakeholders

The key informants in this research were classified into *internal* and *external* stakeholders, based on whether or not they belonged to the public education system. *Internal* stakeholders consisted of knowledgeable persons in the administration and management of the education system in each country and, most predominantly, the teaching staff at primary and secondary schools, each belonging to the respective Ministry of Education. The chief target population was primary and secondary classroom teachers in social science or social studies in Saint Kitts, the Dominican Republic and Dominica. External stakeholders were staff personnel from other ministries and government (or semi-government) agencies; staff members of museums and other cultural centers; and prominent community members with a common interest in heritage education.

Thus, a wide spectrum of stakeholders was required to cover a broad range of positions and opinions in relation to the phenomenon being studied. Therefore, within the overall strategy of purposive sampling, in order to select the *internal* and *external* stakeholders for the interviews, *snowball* or *chain sampling* was used (see Patton 1990: 182). The researcher, together with the assistance of local partners from the Nexus 1492 project, started by defining a list of knowledgeable individuals ("information-rich cases") from whom to learn about formal and non-formal initiatives in the area of indigenous heritage education in each country.

b) Sampling criteria for teachers

In the three countries where this research took place — Saint Kitts (2014), the Dominican Republic (2014–2015) and Dominica (2015–2016) — permission to conduct interviews and organize participatory activities with teachers was requested from educational administrators (authorities).

The same steps were followed in each country in order to determine the research sites and research subjects:

1. Contacting local partners (affiliated researchers) to arrange meetings with the educational administrators;
2. Holding informative meetings with educational administrators to explain the research purposes and methods and to inquire about the formal conditions (such as administrative formalities and time schedules) for organizing interviews and activities with the teachers;
3. Negotiating with the authorities as to the selection of participating school districts, schools and teachers;
4. Meeting the requirements of the authorities and waiting for their approval;
5. Scheduling the activities with the authorities, principals and teachers once the approval was granted.

The chief target population was primary and secondary classroom teachers in social science or social studies in Saint Kitts, the Dominican Republic and Dominica. Suitable schools were authorized and selected by the relevant Ministry of Education as "key informants." In Saint Kitts and Dominica, the selection of the teachers was done after visiting the schools in person. After having informed the principals of the project, their permission was asked to interview teachers and to include them in the workshops.

During her first field visit to Saint Kitts in January 2014, the researcher counted on the collaboration of Mr. Cameron Gill (then director of the Brimstone Hill Society) in establishing contacts with representatives from the Ministry of Education. At the beginning of her first field visit to Dominica, in October 2015, Mr. Cozier Frederick (then development officer of the Ministry of Kalinago Affairs) provided the researcher with an initial list of contacts at the Ministry of Education and primary schools in Kalinago Territory. In the Dominican Republic, authorities from the school districts of the provinces of Esperanza and Montecristi were contacted via e-mail and phone.

In this way, information was obtained from the school principals about their willingness to participate in the interviews and practical activities. In the process, the researcher also worked with Ms. Arlene Álvarez (Director of the Museo Arqueológico Regional Altos de Chavón in the Dominican Republic) from May to August 2015. For each of the three countries considered in this study, the respective Ministry of Education agreed that any participation by the teachers would be completely voluntarily and subject to discussion with the school principals. The selection of the participating schools also varied according to the criteria and particular requests of each local educational authority. Additionally, it was ensured that the participants would be teachers of the third grade and up for primary school, and from the school subjects of social science and Caribbean history for secondary school. Furthermore, in-service teachers as well as pre-service teachers were invited to the interviews and workshops.

c) Sampling criteria for survey questionnaires

For the sampling procedure, a *non-probability sampling* method was followed. With a non-probability strategy, it is the deliberate decision of the researcher what particular section of the wider population is included or excluded from the sample (Cohen et al. 2000: 99). Thus the sample selected for the survey questionnaires consisted of the teachers participating in the workshops that were organized in the Dominican Republic (2015) and Dominica (2016).

3.5 Instruments and data collection

As stated above, this research used a mixed-method approach; both qualitative and quantitative data were collected within a multiple-case-study research strategy.

Quantitative data was collected from surveys by distributing questionnaires to the teachers during the participatory workshops, a technique described as descriptive-survey research by Lodico et al. (2006). This section presents an overview of how these instruments were designed and used. To study and understand teachers' knowledge about indigenous history and heritage, the principles of pedagogical content knowledge were used as a reference in designing the content of interviews, questionnaires and workshops (see chapter 2).

3.5.1 Interviews

One of the primary data collection methods employed was the semi-structured interview. These interviews provided the researcher with the opportunity to gain access to the participants and their perspectives on the issue of teaching indigenous history and heritage in public schools. One of the most important components of this study was having access to the perspectives of schoolteachers. The inclusion of a wide range of respondents assured more detailed descriptions and the possibility of integrating multiple perspectives.

Interviews with classroom teachers were conducted during breaks, often in groups of two or more at the request of the principals or area coordinators. (See Appendixes B and C)for the interview guide.) Interviews with the staff members of museums and cultural centers or other educational institutions were arranged directly after the initial contacts were made. The researcher prepared an interview guide for use in each country case (see Appendix B and C). The format was semi-structured, and the questions open-ended. The interview guide was revised in collaboration with the research co-supervisor. The respondents were invited to focus on those issues regarding which they had particular experience and insight. Follow-up questions frequently arose from these interactions. An interview protocol was carefully prepared to comply with the general requirements of informed consent from the participants. This protocol (Appendix A) was read to each interviewee before the actual start of the interview, so that they were fully informed and aware of the purposes of the study and how the information they provided would possibly be used. Important factors such as anonymity, confidentiality and permission to record the interview were also addressed in the protocol. Consequently, all interviews used in this investigation were audio-recorded upon agreement with the interviewees. The data recording was accompanied by notes made during the interview with the consent of the respondents. All data was treated in a way that respected and protected the confidentiality and, when requested, the anonymity of the participants involved in the study. The practice of keeping audio-tape records and written notes was later used to validate the full transcriptions of the

interview audio records. Interviews with Spanish-speaking persons were transcribed in the original language and then translated into English by the author.

3.5.2 Survey questionnaires

Being an educator, I considered it important to adopt a collaborative research approach to encourage the participation of school teachers in the three countries. In this regard, the research followed the definition of Amos Hatch: "Collaborative research here refers to work that is distinguished from action research because its principal aims are the generation of knowledge and understanding. It is assumed in collaborative qualitative research that it is valuable to bring both insider and outsider perspectives to the analysis of the phenomena under investigation" (2002: 32). Whenever possible, the participation of members of the local communities in the school vicinity was also encouraged. Therefore, part of the research activities in the selected countries consisted of participatory workshops. These workshops counted on the involvement and contribution of local stakeholders such as museum staff, cultural agents and educational administrators, and teachers' participation was voluntary.

The workshops provided the best setting to administer the paper-based survey questionnaires to the teachers and to collect information about teaching indigenous history and heritage. At the start of the workshop, teachers were informed about the intention of administering two surveys. The first one, prior to the start of the activities, was a diagnostic survey used as a form of teacher assessment. It sought to identify the teachers' pedagogical preferences when giving lessons about indigenous history and heritage (Bookhard and Loadman 1995). The second questionnaire was to be handed out at the end of the workshop; its purpose was to evaluate teachers' perceptions about indigenous history and heritage after the workshop.

In this way, I managed the distribution of the questionnaires and their collection after completion. The fact that the surveys were planned as part of the workshop activities aided in the participants' understanding and willingness to take part. Time and transport limitations were important factors to be considered. For that reason, self-administered questionnaires were most appropriate to the case studies in the Dominican Republic and Dominica, where larger groups of teachers participated in the workshops. This was different from Saint Kitts, where only seven teachers participated in the workshops; there it was possible to interview all of them.

The questionnaire was designed taking into account the domains of teachers' base knowledge — as illustrated by Grossman (1990) — which are explained extensively in the theory chapter (see chapter 2 and Appendix D). These domains (subject matter knowledge, curriculum knowledge, instructional strategies and knowledge of the context) were used to aid the process of operationalizing the data (Nardi 2006) which consisted in developing the items in the questionnaires following

the PCK approach. As a result, the format of the questionnaire contained items meant to help answer the research questions in this study. The items were designed to cover the different themes of these four domains. They consisted of two open-ended and five closed response items (see section 3.6.3 and Appendix D).

The responses received were used to complement and also to validate the information gathered from the interviews and the document analysis. Since a non-probabilistic sampling technique was used, the survey results were not used to make any generalizations to other school districts in the Dominican Republic and Dominica, but only to elicit results for those schools that were part of this study (Nardi 2003: 118).

3.6 Analytic procedures

The analysis of the data constitutes one of the most sensitive aspects of any study. Especially in qualitative research, researchers are often questioned about the possible subjectivity embedded in the results. For these reasons, all research efforts, whether quantitative or qualitative, require validity and reliability on the part of the research methodology and the results generated. Therefore, interpretations of the data obtained during the research are of value only if the collected data are valid and reliable, thus lending credibility to the research findings.

For the purposes of this research, validity (quality; trustworthiness) is defined as the degree to which qualitative data can accurately indicate what the researcher is trying to evaluate — for example, whether the research question is valid for the desired outcome, the choice of methodology is appropriate for answering the research question, the design is valid for the methodology, the sampling and data analysis is appropriate, and finally the results and conclusions are valid for the sample and context. Qualitative validity is based on determining if the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researcher, the participant or the readers (Creswell 2009: 190).

The reliability or dependability of qualitative research lies in the consistency of measurement (Creswell 2009: 149–150). The reliability of a research instrument concerns the extent to which the instrument yields similar results on repeated trials of the same instrument or occasions of data collection. If used on a similar group of respondents in a similar context, the instrument should yield similar results (Cohen et al 2000: 117). The tendency toward consistency, precision and accuracy across repeated measurements is referred to as reliability. To increase the consistency and reliability of a project, it is recommended to document all procedures, and if possible to set up a detailed protocol. In fact, to produce reliable and valid knowledge in an ethical manner, multiple methods have been applied in this research. Validity is more important and comprehensive than reliability, as it is harder to evaluate or measure (Ary et al. 2002: 267). In this vein, all research procedures have been made available to the readers, from interview formats and protocols to survey questionnaires and workshop programs.

The principal strategies for enhancing the validity and reliability of qualitative research, as proposed by authors in the field, are: triangulation; fieldwork and persistent, prolonged observation; and peer review or debriefing (Lincoln and Guba 1985; Greene et al. 2008; Creswell 2005). These strategies can be used in combination. In this study, triangulation was used. This implies the use of a multiple methods approach to the research problem. According to Cohen et al. (2000: 112), "triangular techniques in the social sciences attempt to map out, or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint and, in so doing, by making use of both quantitative and qualitative data."

This research involved the collection of data through observations, interviews, questionnaires and documentation. Multiple literature and document resources were used to confirm and enhance the findings. Data was collected from documents, through interviews with key stakeholders and by the use of survey questionnaires; the findings from various sources of data were compared to add confidence to the research findings. The questions asked in the interviews and in the questionnaire were drawn up after the PCK model (Grossman 1990), which formed the theoretical framework of the information-seeking model in the current study. The concepts used were drawn from this PCK model (see Table 3.2). The questions were constructed in a concise manner in order to avoid ambiguity.

In addition, an explanation of the research aims was provided orally to the respondents of interviews and surveys questionnaires. The intention was to show the relevance and usefulness the study may have. All the respondents were assured of confidentiality and anonymity upon their request. Therefore, they could freely respond to the questions without any fear of being identified. This was done to encourage them not to withhold any information. This was believed to contribute to a reliable picture of the situation as seen and experienced by the respondents.

Fieldwork and long-term observation took place during the time frame of January 2014 to February 2016; several fieldwork trips were conducted in natural settings in the participating countries, allowing for persistent observation and prolonged engagement with the different stakeholders. The researcher was immersed in interaction with the key stakeholders. Participatory workshops were organized with the classroom teachers to promote the reality of their experiences, and were valuable in constructing rapport and gaining confidence with the teaching staff of participating schools. This helped in identifying those characteristics and elements of the situation that were most relevant to the research problem and focusing on them in detail, an objective of persistent observation (Lincoln and Guba 1985: 304). Throughout these activities, continuous interim data analysis and corroboration was carried out to help verify whether the data collected over that period of time was valid ("constant comparison"), and make corrections if required.

In addition to this, peer debriefing or evaluation played an important part in the research process. During the planning, data collection and writing stages, meetings with Ph.D. candidates were regularly organized, in order to discuss the efficiency of the research methods, coding frames and report with "peers" of the Caribbean Archaeology Research Group at the Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University; specialists from other fields and institutions also participated in the discussions. Peer debriefing is "… the process of exposing oneself to a disinterested peer in a manner paralleling an analytical session and for the purpose of exploring aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the inquirer's mind" (Lincoln & Guba 1985: 308).

This study produced sets of data in both textual and numerical form. Although the qualitative textual data provided the largest data set, both the textual and numerical data were considered as equally valid and important to the theoretical and analytical work undertaken in this investigation. The instruments were so designed to address the same research questions in qualitative and quantitative ways so as to ensure structural coherence. When appropriately integrated, these tools can yield a sophisticated study with results characterized by strong explanatory power, rigor and validity.

3.6.1 Document research and curriculum analysis

In this section, the procedures employed to analyze the curriculum documents are explained. As explained earlier in chapter 1, narratives of national identity play an important role in the region, and as a consequence have a considerable role in shaping education policies. To study how these narratives are represented in the school curricula, a content analysis was conducted for each country case study. The goal of this analysis was to elaborate a description of the place indigenous history and heritage occupies in the current curricula, which can then be used as a reference for further studies in the region.

For the analysis of the national curricula in this study, the methodological approach of Porter and Smithson (2001) was followed. Their study concerned secondary-school mathematics, but the approach was considered appropriate to this investigation. They considered the curriculum to be divided into four components: the *intended curriculum*, the *enacted curriculum*, the *assessed curriculum* and the *learned curriculum*. The intended curriculum is the first stage, at which the standards regarding how and what the teachers are expected to teach are set down in official documents. The enacted curriculum refers to what actually happens and is implemented in the classroom. Obviously, this can differ from that which is intended in the curriculum framework documents. The assessed curriculum refers to student achievement tests, while the learned curriculum is what is achieved by the students in terms of actual learning. Since the main participants in this study on the teaching of indigenous heritage in public schools in the Caribbean were classroom teachers, the intended and

the enacted curriculum were of principal concern, and were targeted for further investigation. Within their study, Porter and Smithson also used three dimensions to organize the curriculum descriptors: topic coverage, cognitive demands and mode of presentation. These dimensions were used as a guiding reference in this study to describe how indigenous history and heritage was represented in the respective country curricula.

For the purposes of this study, the objectives were to define the position of indigenous history and heritage in the curriculum (topic coverage); how it is taught, including what the students will learn from studying the content (cognitive demands); and how these contents are prescribed to be taught (mode of presentation). For these reasons, the curriculum content analysis was limited, first of all, to a description of the above-mentioned dimensions based on the revision of the information and data collected from the following sources: school textbooks, interviews and surveys. A detailed description of these dimensions as obtained from the curricula can be found in the appendices (E to J). The analysis of the curriculum documents that were studied for this investigation was complemented by the results obtained from the interviews and surveys.

3.6.2 Analysis and interpretation of qualitative data: The interviews

This section explains how the collected data was analyzed and interpreted. As stated above, textual data was collected during field trips to the selected countries by conducting semi-structured interviews with internal and external education stakeholders. The data from the transcribed interviews was analyzed by means of content analysis, using the textual analysis software ATLAS-ti. This analysis involved the development of categories and codes, coding the contents of the interview transcriptions into categories, aggregating the coded text into the categories, and describing and interpreting the meaning of the categorized data. The concept of pedagogical content knowledge (abbreviated “PCK”; Shulman 1986, 1987) was applied as a theoretical framework to process the answers to specific questions concerning the implications of teachers’ knowledge about indigenous heritage in their teaching practice. Thus the interviews were analyzed by applying codes that emerged from the PCK elements used in this study. These elements were defined based on the work of Shulman (1986–1987), Grossman (1990), Thompson (1992), Richardson (1996) and van Driel et al. (1998) (see chapter 2 “Heritage education and teaching practice”).

The analysis of the collected data followed combined deductive-inductive reasoning. In this way, an understanding the current status of teaching indigenous history and heritage was constructed from observations made during the field visits, whose purpose was to describe the practices and challenges teachers face in their

classrooms, thereby complementing the theoretical analysis (Lodico et al. 2006). The matrix categorization used as reference to code the data is shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Categorization matrix with the list of categories or themes.

PCK elements	THEMES Subcategories
1. Conception of purposes for teaching subject matter	Beliefs about indigenous history and heritage (subject-specific beliefs) • Constructivist belief • Positivist belief
2. Instructional strategies and representations	a) Classroom strategies b) Outdoor activities c) Resource persons
3. Goals and objectives of the curriculum	a) Caribbean focus b) Local history c) Amerindian history d) Limitations
4. Students' understanding	a) Generational concerns b) Attitudes toward tolerance c) Connections with the present d) Students' learning e) Misconceptions
5. Knowledge of the context	a) Opportunities b) Constraints c) Students' backgrounds d) School community

The left column in the table shows the main categories of themes, obtained from the PCK, that were part of the interviews. In the right column, these themes or PCK elements were further divided into subcategories. To obtain the main categories on the right-hand side of the table, consideration was given to the work of Copeland (2009) regarding archaeological heritage education.

1) Conception of purposes for teaching subject matter

Document analysis prior to the field visits showed that neither archaeology nor indigenous history and heritage education (at that time) constituted independent subjects in the national curricula of the countries selected as study areas. An analysis of the relevant curriculum documents showed that elements of indigenous history and heritage were included within the subjects of social science or social studies. It was also revealed that primary- and secondary-school teachers did not receive specific preparation in these topics during their training. In the case of primary school, teachers graduated as "primary-school teachers"; social science or social studies was thus integrated into the overall study program, thereby diluting any content on indigenous

history and heritage. For secondary schools, teachers graduated with a specialization in social science or social studies.

In previous studies on heritage education, Estepa-Giménez et al. (2008) and Jiménez-Pérez et al. (2010) looked at how teachers define the concept of heritage education; based on their work, in analyzing the category of "PCK conceptions of purposes for teaching subject matter," my aim was to select all the data that could inform us precisely about teachers' attitudes and beliefs concerning indigenous history and heritage as part of the social studies (social science) curriculum (see chapter 2 "Heritage education and teaching practice"). In the format of semi-structured interviews, teachers were asked why teaching indigenous heritage is of any significance for their students. This question aimed to understand teachers' attitudes and beliefs toward this topic. Codes were applied to analysis teachers answers of the subject matter as it follows, beliefs about indigenous history and heritage differentiating when these beliefs as expressed by teachers are constructivist beliefs or positivist beliefs of heritage, adapted from Copeland (2009) (see chapter 2 "Heritage education and teaching practice").

2) Instructional strategies and representations

Another element of teachers' knowledge consists in their instructional strategies, namely how to teach a topic, which is defined by teaching style, methods and resources. For example, some teachers' styles exhibit a more teacher-centered method, while others are more in line with student-centered approaches (Díaz-Maggioli 2004; May et al. 2011; Stoll and Giddings 2012). When teaching about the past, teachers can make use of various activities to transmit the content to their students in meaningful ways. That can be done by engaging in school-organized activities that can be shared between students and teachers alike, thus creating a cooperative community of learning (Hein 2012: 39). Such activities, for example, include visits to museums and heritage sites.

Teachers can also invite resource persons to visit the schools and share their experiences with both teachers and students. This way the students can learn about the past using hands-on activities that are at the same time challenging, "minds-on" activities. Resource persons are individuals (from outside the school) with expert knowledge in the topic of indigenous history and heritage and who can bring knowledge and insight into the classroom or to outdoor activities to enrich the teachers' lesson. Therefore, in the interviews, question 8 (see Appendix C) sought to explore how the school context influenced teachers' pedagogical repertoire (Grossman 1990) and whether it expanded the range of learning activities for the topic of indigenous history and heritage. This code was of special interest in identifying how the resource persons could positively contribute to expanding the teachers' repertoires regarding indigenous history and heritage, namely by providing them with specialized knowledge, traditional

knowledge or indigenous views. The instructional strategies were classified into three categories:

a) *Classroom-based activities or strategies:* all learning opportunities inside the classroom, for instance reading books, making models of objects, dramatizations and others indicated by the teachers.
b) *Outdoor activities:* all those strategies that imply taking the students from the school to visit other non-formal educational settings, such as museums, heritage sites and natural attractions.
c) *Resource persons:* individuals whom teachers identify as experts and who can provide information about indigenous history and heritage in the classroom or during outdoor activities.

These latter two activities can be considered as forms of outdoor education as they are based on an experiential learning approach, i.e. learning from experiences that can be transferred to the school, work and home (Wattchow and Brown 2011: xiv). These activities are very common in lessons that seek to inform pupils about their environment by means of direct experience, which are representative of a progressive educational approach to learning in which the school should be connected with outside life (Hein 2012).

3) Goals and objectives of the curriculum

Another component of pedagogical content knowledge is how teachers are informed about the goals and objectives of the curriculum. The curriculum is the main instrument of educational policy, reflecting how the teaching and learning processes are envisioned at the national level. In the Caribbean, the social studies (social science) curriculum reflects the national discourses of identity and culture, and moreover it also reflects the regional interest in constructing a Caribbean regional identity in places such as the Lesser Antilles (see chapter 1).

For this reason, the codes were established taking into account the main characteristics of the social studies curriculum in the selected countries. Thus, two codes were used for the specific case of the Lesser Antilles, i.e. Saint Kitts and Dominica:

a) *the Caribbean focus code*, used for all answers in which teachers directly mention how teaching indigenous heritage is influenced by this goal of educating Caribbean citizens; and
b) *the local history code,* used whenever teachers make references to a need to incorporate local information on the indigenous people of the island into the topics of the social studies (social science) curriculum.

Although indigenous heritage is covered in the social studies (social science) curriculum, the available information about the Amerindians still reflects a European perspective, inherited from translations of European chronicles, that has made its way into textbooks widely used in the region (Con Aguilar et al. 2017). Thus the following code:

c) *Amerindian history:* applied to responses that indicate the position of indigenous history in the curriculum, or whether teachers perceived that this topic was not fully covered in the social studies (social science) program.

Curricular knowledge also includes the teachers' knowledge of the resources available or recommended in the curriculum for teaching a specific topic (Grossman 1990). Therefore, in order to identify those resources that teachers currently use for teaching about the indigenous peoples of the Caribbean and their heritage, teachers were asked in interviews to indicate the educational materials used for this specific topic. In this way, the collected data could show to what extent the school curriculum provides resources to facilitate teaching and learning about the indigenous history and heritage of the Caribbean. Consequently, a code was defined to identify limitations as pointed out by the teachers:

d) Limitations identified by the teachers as influencing their lesson plans in indigenous heritage in a limiting way.

4) Students' understanding

The engagement of students in learning activities is one of the major components of teaching. Teachers were asked what their students liked most or found most difficult about the material related to indigenous history and heritage in their social science or social studies classes (Question 4 interview format; see Appendix C).

The answers were categorized using the following codes:

a) *Generational concerns* serve to analyze those of the teachers' responses that could reflect how the age of their students can affect their interest in learning about indigenous history and heritage.
b) *Attitudes toward tolerance* is the code applied whenever teachers referred to how teaching about the indigenous people and their heritage contributes to strengthening the pupils' acceptance of other forms of culture.
c) *Students' learning* is the code used for those answers in which teachers indicated classroom situations that could positively or negatively affect their students' learning processes, such as for instance not having access to the internet to complete a research assignment.

d) *Misconceptions* is the code applied in cases where teachers indicated that their students' previous knowledge about the indigenous people influences their perceptions about their contributions to society in the past and present.

5) Knowledge of the context

Context is another component of teachers' PCK, as it can have a positive influence on how students experience learning while being engaged with the school community. In fact, context is acknowledged to have a complex and powerful influence in instructional design processes (Tessmer and Richey 1997). The knowledge of the context includes: knowledge of the districts in which the teachers work; knowledge of the school setting (opportunities offered in the immediate environment); and knowledge of the students' backgrounds, families and communities (Shulman 1987: 8; Grossman 1990: 9).

Thus, context can play a significant role in the design of instructional strategies. The teachers in these case studies come from different school communities, and the link with Amerindian history and heritage varies from one place to the other. It has been of interest to find out the influence of the knowledge of the context on the teaching.

The following codes were applied to the local initiatives and practices providing information about the indigenous people's culture and heritage;

a) *Opportunities*: this code was applied when teachers referred to activities offered by museums or NGOs to which their school districts would allow them to take their students.

b) *Constraints*: this was used when teachers made reference to factors impeding them from engaging their students in outdoor activities.

c) *Students' backgrounds*: includes all those instances in which teachers demonstrate that they know the context in which their students interact outside school hours. This code can contribute to understanding how teachers are informed about how their students' backgrounds influence their learning about indigenous heritage.

d) *School community*: these cases help illustrate to what extent the strengthening of the ties between the school, the community and parents contribute in the learning process.

3.6.3 Analysis and interpretation of quantitative data: The survey questionnaires

Surveys were designed based on the PCK concepts in order to gather quantitative data about the phenomenon studied. The surveys were used to gain in-depth knowledge of how teachers perceive and use the concept of indigenous history and heritage in the classroom.

The questions in the questionnaire were divided in the following way:

Table 3.3: Structure of the items in the questionnaire.

Open-ended	1
Closed	2
Multiple	3
Likert scale	1
Total questions	7

Firstly, each questionnaire that had been filled in was closely examined by checking all the questions and responses for errors. Secondly, to standardize the data; code numbers were assigned to the answers (Cohen et al. 2000). Lastly, the researcher developed a coding frame (Table 3.4 and 3.5) to assign numerical data to the open-ended responses (Jensen and Laurie 2016: 240). In the same way, data coding was applied to multiple-answer questions; each option was treated as a separate question.

Codebook questionnaires

Table 3.4: Demographic data coding.

Variable Number	Question	Variable Name	Label	Code
1	Please indicate your gender	Gender	Respondent's gender	1=Male 2=Female
2	Please indicate your years of teaching experience	Years of teaching experience	Respondent's years of teaching experience	1= Less or equal to 5 years 2= More or equal to 5 years
3	Please indicate what education level you teach	Education level	Teaching level	1=Initial 2= Primary 3=Secondary

Table 3.5: Questionnaire items coding.

Variable Number	Question	Variable Name	Code
1	How do you define indigenous heritage education?	Definition of indigenous heritage education	1=Knowledge of the history of ancestors 2= Knowledge of the culture of ancestors 3=Studying culture 4=Approach to teaching culture 5=Approach to teaching history 6=History's impact on present-day life 7=Culture's impact on present-day life

			8=Teaching about the past, present and future 9=Other

Question 3 and question 4 are binary (yes/no) questions; data was coded in 1/0 form.

Variable Number	Question	Variable Name	Code
3	Do you think there is a relation between archaeology and heritage?	Relation between archaeology and heritage	1=Yes 0=No
4	Is indigenous heritage from the pre-Columbian period included in the school curriculum guidelines?	Inclusion of the pre-Columbian period included in the school curriculum guidelines	1=Yes 0=No *Dominica 1=Yes 2=No 0=Limited
5	**Is the present indigenous heritage of the Kalinago people included in the school curriculum?	Presence of Kalinago heritage in the Curriculum	1=Yes 0=No

*In Dominica, the questionnaire item (question 4) was modified to provide teachers with a third option, "I don't know"; upon operationalizing the results, it was observed that teachers used this option instead to indicated the "limited" presence of the content in the curriculum.

**An extra questionnaire item was added (question 5), as in Dominica today there is the presence of the indigenous Kalinago people.

Questions 2, 5 and 6 are multiple-answer questions, for which the code 1 or 0 was applied to each option; they were each treated as separate questions in the analysis.

Variable Number	Question	Variable Name	Code
2	Describe the type of heritage present in your region	Type of heritage present in your region	
		Natural heritage	1=Yes 0=No
		Historical (colonial) heritage	1=Yes 0=No
		Archaeological indigenous heritage	1=Yes 0=No
		Intangible heritage	1=Yes 0=No
5	Select from the list	Defining aspects of	

	those aspects you think can be of help in defining indigenous heritage	indigenous heritage	
		Oral traditions	1=Yes 0=No
		Clothing	1=Yes 0=No
		Housing	1=Yes 0=No
		Musical instruments	1=Yes 0=No
		Kitchenware	1=Yes 0=No
		Transport	1=Yes 0=No
		Utilitarian ware	1=Yes 0=No
		Myths/cosmology	1=Yes 0=No
6	Select the strategies you presently use to teach your students about indigenous heritage	Instructional strategies	
		Textbooks and documents	1=Yes 0=No
		Visit to museums	1=Yes 0=No
		Visits to historical sites	1=Yes 0=No
		Visits to archaeological sites	1=Yes 0=No
		Visits to national archives or other archives/record offices	1=Yes 0=No
		Inviting resource persons/specialists	1=Yes 0=No
		Evidence: Artifacts, photos, videos	1=Yes 0=No
		Internet and multimedia	1=Yes 0=No

Question 7 was a closed-ended question in which a Likert scale was applied in order to measure teachers' attitudes toward activities offered in the school context. Options were plotted on a five-point scale (Nardi 2006: 75–76).

Variable Number	Question	Variable Name	Code
7	How often do you plan	Knowledge of the	1=Never

	outdoor activities with your students to teach about the indigenous heritage of the Dominican Republic?	context	2=Rarely 3=Sometimes 4=Often 5=Very often

The questionnaire consisted of a section with items covering demographic information about the teachers, such as gender, occupation, years of service, teaching subject and level of training. There were also questions related to the dimensions of PCK (see chapter 2), including subject matter knowledge (see questions 1, 2, 3, 5); knowledge of the curriculum (see question 2); knowledge of instructional strategies (see question 6); and knowledge of the context (see question 7).

Data was analyzed using descriptive statistics with the purpose of describing and exploring the phenomena studied. In this way, frequency tables, bar graphs and pie charts were used to visualize the information obtained from the data analysis. Findings from the survey questionnaires are included in the chapters on the results of each case study (chapters 4, 5 and 6). Additionally, in "chapter 7" conclusions are drawn upon analyzing the different data set collected for this investigation. The results of the survey questionnaires are used to explain and compare results from the document analysis and interviews.

3.7 Chapter summary

This chapter began by considering the notion of educational research, and then proceeded to explain how this discipline informs research questions and the methods of investigating them. The chapter also briefly described the philosophical orientations of constructionism and qualitative methodologies in education. One of the main goals of this chapter was to outline the theoretical foundations of the *mixed-methods research methodology* employed in the investigation. In the following three chapters, the main findings of the data analysis will be presented for each country case. Finally, the last chapter will further discuss and interpret these findings in terms of how they answer the research questions.

Chapter 4
Finding Liamuiga: Teaching indigenous heritage education in Saint Kitts

4.1 Introduction

Figure 4.1: View of Nevis from Basseterre, Saint Kitts (photo by author).

When touching down in Saint Kitts, from the windows of the plane one can see an island covered with mountains and lots of vegetation. Once on the ground and in the capital, Basseterre, it is possible to see Nevis, the sister island; in the distance, the impressive "Nevis Peak," one of the island's prominent natural features, majestically appears. It was later on in my stay in Saint Kitts, while accompanying my archaeologist colleagues on their surveys near the Black Rock site on the windward side of the island, that I had the opportunity to get a closer look at Mount Liamuiga, previously known as Mount Misery. I had learned about it earlier during an interview with a teacher. When I had asked her how her students learn about the Amerindians, she started singing a song about Liamuiga. She recalled an episode with her students where one of them sang her the very song she was singing to me. She sang it only very briefly, but to me it represented the story of the Amerindians who called the island "Liamuiga," the "fertile land." (Eldris Con Aguilar)

This case study took place on the island of Saint Kitts, or "Liamuiga" ("fertile land"), as it was called by its first inhabitants, the Amerindians. The main objective of this study was to investigate the current status of the teaching of indigenous heritage through the perspectives of teachers. To this end, teachers from two secondary schools in the villages of Old Road and Sandy Point were interviewed.

In order to understand how education policies and practices influence the teaching of the indigenous past and its significance for today's Kittian society, I reviewed

the so-called *intended curriculum* and school textbooks, then compared this with the teachers' perspectives on how these teaching guidelines were applied in practice in the *enacted curriculum*. This allow me to understand how subject matter related to indigenous heritage is represented in the official curriculum guidelines and educational resources, as well as to examine how these recommendations were reflected in the teachers' pedagogical practices.

In my analysis of the data collected over two field visits in 2014, I sought to identify those factors that play a decisive role in how indigenous heritage is taught in the classroom; I also intended to explore to what extent the schools were connected with their immediate context and aware of the existence of museums, historical sites, national archives and other cultural or heritage institutions in their communities. The results obtained from the investigation allow for a better understanding of how the Amerindian legacy is represented in the school curriculum, and how it is taught in the two secondary schools I observed in Saint Kitts. At first impression, it appeared that the colonial history and the history of the enslaved Africans of Saint Kitts predominated over indigenous heritage.

At secondary schools in Saint Kitts, the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) curriculum is used. This is a curriculum common to the Commonwealth Caribbean countries: independent island nations in the Caribbean region that were once British colonies, and which now belong to the British Commonwealth of Nations. The CXC syllabi for the subjects of social studies and Caribbean history do include a section on the "first inhabitants"; however, the teachers and other stakeholders agreed that indigenous heritage is not sufficiently emphasized. They did express an interest in providing their students with a more balanced view of their history and heritage, including as much information as is available on the Amerindians. In their opinion, the chapter of history on the first inhabitants constitutes a significant part of Kittian heritage, and is important in answering questions like "where did we come from?" and "who are we today?"

4.2 Historical and archaeological background of Saint Kitts

Columbus and his fleet encountered the islands of Saint Kitts and Nevis, located in the Lesser Antilles in the Eastern Caribbean Sea, on 11 November 1493, during Columbus's second voyage, after entering the Eastern Caribbean from the north coast of Dominica on 3 November 1493 (Dyde 2005). For many years, these islands were under Spanish control; however, the Spanish were not able to protect them from the incursions of other European countries. Its colonial history is a reminder of the clashes and disputes between contemporary European powers in their race to rule the New World. Although the Spanish Empire was able to maintain control throughout the sixteenth century, in the seventeenth century the French, British and Dutch started gaining a foothold and taking over colonies from the Spanish. Saint Kitts and Nevis, however, remained Spanish

colonies for over a century, although they were never really settled by the Spanish colonizers, who were more interested in the Greater Antilles and Central America. Saint Kitts was the first long-lasting non-Spanish colony, colonized by the English in 1624 (Higman 2010; Heuman 2014).

Contemporary historians date the arrival of Thomas Warner to January 28, 1624 (Inniss 1985), when there were still Amerindians in Saint Kitts, though there is no certainty about the number of Amerindians on the island (Dyde 2005; Dyde et al. 2008). In this vein, Hubbard (2002) argued that a reasonable estimate would be less than a thousand. It has been pointed out by other authors that by the time of the first British arrivals in Saint Kitts, the only sizable permanent indigenous settlement was located on the leeward side of the island (Goodwin 1976, Wilson 1999, Dyde 2005,). Certainly, our existing knowledge about the pre-Columbian period of the history of Saint Kitts is due primarily to European chroniclers from the period of the British arrival, before the end of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless there is more to learn about the island and its inhabitants before the Europeans; since the early 1970s, archaeological studies have been carried out in Saint Kitts (for example, Hoffman 1973; Armstrong 1978; Goodwin 1978), and the findings of these studies have helped to shed more light on the first settlers.

More recently, archaeological researchers Keegan and Hofman have adopted a chronological perspective to explain the cultural developments in the Lesser Antilles, focusing on the transformations "that began in the Archaic Age, continued through the Ceramic Age, and ended with the imposition of European influences" (2017: 200). Along these lines, Keegan and Hofman (2017) point to previous archaeological studies that have uncovered material remains from the Archaic Age, indicating that there were early settlements on Saint Kitts and Nevis. These Archaic Age sites contained mainly shell and stone tools. Although there is yet no fixed period for when the first islanders occupied the northern Lesser Antilles, material remains show evidence that there were Archaic Age sites on these islands. This suggests that the first occupations could have started from around cal 4000 BP.

It is believed that Saint Kitts was first inhabited by Amerindians of three different ethnicities and then — from the sixteenth century — also by people of European and African descent (Farag et al. 2005: 1). References to the relevant archaeological findings can be found in recent books on the history of Saint Kitts (Hubbard 2002; Dyde 2005; Higman 2010). According to historical accounts, the first Amerindian people were the Ciboney; they were followed by the Arawak, and then finally came the Carib or Kalinago, who were there upon the arrival of the Europeans (Dyde 2005, 2008). However, from an archaeological point of view, there is reason to doubt that the people whom the British encountered upon their arrival were in fact Carib or "Kalinago," as Goodwin deduces from the archaeological assemblages he has studied: "In short, the precolonial Kittitians

heretofore described in the historical literature as Carib were Arawak" (1979: 336). This thesis is also supported by Wilson's archaeological studies on the island of Nevis (1989).

Nevertheless, in the curricula of primary and secondary schools and their textbooks, the Carib ("Kalinago") are described as the indigenous people who were in Saint Kitts at the time of the Europeans' arrival, in agreement with the historical records (Inniss 1985, Mans, in press).[11] According to historical tradition, in 1624, a group of English colonists landed on the island (Inniss 1985; Wilson 1989; Dyde 2005). On January 28, 1624, Sir Thomas Warner returned to Saint Kitts to settle on the leeward shore of the island;[12] the English then negotiated with the Amerindians as to which land they would occupy: "[T]he English settlers were met by a group of Carib Indians led by their Cacique Tegreman; after short and peaceful negotiations, the English were allowed to settle 'the land between two rivers' presumably those now called Wingfield and East Rivers" (Goodwin 1979: 53–54).

The waves of European arrivals (English and French) culminated in the massacre of the island's native inhabitants, known to history as the Kalinago Genocide of 1626, at Bloody Point. That was the name given to the place where the massacre occurred, in the area of the Stone Fort River, and where Amerindian petroglyphs dating from pre-Columbian times can still be found today (Inniss 1985). After the massacre at Bloody Point, and according to Dyde (2006: 23), no Amerindians were left on the island: "It is doubtful if those who were not killed left the island, as a second attack soon took place at the end of December." Other ethnohistorical records, however, pointed out that the remaining Amerindians fled to the neighboring islands in their canoes (Wilson 1989). Moreover, according to Hubbard (2002: 18), an estimated 2000 Indians were killed and the rest escaped to the mountains. He added that around 1640, all the remaining Indians were removed from Saint Kitts, Nevis and Antigua and sent to Dominica, where a handful of their descendants still survive today.

The first English colonizers grew tobacco crops; however, the market price of tobacco suffered a decrease in the 1630s because it could not compete with the tobacco produced in Virginia (Heuman 2014). By the 1640s, sugar had become the island's signature product, thereby replacing the tobacco-based economy that had flourished during the early colonization of the island (Inniss 1989; Hubbard 2002). Before the introduction of sugarcane, the main workforce consisted of indentured servants, mostly of Irish origin, working in tobacco cultivation. However, the hard work in the sugar

[11] For more on the ethnohistory of the Kalinago in the Lesser Antilles, see Honychurch (1995) .

[12] In the historical sources used as references for this investigation, some discrepancies were found concerning the actual date of the English arrival on the island of Saint Kitts, which vacillated between 1622 and 1624. For the purpose of this investigation, the author compared these dates with the information available in Caribbean history textbooks, as the present research focused on the context of education and how indigenous history and heritage is represented in that context. Thus, the date accepted for the landing of the British is 1624, as given by Dyde, Greenwood and Hamber (2008)

plantations required more workers; this created a demand for more slave workers by the plantation owners. (Inniss 1985; Hubbard 2002; Heuman 2014). Soon the society began its transformation into a plantation society: "A peasant society comprised of Europeans was transformed into a plantation society comprised in the majority of the slaves imported from Africa." By the end of the seventeenth century, these slaves from Africa formed the largest part of the Kittian population (Dyde 2005).

Saint Kitts became the main hub of the sugar trade for the English and French colonies in the Caribbean (Inniss 1985); however, a period of turmoil — in which Saint Kitts was involved in colonial disputes — affected sugar production. Heuman (2014: 25) explains that the Leeward Islands were delayed in their development: "Some of these colonies changed hands repeatedly: in Saint Kitts, this happened seven times in this period, before it finally wound up in the hands of the English in 1713."

The colonial history of Saint Kitts and Nevis is marked by disputes between the English and French in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and significant political changes in the nineteenth century. By 1783, Saint Kitts, Nevis and Monserrat were returned to Britain under the Treaty of Versailles (Inniss 1985). Saint Kitts was one of the West Indian islands with an established economy based on sugarcane production. In the course of the next century, until achieving their independence in 1983, Saint Christopher and Nevis went through several events that shaped their recent history, such as political and regional reconfiguration, the abolition of the slave trade in 1807 and the emancipation of enslaved people in 1838 (Inniss 1985).[13]

The contemporary history of Saint Kitts and its independence consist of events that are still quite recent; as in other countries, in the postcolonial period, building the new nation states included the task of redefining their national identity. "For some nationalists, the search for a Caribbean heritage meant drawing a line between the European and non-European heritage (with a preference for the latter)" (Bryan and Reid 2012: 2); this meant building up a national narrative based on what is supposed to be indigenous to the region. In this way, ethnicity has played a role in constructing a Caribbean identity. In 2014, the population numbered 54,940, according to the data from the World Bank; in Saint Kitts, as in other Caribbean islands, the population has a mixed ethnicity, forming what is known as a creole society. Saint Kitts's population has predominantly African ancestry: "The population is mainly African descendent (90%) followed by Caucasian (2.7%) and mixed (2.5%)" (PAHO 2016).

Today, Kittian society commemorates its colonial past and, in particular, recognizes the contribution of the enslaved Africans to the island's cultural history. Much of the historical emphasis on slavery heritage is related to events that occurred after the postcolonial era. Thus, the main festivities on the island and its chief traditions

[13] More detailed information about the history of Saint Kitts and Nevis can be found in Inniss 1985, Hubbard 2002 and Dyde 2005, cited in this work.

are linked with African Caribbean heritage, allowing little room to commemorate the indigenous heritage of the island. This phenomenon is not exclusively Kittian or Nevisian; in general, the Eastern Caribbean, otherwise known as the West Indies, has adopted a national identity that emphasizes the population's African background (Harney 1996; Reddock 1996; Bryan and Reid 2006).

In the case of Saint Kitts, one can also see that the tourism industry is predominantly focused on the colonial and plantation past, even though material remains of other cultures can be found across the island, such as the petroglyphs of Bloody Point and Old Road, perhaps the most well-known Amerindian sites. Moreover, in the exhibitions of the National Trust and Brimstone Hill, one finds displays that take the visitor back through the history of the island, featuring information on the indigenous people who inhabited the island before the Europeans. Generally speaking, however, people tend to feel more linked to their African heritage than to indigenous heritage; this is also pointed out in some of the teacher interviews. For this reason, studying the teaching of indigenous heritage in a context in which African Caribbean identity predominates can yield valuable results.

4.3 Context of the study

The island of Saint Kitts, like other Caribbean islands, is being affected by environmental changes that, together with social factors, endanger the preservation of heritage sites. Stancioff et al. (2017) have pointed out the impacts of coastal erosion on the island and how these can negatively impact the preservation of heritage sites, including Amerindian and colonial sites. Along these lines, in 2014, as part of the CARIB project supported by HERA (Humanities in the European Research Area), Leiden PhD student Samantha De Ruiter (2017) conducted an archaeological survey on the island and identified 24 Amerindian sites — only five of which remain intact, while seven are endangered and 12 have largely been destroyed (Figure 4.2).[14]

Some of these Amerindian sites are known today as tourist attractions, such as the petroglyphs adjacent to Romney Major in the village of Old Road, which is one of the most advertised sites in tourism promotional materials. There are also petroglyphs at Bloody Point near Stone Fort River (village of Challengers; see Figure 4.3), the site of the 1626 genocide. In 2014, during the author's visit, there were some road signs leading to the site, but there was no heritage management plan to ensure that information about the site was available to the public. This site is located deep in the forest, and is mostly known among tourists who are interested in hiking.

[14] Archaeological research carried out in the last decades has detected the imprints of 12 to 18 former indigenous settlements across the island (Goodwin 1979; Farag et al. 2005).

Figure 4.2: Map of Amerindian archaeological sites identified on the island of Saint Kitts, 2014 (courtesy of De Ruiter 2017).

Figure 4.3: View of the village of Challengers, location of the Amerindian site Bloody Point (photo by author).

Initiatives have been taken to raise awareness of and support for heritage management plans for Amerindian sites such as Bloody Point (van der Linde and Mans 2015). At the time when this investigation was conducted in Saint Kitts in 2014, researchers from the ERC-Synergy project Nexus 1492 and the HERA-CARIB project, both based at Leiden University, were studying the extent to which the local communities identified themselves with the places and heritage of indigenous past. The investigation was focused on the leeward side of the island, where the first encounters between Amerindians and Europeans were recorded.

From their study, van der Linde and Mans (2015: 263) observed:

> "[T]he majority of what is known on the island was based upon basic textbook knowledge that people learned either at school or via tourist channels. The indigenous past was generally seen as part of the island's history (most people pointed out the petroglyphs of Old Road and Stone Fort River) but not as heritage that most interviewees personally related to. However, in the village of Challengers, near Bloody River — believed to be the setting for the last battle between the indigenous Kittitians and the Europeans colonizers in 1626 — local people were very engaged with the indigenous topic, and showed a certain degree of identification with indigenous affiliations to that place[.]"

These factors that were underlined by van der Linde and Mans (2015) also came up in the author's interviews with teachers from secondary schools located in the villages of Sandy Point and Old Road. For example, teachers pointed out that indigenous heritage did not occupy a predominant place in the daily life of the Kittians. They showed concern that other, mainly foreign cultural interests seemed to be more appealing to younger generations. From an early stage, the social studies curriculum includes the teaching of the appreciation of local Kittitian cultural expression, but the Caribbean region as a whole is highly influenced by foreign cultural trends and manifestations that impact how young children relate to their own culture.

In the next pages, the question of how indigenous history and heritage is taught is addressed and answered from the teachers' perspectives. But first, in the following section, some key aspects of the legislative and policy framework of the primary and secondary education system of Saint Kitts are explored in order to complement the study of the current status of indigenous history and heritage from a local and regional perspective.

4.3.1 The social studies curriculum in Saint Kitts and Nevis

The primary and secondary education system of Saint Kitts is fully regulated and administrated by the Ministry of Education. During its colonial past, education programs were structured according to the British education system (Commonwealth Secretariat

2012). However, even before gaining independence, there were already efforts by the government of the federation to reform education practices and make them more compatible with and relevant to national priorities and objectives (Pemberton 2010: 4)[15]. In this vein, the Ministry of Education started to incorporate the goals of national development in its education policies and curricular reforms. Education is now compulsory from ages five through 16, and consists of six years of primary followed by five years of secondary education.

When exploring the education policy framework of Saint Kitts and Nevis, it is also necessary to have a look at the broader regional picture. Regional affiliations influence the way education policies are defined at the local level. In a regional context, Saint Kitts and Nevis is a full member of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS). Therefore, the country subscribes to the education agendas and policies promoted by these regional bodies.

At a local level, the Education Act of 2005 provides the regulations that govern the primary and secondary education system of Saint Kitts and Nevis (Ministry of Education, Saint Kitts-Nevis 2005). In 2009, a White Paper Document for the period 2009 to 2019 was produced to complement this act: "This White Paper is intended to support the implementation of the Act, its Amendments and related Education Regulations. The contents of the White Paper should not at any time be considered as being in contravention of the provisions of the Act" (Ministry of Education, Saint Kitts-Nevis 2009).

As in other countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean, primary education is regulated at the local level by the Ministry of Education, while at the secondary level, the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) curriculum guidelines are followed. The CXC is a regional body for the Commonwealth Caribbean countries that aims to standardize educational material and examinations to provide students with the opportunity to achieve competencies that are transferable within an international sphere. For the studies discussed here, the author was granted permission to work with two secondary schools in the villages of Old Road and Sandy Point. No primary schools were included. The analysis of the curriculum focused on the secondary-school level and the CXC subjects of social studies and Caribbean history. Nonetheless, the primary-school curriculum was reviewed and briefly described, particularly with relation to the goals outlined in the 2009 White Paper concerning the place of national identity in the country's education.

[15] In her study, Pemberton 2010 explained in detail the curricular reforms that took place in Saint Kitts and Nevis during the period before independence in 1983, and how these were reinforced afterwards and continue to today.

4.3.2 Primary-school education: Fostering understanding of cultural heritage

Primary-school education in Saint Kitts and Nevis starts at the age of five years old and continues until the age of 12. According to the Ministry of Education of Saint Kitts and Nevis (MOESKN 2017), primary-school education is divided into three stages: the earliest stage comprises kindergarten (K) and grades 1 and 2; lower primary consists of grades 3 and 4; and upper primary includes grades 5 and 6.

The curriculum for primary school is developed at the local level, as is the case in the other Commonwealth Caribbean countries. At the time when this research was conducted in Saint Kitts (2014), the curriculum documents for primary school were not available on the MOESKN's website. These documents are now available on the website, and have been updated in the online database.[16] The author was able to access the curriculum documents of 2001 thanks to the assistance of the National Archives of Saint Kitts.

The primary-school interim curriculum for grades K through 3, in its rationale for social studies (MOESKN Curriculum Development Unit 2017: 3), states:

> "Central to the Social Studies Programme is the preparation of students to be citizens of today and tomorrow by helping them to better understand that St. Kitts and Nevis is interconnected to the world in which they live and appreciate the complexities of the human experience. Drawing on the social life that is of meaning and interest to the learners, Social Studies aspires to ignite students' curiosity to inquire into real-world issues that concern their lives. "

At this early stage in the children's development, social studies curriculum emphasizes citizenship education. This is an ambitious goal that responds to the demands of the postcolonial and modern movement of social studies in the Caribbean (Griffith and Barth 2006). Thus, at the basis of social studies as a core subject in primary-school education, the appreciation of cultural heritage appears to be a main principle in the formation of young Caribbean citizens. Learning about the country's cultural heritage is intended to facilitate the knowledge and understanding necessary for the comprehension of its diverse cultures in a broader perspective.

[16] The most recent update for the Social Studies Curriculum (Primary School) is from 2017. This document '*Primary School Interim Curriculum (Social Studies)*' aims to address the curriculum changes from previous documents "there have been a number of changes to the original Social Studies Curriculum document that are reflected in this document in an attempt to address the glaring issues that existed within the documents developed 2000, 2001 and 2003." (MOESKN Curriculum Development Unit 2017:1)

Furthermore, the social studies curriculum establishes the following as its general aims:

Table 4.1: General aims of the social studies curriculum with respect to citizenship education.

• **develop healthy emotions**
• **take responsibilities for their own actions**
• **learn to love and respect self and others**
• **participate in decision-making in the classroom, and wider community**
• **appreciate their own culture and to be tolerant of the culture of others**
• **exhibit the knowledge, skills attitudes and values needed to participate in the democratic process**
• **appreciate their role and assume the responsibility of being caring, loyal citizens of their country.**
• **nurture dispositions to show concern for the world in which they live and demonstrate empathy in their relations with others**

Adapted from the *Primary School Interim Currriculum (Grades K-3)* MOESKN Curriculum Department Unit 2017).

The discussion of social studies and how it plays a primary role in the education of Caribbean citizens has been addressed in previous chapters. Nevertheless, in this section it is worthwhile to underline how the aims of the social studies curriculum in primary-school education in Saint Kitts and Nevis reflect the developments of social studies syllabi in the postcolonial period (Griffith and Barth 2006).

4.3.3 Secondary-school education and Caribbean identity

As noted above, in the Commonwealth Caribbean, secondary education is divided between lower secondary school (forms 1 to 3) and upper secondary school (forms 4 and 5). In lower secondary schools, indigenous history and heritage fall under in the compulsory subject of social studies. The curriculum integrates knowledge of history, skills, elements of citizenship and civic values both inside and outside the classroom. In upper secondary school, indigenous history and heritage fall under the subject of Caribbean history.

In the interviews, it was observed that the principal resource available to teachers (and students) for learning about the subject of indigenous history and heritage was the textbooks. The interviewed teachers provided copies of official textbooks approved by the CXC, which they used according to CXC regulations. A review of these textbooks revealed that the indigenous heritage content was principally focused on giving a broad regional perspective of the subject, leaving little space (and time) for local experiences and stories. The teachers have learned to complement the textbooks with

additional material for their lessons on social studies and Caribbean history in order to include local aspects of indigenous history and heritage. In the next sections, it is discussed how teachers also make use of other educational resources.

In this section, I look at the position of indigenous heritage within the school curriculum and the broader framework of education philosophy. My aim is to illustrate how the education system of Saint Kitts accommodates the teaching of indigenous heritage in secondary-school education. This information is complemented by the teachers' perspectives, as culled from interviews and participatory activities.

As explained in previous chapters, the subject of social studies has a prominent place in the curriculum, as it aims to teach young students about family, community and moral values as the foundation of citizenship education, and thus to be able to appreciate and understand local and national social issues and goals (Griffith and Barth 2006). In fact, within secondary-school education, social studies is covered in lower secondary school (forms 1 to 3). According to the CXC Social Studies Syllabus (CXC 2010: 1), "The syllabus seeks to ensure that students develop the necessary skills and at the same time introduces them to the knowledge of social phenomena that may enhance their effectiveness as social participants in the Caribbean community."

The Social Studies Syllabus for the Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC) is organized around the following unifying concepts:

Table 4.2a: Unifying concepts in the Social Studies Syllabus for the CSEC.

Identity	Identity, at the personal level, seeks to answer "who am I?" and "what do I want to be?" Identity also makes the individual conscious of the relationship between personal needs and those of the family, nation and region
Freedom/choice	Satisfying personal and national needs involves the freedom to adapt to or reject existing norms and to be creative
Conflict	Conflict is inherent in the process of exercising the freedom to make choices among competing alternatives
Development/ change	The nature of choices made to satisfy needs may result in varying degrees of development and change at the personal, national or regional level
Interaction	The degree of change is influenced by the efficiency and adequacy of relationships among people at personal, community, national and regional levels
Cooperation	The rate of development or the level of satisfaction of needs increases when individuals, families, communities or nations share their ideas, pool their resources and arrive at solutions
Justice	Justice as fairness can be fostered when social, economic, legal and

	moral rights are maintained
Integration	Policies and practices used in achieving national and regional goals reflect mutually acceptable international rules, policies and institutions

Adapted from the criteria for content selection, *Social Studies Syllabus for the CSEC* (CXC 2010: 2–3).

In upper secondary school (forms 4 and 5), indigenous heritage-related subject matter can be found in the *CXC Caribbean History Syllabus for the Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC) examinations.* One of the main purposes of the study program is to enable the students to foster their Caribbean identities: "This syllabus has been guided by a particular view of the nature of history as a discipline, the educational need of students, and the desire to promote the development of an ideal Caribbean person" (CXC 2010: 1). This clearly shows that Caribbean identity is a fundamental component in the education philosophy of the Caribbean region (Caribbean Education Strategy 2000).

Caribbean history is taught in upper secondary school as an optional examination subject. Students who select this option have two years to understand key historical facts and concepts and develop an appreciation for the subject. The subject is then divided into three sections, each with three themes. Besides the core, students are expected to study one theme from each of the three sections. The contents extend from the late fifteenth century to the late twentieth century (CXC 2010: 2).

Table 4.2b: Content organization of the Caribbean History Syllabus for the CSEC.

Section	Theme
A	The Indigenous Peoples and the Europeans Caribbean Economy and Slavery Resistance and Revolt
B	Metropolitans Movements toward Emancipation Adjustments to Emancipation, 1838–1876 Caribbean Economy, 1875–1985
C	The United States in the Caribbean 1776–1985 Caribbean Political Development up to 1985 Caribbean Society 1900–1985

Adapted from the themes as organized in the *Caribbean History Syllabus* for the CSEC (CXC 2010: 4).

The Caribbean Examination Council indicates that the approach to teaching history is thematic, thus giving preference to the discussion of central historical, political, social and economic issues over the chronological approach to teaching history, centered on dates and facts.

4.4 Data collection, processing and interpretation

Two fieldwork visits to the island of Saint Kitts were organized in 2014, at which research fellows from the project ERC-Synergy Nexus 1492 were also present. The first one took place in January and was of an exploratory nature to assess opportunities for working with the school community. This first visit entailed meetings and interviews with five representatives from local institutions involved in education, culture and heritage, together with research fellows from the Nexus 1492 and HERA-CARIB research projects who were visiting the island during this period. These meetings were arranged with the help of Mr. Cameron Gill, the local contact person as well as a researcher affiliated with the ERC-Synergy Nexus 1492 project. At that time, he was also manager of the Brimstone Hill Society, a heritage foundation.

As a result, the Senior Education Officer of the Ministry of Education at that time, granted the authorization to work with social science or (alternatively) history teachers from two secondary schools in this investigation: Verchilds High School in the town of Old Road, and Charles E. Mills Secondary School in the town of Sandy Point; thus the sample was selected specifically so it could be flexible enough to incorporate opportunities that appeared unexpectedly during the fieldwork (Patton 1990).[17] It was made clear by this representative of the ministry that the investigation was to be conducted only in these two public secondary schools in the form of a pilot project. These two schools are located close to indigenous and colonial heritage sites well known to the local community, such as the Brimstone Hill Fortress, Romney Manor, the petroglyphs adjacent to Romney Manor and Bloody Point on the leeward side of the island, where the other researchers from the Nexus 1492 and CARIB projects were conducting ethnographic and archaeological investigations in 2014 and 2015.

An informational meeting was organized with teachers of history, geography and social studies from both secondary schools to discuss the purposes of the research and to inquire about their interest in participating in the planned activities and interviews in a subsequent visit. The second fieldwork trip took place in May 2014; a participatory workshop was organized, and interviews were carried out with the school teachers. Three meetings with the teachers of both secondary schools were held. The workshop lasted three days. Two methods were used to explore the teachers' perspectives on indigenous heritage: interviews and the design of a class project during the workshop. The interviews were semi-structured (see Appendix B), and at the beginning of each, a

[17] Due to the conditions of the Ministry of Education (MOESKN), only two of the six secondary schools on the island of Saint Kitts were included in this study. According to statistics available from the *St. Kitts & Nevis Education Digest 2013–2014*, secondary education in Saint Kitts and Nevis is provided by twelve institutions, eight of which are public [two in Nevis and six in Saint Kitts], four private [one in Nevis and three in Saint Kitts].

standard protocol was followed, asking for the approval to conduct and record the interview (see chapter 3 for the data collection instruments design).

Figure 4.4: Map of Saint Kitts and Nevis; red dots show the location of the secondary schools that took part in this study on the island of Saint Kitts. Below, Charles E. Mills Secondary School (Sandy Point) and Verchilds High School (Old Road Town) (©Rafa Monterde).

4.4.1 Teacher interviews

The Senior Officer of the Ministry of Education granted the permission to organize a participatory workshop and to conduct interviews with teachers from the two secondary schools mentioned above on the condition that the principals of both schools agreed with the planned activities. Following the Senior Officer's instructions, the researcher arranged meetings with the two principals and informed them of the planned activities.

The principals recommended a contact person in each school to assign the teachers to take part in the activities. For Verchilds High School, the coordinator for the field of history was made responsible for assigning three teachers from history and social studies. In the case of Charles E. Mills Secondary School, the coordinator for the field of social studies assigned four teachers. Seven teachers of history, geography or social studies, as well as one teacher of music, were invited to participate in the program activities. Both coordinators participated in the interview sessions, and the social studies coordinator from Charles E. Mills also joined the workshop during the first and last days.

Table 4.3: Teachers participating in the interviews.

Teacher	School	Subject
Teacher 1	Verchilds High School (Coordinator)	History
Teacher 2	Charles E. Mills	Social studies
Teacher 3	Charles E. Mills	Geography and dance
Teacher 4	Charles E. Mills	Music
Teacher 5	Charles E. Mills	Geography
Teacher 6	Verchilds High School	History
Teacher 7	Verchilds High School	History and social studies
Teacher 8	Verchilds High School	History
Teacher 9	Charles E. Mills (Coordinator)	Social studies

In all, nine teachers participated in the interviews, either individually or in groups of two or three (see Table 4.3). Eight of them also participated in the workshop. The interviews took place in the teachers' room of each school and lasted from seven to 55 minutes. The discussions with the teachers were based on semi-structured interviews. From these interviews, the different components that play a role in the way indigenous heritage is taught were identified: for example, resources, school permission and time limitations.

4.4.2 Participatory activities

A participatory activity was organized in the form of a workshop with the purpose of exploring in-depth the teachers' perspectives about the place of indigenous history and heritage in the school curriculum. The program of activities is shown in Table 4.4. During the introductory meeting on the first day, teachers expressed their interest in having more hands-on exercises in which they could design activities about the indigenous heritage of the island for their students. Accordingly, the activity in the

second session was organized around the design of practical activities. The last session was intended to summarize the discussions and input collected in the previous sessions.

Table 4.4: Practical activities organized with teachers in Saint Kitts, May 2014.

Date	Activity	Time	Location	Number of Participants
15 May 2014	Introductory meeting Presentation of Ph.D. research project Discussion of calendar	13:30–15:00	Charles. E. Mills (Sandy Point)	8
22 May 2014	Workshop: "Teaching archaeological heritage opportunities and challenges"	13:30–15:00	Charles E. Mills (Sandy Point)	2
29 May 2014	Wrap-up meeting Feedback on workshop	13:30–15:00	Charles E. Mills (Sandy Point)	5

The activities organized as part of the investigation were classified as a 'pilot project' by the representative of the Ministry of Education. Participation by the teachers was voluntary. The schedule of the activities was defined in consultation with the teachers. Three teachers, one from Verchilds and two from Charles E. Mills, informed me that they would not be able to attend the second session on 22 May. At the second session of the workshop, two more teachers from Verchilds notified me that they would no longer be able to come due to an unexpected situation. It was not possible to reschedule the activity, because the dates and programs had already been reviewed and approved by the principals, and the teachers were in their examination period. However, those teachers that did not participate in the activity were interviewed afterward, and were also invited to send their feedback by e-mail. This way it was possible to collect valuable information from them as well (Table 4.5).

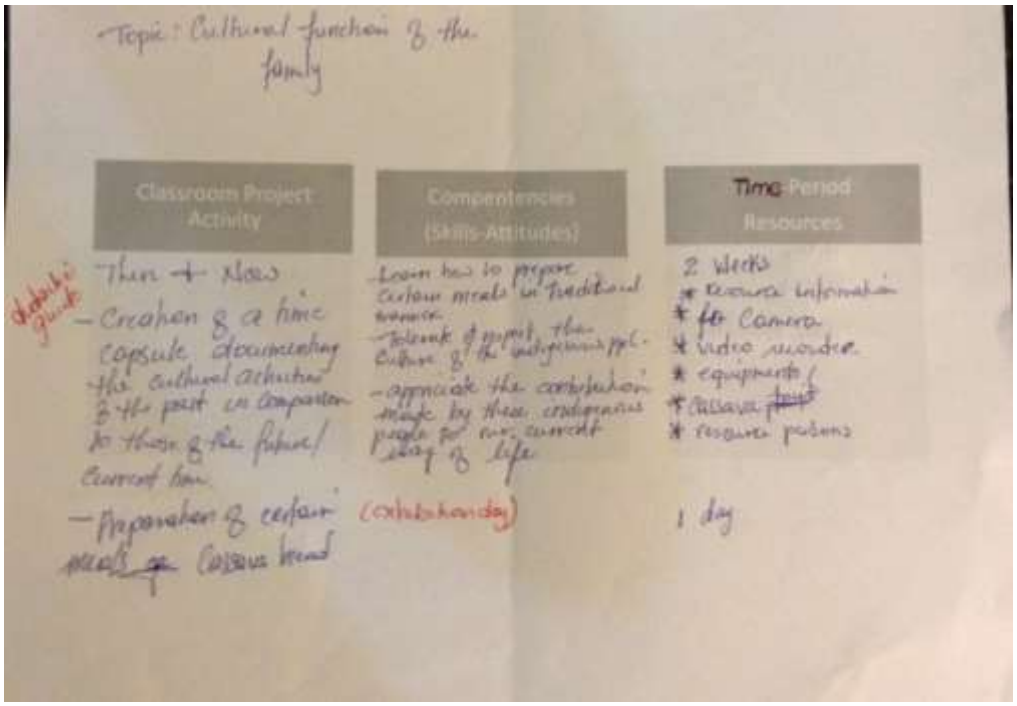

Figure 4.5: Class project designed by a teacher of social studies at the second session of the workshop, May 22, 2014 (photo by author).

Practical exercises were organized to provide teachers with a platform for expressing their ideas about the design of learning experiences for teaching the topic of indigenous heritage to their students in the classroom (see Figure 4.5). They were provided with a format for designing a class project that allowed them to map out different aspects of the syllabus, like content, skills and attitudes (based on learning outcomes) and activities (school-based assessment).

Table 4.5: Teachers' input on the design of a class project on the subject of indigenous history and heritage.

Description of Activity	Means of Data Collection	Provided By
Time capsule (activities of the past in comparison with those of the present and future)	During workshop activity	Teacher 3
Mapping to illustrate the path or route taken by the indigenous people to Saint Kitts	During workshop activity	Teacher 5

Art project: Paint the class with a design of a heritage site in Saint Kitts-Nevis	After workshop activity. Sent by e-mail	Teacher 6
Project on the heritage of local history	From conversations with the teachers	Group interview (Teachers 6, 7, 8)
Ethnographic research on traditional percussion	From conversations with the teachers	Teacher 4
Resource person visits	From conversations with the teachers	Group interview (Teachers 6, 7, 8)

The workshop aimed at engaging teachers in practical activities that could later be employed in their teaching practice. The combination of the theoretical principles upon which this research was based and participatory activities resulted in a workshop that offered teachers the opportunity to explore their subject knowledge of indigenous history and heritage, while at the same time designing practical examples of instructional strategies they could apply in the teaching of the subject.

4.4.3 Education and cultural stakeholder interviews

In order to understand the situation of the teaching of indigenous heritage on the island of Saint Kitts, interviews were also held with stakeholders coming from non-teaching institutions in the areas of history, culture and education that have interactions with the school community (Table 4.6). These stakeholders were part of the network of contacts of the Nexus 1492 research group on the island. The researcher met them through local contact person and colleague Mr. Cameron Gill.

The interviews took place during both visits to the island, in January and May 2014; interviews were conducted in the offices of the involved stakeholders and recorded with their approval. After transcription, a qualitative content analysis was conducted using the ATLAS-ti 7.5.6 software.

Table 4.6: Summary of interviewed stakeholders and their institutions.

Institution	Stakeholder/Position
Saint Christopher's National Trust	Documentarist
National Archives	Director
Ministry of Education of Saint Kitts and Nevis	(Former) Senior Officer
Saint Christopher's National Trust	Director

These institutions are known to the teachers that were interviewed, and they recognized them as places that organized events and could be visited with students. Not included in the table but mentioned in the interviews were two other institutions with heritage value: the Brimstone Hill Society and Romney Manor. No formal interviews could be arranged with their representatives, but informal conversations were held with their managers. During January 2014, one of the interviewed teachers organized a school visit to Romney Manor with her students. For this field trip, the researchers from the ERC-Synergy Nexus 1492 and HERA-CARIB projects who were visiting the island were invited to accompany them on the school visit to the historical site (Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6: School visit to Romney Major organized by a history teacher at Verchilds High School, January 2014. Photo taken by author.

4.5 Analysis and discussion of results

Teachers occupied a central role in this investigation and were the main source of information. In fact, to answer the research question about how indigenous history and heritage is taught according to the school curriculum, considerable emphasis has been placed on how the pedagogical strategies were viewed by the teachers. Therefore, it was necessary to take into account the views of other, non-teaching stakeholders, who can provide the school community with resources, information and the infrastructure to interact with the material culture of the Amerindians. A detailed qualitative content analysis of the interviews was carried out using a combined inductive and deductive approach. The qualitative data is presented using a thematic approach (Lodico, Spaulding and Voegtle, 2006: 312) that organizes the text around the themes that arose from the data analysis.

The analysis consists of the input from both the teachers and the non-teaching stakeholders. It starts with a reflection on the present state of indigenous heritage in the school curriculum, and is followed by a discussion of the perspective of local history

versus the predominant Caribbean narratives. Moreover, the various means teachers use to integrate their personal practical knowledge into their classroom practice is covered in this section along with the limitations they encountered in their daily activities; finally, the overlapping concerns and interests among local stakeholders and the school community are addressed.

4.5.1 The place of indigenous heritage in the school curriculum

Indigenous heritage is not featured as an independent study area in the official curriculum for secondary education. However, selected topics or themes are incorporated under the subjects of social studies and Caribbean history. This coincides with Grever and van Boxtel's (2011: 9) description of heritage education as a hybrid of several disciplines; "This hybridity can also be seen in the practice of heritage education, which not only contributes to the history curriculum but also to geography, art education, science, technology and the development of cross-curricular skills." To use the example of Saint Kitts, indigenous history and heritage can be found under the rubrics of "The Amerindians," "The Indigenous Americans," "The Indigenous People and the Europeans," "The Caribbean Individual" and "The Ideal Caribbean Person" in the school textbooks for Caribbean history and social studies from the CSEC.

While discussing the place of indigenous heritage in the school curriculum in an interview, the Senior Officer of the Ministry of Education of Saint Kitts and Nevis conceded, "Admittedly not much emphasis is placed on heritage at the moment. When we teach history, social studies and geography and so on, we find there is not much emphasis on the aspect of heritage in that body of knowledge" (Senior Officer, Ministry of Education, Interview , January 2014).

Along these lines, two aspects of how the history and heritage of the indigenous people are taught in Saint Kitts can be related to Grever and Boxtel's (2011) definition of heritage education: "Heritage education is an approach to teaching and learning that uses material and immaterial heritage as primary instructional resources to increase pupils' understandings of history and culture" (Grever and van Boxtel 2011: 9–10). First, there is the use of heritage education as a method of teaching history, and second, there is the colonial emphasis. When teachers use heritage in education, the instructional strategies they apply depend on the approach that has been defined within the syllabus guidelines. However, due to the nature of the syllabus, one of the interviewed teachers expressed that they often feel rushed to cover the contents to be on time for the examinations. This negatively affects the quality of instruction, since less time is then available for complementary activities.

All the interviewed teachers agreed that hands-on activities can play an important role in helping their students gain a better understanding of indigenous heritage. However, at the secondary level, time considerations are paramount because of

the pressure of examination schedules. They commented, for example, that such time restrictions made it difficult to organize field trips. Therefore, most were of the opinion that a hands-on approach was perhaps more suitable for the primary-school level. They also mentioned that, besides field trips to heritage sites and visits to museums, there were other heritage-related activities they would like to do with their students, like making handicrafts, making cassava in the indigenous way, and organizing dances and theater performances. The desire to have practical activities and experiences with their students was a recurrent theme in the reflections of the teachers during the interviews. Among the non-teaching stakeholders, two believed that indigenous history indeed occupied a place in the school curriculum, but was integrated into history and social studies.

There is yet another factor to be considered when examining the place of indigenous heritage in the school curriculum, and that is the emphasis placed on colonial history in schools. Some material on the indigenous people can be found at the beginning of the table of contents of the secondary-school syllabus for Caribbean history. But, as three teachers commented, colonial history received far more emphasis in the classroom than indigenous history and heritage. Two teachers affirmed that slavery history and heritage predominated over indigenous history and heritage in the history programs.[18]

This emphasis on colonial and slavery history was obviously reflected in the instructional strategies the teachers used to engage their students with the past. As two teachers pointed out, the topic of indigenous heritage is taught mainly in the first form, while in the second form students were taken to visit the Brimstone Hill Fortress and Wingfield Old Road Romney Manor to learn about themes of colonial history: the wars and fighting of the Europeans, slavery and the sugar trade.

4.5.2 Understanding of local history and heritage

The syllabus of the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC) for the CSEC contemplates historical and cultural events from a distinctly Caribbean perspective. The secondary-school programs of the individual CXC countries are designed to respond to the historical and cultural events and narratives shared in common by the Eastern Caribbean countries. During the interviews, teachers and other stakeholders expressed

[18] A large part of the Caribbean population cherish their African Caribbean heritage, particularly since independence, and have adopted it as part of their identity, which also is reflected in subject content and education resources (Reddock 1996; Siegel 2011; Bryan and Reid 2009). Most recently, the book *Places of memory. The experiences and contributions of the enslaved Africans in St. Kitts and Nevis* has provided teachers and students the opportunity to learn about their African ancestry. In 2018, the book was introduced in the primary schools of the two-island country as an addition to the resources for teaching the subject of social studies.

their concern that this preferred regional focus affected how their own local history and heritage was accounted for in the CXC curriculum. Three non-teaching stakeholders did specifically mention their concern that Kittitian students learn about their local history with a strong Caribbean focus; this has been also highlighted in a book released by the government of Saint Kitts and Nevis in cooperation with UNESCO, which emphasis that the purpose of the book is "providing students with specific local content that is relevant to their secondary-school history syllabus, and their primary-school Social Studies curriculum" (Stapleton 2017). This book focuses on the contributions of the enslaved Africans to the rich history of the two-island country of Saint Kitts and Nevis. Concerning the lack of knowledge of local history, one respondent from the Saint Christopher National Trust explained that she was critical about the way indigenous heritage is represented in the school curriculum:

> *"…because, I feel, not enough focus has been placed on Saint Kitts and Nevis, too often the children, the students leave without a good understanding, appreciation of the history of this country. Very often the focus is more in the Caribbean context" (Jaqueline Armony, Documentarist St. Christopher National Trust, interview, January 2014).*

These same opinions also came forward in the group interview conducted with the teachers. All agreed that in the curriculum, the emphasis is placed on an integrating, regional Caribbean perspective. This approach does lead to a more regional understanding of the history of the small island states of the Eastern Caribbean, and responds to a political vision oriented toward commonly shared values, history and cultural background. But to a certain extent this focus on Caribbean unity in some ways neglects the local histories of the individual islands in the region. As a consequence, the extent to which the local histories and cultures of each island are studied, and the way they differ from the other islands, is really a consequence of a personal decision by the teacher, who is responsible for the final implementation of the study programs in the classroom.

As I reviewed the syllabi for Caribbean history and social studies for the CSEC, this distinctly Caribbean perspective was evident. In school textbooks, the subject matter is also addressed regionally and therefore does not provide sufficiently detailed insight into each particular island's situation. While looking, for example, at the specific theme of the first inhabitants in the textbooks, I found the generalization that, across the islands, there were two major groups of Amerindians: the Carib or Kalinago and the Taíno. The particularities of each island are therefore not described in detail in these textbooks. Teachers also explained that the way indigenous heritage is taught in primary schools was different from the approach used in secondary school. In primary school, it has a more local orientation precisely because the curriculum is developed locally. In secondary schools, following the CXC regulations, the focus is more regional.

4.5.3 Need for a more integrated agenda between local institutions and the school community

The role that the context of the school plays in providing expertise, resources and infrastructure to teachers and students can contribute to their teaching and learning experiences. One factor examined in this study was whether teachers were able to identify institutions in their community that could serve as potential partners in providing students with engaging educational experiences for learning about the indigenous history and heritage of Saint Kitts. Teachers and other stakeholders all agreed that their ability to engage students with the past through practical experiences was limited to occasional opportunities on an irregular basis. But what were the limitations and barriers that impeded the creation of engaging activities in indigenous history and heritage for the students? After coding and analyzing the interviews, the most important factors that were seen to affect instructional strategies were:

- The requirement to ask for permission from the local school or higher authorities, which reduced the teachers' opportunities to arrange visits to sites more often.
- The pressing need to comply with official education objectives within the expected time limits.
- Overlap with other teachers' time.

These same factors were also encountered in schools in the Dominican Republic and Dominica, where the two other case studies in the context of this Ph.D. research took place. In all these scenarios, taking students on activities outside of the schools requires special permissions from the education authorities. These outside activities need to be related to the learning goals of the school program. Therefore, teachers need to justify these activities within the curriculum. And in case it cannot be in case the activity could not be explicitly linked to the curriculum, teachers need to create a separate classroom project.

4.5.4 Engaging with the past through practical experiences

This study in Saint Kitts started out with the objective of studying teachers' knowledge about the teaching of indigenous heritage in schools. However, the analysis of the interviews showed that the answers provided by the teachers were more often based on their personal practical knowledge. The interviews revealed that a majority of teachers adapted their class programs to facilitate practical activities for their students to learn about indigenous heritage in precolonial times and its influence in present-day society. In addition to this, the information obtained reflected a relation between instructional

strategies and educational resources. Six teachers indicated that they often have very limited resources on the pre-Columbian history of the indigenous people. The only resources available are textbooks. Besides that, the teachers needed to look for other educational materials to complement this topic. During a first exploratory meeting on the author's first visit to Saint Kitts in January 2014, she asked teachers to have a look at the school textbooks they use for teaching indigenous heritage.

Teachers explained that they are requested primarily to use schoolbooks approved by the Caribbean Examination Council. Nonetheless, teachers can also manage their class times and materials in such a way that they can complete a topic when necessary. Likewise, teachers provided examples of other educational books they use as references when teaching their students about the first peoples of the Caribbean. In addition, the author explored what other educational resources teachers found helpful for their classes. In their responses, teachers rarely indicated archaeological artifacts as an available resource in the classroom setting. In two interviews, the question of the use of archaeological artifacts was specifically addressed. The answer of the teachers was "no, we don't have them," but they expressed that these sorts of materials could be found for example in the National Museum or Brimstone Hill Amerindian collection. During the author's visits, she observed that these institutions were open to school visits and available to organize activities for the schools, but they did not yet have archaeological artifacts or educational tool kits that could be used for school displays.

All the teachers indicated that they had participated or at least had knowledge of the field trips organized by the Brimstone Hill Society in the past. They showed interest in organizing similar field trips with their students in order to teach about the indigenous people. Two teachers from the school in Sandy Point indicated that, if field trips were difficult to arrange, "in-site" field trips could instead be organized in the school itself, namely by recreating the experience of visiting Amerindian sites in the yard of the school.

In fact, teachers pointed to different aspects of their students' learning habits when discussing the education practices used in their communities. For instance, teachers referred to what they knew from their experience to illustrate what strategies had been helpful in getting their students involved in learning about the past. Six teachers answered this question by recalling experiences they had organized for their students in the past, such as visits to heritage sites.

It was observed that the teachers' *personal practical knowledge* (Connelly & Clandinin 1988; see chapter 2, "Heritage education and teaching practice") often came up in those discussions in which teachers wanted to explain what they know about teaching indigenous history and heritage based on their experiences. Moreover, teachers insisted that teaching indigenous history and heritage with a more hands-on approach would benefit their students. They based this idea on previous experiences they had had

with their classes. In this way, the author was able to identify the most common sites where teachers usually take their students on outdoor activities.
The indigenous heritage sites they mentioned were:

- National Museum: Amerindian exhibition
- Brimstone Hill Society: Amerindian exhibition/ surveys
- Bloody Point: Petroglyphs
- Petroglyphs adjacent to Romney Manor

All the teachers were able to identify local institutions that could be instructive for their classes about indigenous history and heritage, thus showing knowledge of their context, described by Shulman (1987) and Grossman (1990) as an indicator of the main components of teachers' base knowledge. In this respect, at the community level, the teachers explained that most of the initiatives are still very much connected with colonial heritage and not with Amerindian or indigenous heritage. Teacher 5 (geography) mentioned Brimstone Hill, a fortress complex designed in the eighteenth century by the British colonialists and built by African slaves, as one of the places where initiatives are being taken to help "revive the whole historical concept of the past." However, this example illustrates that activities on the island tend to be based on the subject of colonial history.

Certainly, visits to sites were one of the most popular teacher strategies for helping students to learn about indigenous history and heritage, and therefore also about the past of Saint Kitts. Moreover, teachers were interested in rethinking how their students learned about the chapter before the European arrival and incorporating other educational resources in their classes besides activities based on the school textbook.

Table 4.7: Instructional strategies teachers most frequently associated with teaching indigenous history and heritage.

Instructional strategy	Times mentioned in the answers
Textbooks and documents	2
School trips/visits to sites	8
Invite resource persons to the classroom	3
Material evidence: artifacts, photos	3

Internet and multimedia	1
Others	6

From Table 4.7, it can be seen that teachers most often indicated visits to sites and school trips as instructional strategies they would like to use to teach about the indigenous heritage of the island. However, it was also observed that even though the villages of Sandy Point and Old Road are very close to the petroglyphs adjacent to Romney Manor and the Amerindian site of Bloody Point in Challengers visits to sites or school trips were mainly organized to colonial heritage sites such as Brimstone Hill and Romney Major, rather than to Amerindian sites.

For example, a geography teacher commented in an interview that the curriculum for geography has little focus on heritage, "but we as teachers who know our culture and heritage, we try to integrate it with the topics we teach in geography" (Teacher 5, geography teacher, interview, May 2014). In addition, this teacher in the workshop referred to an experience he had with his class at the Brimstone Hill Society, in which the students participated in a shoreline survey as part of a maritime archaeological project in the neighboring area of Sandy Point in 2012. The Brimstone Hill Fortress is a historical heritage site from the British colonial period. There was no specific example of a similar field trip to a site of indigenous heritage to foster the students' learning.

During the workshop, this same teacher designed an activity to take the students to visit different Amerindian sites in Challengers, Bloody Point and Old Road This is a good example of how one teacher who is motivated by his interest in knowing more about the lifeways of the Amerindians in the past could formulate a school project that incorporates aspects of the history and heritage of the first inhabitants of Saint Kitts. In his classroom project (Figure 4.7), "The journey of the indigenous people to Saint Kitts," his students will learn geography concepts and skills at the same time that they will be learning about how the Amerindian settled the island of Saint Kitts.

From the respondents' comments about instructional strategies, it was clear that they required additional time as well as more specific training to be able to reflect upon their actual practices and how to enhance them. Therefore, the interviews and workshop were also intended to examine teachers' preferences about instructional strategies and the use of educational materials, as well as to explore how the teachers did consider and incorporate their students' characteristics in the design of the activities.

One of the most common opinions expressed by these teachers was related to learning activities organized by non-formal education institutions. Teachers argued that these activities should be connected with the curriculum guidelines to make their application in the classroom more feasible amid the fixed school schedule. Teachers would otherwise not have enough time to fit such initiatives into their classroom

schedule without causing delays in the syllabus-mandated subject matter they have to cover.

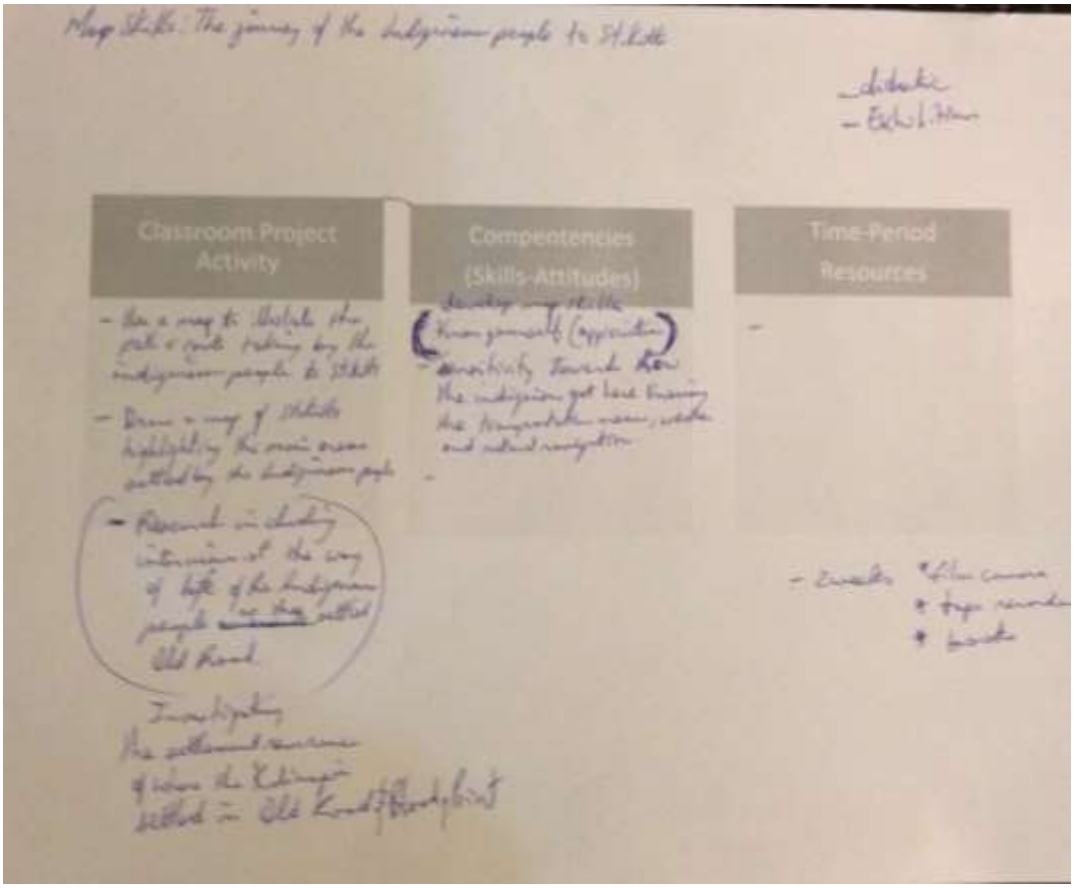

Figure 4.7: Class project designed by a geography teacher combining aspects of indigenous people's history with map skills.

Teachers informed me that they had engaged their students in hands-on activities in the past, such as role-playing and recreating the making of cassava bread, all intended to provide them with active learning experiences to understand more about the traditions and culture left by the Amerindians. The teachers are ultimately the ones who have to apply the curriculum guidelines in the classroom and respond to all those variables that may affect their programs. Therefore, having a balanced coverage of indigenous history and heritage among all the subjects in the curriculum is, in the end, up to the teacher.

All the teachers who participated in the workshop and the interviews agreed that there is not enough information available on the indigenous history of Saint Kitts, and that not much attention is paid to it. In terms of the theory of teachers' beliefs (Richardson 1996; Thompson 1992, as adapted by Blömeke and Delaney 2012), one could say that teachers motivated by their own beliefs that the available information is insufficient, they did their own research to come up with activities to enhance their students' learning about the indigenous people. They also believed that the lack of

knowledge affected how people perceived their heritage, and they detected a need to create awareness and bring information about the indigenous people of Saint Kitts to the schools.

Additionally, teachers strongly emphasized that they encountered limitations in carrying out practical outdoor activities. In fact, difficulties in getting permission from the education offices were indicated by at least one teacher; restrictions inherent to the curriculum guidelines and time schedules also figured among these limitations, as indicated at least by five teachers. Furthermore, teachers pointed out that outdoor activities involving interaction between students and their environment were learning situations that occurred more often in primary-school education. Three teachers indicated that learning about the past was actually more interactive at the primary-school level than at secondary school. This is related to the amount of available time teachers in primary school have to teach about history and social sciences. Moreover, primary-school teachers work with only one grade and class per term. In secondary school, history or social sciences teachers have to share the schedule with teachers of other subject areas each school day, and they work with several class groups. For example, Teacher 9, a senior teacher of social studies, expressed that "students at primary level often have interactions with the historical sites in their communities; for secondary schools the subject is almost exclusively based on the textbook so that students do not actually get hands-on experience; and this is so because of the programs you have, timetables and so on."

4.5.5 Difficulties in bridging the gap between the island's Amerindian heritage and contemporary society

In the interviews, the teachers pointed out that a serious limitation hampering students' understanding of indigenous heritage was its perceived lack of continuity with the general history of Saint Kitts. In terms of pedagogical content knowledge, this corresponds to how students understand a learning topic One of the teachers indicated the need to bring more examples of Amerindian culture into the classroom to help the students make the connection between past and present. "… When it comes to the incorporation of heritage…[I think definitely in the use of more than examples]. Additionally, giving them the opportunity to work with their hands — perhaps making models, practicing some of the traditions that the Amerindians had — would help. For example, in one of my social studies classes, one of the things we were looking at [is what the Amerindian people have left us,] like for example the cassava; a lot of them have not even seen a cassava" (Teacher 3, geography and dance, interview, May 2014).

Four teachers specifically expressed that they found it challenging to teach about indigenous heritage because there is no presence of indigenous people today in Saint

Kitts. Teacher 1, a history teacher, indicated that "in the Caribbean you don't have oral storytelling; we don't have that here [in Saint Kitts] …" Not being able to pass on the culture influences the way their students learn about the Amerindian people (and also the European encounters) because there is no storyteller from whom they can learn this. Two other teachers indicated their concern for the way younger generations relate to their cultural traditions, referring not only to indigenous heritage but the general heritage of the island as well. As a result, they are afraid that there is a disconnection between the young generations and the indigenous heritage of the island that will lead to a lack of continuity in passing traditions on to younger generations.

4.6 Reflections on the current status of teaching indigenous heritage in Saint Kitts

In the period when this research was conducted in Saint Kitts, a ten-year plan for education reform (2009 to 2019) was being implemented. The reform policy document clearly stated the need to have a more locally oriented education, promoting the cultural values of the Kittians and Nevisians. Secondary education is dependent on CXC regulations, as Saint Kitts is a participant country in this organization. Therefore, the education reform embodied in the ten-year plan would only have direct implications for the primary-school curriculum. However, the secondary-school teachers of Caribbean history and social studies who participated in this investigation agreed that the CXC curriculum did not contain enough information about the indigenous history and heritage of the island, as the contents are so organized to emphasize history from a Caribbean perspective (see discussions).

On the other hand, the Senior Officer of the Ministry of Education of Saint Kitts expressed his desire to introduce more secondary-school activities and materials that would allow teachers to teach the heritage of the island in greater depth. In addition, stakeholders from key institutions such as the National Archive and the National Trust showed interest in organizing activities for and with the school community to promote a better understanding and appreciation of the history of Saint Kitts. In the end, however, the activities that do take place do so on an irregular basis.

Strengthening connections between external and internal stakeholders in the education system in Saint Kitts is required to enhance the way the school community interacts with the information and resources available on the subject of island history and heritage. It was observed that all the teachers have a good knowledge of the context of the schools and the role they could have in bridging the gap between indigenous history and island heritage. Teachers specifically pointed out how these institutions could pay visits to the schools and bring activities and materials to engage the students in learning experiences pertinent to the Amerindian past of Saint Kitts.

Besides consulting school textbooks for information about the Amerindians, teachers who are interested in this topic also study on their own to learn more about the first inhabitants of the island. On the other hand, there is a predominant interest in exploring the African-Kittitian heritage with which the society strongly identifies. In fact, teachers indicated that their students often do not see the connection between the Amerindian heritage of Saint Kitts and today's Kittian culture.

From the two case studies in Saint Kitts, it was observed that teachers mainly teach this topic using classroom-based activities due to both the limitations on taking the students on outdoor activities and the limited time available for their classes. Furthermore, teachers have explored a range of instructional strategies, such as making models of indigenous artifacts, practicing some of the traditions the Amerindians had (like making cassava) and role-playing in order to recreate the lifeways of the Amerindian. However, there was an impression among teachers that indigenous history and heritage can be taught with a hands-on approach more easily in primary-school than in secondary-school education.

In conclusion, it was observed that teachers' beliefs about the subject matter influenced the way and the extent to which indigenous heritage was brought into the classroom. Most of the teachers who participated in the interviews based their answers on their beliefs about the teaching and learning of indigenous heritage.

Chapter 5:

Teaching indigenous heritage in the Dominican Republic: Memories of Quisqueya in the classroom

Figure 5.1: Workshop at the School District Esperanza, Dominican Republic, August 2015 (photo by author)

We want the new teachers of social sciences to have a new vision of heritage. A vision of how we can live together with this heritage we have received and that we want to preserve and transmit as something valuable for our community. Heritage, therefore — we have first to discover it, appreciate it, know and understand it and only then can we be able to learn to care for it and to conserve it.

Raymundo González, 2015

5.1 Introduction

The Dominican Republic, where the Taíno[19] culture is still celebrated today, was the setting for the second case of study in this research. In this chapter, I explore how indigenous heritage is taught in the school curriculum of the Dominican Republic by exploring teachers' perspectives on their practices. This case study provides a unique view from one of the Caribbean islands, where the first Spanish settlements were

[19] While "Taíno" is a term that is commonly used among the Dominican people and in the Spanish Caribbean to refer to their Amerindian past, it has also become a sort of umbrella term that encompasses all indigenous peoples of the island. However, archaeologists and ethnographers have a more critical view of the broad use of this term. For more on this scholarly discussion, see Keegan and Carlson 2008; Curet 2014 and 2015; and Keegan and Hofman 2017.

located. In addition, the Taíno were well known from accounts of the European encounters. How their history as well as their influence on Dominican culture is still represented in today's society was a crucial point of interest in this study on teaching indigenous history and heritage.

Compared to the case study of Saint Kitts and Nevis, where heritage discourse focuses on African and colonial heritage, in the Dominican Republic, narratives of Indo-Hispanic heritage have held a prominent place in national ideologies since the 19th century, whereas African heritage has been the subject of political debate (Deive 1997; Vega 1997; Guitar 1998; Guitar et al. 2006; Rubio 2009; Ándujar Persinal 2010; Pesoutova 2015; Ulloa Hung 2015). As a result, until this day, indigenous culture has had a continuous influence in shaping Dominican national identity. Thanks to its history, the Dominican Republic represented a case study that provided an opportunity to learn how the national narrative of indigeneity is reflected in the school curriculum. Additionally, I also considered how teachers deal with the topic of the indigenous past and indigenous heritage today within the school curriculum.

In order to gain insight into teachers' views, participatory activities were organized to facilitate interaction with key stakeholders: education officers (internal), teachers (internal) and museum staff members (external) took part in various activities between 2014 and 2015. School teachers from the districts in close proximity to the excavations conducted by archaeologists from Leiden University in the context of the ERC-synergy Nexus 1492 project (see chapter 1, Introduction) were also invited to participate in this study. In the next sections, the current situation of the teaching of indigenous history and heritage is described following the theoretical and methodological guidelines of this investigation.

5.2 Archaeological and historical background of the Dominican Republic

5.2.1 The first inhabitants and the origin of the Taíno

In this section, I will present relevant information about the first inhabitants of Hispaniola, before colonial times, as culled from recent archaeological investigations. In order to understand who the first peoples to inhabit Hispaniola were, one has to look at the larger picture of what is known archaeologically about the pre-Columbian Caribbean. "The first humans to reach the Caribbean islands arrived in the fifth millennium B.C. We know precious little about this period; the reasons are multifaceted" (Keegan and Hofman 2017: 23).[20] According to archaeological investigations, the origins of the earliest inhabitants of the Caribbean islands could be traced to four migration routes (see Rodríguez Ramos 2010; Rodríguez Ramos 2011; Keegan and Hofman 2017: 25–27).

Most advanced archaeological findings are now questioning the traditional beliefs about the so-called "aceramic" or "pre-ceramic" period; an analysis of the

[20] See also Wilson 2007.

material evidence demonstrates that the first inhabitants "also practiced incipient forms of farming and that most of the crops attributed to the Ceramic Age already were cultivated during the Archaic Age" (Ulloa Hung 2005; Rodríguez Ramos et al. 2008; Ulloa Hung and Varcárcel Rojas 2013; Pagán Jiménez 2011, 2013; Pagán Jiménez et al. 2015 as cited in Keegan and Hofman 2017: 24).[21] Caribbean archaeologists have called the earliest inhabitants "Paleo-Indians" (corresponding to the Casimiroid series of Rouse's taxonomy) and placed them in the Lithic period (Rouse 1992: 54 as cited in Keegan and Hofman 2017: 23). This period owes its name to the Casimira site in the Dominican Republic. One of the best-known sites from the Lithic period, the Barrera-Mordán site from ca. 4000 B.C., located in the south-central region of the Dominican Republic, shows evidence of Lithic technology.

In traditional literature, the period known as the Lithic Age was followed by the Archaic period; however, most recent research has indicated that these periods could possibly have overlapped (Keegan and Hofman 2017). Material evidence has demonstrated that a wave of migration into the Caribbean islands took place more recently: "Arawak communities from continental America began to enter the Caribbean Sea between 800 and 200 B.C., and interacted with the indigenous Archaic Age communities" (Veloz Maggiolo et al. 1974; Keegan 2006; Boomert 2007; Keegan and Hofman 2017). The newcomers' culture is called the Saladoid culture; this new wave of migration marked the Early Ceramic Age.

References to the "Lithic Age" and "Archaic Age" can be found in school textbooks, as well as educational resources designed by non-formal institutions such as museums. The information about the earliest inhabitants is organized based on an evolutionary model — Archaic people, farmers and the Taíno (Ulloa Hung and Valcárcel Rojas 2016; Eduplan 2017); however, this sort of categorization leaves out most recent archaeological contributions and discussions that could help to clarify our knowledge of these human groups based on their material culture. The most recent migrations — corresponding to the Saladoid culture, according to archaeological records — are the most frequently covered topic at the beginning of the fourth grade of primary education; it falls under the school subject of social studies as part of the Dominican history module "First inhabitants of the island and Arawak cultures of the Antilles" (MINERD 2016: 203).

As in the case of the other islands where this research took place, the origins of the first inhabitants are often related to migrations from the South American mainland. For example, in its brochure for fourth-grade primary school, "Nuestros Primeros Pobladores," Eduplan — a website of the Ministry of Education of the Dominican

[21] Keegan and Hofman (2017) explain how, under the approach of "people and cultures" as drawn from Rouse's (1972) contributions, "we have a Lithic Age defined by flaked-stone tool, an Archaic Age defined by ground-stone tools, and a Ceramic Age defined by the occurrence of pottery. These ages are explained as the outcome of three separate migrations into the Caribbean." They underline that "flaked-stone tools are a significant component in Archaic and Ceramic Age sites throughout the region, and pottery is present in all three" (p. 20). Thus Keegan and Hofman, in discussing the first inhabitants of the Caribbean island, "collapse the Lithic and Archaic Ages into one Archaic Age" (p. 21).

Republic that offers a database of teaching resources — defines the origins of the first inhabitants of Hispaniola as coming from the South American mainland: "the first inhabitants of the Santo Domingo island were part of aboriginal groups coming from the Orinoco mouth river, in Venezuela and Tapajos in the Guyana, in South America" Eduplan 2017: 3–4).[22]

Another example of educational resources for the school community consists in the efforts of non-formal education institutions such as the Museo Arqueológico Regional Altos de Chavón, which, in a 1997 collaboration with Dominican archaeologist Marcio Maggiolo Veloz, published "Prehistoria Dominicana para Maestros," a work aimed at providing teachers with training and resources to enhance their class content about the prehistory and early inhabitants of Hispaniola from an archaeological perspective. This publication compiles information about the first inhabitants that teachers would otherwise have to find in Caribbean archaeology literature. These resources can be used in addition to the school textbooks recommended by the Ministry of Education. There is indeed still more room to incorporate updated information about the early inhabitants in the school textbooks.

5.2.2 Narratives of national identity in Dominican historiography

Hispaniola became the first permanent site of colonial settlements in the Caribbean after the arrival of Christopher Columbus and the Spaniards in 1492 and 1493. The island was the land of the so-called "Taíno" (a 19th-century historical construct),[23] who were the inhabitants of the island at the time of the European encounters. Much has been said about the Taíno in historical accounts written by European chroniclers; however, "the uncritical use of the historical record has hampered efforts to understand native Caribbean societies. For although we continue to speak of 'Taíno' as a single unified group, there were regional differences in language and culture, if not also in race" (Keegan and Carlson 2008: 1).

As in other Caribbean countries, the physical disappearance of the indigenous peoples, the Taíno, as result of European colonization during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has formed part of the country's historical narrative, and became known as the myth of extinction, although nowadays this is a subject of discussion (Forte 2006; Ulloa Hung and Valcárcel Rojas 2016). Now, when one wants to see how this increasing sentiment of indigenous resurgence is reflected in the census, one finds that the last official census, of 2010, does not provide race or ethnic indicators for the Dominican population, which, according to the National Office of Statistics (Oficina Nacional de Estadística 2010) was 9,445,281. On this issue, in 2012 the ONE published an relevant study on how race and ethnicity are represented in the Dominican Republic

[22] Text translated from the orginal Spanish text by the author: "Los primeros pobladores de la Isla de Santo Domingo pertenecían a grupos aborígenes arauacos, provenientes de las desembocadura de los Río Orinoco. En Venezuela y Tapajos, en las Guayana, en América del Sur" (Educando 2017: 3–4).

[23] For more on this, see and Curet, A. (2014; 2015).

census; an interesting finding of this study zeroes in on the need to include race and ethnic indicators in the census.

Along these lines, reference to race and ethnicity in the Dominican Republic can be found in the surveys of the Latin American Project (LAPOP 2006), as also pointed out by the ONE (2006) study. The results of LAPOP 2006, which directly addressed questions about race and ethnicity, indicated that 53.42% of the population self-identified as mulatto (Indio)/mixed-race (indigenous).[24] Nevertheless, the Dominican Republic officially does not appear to be a country with indigenous people living there today. The Taíno heritage has survived in historical narratives and Dominican popular culture. As an example, since the 20th century, the indigenous heritage of the Dominican Republic has served as a component of Dominican national identity, as a result of years of historical disputes with Haiti, the country that occupies the western one-third of Hispaniola; this factor led to Dominican independence in 1844 (Ulloa Hung, 2016; García Arévalo, 1999; San Miguel 1997; Torres-Saillant 1998; Derby 2003; Con Aguilar et al. 2017).

As a result of traditional Dominican historiography, there is a strong emphasis on the image of "the other" with respect to Haiti; thus Dominican identity was developed to differentiate Dominican from Haitian culture: "this discourse, racist and anti-Haitian, gained strength during the ideologies and policies under the dictatorship of Rafael L. Trujillo (1930–1961)" (San Miguel 1997: 67).[25] The discourse of the colonial heritage of the Dominican people versus the African heritage of the Haitians became the basis of the historical narratives of influential Dominican historians and political figures from the eighteenth to the twentieth century (San Miguel 1997; Rodríguez 2001; Ricourt 2016). Along with pride in their Spanish roots, "the idea of being whites, with a tinge of 'Taíno,' provoked a disjuncture between nationalist ideology and their black or mulato bodies" (Ricaourt 2016: 11). Indigenous heritage appears across contemporary Dominican history in relation to narratives of national identity; however, what has prevailed in historical references is the image of indigenous peoples from a colonial perspective, where the emphasis is placed on colonial heritage (see Ulloa Hung 2016).[26]

Recently, in the light of the curriculum reform (2008–2018) and the increasing political tensions between the Dominican Republic and Haiti (2015),[27] the education sector has expressed their concern about how the sixth-grade history schoolbook that was in use from 2006 misled primary-school students into believing that the Dominican Republic is a racist country (Pantaleón 2015). Specialists in anthropology, history and

[24] Source: The *Americas Barometer* survey conducted by the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP; www.lapopsurveys.org, Dominican Republic (2010), version 10.1a). More on is this available in surveys carried out by LAPOP for the Dominican Republic, available from 2004–2014.

[25] In "La Isla Imaginada" (1997), San Miguel explores how Dominican historiography has influenced discourses of Dominican identity in the work of contemporary Dominican historians.

[26] For a complete discussion of the ideology of the Dominican historiography and its influence on the study of indigenous heritage and archaeology, see Ulloa Hung 2016.

[27] The debate surrounding the sixth-grade social studies textbook was actively covered by the media, as it took place during a period (2015) in which political tension between the Dominican Republic and Haiti was on the rise.

education highlighted how this material is influenced by a racist and outdated view of history: "Last August [2015] the schoolbook [at the time] was criticized by educators and historians who argued that the new textbook had a racist and misleading content of the historical reality of the country" (INTEC 2015).[28] The debate resulted in removing the textbook from schools and replacing it with a new publication that incorporated changes in the historical content, aiming to eliminate any kind of racial emphasis against Haiti and provide a more balanced historical representation of Hispaniola.

Considering the recent social and political situation, in delimiting the framework of this case study, I aimed to understand how the traditional historiography, which places Indo-Hispanic heritage (indigenous and colonial heritage) — as opposed to African heritage — at the foundation of the Dominican nation has influenced representations of Dominican identity in the curriculum. In addition to this, the question of the place of indigenous heritage takes on extra importance in studying new perspectives on representing a more balanced history and opening up the discussion to include the contributions of other ethnic groups that have shaped the Dominican identity, like the expressions of African heritage that can be found across the island.

5.3 Context of study: Education policy in the Dominican Republic

The second case study in this research took place in the Dominican Republic, a country that occupies the eastern two-thirds of the island of Hispaniola in the Caribbean region (See Figure 5.2). The Dominican Republic formed an important part of the Spanish colonial empire in the Caribbean region in the first centuries after the arrival of Columbus in 1492. The western part of the island was then settled by France until its independence in 1804 (Torres-Saillant 1998). The Dominican Republic was annexed by Haiti in 1822 and occupied for about 20 years until its independence in 1844. As pointed out in the previous section, according to the IX Population and Housing Census of 2010, the total population was 9,445,281 inhabitants. For 2016, the projection was 10,075,045 inhabitants (ONE 2016).

The country is divided into 31 provinces and the National District, where the capital Santo Domingo de Gúzman is located. Besides the capital, the provinces of La Romana, Santiago, Valverde and Monte Cristi were visited as part of the field research. Valverde and Montecristi are located in the northwest of the country, where the first contacts between the indigenous peoples and the Spaniards took place at the end of the 15th century. The mountainous areas of this northwestern region of Hispaniola are where the so-called "Ruta de Colón" was located, according to ethnographic records; this was the route taken by Columbus and his crew on their first inland expedition (Hofman et al. 2018).

[28] Text translated from Spanish by the author: "En agosto pasado el libro de texto fue cuestionado por educadores e historiadores, quienes argumentaron que el nuevo libro tiene contenido racista y distorsionador de la realidad histórica del país. Luego de que fuera sometido a revisión, el ministerio de Educación decidió sustituirlo de las escuelas y colegios de todo el país por una nueva versión" (press note in INTEC 2015).

Figure 5.2: Provinces visited during field research phases in the Dominican Republic. "Distrito Nacional" encompasses the national capital, Santo Domingo (©Rafa Monterde).

Primary and secondary education in the Dominican Republic is legally regulated by the General Education Law of 1997 (Ley General de Educación 66-97) (Congress of the Dominican Republic 1997). Under this law, the Ministerio de Educación de la República Dominicana (MINERD) was granted authority over the management and administration of all pre-primary, primary and secondary levels of the national education system. According to the law, the country's education will always be open to change, critical analysis and the introduction of innovation (Article 63, Ley General de Educación 66-97). At the primary level, the curriculum is organized into eight core subject areas: Spanish language, English language, mathematics, social science, natural science, arts education, physical education and sports and integral human and religious education. Content about indigenous heritage is incorporated into the subject of social science (history and geography). In the earlier grades, the content forms part of the units about national identity, and is oriented toward teaching children appreciation for their origin and heritage. Once the student reaches fourth grade, the social science curriculum becomes more varied, with the introduction of units like general history, history of the Dominican Republic and geography of the Dominican Republic and the Antilles (see Appendix G).

Since 2008, the Dominican Republic Government has been implementing its third Ten-Year Education Plan, that of 2008–2018 (Plan Decenal de Educación 2008–2018; MINERD 2008). The revision plan encourages the adaptation of a competency-based

approach. This educational paradigm shift would be of benefit for an instruction that could be applicable in diverse contexts. The main components of the plan consist of a competency-based curriculum; improvements in the quality of textbooks; and professional training for teachers and directors. Within the context of this plan, a curriculum revision for primary and secondary education has been underway since 2011.

This revision is aimed at providing the school community with a more balanced curriculum that can respond to the current demands of today's society (MINERD 2016). In addition to the curricular reform (2008–2018), the "Jornada extendida" was another important component in the improvement of the quality of education as part of the Ten-Year Plan (MINERD and OEI 2016); adopted as government policy in 2014, this initiative stipulates that, instead of having a school day of four hours, children will now have eight-hour days, which gives the opportunity to enhance the learning of the curriculum; it could also facilitate teachers' plans to visit museums and cultural centers and invite experts to visit the classroom to provide information on specific school subjects.

When this study started in 2013, the Ten-Year Educational Plan was already underway, including the curriculum reform. The school community was therefore expecting new curriculum guidelines, as well as new resources such as textbooks adapted to the new standards. During my first visit to the Dominican Republic in January 2014, teachers were still using the old curriculum guidelines and textbooks. On my third visit a year later, in August 2015, teachers were receiving training in the newly revised curriculum, approved by Ordinance 02-2015 (*Ordenanza 02-15*), which was meant to implemented starting with the school year 2015–2016 (MINERD 2015).

5.3.1 An overview of the instructional content and pedagogy of the social science curriculum in Dominican Republic

Within the framework of the Ten-Year Education Plan 2008–2018, educational policy has been under revision, and curriculum content and instructional strategies are being adjusted from a content-based to a competency-based model. In this way, the plan intends to integrate and facilitate the learning process for all eight core subjects of the curriculum in primary and secondary schools. For each subject area, a list of competencies has been defined to be used as a reference to enable connections among the various subject areas. The competencies that were designed for social science in the revision of the curriculum seek to reinforce citizenship education based on the historical events that helped form the Dominican Republic as a nation and the cultural legacy essential to the national identity of Dominicans. In Table 5.1, the competencies from the new 2016 curriculum document are listed (MINERD 2016).

Table 5.1: Competencies for the social science program at the primary- and secondary-school levels (adapted from the 2016 curricular design).

Competencias (Original in Spanish)	Competencies (Translation)
Ética y Ciudadana	Ethics and Citizenship
Resolución de Problemas	Problem-solving
Ambiental y de Salud	Health and Environment
Comunicativa	Communication
Científica y Tecnológica	Technological and Scientific
Desarrollo Personal y Espiritual	Personal and Spiritual Development
Pensamiento Lógico, Creativo y Crítico	Logical, Creative and Critical Thinking

One of the first basic competencies listed is "Competencia Ética y Ciudadana," which translates to "Ethics and Citizenship Competency"; this coincides with one of the main goals of the social studies curriculum in the Caribbean region, which is to educate thoughtful citizens (Marshal and Howe 1999). From the lower grades of primary education, starting from the second grade, children are taught about their cultural identity. In this vein, one of the first topics they study is the lifeways and culture of the first inhabitants of Hispaniola, the so-called "Taíno." Subsequently, in secondary-school education, students are encouraged to engage in broader historical discussions, such as the implications of colonialism and the idea of nation-building.

It is predominantly in primary school where children learn about the Taíno lifeways and their culture, while in secondary school pupils are expected to engage in social and critical discussions about past events that have defined Dominican history. Amerindian heritage is an element of national identity that is reflected in the curriculum. This content is chiefly influenced by the national narratives constructed around the Taíno indigeneity that constituted most of the literature produced by the "indigenistas dominicanos" (García Arévalo 1988, 2009; Con Aguilar et al. 2017). In fact, since 1995, efforts have been made to incorporate indigenous heritage into the contents of the curriculum. However, in the new curricula, the revision has reinforced an inclusive approach, seeking to promote thoughtful citizenship and respect for diversity and inclusion as pillars of the education process (adapted from the 2016 curricular revision document guidelines).

5.4 Data collection, processing and interpretation

For this research in the Dominican Republic, methods of qualitative and ethnographic analysis were used to study how pre-Columbian indigenous heritage is represented in the school curriculum by focusing on localized examples from the provinces of Valverde and Montecristi. The schools I visited for workshops and interviews were selected in cooperation with the stakeholders that were involved in the research process. In this way the sampling strategy was that of snowball or chain sampling (Patton 1990: 176). In this process, key informants and cases were located with the help of the Nexus 1492

principal investigator, Prof. Dr. Corinne Hofman; Mrs. Arlene Álvarez, director of the Museo Arqueológico Regional Altos de Chavón; and Mr. Ruhaidy Lombert, coordinator for the Area of Arts Education of the Ministry of Education at that time. Mr. Lombert collaborated in the organization of the workshop that took place in Santo Domingo during the 2015 field visit. The entire study in the Dominican Republic was completed in three research visits (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: Schedule of research visits to the Dominican Republic in 2014 and 2015.

Research Visit	Activities	Location
August 2014	Workshop "Patrimonio arqueológico indígena: Estrategias de enseñanza-aprendizaje para las clases de educación artística" Interviews with educational stakeholders (see Table 5.5)	Santo Domingo
August 2015	"Indigenous heritage: Teaching and learning didactics" workshop Interviews with educational and cultural stakeholders (see Table 5.3)	Valverde Monte Cristi Santo Domingo

During each of these research visits, the network of contacts was gradually expanded and came to include staff members of the Ministry of Education and museums as well as teachers. Besides documentary and literature research, data was principally collected through semi-structured interviews. Before the start of the participatory activities (workshops), questionnaires were handed out, photos were taken and videos recorded. Data was interpreted using qualitative content analysis, assisted by the use of the qualitative data analysis software ATLAS-ti 7.5.6, which enabled the coding of interview transcripts.

The interviews with various stakeholders conducted during the first and second visits were intended to collect information to obtain an extensive overview of the current status of the teaching of indigenous history and heritage in primary and secondary education. The interview respondents at this stage included Ministry of Education officials. For the purpose of this research, all persons officially involved with the ministry were considered internal stakeholders (see chapter 3, Methodology). Furthermore, a distinction was made between teaching and non-teaching staff. The focus of the research was on the teachers as the central actors of primary and secondary education. External stakeholders consisted of all agents from outside the Ministry of Education involved in formal and non-formal education: museum staff and other informed persons involved in education.

5.4.1 Participatory activities

The third visit was intended specifically to include interaction with classroom teachers in the provinces of Valverde and Montecristi in the northwest of the country, location of the first contacts between the indigenous peoples and the Spanish at the end of the fifteenth century. The archaeological research activities of the Nexus 1492 project were taking place in these provinces (Hofman and Hoogland 2016; Hofman et al. 2018; Ulloa Hung and Herrera Malatesta 2015; Sonneman et al. 2016).

I aimed to form an account of the teaching of indigenous history and heritage in these locations. A second workshop was organized aiming to provide teachers with a forum to explore their knowledge on the indigenous history and heritage of the island (in coordination with the Museo Arqueológico Regional Altos de Chavón) and thus foster teacher participation; questionnaires were distributed in order to collect data about teachers' base knowledge and how its components were reflected in their teaching practice when giving lessons about the first inhabitants of Hispaniola. Semi-structured interviews with school principals and classroom teachers were also conducted.

Social science and natural science teachers from primary and secondary schools in the school districts in the two provinces were invited to participate in the workshop. The workshop formed part of a training week for teachers of governmental schools regularly offered by the ministry during the summer break.

Table 5.3: Characteristics of the teachers from Valverde and Montecristi provinces participating in the workshop and questionnaires.

Province	Teachers in the Study	Gender		Teacher Subject Area		Teaching Experience	
		Male	Female	Social Science	Others	≤5 years	≥ 5 years
Valverde							
Primary	26	11	15	NA	NA	9	15
Secondary	17	7	10	NA	NA	7	9
Montecristi							
Primary	13	1	12	10	3	4	9
Secondary	9	4	5	6	2	1	7
TOTALS	65						

Notes on Table 5.3: NA means "not available"; this part of the question was not completed by the respondents.

5.4.2 Survey Questionnaire

The survey questionnaire was designed on the basis of pedagogical content knowledge components aiming to identify and explore teachers' knowledge on the topic of indigenous history and heritage. The collected data was analyzed separately per school level (primary or secondary) and per school district (Valverde or Montecristi). Teachers' responses were organized into themes as follows: subject matter knowledge, curricular knowledge, instructional strategy knowledge, and context knowledge (see chapter 3, Methodology).

a) Defining indigenous heritage education

Teachers were asked to define indigenous heritage education. It was interesting to note that most teachers did not give a direct definition; instead, they gave a description of what they thought indigenous heritage was about. This finding shows that teachers are not necessarily familiar with indigenous history and heritage education since, in fact, it is not a separate subject in the school curriculum. In their answers, they did not make reference to the practice of teaching indigenous heritage. A total of 43 questionnaires were collected from primary- and secondary-school teachers who participated in the workshop in Valverde Province; only ten teachers responded to the question of what indigenous heritage education is or should be according to them. Some answers were (translated from Spanish by the author):

> "Indigenous heritage education is about the knowledge we have of our indigenous or aboriginal ancestors, like their culture, way of life, means of production, artistic activities … all this according to visible objects, their analysis and their study in a particular place" (Survey N° 18, August 2015, Valverde Province).
> "It is about showing the value our indigenous people had" (Survey N° 20, August 2015, Valverde Province).
> "It is about raising consciousness among the students and instructing them about what our origin is, where we came from and what has survived from our ancestors in our present culture" (Survey N° 21, August 2015, Valverde Province).
> "It is about the knowledge that we have to pass on to the children in our Dominican education so that these cultures can survive and not be lost" (Survey N° 24, August 2015, Valverde Province).
> "It is about the knowledge we must have about the culture, origin and customs of our ancestors through time" (Survey N° 25, August 2015, Valverde Province).

In the case of Montecristi Province as well, teachers did not provide a direct definition of indigenous heritage education. Twenty-two teachers participated and returned the questionnaire, but only one gave a definition:

> "It is the teaching/learning process about the artifacts that our forefathers bequeathed to us and that are present today in our culture" (Survey N° 22, August 2015, Monte Cristi Province).

One of the main concerns of research about teaching heritage is not having a clear understanding of the different types of heritage (Jiménez-Pérez et al. 2010). For this reason, teachers were specifically asked to identify the types of heritage they could identify or recognize in their region (Figure 5.3). This was done with a multiple-choice question. The results obtained from this particular question proved to be interesting for the study of the role of context in teachers' perceptions. Among the teachers from Valverde, the most popular type of heritage turned out to be natural heritage, followed by historical heritage and indigenous (archaeological) heritage. During the workshops, teachers expressed that the area they live in is rich in natural sites (mountains, caves and rivers)[29]; they also mentioned they were aware of the existence of archaeological sites and small artifacts of indigenous origin called *caritas* ("ceramic faces").

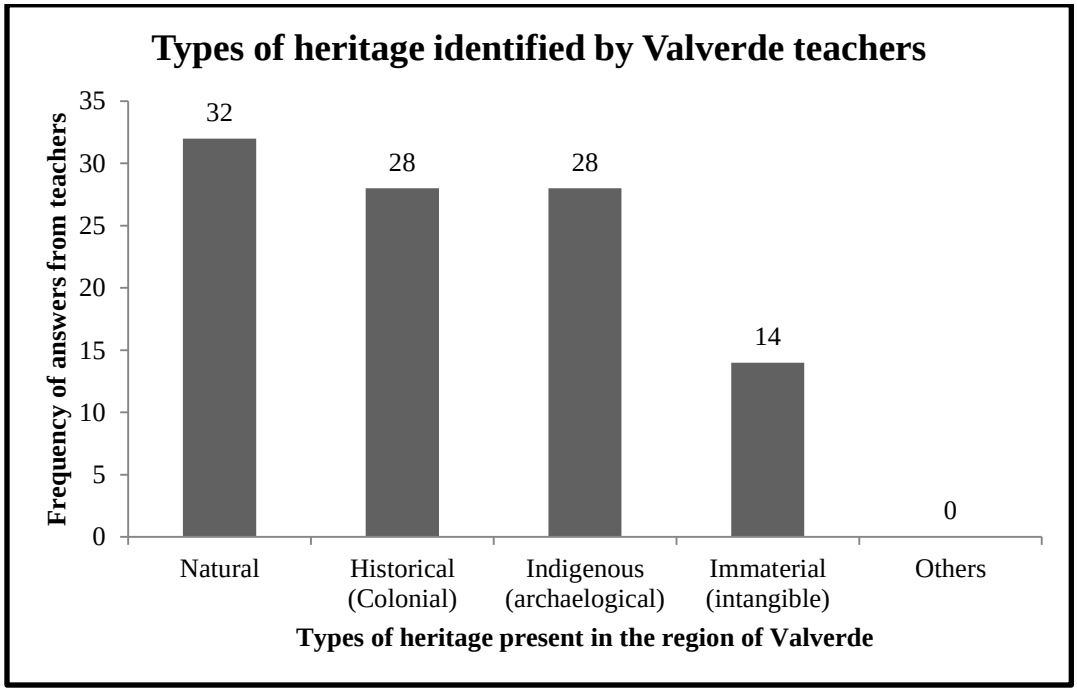

Figure 5.3: Answers from teachers from Valverde about the types of heritage they consider to be present in their region.

[29] Jana Pesoutova's PhD research tackles the question of how mountains, caves and rivers form part of the intangible heritage of the Dominican Republic, and how they are represented in the narratives of the locals she interviewed in various parts of the island, such as the northern region. Her work will be made available in 2019 as a publication of the Nexus 1492 project.

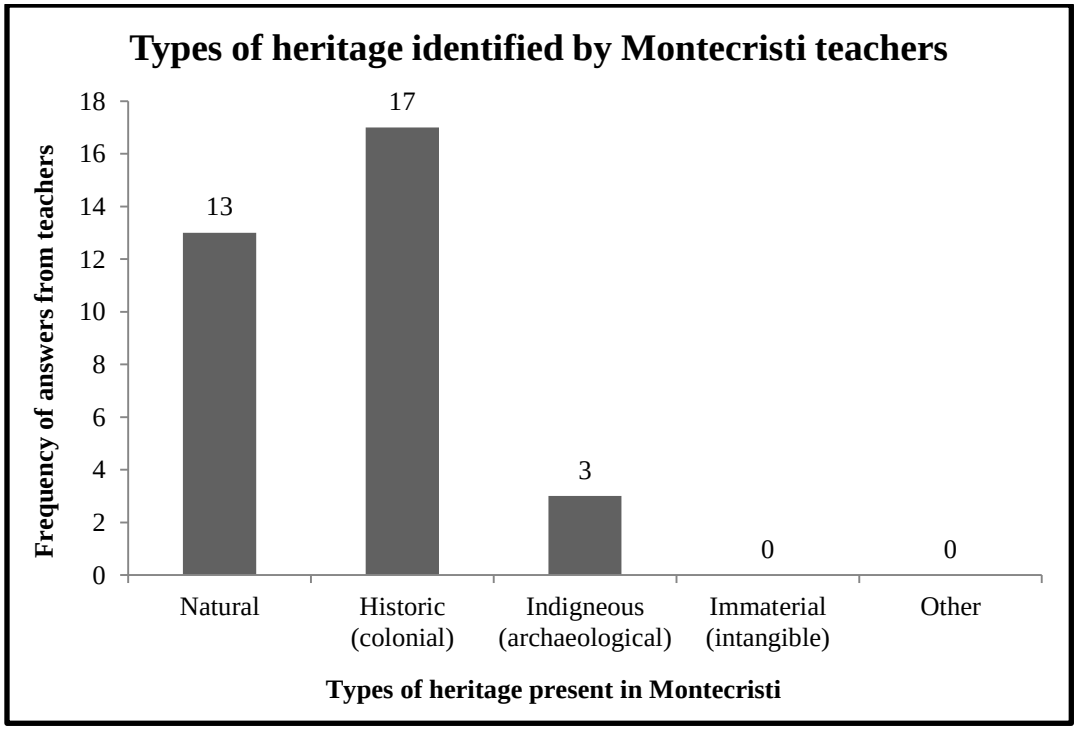

Figure 5.4: Answers from teachers from Montecristi about the types of heritage they consider to be present in their region.

These findings show the importance of the environment in which the school is located and how it can influence teachers' instructional practices as well as the ways in which they perceive the concept of heritage. The activities carried out during the workshop were designed to give the teachers the opportunity to explore the differences between the types of heritage found in their region. They were asked to select one heritage site, independent of its type, and prepare a plan for raising the local community's awareness about the need for and importance of protecting and preserving the site. Teachers from Valverde again more often selected natural heritage sites, while those from Montecristi put historical ones besides, such as El Morro (the "Promontory"), a well-known landmark and natural site that is distinctive of the region. Teachers participating in the workshop in Montecristi did not identify much indigenous archaeological heritage in their province. For example, they indicated that the Casa Museo de Máximo Gómez y José Martí (a museum) was the most important example of the heritage of Montecristi.[30]

[30] The workshop in the town of Montecristi was held in the auditorium of the Liceo Secundario José Martí secondary school in August 2015. It was interesting for the author to note that the auditorium was still decorated with pictures commemorating the bicentenary of the birth of Juan Pablo Duarte (1813–1876), one of the founding fathers of the Dominican Republic, two years earlier. In fact, all the pictures were representative of the historical heritage of the country as they depicted important persons and events in the nineteenth century important to the formation of the Dominican Republic as an independent nation.

b) *Important aspects of indigenous heritage*

In addition to the question of teachers' subject matter knowledge, in the surveys, teachers were also asked to identify those aspects of indigenous heritage they considered to be of most importance. Previously, they had been asked to define indigenous heritage education in a more general sense, without giving specific details. In this multiple-choice question, they were further able to indicate which components of heritage they considered important enough to be incorporated into the lessons on the Amerindians, and therefore show their level of insight and specific content knowledge. Specifically, the teachers were asked to identify three or more features they identified as being helpful in defining indigenous heritage.

In Figure 5.5, the results for Valverde and Montecristi provinces are shown. In the case of Valverde there were 41 respondents, and 22 in Montecristi: the components or aspects of indigenous heritage most recognized were housing, musical instruments, utilitarian ware and kitchen ware. Next came clothing. These are precisely the Taíno cultural features that are still present in today's society and with which the teachers are most likely to be familiar (Vega 1981; Serna Moreno 2010).

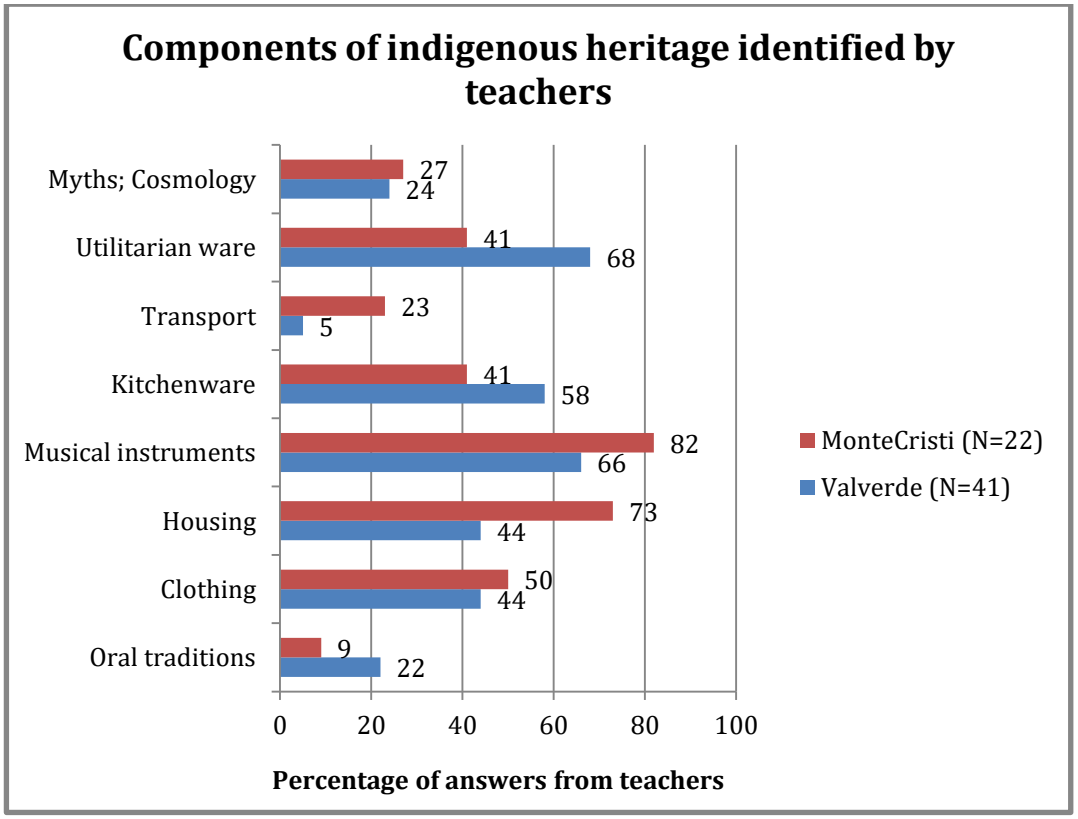

Figure 5.5: Identification of important components of indigenous heritage by teachers from Montecristi and Valverde provinces.

Oral traditions and transport were the options least frequently selected by either group of teachers. This is interesting, as it shows evidence of the apprehension on the part of the contemporary society that there is no continuity of indigenous narratives across

generations. However, during the workshops, some teachers mentioned stories that they had heard about the indigenous people who used to live in the mountains or in the caverns (*cuevas*). Some commented on stories they heard about the Taíno, who used to live in the mountains and in caves. Others commented about the *caritas* (ceramic faces) that can still be found in the region in many archaeological sites. Many rural dwellings also still exhibit the architectural style of the Amerindians (Veloz Maggiolo, 2006; Hofman et al. 2018).

c) Defining instructional strategies and knowledge of context

In the previous section, the teachers' content knowledge was surveyed — that is, the knowledge they have of the subject matter they have to teach. The second topic of inquiry concerned the instructional resources and strategies they employ to teach the content related to the Amerindians and their heritage that is incorporated in the social science curriculum. To that end, the survey included a question about the teachers' preferences for instructional resources and strategies. The answers indicate how teachers interact with the community outside the school, for example with local museums, libraries, archives and historical sites in the neighborhood. The questionnaires were distributed at the start of the workshop so that the answers were not influenced by any of the workshop content on instructional strategies. The instructional strategies used by the teachers were all strategies that could be used in the classroom, like textbooks, documents, photos, videos and artifacts or replicas thereof. They also mentioned the use of internet and multimedia (see Figure 5.6).

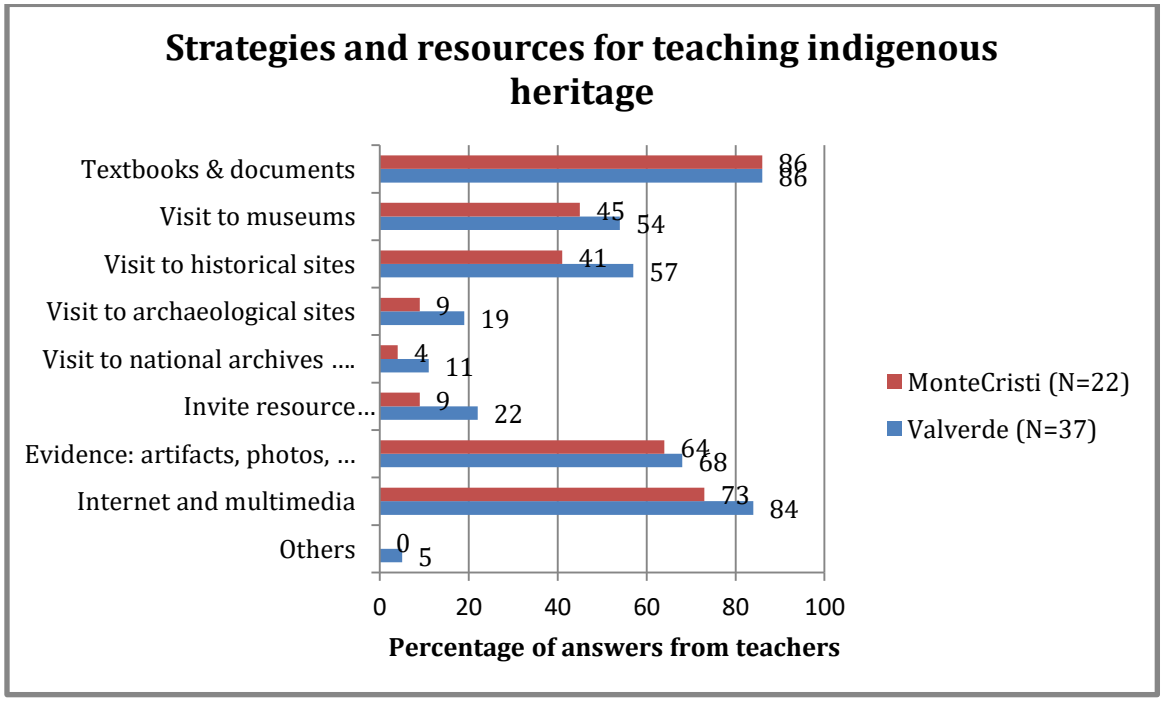

Figure 5.6: Instructional strategies and resources used in the teaching of indigenous heritage (Valverde and Montecristi).

Teachers were also asked about the frequency with which they organized outdoor learning activities, in particular field trips, for their students (see Figure 5.7). The most frequent answer recorded was "sometimes." Outdoor activities depend very much on knowledge of the immediate context (locality) of the school. Teachers from Valverde showed great interest in organizing more outdoor activities; in particular, they referred to the excavation site of El Flaco, showing that they were aware of the activities taking place in their community. Other possible field-trip destinations they mentioned were the Cueva de los Indios (Indians' Cave) and the Museo Tremol de Laguna Salada. Additionally, teachers from Montecristi also showed interest in learning how to make an educational "suitcase," such as the "Valija Didáctica" by the Museo Arqueológico Altos de Chavón that was demonstrated at the workshop.

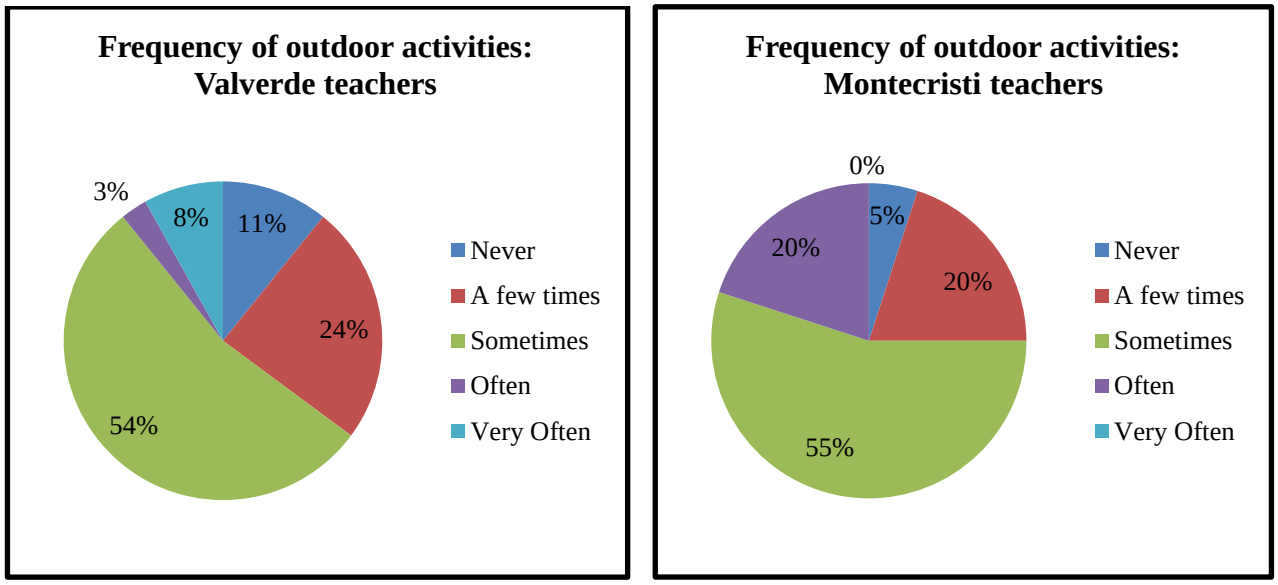

Figure 5.7: Frequency with which teachers carried out outdoor activities.

Additionally, the interviews with teachers from Valverde contributed to understanding how, in practice, teachers currently apply a more classroom-based approach to teaching this topic; at the same time, it also served to identify how teachers think of indigenous heritage education as an area of study that could benefit from outdoor learning strategies.

5.4.3 Semi-structured interview

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the principals of several primary and secondary schools adjacent to El Flaco. Because of time limitations, it was not possible to interview all the teachers who participated in the workshop. In some cases, it was necessary to do the interviews in groups of three or more teachers. This was the case, for example, with two primary schools close to the Nexus Archaeological Center in Loma de Guayacanes. These schools were the Centro Educativo Melitón Sánchez and the Centro Educativo El Molino.

The interviews with the teachers from the Centro Educativo Melitón Sánchez primary school took place before the workshop; those with the teachers of the other primary school, Centro Educativo El Molino, took place after. One limitation was the time available for the interviews, since the teachers were also participating in the training week traditionally organized by the Ministry of Education every summer before the start of the school year. As mentioned previously, the ministry granted permission to hold the workshop as part of the scheduled activities for this training week. Teachers who were willing to grant interviews were allowed by their principals to take part in groups of three or more. It was the aim of these interviews to collect information on teachers' beliefs about the teaching and learning process with respect to indigenous history and heritage, taking into account different aspects of their practice as per the PCK approach applied in this study (see chapter 3, Methodology).

For the interview analysis, I applied the same coding for the PCK approach as used in the other country studies. The interviews were first transcribed in the original Spanish, then translated into English. A qualitative content analysis using the ATLAS-ti 7 software then followed. The results from this analysis will now be discussed in order to obtain insight into the current status of the teaching of indigenous history and heritage in schools in the vicinity of the towns of El Flaco, Cruce de Guayacanes and El Carril Arriba in the province of Valverde. The principals and teachers that were interviewed are listed in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Teachers interviewed in the province of Valverde, August 2015.

Interviewee Occupation/Position	School
Teacher/Principal	Centro Educativo Melitón Sánchez
Group interview 1 Five female primary-school teachers	Centro Educativo Melitón Sánchez
Group interview 2 Three female primary-school teachers	Centro Educativo Melitón Sánchez
Teacher/Principal	Escuela El Carril Arriba
Group interview 3 Two male teachers	Centro Educativo El Molino
Teacher/Principal	Centro Educativo El Molino
Principal	Liceo Secundario del Cruce de Guayacanes

Note: There were 14 interviewees in total from Valverde Province.

a) Teachers' knowledge about content

In general, it was observed from the answers of the respondents that most teachers looked at indigenous heritage education from a constructivist perspective. This became clear when they stated in interviews that they believed their students had to learn about their ancestors and who they were, and thus be able to understand the legacy left to today's society and how to preserve this legacy. They pointed out that their main role when teaching indigenous history and heritage was to promote and raise awareness of the Amerindian past and its significance to the cultural identity of Dominican society today.

The ideas expressed by the teachers in their answers fit the constructivist concepts embedded in Copeland's model (2009) (see chapter 2, Theory). They agreed on the idea that they have to help raise awareness about the Amerindians. To achieve this, it is necessary to initiate a process of interpreting the available information on indigenous heritage with their students to reflect on how that heritage is best preserved and to avoid it getting lost.

On the other hand, it was observed that the teachers believed they could benefit from the information provided by the archaeologists in the area and use this new information to learn more about who the Amerindians were. Their responses show evidence of an inclusive perception of heritage in which they (the teachers) and their students participate in the construction of understanding about the lifeways of the Amerindians.

b) Knowledge of the curriculum

Teachers indicated how content related to indigenous history and heritage seemed to be incorporated into the social science curriculum for primary schools. These contents did not really appear independently, but were merged within themes or units such as "our culture"; "our identity"; and "the first inhabitants of Hispaniola." For example, one teacher explained that although indigenous heritage is not an independent subject strand in the curriculum, they were able to cover much of the topic in school projects like the ones organized around the celebration of the Día de la Raza (literally, "Race Day"; "Columbus Day" in many countries), held on October 12 each year to commemorate the arrival of Columbus and his crew in the Americas and his encounter with the Amerindians.

Teachers were also asked to provide information on the resources that were made available in the curriculum (Grossman 1990). Teachers responded that the curriculum mainly recommended textbooks; when they were not able to find adequate information in textbooks, they would look for additional resources such as pictures, or even make copies of material to share with the students. This was evidence that, besides their knowledge of the curriculum, the teachers also managed instructional resources in order to prepare and organize a lesson on indigenous history and heritage.

The intention was to explore whether and how teachers received information about the new curriculum design. In this respect, the principal of the Liceo de Guayacanes secondary school explained that the new curriculum design is beneficial to teachers of social science, since the number of class hours per week was going to be increased from four hours to six.

c) Teachers' knowledge about learning and teaching strategies

In general, most teachers showed an interest in organizing outdoor activities with their students. Certainly, the fact that their schools had information about the archaeological excavations helped to raise interest in incorporating visits to the site as instructional activities. Teachers believed that visiting the site would help their students learn more about their Amerindian ancestors from real-life experience. They showed a favorable attitude toward getting involved in organizing these visits. The school principals that were interviewed, however, pointed to the limitations encountered when planning outdoor activities: in particular, costs, transport and accessibility. Certainly, the context in which these schools found themselves, a region with a rich pre-Columbian and colonial history, served as motivation for the teachers to consider outdoor activities. Some teachers mentioned, for example, that they have been able to organize walks along the "Ruta de Colón," the route Columbus followed on his first inland expedition in these northern provinces.

d) Knowledge of students' understanding

An important element of teachers' base knowledge is knowing how students learn and being able to identify what students find difficult to learn or understand within certain subjects. The opinions of teachers in these respects can be very important in identifying what needs to be modified or improved in the curriculum content. For example, it might be necessary to adjust content to certain age groups; the instructional strategies of the teachers might be improved. In this respect, the interview respondents expressed concerns about the availability of teaching resources adequate for each age group, and the limited facilities for inviting specialists or resource persons to come to the classroom.

A first group of teachers indicated that their students showed great interest in searching for more information about the Amerindians. They came up with many questions about the indigenous people's way of life, their religions, agriculture and cultural traditions and how all these changed over time.

A second group of teachers, who were interviewed in the Centro Educativo Melitón Sánchez primary school, explained that, for their students in the early stages of primary school, it was certainly difficult to understand much about this topic without visual or pictorial teaching aids that they could use to make associations. To help overcome this, they would use role-playing strategies: for example, they would dress up like indigenous women and act out this role; they stated that the students liked such activities very

much. Therefore, according to the teachers, the difficulty in understanding indigenous history and heritage is very much age-dependent. A sixth-grade teacher alleged that at that stage her students did not find the topic difficult at all.

One group of the teachers interviewed made specific reference to archaeological knowledge when talking about their students' understanding of the heritage of the Amerindians. Teachers from the Centro Educativo El Molino expressed that students at times found *caritas* or "ceramic faces" in rural fields and brought them into school. However, the teachers did not have the professional knowledge or resources to handle these archaeological artifacts. This constituted a difficulty for the teachers in their efforts to provide the students with a good understanding of these objects.

e) Knowledge of the context

The local or regional context of the school can vary from one institute to another. The Valverde and Montecristi provinces are characterized by small urban centers surrounded by large rural environments. The closest large urban center is Santiago de los Caballeros in Santiago Province, to the east of Valverde. This is the second largest city in the Dominican Republic, and home to an important private cultural center, the Centro Cultural Eduardo León Jimenes. It has a large collection of Amerindian artifacts. During the first field visit in August 2014, I visited this cultural center and interviewed the Coordinator of Educational Affairs. She mentioned that many schools visited the center and that workshops were organized for school teachers there.

However, small communities like Loma de Guayacanes or El Carril Arriba in Valverde Province have limited access to public transport. As one of the interview respondents expressed, the communities in which the schools are located represent the lower- to middle-income ranges. According to official government data, these provinces rank in the intermediate group of the poverty index (Morillo Pérez 2014).

For example, teachers from Montecristi and Valverde mentioned the costs of taking the students on trips. One respondent mentioned that he had long considered visiting the Museo del Hombre Dominicano and its Taíno collection in the capital city of Santo Domingo, but expressed that the costs and logistics involved would be prohibitive because of the distance. Under such circumstances, the immediate environment plays a defining role in the interactions between school and community. In the case of the primary school in El Carril Arriba, for example, access to the school is very difficult due to unpaved roads. The school relies mainly on local organizations such as community associations or institutions like the church to provide the children with extracurricular and outdoor activities.

Principals and teachers from schools in larger communities like Loma de Guayacanes or Cruce de Guayacanes indicated that they have better road connections with other towns so that, for example, they could visit the caves that are in the region. However, these trips require the authorization of the school principals, who have to make a formal request to the authorities of the school district.

5.4.4 Education officers and cultural stakeholder interviews

In the Dominican Republic, the Ministry of Education (MINERD) is the main body that oversees educational policies as established in the *Ley General de Educación 66-97* (Congress of the Dominican Republic 1997). All persons employed by the ministry or in other ways involved with the education system through the ministry were therefore taken to be internal stakeholders in the educational process. External stakeholders were described as those employed at cultural centers (private and governmental) that also provide non-formal educational settings for the school community (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5: (Non-teaching) Stakeholders interviewed during field visits to the Dominican Republic (2014–2015).

Interviewee Position /Affiliation	Organization	Stakeholder
Member of the Educational Team	Museo Arqueológico Regional Altos de Chavón, La Romana	External
General Coordinator for Education Affairs	Centro Cultural Eduardo León Jimenes, Santiago de los Caballeros	External
District Technical Officer and Coordinator for the Area of Social Sciences	Ministry of Education Education District 05-03, La Romana	Internal
Coordinator for Education Affairs	Museo Arqueológico Regional Altos de Chavón, La Romana	External
Regional Technical Officer	Ministry of Education Regional Education Office Nº 01	Internal
Regional Officer in Charge of the Area of Arts Education	Ministry of Education Regional Education Office Nº 14 and 16	Internal
Regional Consultant for Arts and Culture; Writer and Painter	Ministry of Culture	Internal
National Technical Officer for Arts Education	Ministry of Education, Santo Domingo	Internal
Coordinator for Social Sciences	Ministry of Education,	Internal

	Santo Domingo	
Director	Museo del Hombre Dominicano, Santo Domingo	External
Education Technical Officer	INAFOCAM – (National Teachers Training Institute) Department of Continuous Professional Development, Santo Domingo	Internal
Director of Continuous Professional Development	INAFOCAM – National teachers Training Institute, Santo Domingo	Internal
Director of Culture	Ministry of Education, Santo Domingo	Internal

Notes on Table 5.5: The Education Technical Officer and Director of Continuous Professional Development from INAFOCAM were interviewed together.

The content analysis was carried out by combining inductive (data-driven) and deductive (theory-driven) strategies. The qualitative content analysis of the interviews allowed recurrent themes indicated by the stakeholders to be identified. The responses from the stakeholders were thus organized into themes in the same way as in the case studies of Saint Kitts and Dominica. Recurrent themes indicated by these stakeholders could thus be identified. In the next section, these different issues are addressed in the following order: a) definition and understanding of indigenous archaeological heritage education and its place in the school curriculum; b) teacher training and education or professional development; c) activities and initiatives offered by formal and non-formal educational institutions.

a) Defining indigenous heritage education and curriculum development

Indigenous heritage is taught as part of the social science program that extends from primary to secondary education. The interview questions solicited stakeholders' views on the significance of indigenous heritage and its teaching in primary and secondary schools. The questions aimed to obtain information about the value people currently attribute to indigenous heritage as a component of Dominican heritage. It was observed that the internal and external stakeholders considered indigenous heritage an essential component of their national identity, and they underlined the need to create awareness in the school community about the need to preserve and maintain this heritage as well as to understand how it has changed over time (Ramírez de Sallé interview 2014; González interview 2015).

b) Teacher training and education

The Ministry of Education of the Dominican Republic has a network of affiliated institutions responsible for teacher training and education (See figure 5.8). These institutions offer continuing education to teachers in different fields of knowledge, and it is crucial for those who are interested in providing teacher education opportunities to have an overview of these bodies.

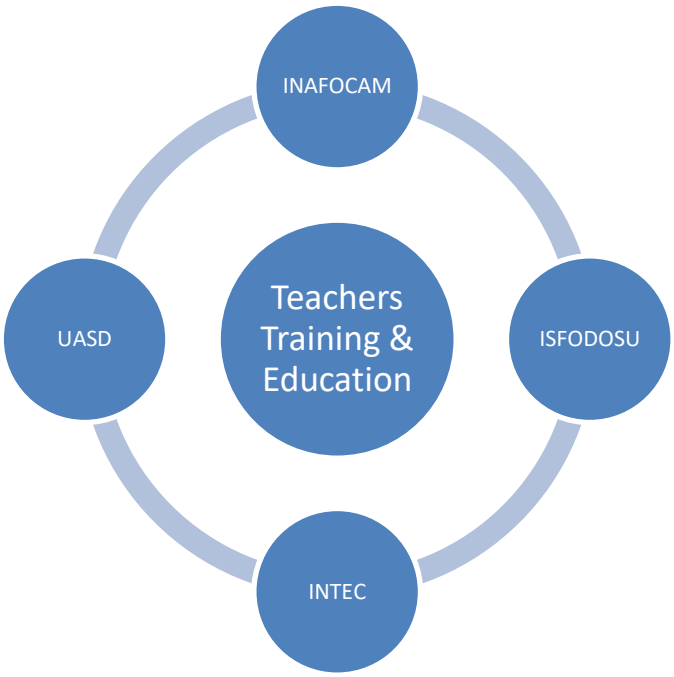

Figure 5.8: Institutes for teacher training and continuing professional development.
INAFOCAM: Instituto Nacional de Formación y Capacitación del Magisterio; ISFODOSU: Instituto Superior de Formación Docente "Salome Ureña"; INTEC: Instituto Tecnológico de Santo Domingo; UASD: Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo.

Both groups of stakeholders were asked to provide information about the current state of teacher training in relation to the specific heritage-related content included in the curriculum. They indicated that the training must be improved and that programs must be developed to provide teachers with the content knowledge and instructional strategies to enhance their lessons on the indigenous peoples of Hispaniola. For example, among the stakeholders there was a common idea that teachers would benefit from acquiring knowledge of the indigenous practices that are still in use today in rural regions of the island. However, internal stakeholders also expressed that the main priority for Dominican education was the urgent improvement of learning outcomes in reading and writing.

c) Activities and initiatives

In the interviews with internal stakeholders, it was possible to identify a number of programs and activities related to heritage that were already taking place as well as others that were still in the planning stages. One of their main concerns was the ability

to provide school districts in rural inland regions with the same opportunities as the more urban ones. Therefore, the activities and initiatives already coordinated or in planning stages were intended to be implemented in all school districts in the country: for example, school trips to museums and other cultural centers; invitations for specialists and other resource persons to visit the schools to give talks and conferences or undertake other activities with the teachers and students.

Table 5.6: A summary of heritage activities and initiatives taking place at primary and secondary schools.

Institution	Initiatives and Activities
Department of Culture **Ministry of Education**	• Extension program: consists of cultural excursions to bring conferences and other activities to the inland regions of the country frequented by specialists (i.e., historians, writers, priests) • Programs to bring students from the inland regions of the country to visit the Museo del Hombre Dominicano • Mes de la Patria ("Month of the Fatherland") and Muralización ("Patriotic Murals") programs
Curriculum Division of Social Science **Ministry of Education**	• (Project in progress.) Making an archaeological atlas of indigenous sites • (Joint project with ISFODOSU; in progress). Booklet on heritage and teacher training. This project addresses four issues. One concerns history as such, and involves the production of two booklets on history: one is on colonial history and dedicated to slavery, the other is on contemporary history and dedicated to the North American military intervention of 1916 to 1924. Another issue addresses social concerns in conjunction with other areas; for example, there is the issue of water as a social problem. Here the idea is also to link water with the natural sciences and thus obtain a more ecological perspective. We also want to stress the issue of heritage (project ISFODOSU), and motivate and sensitize the teachers by means of these booklets. We want the new teachers of social sciences to have a new vision of heritage.
INAFOCAM **Ministry of Education**	• Diploma course in Dominican art and folklore: this program started in September 2014. (This course is six months in duration.)
Museo del Hombre Dominicano	• Occasional courses for the community led by specialists • (Project in progress) Course for young archaeologists • Public talks and lectures about recent investigations

5.5 Analysis and discussion of results

In the case of this study on the Dominican Republic, data was collected from documentary analysis, participatory activities, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The participants in these activities came from different locations and backgrounds. Classroom teachers were the central actors involved. Other education stakeholders who participated were officials from the Ministry of Education at the national, regional and district (local) levels. External stakeholders included staff

members from museums and other cultural centers. The purpose of the study was to analyze the current state of the teaching of indigenous history and heritage from local examples, with special attention to the provinces of Valverde and Montecristi in the northwestern region due to their indigenous historical and colonial importance and where archaeological excavations and research are currently taking place.

The findings are discussed following the sequence of central themes corresponding to the components of the PCK model that refer to teachers' practice. In doing this, an exhaustive review of the current state of the teaching of indigenous history and heritage is obtained from the experiences of persons directly involved and with the specific knowledge to evaluate the matter at hand.

5.5.1 Subject matter knowledge and curriculum

Noticeably, teachers defined heritage as knowledge of their ancestors, and it seemed evident that they prefer to interact with this indigenous heritage by learning from experts about the instruments (objects) and lifeways that characterized the Amerindians. Teachers did not only refer to the concept of indigenous heritage as knowing who the Amerindians were; they also expressed through their choice of instructional strategies that they were willing to participate in the interpretation of this heritage.

This finding indicates that a positivist approach to heritage education could not take place in these school settings. Teachers showed their interest in learning how to interpret the heritage of the first inhabitants of Hispaniola from specialists, bringing their students on school trips and enhancing their lessons on the Amerindians through outdoor learning experiences. As a result, the practice of studying the Amerindian past by means of primarily classroom-based activities is being called into question. Although teachers still rely on classroom-based activities, they expressed in interviews that their students would learn more if they had the opportunity to interact with the artifacts that were left by the Amerindians.

All the participants in this research pointed out that knowledge of the Amerindian ancestors of Hispaniola, the Taíno, is an essential component of Dominican identity; this provides evidence, on the one hand, that the national narratives of indigeneity are well established among the population, and on the other, that teachers commonly associate their Amerindian ancestry with the term "Taíno," which is thus used as a sort of unifying concept. They argue that for these reasons, the teaching of indigenous heritage is essential to the social science curriculum, and that it should even be strengthened so as to educate thoughtful and culturally informed citizens. The education authorities that participated in this study expected that the curriculum reform reflected in the 2008–2018 Ten-Year Plan would come to favor the integration of heritage content throughout the curriculum.

One of these authorities, Raymundo González, Coordinator of the Curriculum Reform for Social Sciences at the ministry, stated, "We are now also working on the 'knowledge [understanding] of heritage' so that it can be appreciated and therefore cared for and preserved. Taking care of and preserving it is also part of the appreciation and understanding" (August 2015, personal interview). In this vein, other internal stakeholders agreed that indigenous heritage constitutes an essential ingredient of the curriculum, although there is still room for this to be reinforced so that young people can learn about the significance of preserving heritage for Dominican society.

5.5.2 Instructional strategies, knowledge of the context and student understanding

An interesting result of the teacher interviews was the revelation that students felt motivated by visual representations of the Amerindians. Such representations were used by the teachers when possible, and they had the means to do this. For example, the teachers often used role-playing, where the students had to dress as Amerindians. According to the teachers, for children in the lower grades, these sorts of experiences held great value in helping them understand who the Amerindians were. Teachers also used photos, videos and internet resources to bring their students into contact with visual images they considered important to their students' learning. To some extent, for outlying schools such as in Valverde and Montecristi provinces, these strategies made up for the lack of outdoor activities and visits to museums and cultural centers with exhibitions on Amerindian culture such as those found in larger cities: the capital Santo Domingo, Santiago de los Caballeros and La Romana.

Yet another point on which the interviews showed much agreement was the difficulty students experience in establishing a connection between the indigenous past and contemporary Dominican society. In a certain way, this may be a reflection of various ideas about "extinction theory" in the education process: why teach about something that does not exist anymore (see chapter 1, Introduction)? Education stakeholders were already looking for ways to raise awareness of indigenous knowledge and traditions that survived across time and that are still to be found, especially in the rural inland regions of the country. For example, the ISFODOSU teachers' institute has prepared booklets with the objective of presenting the teachers with a new vision of heritage, one that is more integrated within the local community and seeks to raise awareness of the need for heritage preservation, particularly in those parts of the country where there is still evidence of indigenous heritage in terms of traditions such as the making of cassava bread, religious beliefs, legends and stories.

Another important finding was that the context had a marked influence on the schools' access to some of the resources that might be available for learning about Amerindian heritage. For example, the cost of transportation, even public transport, was

sometimes reported to play a decisive role in teachers' choices when organizing activities at some distance from the school. The different education stakeholders were attempting to find ways to help schools from rural inland regions visit cultural facilities in the larger cities. Nevertheless, these rural inland regions might possess resources to strengthen the teaching of indigenous history and heritage that have not been developed or used to their full potential. As was often expressed by the respondents, it is precisely in these regions of the country where indigenous heritage still persists, in the form of traditions such as cassava making, local narratives and stories.

The teachers from the northwestern provinces of Valverde and Montecristi who participated in the activities shared their experience of how memories of "Quisqueya,"[31] the name given to Hispaniola by the Indigenous peoples, were ever-present when they were teaching social science. These schools are located in the region of the first contacts between the indigenous peoples and the Spanish, the location of the first Spanish settlements at the end of the fifteenth century. The local context has a large influence on how teachers perceive and interact with the indigenous heritage of the Dominican Republic, and consequently on their pedagogical choices. In this way, the experiences of teachers in countryside regions such as Valverde and Montecristi could be very useful for teachers in the urban areas of large cities, who do not have the same opportunity from direct contact with heritage like these distant communities do.

Classroom teachers would benefit if they could receive more support from specialists like archaeologists, anthropologists and ethnographers to help them understand all the different aspects of the Amerindians' way of life.[32] The assistance they could receive from these specialists in their daily classroom practice would further the understanding of indigenous heritage by the teachers and their students. This in turn would help increase the understanding of the material culture left by the Amerindians, which can be appreciated in the large city museums or even in small community museums, and what it signifies for the cultural and national identity of the Dominican people today.

[31] Quisqueya is known as the name the indigenous people gave to the island of Hispaniola; however, there are academic debates about this name, and whether it was an indigenous name after all. Details on the discussion about the island's name can be found in Apolinar Tejera 1976, and more recently in Herrera Malatesta 2018.

[32] Recently, NEXUS 1492 has established an archaeological study center in the region of Valverde, which provides support to the local communities for learning about their indigenous heritage by raising awareness of local archaeological findings and their value for the island. In addition, local museums such as the Centro de León in Santiago de los Caballeros and the collection of Professor Tremol in Laguna Salada offer training and educational resources to local teachers for enhancing their knowledge of the indigenous heritage of the island.

Chapter 6:

The presence of Wai'tu Kubuli in teaching history and heritage in Dominica

6.1 Introduction

Figure 6.1: Workshop at the Salybia Primary School Kalinago Territory, Dominica, January 2016.

During my stay in Dominica, I had the opportunity to organize a teachers' workshop with the assistance of the indigenous people of the Kalinago Territory. Although the teachers interact with Kalinago culture on a daily basis, we decided to explore the teachers' knowledge of indigenous heritage and to challenge them in activities where they could put their knowledge into practice. We then drew animals, plants, tools and objects that are found in daily life in the Kalinago Territory. Later on in the workshop, we asked teachers about the Kalinago names that were printed on their tag names. Teachers were able to recognize some of these Kalinago names, and sometimes even the stories behind them. In this simple way, we started our workshop on indigenous history and heritage — because sometimes the most useful and meaningful learning resources are the ones we can find in our everyday life.

This case study took place in Dominica; the island is also known by its Kalinago name, Wai'tu Kubuli, which means "tall is her body." The Kalinago Territory is the home of the Kalinago people. Dominica was included in this study in an effort to understand how indigenous heritage is taught in a Caribbean country where self-identified indigenous people still live today, a scenario that allows us to establish comparisons with the other two case studies in the investigation. The case study of Dominica contributes insights

from a country where the presence of the Kalinago people in society poses questions concerning indigenous education and the participation of the Kalinago people in the developments of the Dominican education system.

Compared to the previous case studies of Saint Kitts, with its strong African heritage, and the Dominican Republic, where the Taíno culture has been used as an instrument of political discourse, Dominica represents an opportunity to understand how the heritage of the descendants of the first inhabitants, the Amerindians who inhabited the island at the time of the European arrival in the fifteenth century, is included in school subjects. Moreover, Dominica offered two means to approach the study of indigenous heritage education: a perspective from within the Kalinago Territory and a perspective from outside the territory. To achieve a more balanced overview, interviews in primary schools outside the Kalinago Territory were also included; I visited primary schools in and near the capital of Roseau and in Soufrière in the southwest to conduct interviews with the teaching staff. Difficult geographical conditions and time limitations prevented full coverage of the island.

Nevertheless, visits to schools outside the territory provided valuable information to compare with that of the Kalinago schools. There are no secondary schools in the territory itself, but it was possible to visit two secondary schools adjacent to the territory where many of the Kalinago students continue their education. In sum, this chapter presents a qualitative content analysis and interpretation of the data set collected during two visits, consisting of: a) the curriculum and educational documents; b) interviews with stakeholders; and c) a participatory activity organized with the teachers of the primary schools in the Kalinago Territory.

6.2 Historical and archaeological background of Dominica

Looking at Dominican schoolbooks, one finds that their historical discussion centers on two main phenomena: the origins of the island people coming from South America, and the Arawak and Carib rivalry. However, the information is often limited, and does not provide a full account of the indigenous people at the time of the European encounters. In this section, the historical and archaeological background of Dominica is briefly explained, which will help to provide a better understanding of this case study.

Dominica is located in the Lesser Antilles; due to its location, it is historically linked with the Commonwealth Caribbean, formerly known as the West Indies. Columbus already knew of the existence of these islands in 1492, before the British and French took control of them: “The Taíno informed Columbus about warlike raiding enemies, the Caribes, living in the smaller islands to the east, who Columbus also designated as Cannibales, a name now famous for a practice until then only simply known as anthropophagy and today mostly as cannibalism” (Allaire 2013: 97). Later,

Columbus and his crew encountered the island during his second voyage, in 1493. Certainly, most of what we know today is based on historical records written by the European chroniclers upon their arrival in their New World. "Their opinions were republished by others verbatim over the last three hundred years and were used as the basis for educational material up to the present time" (Honychurch 1995: 110).

However, what we know today about the island's indigenous past has come down to us thanks to the survival of the Kalinago (descendants of the Island Carib), who today still live in the land of their ancestors. To shed light on and contribute to a better understanding of Dominica's past, in recent years archaeological and ethnohistorical research has been carried out by international research groups, focusing on the precolonial periods to colonial history and slavery. Among these groups, the Caribbean archaeology research team of Leiden University has been actively carrying out archaeological work on the Windward Islands of the Lesser Antilles since early 2000, most recently in the framework of the research programs NWO Island Networks, Caribbean Connections in a New World (CARIB) and Nexus 1492. More information has been collected about the material culture and heritage of this region, and has been made available to a wider public through lectures, books, articles and videos[33].

6.2.1 The precolonial period

Looking at the bigger picture, archaeological evidence for the earliest date of human settlement in Trinidad points to approximately 7000/6000 B.C. (Pagán Jiménez et al. 2015; Boomert 2016), and for the northern Lesser Antilles, as early as ca. 3300 B.C. (Hofman et al 2014). Although recent paleoenvironmental investigations (Siegel et al. 2015) are revealing more information on the early colonization of the Eastern Caribbean[34], there is still much more to learn about the period when the first peoples inhabited the southern Lesser Antilles islands, and consequently Dominica. Nonetheless, there are some hints that can be drawn from the sites and artifacts found in the area.

Along these lines, Honychurch (1995) believes that the Ortoiroid people occupied Dominica in the period from 3000 B.C. to 400 B.C. More recently, Boomert (2016), in discussing the first inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles, explains that the Ortoiroid[35]

[33] Publications resulting from Nexus 1492 research can be found on the Nexus 1492 website and the Leiden University Libraries catalogue.

[34] For more information on investigations into the early colonization of the Lesser Antilles and southern Caribbean, as well as recent research methods, see Siegel et al. 2015.

[35] "Ortoiroid" is an archaeological term referring to the Amerindians who lived in the Archaic Age (Rouse 1992); this means that they were not pottery makers. They are called Ortoroid after the archaeological site Ortoire in Trinidad (Saunders 2005). For more on the Ortoiroid people and their migration, see Boomert 2016, where the author refers in detail to the complex ethnic and cultural groups that inhabited the Caribbean before and after conquest.

migration to the Lesser Antilles, which could have started between 5000 and 4000 B.C., is still poorly documented; he adds:

> "In the Windward Islands only Martinique has yielded clearly related but unfortunately undated archaic complexes. However, individual finds of Ortoiroid-like ground stone tools are known from most islands. Farther north, Ortoiroid-affiliated Archaic sites are known from the Leeward and Virgin Islands, but all are younger than 3000 B.C." (p. 1220).

As can be seen, our archaeological understanding of the first Caribbean settlers is still evolving, and we can only expect that further evidence will shed new light on the first peoples who occupied the Lesser Antilles. There is still much debate about the origins of the Carib. According to Keegan and Hofman 2017,[36] there are two alternative theories: "one model identifies the Carib as invaders from the South American mainland who entered the Antilles just prior to European contact (Allaire 1987, 1996; Boucher 1992). The other proposes that the Carib were descended from the indigenous communities of the Greater and Lesser Antilles (Davis and Goodwin 1990; Sued-Badillo 1978)."

These discussions, however, have not yet reached school textbooks, whose treatment of such issues entails a more linear comprehension of the indigenous past — from the first settlers, who are commonly referred to as the *hunter-gatherers*, to the *farmers who made pottery*, according to Honychurch 2006. In comparison, reports of recent archaeological findings have yielded more elaborate descriptions of the indigenous peoples based on the characteristics of their material culture, much of which does not yet appear in school textbooks. However, recent efforts on the part of the Caribbean Research Group at Leiden University have contributed to enhancing the content on Amerindians, namely in the production of new school textbooks with an increased focus on the Caribbean Amerindians (Hofman 2017, personal communication).[37]

6.2.2 The Island Carib

At the time of the arrival of the Europeans in 1493, the indigenous people were the Island Carib, as known to anthropologists (Allaire 1997). As described by Allaire, explicit mentions of the Carib in the Lesser Antilles were linked to hostilities toward the Spanish colony in Puerto Rico; "it is not before the middle of the seventeenth century, in the

[36] To learn more about alternative theories of the origins of the island settlers of the Lesser Antilles, see Keegan and Hofman 2017.

[37] Within the framework of the Nexus 1492 project, Prof. Hofman has contributed to revising the archaeological content of the social studies schoolbook for the eastern Caribbean, which will be published by McMillan; more details are forthcoming.

writings of several French missionaries established in Dominica, Guadeloupe, Martinique and St. Vincent, that we start learning more about the Island Carib — or, as they called themselves, the *Calinago* (for the men) and *Callipuna* (for the women)" (ibid., 180).

The period described here corresponds to the colonial era. Allaire (2013) divides this into four periods from an ethnohistorical perspective:

> "Period I (1492–ca. 1515), that of the earliest encounters that established their presence and identity; Period II (1515–ca. 1625), following the presence of Spain and the demise of the Taínos and the first European incursions in the Lesser Antilles until the first colonies and settlements of 1625, a long century of some five generations that is poorly known in historical documents; Period III (1625–ca. 1660), the period of French and English colonization that may be termed the ethnographic period … and the last, Period IV (ca. 1660–1763), following on the slow demise of the Carib who become displaced and absorbed in the European occupation of the West Indies" (p .98).

Allaire's periodization of the Island Carib intends to shed some light on Island Carib history; for this reason, it is used as a reference in this summary, along with recent archaeological findings (Keegan and Hofman 2017). The historical evolution of the Island Carib has mainly been recorded in European accounts, first by the Spanish (Dr. Chanca 2003 [1493]), then by French missionaries (Father Breton 1665–1666, Father du Tetre, 1667–1671); these colonial documents have informed our knowledge of this period. The Island Carib, also known as the Kalinago, "occupied Saint Kitts, Barbados, Dominica, Martinique, Saint Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago and other islands southeast of Puerto Rico, although by 1590 the St. Croix population was virtually extinct" (Cooper 1997: 186).

However, archaeological efforts have been directed at recovering the material culture of the Island Carib across the Windward Islands (Grenada, Guadeloupe, St. Vincent and Dominica). In this vein, in the framework of a joint archaeological study between Leiden University and the Dominica Museum, Boomert (2008) has contributed to shedding light on the material culture of the Island Carib, specifically the Cayo complex, whose artifacts most likely correspond to the Island Carib pottery of the early historic period; the recovery of these tangible remains has yielded evidence of interaction between the Windward Islands and the coastal area of the Guianas, as this form of pottery resembles that of the Koriabo complex in the Guianas (Boomert 1986). In addition, rescue surveys at the archaeological site of Argyle in St. Vincent have revealed "new information on Island Carib lifeways, settlement structure, exchange relationships, intercultural dynamics and human mobility during the early colonial era"

(Hoofman and Hoogland 2012: 73), knowledge that contributes to forming a better understanding of the indigenous past of the Lesser Antilles.

Aiming to enhance the contemporary knowledge of local narratives of Kalinago cultural history, the Nexus 1492 and CARIB projects have carried out ethnohistorical research in various Windward Islands, namely in Saint Kitts, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and Dominica; this included the Kalinago Territory where, from 2014 to 2016, in the framework of the CARIB project, Mans and De Ruiter carried out archaeological surveys together with local community members in the Kalinago Territory, collecting archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence for the pre-colonial and colonial periods[38]. In this context, the Nexus 1492 research team has allocated its efforts to conducting archaeological excavations, archaeological surveys and community archaeology activities in Grenada and also on St. Vincent, as shown in the Nexus 1492 documentary *Heritage Under Threat*.[39]

6.2.3 Dominica today

Dominica is the home of the indigenous Kalinago people, commonly known as the Island Carib; today, however, governmental institutions officially recognize their name as Kalinago. In 1903, the British government granted the island's Kalinago population the use of a district originally known as the Carib Territory. This territory is a 15 km^2 stretch of communally owned land situated on the northeastern coast of the island between Marigot and Castle Bruce (see Figure 6.2). The island of Dominica — or "Wai'tu Kubuli," which means "tall is her body," as it is called by the Kalinago people — is officially known as the Commonwealth of Dominica; it is a small island nation located in the Eastern Caribbean Sea, part of the Windward Islands in the archipelago of the Lesser Antilles. It gained independence from Great Britain in November 1978. It has a surface area of approximately 750 square kilometers and a population of 73,016, according to the World Population Review website (2016).[40] The resident population in the Kalinago (Carib) Territory is estimated at 2,145 persons (Commonwealth of Dominica 2011). In general, the island's Kalinago population is estimated between 3 and 4 percent. Table 6.1 displays the latest available data on ethnic groups from the official census reports of 1991 and 2001. Precisely because a small part of the population is descended from the Kalinagos, Dominica is of particular value to this investigation on indigenous heritage education, as it is one of the few islands in the Caribbean where individuals still self-identify as indigenous peoples and are officially recognized by the government. Thus, chronologically, Dominica was the third Caribbean country visited for my research. After

[38] The results of these archaeological surveys were shared with the school community by Jimmy Mans and Cozier Frederick in the "What is archaeology?" lecture at Salybia Primary School in 2014.

[39] This documentary is available at the Nexus 1492 project website.

[40] The last census record from Dominica Central Statistics (2011) indicated a population of 71,293.

a period of preliminary contact and desk research, I visited Dominica two times, in October 2015 and January/February 2016.

6.3 Context of the study: Education policy framework in Dominica

This section presents an overview of the official educational policy documents that serve as the overall framework for education in Dominica, with special attention to the curriculum for social science at the primary-school level. For this analysis, I applied the approach of curriculum assessment for science education as proposed by Porter and Smithson (2001) and Porter (2004). In this section I will refer only to the guidelines of the intended curriculum, defined by Porter and Smithson (2002: 2) as follows: the policy tools such as curriculum standards, frameworks or guidelines that outline the curriculum that teachers are expected to deliver. The curriculum policies of Dominica are presented together with an overview of how classroom practice and students' learning respond to regional and local demands.

At the regional level, Dominica is a member state of the OECS. In the period of 2012 to 2021, the member states of the OECS adopted an Education Sector Strategy (OESS) that "provides a framework of a regional approach to achieve better quality education in the region [in the years 2012 to 2021]" (OECS 2012: 5). The same document also states that educational initiatives are consolidated into a regional agenda that seeks to "guide the educational directions and priorities of Member States of the OECS" (OECS 2012: 10).

Consequently, educational policy and efforts in the region (and in Dominica) were considered for this research. A comprehensive insight into these areas was thus required to determine the current status of teaching and learning indigenous history and heritage in Dominica. In fact, in order to be able to examine how educational policy influences classroom practice, it was necessary to consider curricular standards in terms of contents, practice and students.

At the local level, Educational Act Nº 11 of 1997, together with later amendments, serves as the regulatory framework for the Dominican education system. It is the legal instrument applied and implemented by the Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development (MEHRD). The priorities for Dominica's education system for the near future were outlined in the 2012 Guidebook to Education in the Commonwealth: "a) Improving teaching and learning, teacher recruitment and quality; b) Creating safe and secure learning environments; c) Continuing the development of curriculum at Key Stages 3 and 4 (11–16 years); and d) Pursuing universal access to early childhood education" (Commonwealth Secretariat 2012: 13).

It was precisely the factors underlined here that came up in interviews with the teachers and other stakeholders — in particular, the need to provide teachers with more training opportunities to expand their knowledge of indigenous history and heritage. Certainly, the education priorities of Dominica are in line with global interests focused

on improving teacher practice and quality. As put by Guerriero (2015: 2), "The imperative in recent years about improving student outcomes is also about improving the teaching workforce."

In this research, I aimed to explore education in indigenous heritage from the perspective of teachers' knowledge. Therefore, I searched the National Curriculum Framework for Dominica (MEHRD 2006) to find out about the specific dimensions of the curriculum and its influence on classroom practice. This section focuses on the "intended curriculum," while the following section addresses the "enacted curriculum," that is, the curriculum as it is realized in the daily practice of the teachers.

6.3.1 An overview of the instructional content and pedagogy of the social science curriculum in Dominica

The National Curriculum Framework for Dominica (MEHRD 2006) consists of seven core subject areas in primary-school education. Each subject area is further organized into subject "strands" that outline the key areas to be studied per subject (Table 6.2). Social science is one of these seven subject areas, and its curriculum guidelines are a chief object of interest for this research because it is precisely within this subject area that topics of indigenous history and heritage are included.

Table 6.2 *Subject strands and attainment targets for key stage 1 and key stage 2 of Dominican primary-school education.* Adapted from the "Program of Study: Learning Outcomes and Success Criteria for Social Sciences."

SOCIAL SCIENCE	**Attainment Target**	
Subject Strand	**Key Stage 1**	**Key Stage 2**
1: Civic Ideals and Practice	**Grade K, Grade 1 and Grade 2**	**Grades 3–4 and Grades 5–6**
	The learner will be able to demonstrate knowledge, understanding and appreciation of their national identity, groups, governance, civic rights and responsibilities	
2: Location, Places, People	**Grade K, Grade 1 and Grade 2**	**Grades 3-4 and Grades 5-6**
	The learner will be able to demonstrate understanding of location, its relationship with the weather, climate and origins of people and their region, cultural beliefs and social practices	
	Grade K, Grade 1 and Grade 2	**Grades 3–4 and Grades 5–6**
3: Resources	The learner will be able to understand the sustainable use of resources and the effects of human activities on these resources and the environment	
	Grade K, Grade 1 and Grade 2	**Grades 3–4 and Grades 5–6**

4: Social Issues and Change	The learner will be able to think critically to explore social issues and change, how they affect society and how people can make a positive contribution to their society	

Source: Ministry of Education 2006. (The term "key stage" refers to the approximate age group and level; key stages 1 and 2 comprise the age group from 5 to 11 years, i.e. primary-school level.)

Subject strands serve to define how the topics are organized in terms of the school year (see Appendix A).[41] Subject strands also function as indicators of the teaching approach for the subject of social science. The correct understanding of the teaching approach is relevant to describing how indigenous history and heritage is taught in classes. For the curriculum analysis conducted in this investigation, concepts from the works of Porter and Smithson (2001) and Porter (2004) were applied. Besides the study program, a guide for teachers is also available. In this document, in addition to the expected learning outcomes and success criteria, teachers can also find the guidelines for subject content, duration, suggested activities, assessment tools and other resources for their classes.

6.4 Data collection, processing and interpretation

Information for this chapter was collected primarily through practical activities during two fieldwork sessions in Dominica in 2015 and 2016. The first field session took place in October 2015, and had both an exploratory purpose as well as that of establishing networks of collaboration with local partners. The development officer of the Ministry of Kalinago Affairs was contacted, and he provided me with a list of contacts of primary schools in the Kalinago Territory.

During this first visit, interviews were held with local stakeholders: representatives of cultural institutions, school principals and teaching staff in the Kalinago Territory. The interaction with stakeholders also served to assess whether the school community of the territory was willing to participate in the research and to be part of activities such as a workshop. During the second visit, in January/February 2016, the interviews, participatory activities and surveys were completed. Interviews were also held at primary schools in and near the capital of Roseau in order to obtain a broader perspective.

From conversations with the principals of Sineku, Salybia and Atkinson Primary Schools, it was evident there was a willingness to participate in this research study. The principals also made it clear that any participatory activities, like a workshop with the teachers, required permission from the authorities in the Ministry of Education.

[41] In Appendix A, there is a detailed description of the social science topics in the curriculum for key stages 1 and 2 of primary school education. In Appendix B, the cognitive demands are listed: skills and learning outcomes as adapted from the model by Porter and Smithson (2001) to the analysis of the social science curriculum at the primary level in Dominica.

Subsequently, while in the Netherlands, I established contact with the Chief Education Officer (CEO) of the ministry in order to complete all the requirements for organizing a participatory activity (workshop) with teachers from the Kalinago Territory and carrying out the interviews in January 2016.

A participatory activity was organized in the form of a workshop on the teaching of indigenous history and heritage. Principals and teachers from the primary schools in the territory participated: Sineku, Salybia, Concord and Atkinson Primary Schools. Further interviews were held within the territory. Additionally, I also had the opportunity to visit Goodwill Primary School and Roseau Primary School in the capital Roseau, as well as St. Luke Primary School in Soufrière, to conduct interviews with some of the teaching staff. Students must go to Castle Bruce, Marigot or Londonderry (Wesley) — outside of the territory, but still in the northeast of Dominica — to complete their secondary-school education. I had the opportunity to interview and interact with a few teachers from the secondary schools in Castle Bruce and Londonderry.

The interviews for this study were analyzed using the ATLAS-ti 7.5.6 software for qualitative content analysis. The codes applied to the teachers' interviews were based on those established for the study in Saint Kitts-Nevis; when required, new codes were created.

6.4.1 Teacher interviews

The Kalinago Territory is part of the Eastern School District of Dominica. The public primary schools in the area are Sineku and Salybia. There is one private school, the Lighthouse Christian Academy; the private school, however, did not form part of this research, which focused on governmental schools.[42] Although Atkinson Primary School and Concord Primary School are located just outside the territory, they receive students from the Kalinago Territory; therefore, both schools were included in this study.

To explore how teachers who live in the Kalinago Territory perceive the concept of indigenous heritage education, information was first compiled through an initial phase of documentary analysis of educational policies, curricula and textbooks, followed by a second phase of country visits and fieldwork activities. These fieldwork activities included surveys, interviews and participatory activities such as a workshop.

Interviews with teachers were organized as part of the activities of the second fieldwork visit in Dominica in January/February 2016. They were carried out with the permission of authorities from the Ministry of Education. Two groups of teachers were interviewed: one group from the four primary schools in and adjacent to the Kalinago Territory (Eastern School District) (Table 6.3), and another from outside the territory, following the suggestion of the Chief Education Officer of the Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development (MEHRD); within the constraints of time, geographical

[42] An informal conversation was held with the principal of the Lighthouse Christian Academy, a non-government-funded Kalinago education institute located in Anderson.

spread and accessibility, schools in and near the capital Roseau in the southwest of the country were visited for interviews with members of the teaching staff.

Figure 6.2: Map of Dominica highlighting the Kalinago Territory and, in red, the cities where field activities were conducted.

Three schools were selected for the latter purpose: Goodwill Primary School and Roseau Primary School, both in the capital Roseau in the Western Education District, and St. Luke's Primary School, south of Roseau in the southern district (Table 6.4). In all cases the school principals were informed of the purpose of the visit, and their permission to interview members of the teaching staff was requested. In most cases they also agreed to be interviewed themselves. In total, nine teachers were interviewed.[43]

[43] Mr. Cozier Frederick, a member of the Kalinago community and Development Officer at the Ministry of Kalinago Affairs, joined the interviews with the purpose of generating community participation in the research process and gaining feedback. His presence was appreciated and welcomed by the principals and interviewees; they showed much interest and posed questions about Kalinago people and culture, as well as how to visit schools in the territory and organize activities together.

Table 6.3: *Interviews-Teachers Primary Schools Kalinago Territory*

Interviewee	Affiliation/occupation	Date	Category
Principal Salybia Primary School	Principal Salybia Primary School	October 2015	Governmental
Principal Sineku Primary School	Principal Sineku Primary School	October 2015	Governmental
(former) Principal Atkinson Primary School	(former) Principal Atkinson Primary School	October 2015	Governmental
Teacher 1	Grade 4 Teacher Salybia Primary School	January 2016	Governmental
Teacher 2	Grade K Teacher Salybia Primary School	January 2016	Governmental
Teacher 3	Principal Atkinson Primary School	January 2016	Governmental
Teacher 4	Senior-Grade K- Teacher Atkinson Primary School	January 2016	Governmental
Teacher 5	Grade 1 Teacher Atkinson Primary School	January 2016	Governmental
Teacher 6	Grade 4- Teacher Atkinson Primary School	January 2016	Governmental
Teacher 7	Grade 1-Teacher Sineku Primary School	February 2016 (after workshop)	Governmental
Teacher 8	Grade 1-Teacher Salybia Primary School	February 2016	Governmental
Teacher 9	All grades . Teacher Concord Primary School	February 2016	Governmental
Teacher 10	Grade 1 and 2 Concord Primary School	February 2016	Governmental
Teacher 11	Concord Primary School	February 2016	Governmental
Teacher 12	Teacher Grade K, Concord Primary School	February 2016	Governmental
Teacher 13	Grade 4- Teacher Sineku Primary School	February 2016	Governmental

Table 6.4: *Primary schools outside the Kalinago Territory, Dominica that participated in interviews.*

Interviewee	Affiliation/occupation	Date	Category
Teacher 14	Grade 4-6 Teacher St. Luke's Primary School	February 2016	Assisted
Teacher 15	Grade K teacher, St. Luke's Primary School	February 2016	Assisted
Teacher 16	Grade 5-6 Social Studies and Grade 6 English Teacher 1 Roseau Primary School	February 2016	Governmental
Teacher 17	Teacher 2 Grade 6 Roseau	February 2016	Governmental

	Primary School		
Teacher 18	Teacher 3 Grade 3 Roseau Primary School	February 2016	Governmental
Principal Goodwill Primary School	Principal Goodwill Primary School	February 2016	Governmental
Group Interview Teacher 19 Teacher 20 Teacher 21 Teacher 22	Goodwill Primary School	February 2016	Governmental

All the interviews were conducted in the schools. The interviews followed a semi-structured but flexible format in which the teachers were asked about certain fixed themes. The main purpose of the interviews was to identify indicators of the teachers' base knowledge of indigenous history and heritage.

6.4.2 Participatory activities

Besides holding conversations and interviews with the teachers and gathering information about their classroom practices, I also aimed to provide the teachers with the opportunity to interact with prominent members of the Kalinago community and resource persons with knowledge and expertise on Kalinago culture and heritage. In order to accomplish the MEHRD requirements, a first draft of the workshop program was submitted to the office of the CEO in November/December 2015. After receiving the approval of the authorities, I had a meeting with members of the Kalinago community to present the final program of the workshop to the CEO. The workshop included both subject information about the indigenous history and heritage of the Kalinago, as well as general pedagogical information about the curriculum guidelines and instructional content used to design activities for the classroom. The workshop "Teaching and Learning Indigenous Heritage" was approved in the modality of a two-day cluster workshop of four hours in total. The activity took place at Salybia Primary School. The participation of teachers in the territory was significant: 23 teachers on day 1 (85%) and 25 (92%) on day 2.

6.4.3 Results from survey questionnaires and interviews

a) Teachers' knowledge about content (subject matter knowledge)

Concerning knowledge of the subject matter, the results of the survey distributed in October 2015 and the interviews with teachers in the Kalinago Territory conducted in January 2016 showed that teachers strongly associate heritage education with informing their students about the history and culture of their ancestors. The survey question about the definition of "heritage education" was answered by 19 of the 23 teachers. Since the question was open-ended and multiple-choice, each teacher could

provide more than one answer. In Figure 6.3, below, the answers from these 19 teachers are collected. Each answer was reviewed for key words or phrases in order to identify common answers and repeated aspects of the teachers' responses. These were called "components." A total of 29 replies were received from 19 teachers.

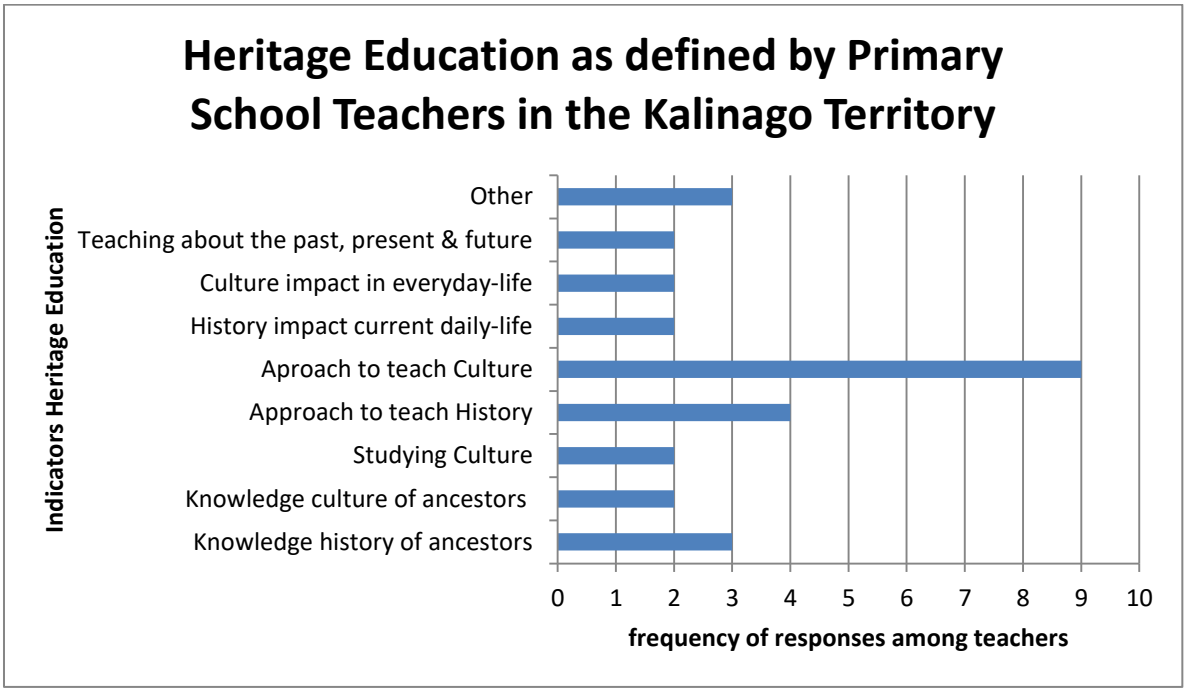

Figure 6.3: Results from question 1 of the questionnaire.

The results of the interviews also served to define indigenous heritage education as teaching and educating students on the ways of life and culture of their ancestors. Eleven of 12 teachers interviewed from the Kalinago Territory included the notion of heritage and its transformation across time in their answers. Only one teacher did not respond to this question. All teachers who did answer emphasized how the value of heritage education relies on the passing down of traditions and culture to the younger generations. As can be seen in the examples below (Table 6.5), the teachers used a constructivist view, placing themselves in an active role in the act of interpreting the past and giving it meaning in the present day.

Table 6.5: Extracts from interviews with teachers from the Kalinago Territory in January 2016.

Teachers' definitions of indigenous heritage education/heritage education Teachers' active role in heritage interpretation	
Trained Teacher	*It is basically about **getting the awareness** of who we are and where we came from. What makes us indigenous in terms of what I am seeing: food, dressing, our background. It is like our way of life, **getting to know where we came from (our descendance);** the way we are presently, if we are losing the cultural awareness, if we are getting too modernized. It is also about educating the people, the young ones to bring back the*

	culture and advising them on what to do to bring back our culture. (Teacher 1 Salybia Primary School, January 2016)
Senior Teacher	***Finding out and learning about the way of life of the indigenous people.*** *It is important because the large majority of the children we teach come from the indigenous people so they need to know about their ancestors. (Teacher 4 Atkinson Primary School, January 2016)*
Trained Teacher	***But me, as an indigenous person, I think that [indigenous heritage] in terms of how we used to live before and how we live now there is a big difference*** *because what we used to eat before and what we eat now, how we used to dress before and how we dress now, well, things have changed. And I think we really need to get back into our Kalinago […] like me. […] She had her group and if they were to come to the school and teach the students more about the dances and if we can also introduce them more to the food like the cassava bread […] maybe if we had that at the school the students may get be encouraged more. (Teacher 11 Concord Primary School, February 2016)*
Untrained Teacher	*Well, for me indigenous heritage is like* ***the preservation of our culture.*** *It is like the cultures of a place. And it is very important because children need to know about their past, their ancestors and forefathers so that they can move forward into the future. (Teacher 13 Sineku Primary School, February 2016)*

Remarkably, from the interviews and informal conversations, it became evident that teachers perceived themselves as having an active role in the process of heritage interpretation (education), and that they had much interest in increasing their knowledge about their Kalinago history and heritage by interacting with experts who can communicate that knowledge to them, so that they in turn can transmit it to their students.

Additionally, when asked about heritage education in the survey or in interviews, teachers underlined the character of heritage as a relationship (see chapter 2, Theory.) All 11 teachers who responded to the question of "what is indigenous heritage education?" explained how children should learn from their culture and history to understand "where the current culture of the Kalinago people originated from," and the impacts of the changes across time on their present-day life. The replies from the teachers from the territory showed that, according to them, heritage education should encourage students to learn about their ancestors, their history and culture. They supported this line of reasoning even more so because the large majority of their students are closely connected to the Kalinago ethnicity and culture in their daily lives in the territory.

The group of teachers interviewed from outside the Kalinago Territory shared a similar perception and definition of indigenous heritage, also emphasizing that it entails teaching about both the history and culture of their ancestors. They also emphasized the

value of heritage as a relationship to provide a balanced education to their students regarding the history and culture of Dominica.

b) Knowledge about the curriculum: Presence of pre-Columbian heritage and current Kalinago heritage in the curriculum

In order to complete the above-mentioned question in the survey and the interview about defining (indigenous) heritage education, teachers were not required to have specific content knowledge; they could use their own perceptions about heritage, indigenous cultures and education to answer. But to answer the question about the place of indigenous heritage in the curriculum, it was certainly required to have at least some specific knowledge of the curriculum and the subject area of social science. The extent to which teachers knew the curriculum guidelines would become evident from their replies to the question. At the same time, these replies would indicate whether teachers could identify those curriculum contents with some elements of (indigenous) heritage. (Indigenous heritage is not a required subject in the national curriculum). It would be helpful to identify how different teachers perceived this content in the curriculum.

As seen previously, in the theory chapter (chapter 2), curricular knowledge (Shulman 1986) is one of the main categories of analysis of teachers' base knowledge theory. For the primary-school level in Dominica, the Ministry of Education (MEHRD) publishes the "National Curriculum" document, which contains learning outcomes and success criteria. It also publishes the "Social Science Curriculum Guide" for teachers, which provides detailed information to facilitate teaching practice. From the survey and interviews, I intended to obtain insight into curricular knowledge in the light of these national curriculum documents and regional educational policies. Most of the school textbooks used are in line with the harmonization goals of the OECS for the Eastern Caribbean region, and consequently contain the material used in teaching about the Amerindians and the narrative of the first inhabitants of the Caribbean. Along these lines, surveys were formulated to allow teachers to identify both narratives: pre-Columbian indigenous heritage and current Kalinago heritage.

- **Results from the survey**

When asked about the place of pre-Columbian heritage in the curriculum, 57% of the teachers agreed that certain contents on indigenous heritage could be found in the school curriculum; 29% believed no contents were included; and 14% said the contents were represented in a limited way. During the desktop phase of this research, I reviewed the school textbooks and encountered a few references to the Amerindians as the "first people"; however, there were no connections with the present-day Kalinagos. For that

reason, teachers were additionally asked to indicate whether Kalinago indigenous heritage was present in the curriculum. The replies were very evenly divided: 52% considered it part of the curriculum, and 48% said it was not.

The replies from the interviews might give a better overview of how pre-Columbian heritage and Kalinago heritage are understood among teachers, and how they recognize their presence in the school curriculum.

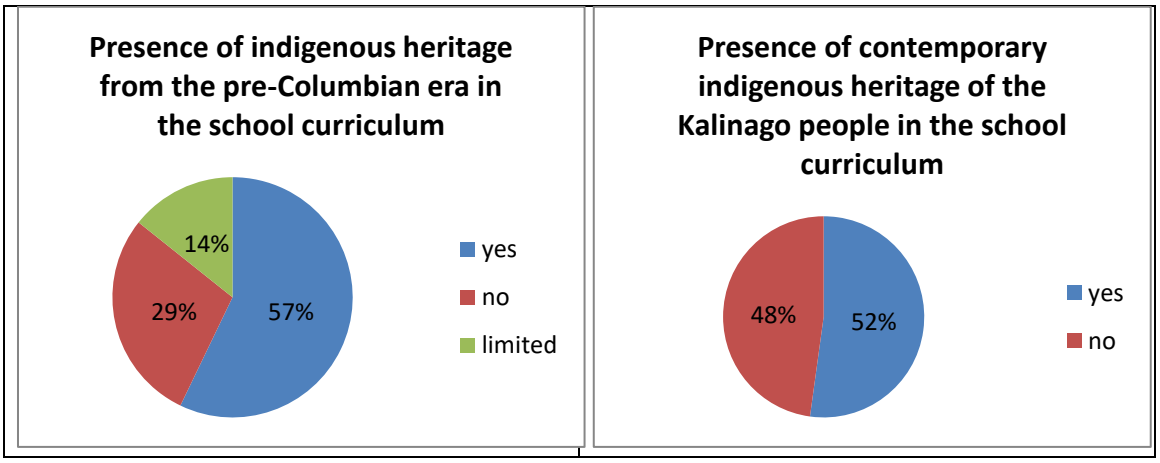

Figure 6.4: Teachers' opinions on the presence of indigenous heritage from the pre-Columbian era (left) and present-day Kalinago heritage (right) in the school curriculum.

- **Results of the interviews**

Answers to this question came from interviews of primary-school teachers from both the Kalinago Territory and the Roseau area. These results showed that a majority (23) were in agreement that indigenous heritage was included or at least sufficiently covered in the social science curriculum. This information coincides with the findings from the desktop review of the documents of the 2006 social science curriculum (see Appendix 4F). During the interviews, teachers were able to elaborate on their replies and provide more useful information. For example, two teachers from the Kalinago Territory explained that they felt they would need more time than what is stipulated in the curriculum to fully develop the content with their students.

On the other hand, two grade K teachers from the Kalinago Territory were of the opinion that indigenous heritage is not taught at the primary-school level. They explained that they would include topics on indigenous history and heritage from their own initiative. However, one grade K teacher from outside the territory expressed in the interview that "… it will come in patriotism; that is one of the units. And then there is also family; so there are two units: patriotism and family." When reviewing the curriculum and the school textbooks for these units, patriotism and family, in grade K, there was really no direct mention of indigenous heritage or guidelines for the teachers to make connections to this topic. At least in these cases, the opinions expressed by these teachers showed how their decision-making affected how they adapted contents

from the *intended curriculum* to suit their daily classroom demands. The result of this process of adaptation of the original or *intended curriculum* is the so-called *enacted curriculum*, which reflects how teachers actually apply the curriculum in practice.

c) Knowledge of educational contexts

Another aspect of the concept of teachers' base knowledge, as described by Shulman (1986, 1987) and Grossman (1990), that was explored in this investigation was how the teachers related to their immediate environment (see chapter 2, "Heritage Education and Teaching Practice"). In interviews with internal and external stakeholders, they indicated several activities and initiatives that took place outside of the schools and that could be of help to teachers searching for opportunities to create learning scenarios for indigenous history and heritage in cooperation with local, cultural and governmental and non-governmental institutions. From the interviews with the teachers, it was also possible to identify some of these activities.

The responses to the question "What strategies do you currently use to teach your students about indigenous heritage?" revealed differences depending on whether the respondents came from primary schools in the Kalinago Territory or whether they came from the group of teachers interviewed in the southwest area of Dominica, in and near the capital Roseau. In general, the most common options referred to by the respondents were textbooks, invited resource persons or specialists and use of the internet and multimedia. Visits to museums and historical and archaeological sites were not that frequently mentioned (see Table 6.5). Certainly, teachers in the territory would have an "advantage," as they live in an area where there are bound to be more resources, such as, for example, the Kalinago Model Village, Barana Auté. For example, they mentioned that they did not have to visit the Model Village very often, because their students live in the vicinity and most of them have already been there at least once on individual visits with their families.

Other frequently used options among teachers from the territory were the internet and multimedia, the use of archaeological evidence from videos and photographs and model-making, which was also common to teachers from within the territory.

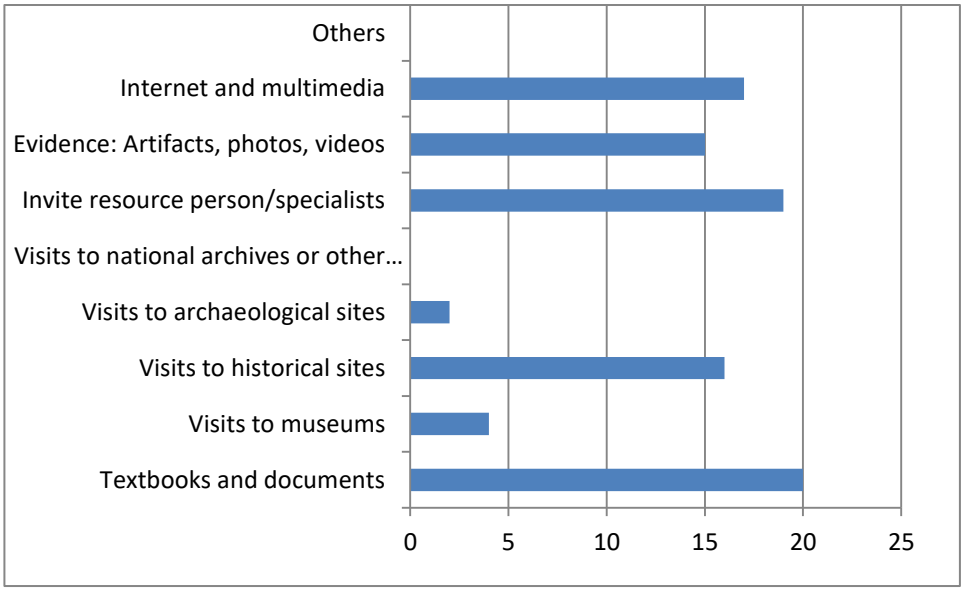

Figure 6.5: Strategies used by respondents to teach their students about indigenous heritage.

Teachers from outside the territory, from primary schools in the capital or nearby, also indicated visits to the Barana Auté Model Village as a common helpful teaching strategy. While two of them had not yet made a visit with their students, they believed it to be a useful experience.

- Family and intergenerational learning

The teachers from the territory interviewed in January/February 2016 showed much interest in strategies that take advantage of their school's location to encourage social interaction with the local community in order to promote learning about indigenous heritage. Seven teachers highlighted the community's role in the school and provided examples of how parents and other community members from the territory participate in school activities involving Kalinago heritage, and how their students can also benefit from these interactions with knowledgeable members of their community. Here is what they said.

> "The children visit these events with their parents. But some time ago they brought the (Garifuna group) to perform here in the school. They need to do more of that." (Teacher 1 Atkinson Primary School, Interview January 2016)

"Yes. Most of them have somebody in the family who does either basket weaving, jewelry, drums. Most of them have these people in the family who do this." (Teacher 2 Atkinson Primary School, Interview January 2016)

> "The good thing is that the children are right here and thus they have a good idea of the Barana Auté and they do go there on holidays and their parents also go there to do the crafts and artwork. They have a good idea [of the Barana Auté]." (Teacher 4 Sineku Primary School, Interview January 2016)

> "I know that when I did it with my class the thing they like most was about the food because we had this person come in to prepare some typical food [pepper pot]. They also liked the making of baskets and trinkets. They brought some material from home and did it by themselves: baskets, canoes, trinkets." (Teacher 8 Salybia Primary School, interview, February 2016)

> "One of the strategies I have to connect them to the culture is to ask them questions based on their knowledge and what their parents have been telling them about — background information from their grandparents and what they used to do." (Teacher 9 Concord Primary School, interview, February 2016)

> "Of course. But the thing is that we are so far from the other parts of the Carib Territory. But maybe next year we can invite somebody. And then we have this student in my class, her mother used to be one of this group. Some of them, they really want to taste the food." (Teacher 11 Concord Primary School, interview February 2016)

> "No, because sometimes we use resource persons; people that we know in the community. We also take them on field trips to different places so they can see what people do and how they live. For example, once we took them to see the basket-making as part of our culture." (Teacher 12 Concord Primary School, interview February 2016)

It was indeed noticed that, among the teachers interviewed, knowledge of the educational contexts affected their decisions about instructional strategies. This is in line with Shulman (1987: 9–10), who explained that it is essential for teachers to know the "territory" of teaching, which comprises both the materials as well as the contextual conditions that make their practice possible. In fact, all the teachers from both groups described their "territory of teaching" and how it has an influence on their choice of strategies for the teaching of indigenous history and heritage topics. They indicated outdoor activities as a very appropriate strategy they have already used or are considering. They referred to possible places to visit on field trips, indicating good context knowledge: the Kalinago Model Village (Barana Auté), the Museum of Roseau, the Old Mill Cultural Center and various other places in the territory, such as the cassava bakeries.

For teachers from schools outside the territory, the visit to the Model Village seemed to be a very useful activity that they try to do on a yearly basis with their classes. As mentioned above, for those teachers within the territory, it is a less novel alternative because of its proximity. Instead, they more frequently try to involve parents and other members of the community who can go the schools and organize activities based on

Kalinago heritage, such as craft-making, cooking traditional Kalinago recipes, storytelling, dances and singing. Outside of the Kalinago Territory, the teachers interviewed indicated that the use of resource persons has not yet been fully explored, although they all agreed that this was an option they would like to be able to use for their classes on indigenous history and heritage. In particular, reference was made to resource persons of Kalinago origin visiting schools where the majority of students are of black African ethnicities. Their knowledge about indigenous history and heritage could prove to be a valuable teaching resource.

d) Knowledge of instructional strategies: Educational material and teaching strategies

Besides outdoors activities, teachers also indicated other activity-based learning approaches for teaching about indigenous history and heritage. Moreover, teachers explained that they use materials other than the textbooks to cover this topic. In fact, it was observed that teachers tend to adapt resources (*adaptation*) such as history books on the indigenous history and heritage of Dominica to customize the subject matter to their students' common learning difficulties and preconceptions. As a result, teachers adapt and tailor material to their students, taking into account other external factors besides their age (cognitive development stage). For instance, the teachers interviewed highlighted other factors such as preconceptions, culture, motivations and social background.

Along these lines, it has been noticed that teachers believe their students like to be engaged in active learning activities when studying the content on the "First inhabitants" or "People of origin" as defined in the school curriculum. One of the main characteristics of active learning is how the instructional strategies are student-centered: students have a more active role in the construction of their knowledge. A class designed under this pedagogical approach promotes students' social interaction (working in groups), interaction with their environment (people, places and artifacts) and self-regulation skills. Across teacher interviews from both groups, active learning was identified as a teaching strategy in the classroom setting.

- ***Making models and drawings***

One of the activities most often mentioned by the teachers was the making of models (or replicas) and drawings of objects from Kalinago heritage, like houses, canoes and clothing. They believed their students could benefit the most from these activities depending on their age, cognitive competences and skills. This strategy also helped to stimulate children's creative skills. Teachers also noticed that activities of this kind encouraged parents and relatives of the children to participate in the learning process. The hand-made objects are exhibited on tables in the classroom and can be used as educational resources with future students (see Figure 6.6). Teachers believed that the primary-school children were able to learn more when they had the opportunity to

interact with artifacts from their environment. They also enjoyed doing hands-on activities. Making models and drawings proved to be one of the most popular strategies selected by teachers to introduce their students to indigenous history and heritage. As one teacher from the territory expressed it in an interview:

> "The dances, the arts, the things used, that they can be able to make the things. Most of the children love doing things. They [the dance groups] can come to the schools and teach the dances." (Teacher 4, Atkinson Primary School, January 2016)

Figure 6.6: Examples of exhibitions of replicas of indigenous artifacts in the schools (photos taken by the author, October 2015 and January/February 2016).

Both groups of teachers showed an interest in designing activities in which their students would learn about this topic not only by completing textbook-based assignments but, in addition, by being engaged in tasks in which they could be active agents of their own learning process. Most of these teachers stated that they liked to encourage inquiry skills in their students by asking them to do research and to come to class with questions.

- ***Literature about the Kalinago***

A major concern shown by a number of teachers (six) from both groups was that the children had to be provided with learning scenarios and educational material appropriate to their age and cognitive level beyond what is recommended in the school curriculum. Therefore, they indicated that at times they had to "break down" the available material on Kalinago history and heritage into shorter stories that were more accessible to the children based on their learning stage. These are two extracts from what they said about the matter:

> "Yes, as a teacher you should be able (…), for example, if you have a book based on heritage, you can break it down for the little ones so that they can understand." (Teacher 2 Salybia Primary School, interview, January 2016)

"Yes, there are some books, but not for this level; they are meant for the higher levels." (Teacher 15 St. Luke's Primary School, February 2016)

Teachers thus searched for complementary literature to help them illustrate Kalinago culture to their students. It also meant in these cases that teachers needed to invest time in transforming the prescribed texts into material that could be comprehended by their students. Some of the books that were most frequently mentioned by them were: *Caribbean Social Studies, Book 4 – Dominica*, by Merlyn Jno-Baptiste (1995); *Yet We Survive*, by Douglas Green; various texts (articles) by Lennox Honychurch; and magazines such as *Discover Dominica*.

e) Knowledge of students' understanding

Both groups of teachers identified aspects of students' learning difficulties that were content- and pedagogy-related (Table 6.6). Teachers often referred to time limitations, resources and practical activities as factors that can affect how their students learn about the indigenous history and heritage of the Kalinago people. Along these lines, it was observed that teachers from outside the territory often encounter what they referred to as misconceptions about the Kalinago culture and, consequently, sought to create an accurate environment for their multicultural classrooms. In this way, teachers explained what kind of pedagogical strategies and actions they undertake to guide their students whenever these preconceived ideas appear in class.

Table 6.6: Students' learning difficulties as identified from the teachers' replies.

Time Limitations	***Difficult? Not so much difficult. But to me they looked at it like being a little spoiled; we form them and it is nothing like that we really inculcate in them (…) but not to get deeper into it and get more knowledge. I think that is the difficulty. (Teacher 6, interview January 2016)***
Educational Resources	*Some of the things I will tell them about they cannot really relate with because we have become so modernized* ***that it is hard to really make the connection without having the right material.*** *Sometimes we are teaching in a very abstract manner without showing some things and it is difficult for them. (Teacher 8 Salybia Primary School,interview February 2016))*
Instructional Strategies	*The difficulty is that sometimes we tell them about something [from indigenous heritage] and they get excited about it but they don't really have the* ***hands-on experience*** *to know it, feel it and see it. Probably to have someone to teach them the things we talk with them about. Sometimes we need more resource persons in that area. (Teacher 9 Concord Primary School, interview February 2016)*
Subject Content	***The Carib language and religions.*** *Some of the religions have Carib names.* ***And the names of parts of the body like the nose, eyes and so on.*** *So you would tell them things like Baraná or Baku and they will still have some problems with that.* ***And I was trying to get the numbers as well.*** *So next year if I am still at primary school I will try to instill this about*

numbers into them so that they can count and to say their names in the Carib language; that would be a good idea. (Teacher 11 Concord Primary School, interview February 2016)

a) Teaching indigenous history and heritage in a multicultural society

Teachers from outside the territory did refer to content and other aspects of pedagogy in a similar way as the teachers from within the territory (see Table 6.5). Interestingly enough, three teachers from this group (from primary schools outside the territory) brought up the issue of how the preconceptions of their students play a role in how they design and address the topic of indigenous history and heritage in class. They could actually observe and recognize how popular culture and beliefs can help perpetuate ethnic and racial stereotypes among their students, and showed concern for raising awareness about the contributions of the Kalinago to the Dominican culture in the classroom.

"Since the Kalinagos had a lot of impact on what we do now and on our culture, then it will be only fair to know where you are coming from and where you are now actually. They contributed because […] There are a lot of stigmas right now about the Kalinagos and negative things that are being said about them. So it is only fair to say how they contributed positively to our culture in Dominica." (Teacher 14 St. Luke's Primary School, interview, February 2016)

"What they find difficult? I do not teach that myself, but often enough they will tell us people would say that the Caribs are cannibals; that is not true, things like that. That may be the only difficulty I have experienced." (Teacher 16 Roseau Primary School, interview, February 2016)

"What they find difficult to learn about heritage […] It is difficult for them to understand that the indigenous people were very warlike; even more so that some people describe them as cannibals […] Those are terms they hear from outside people […] That kind of things they do not understand that well." (Teacher 19 Goodwill Primary School, group interview, February 2016)

Besides identifying the difficulties students face when learning the topic, it was also my aim to gain a better understanding of how teachers deal with these special learning situations. Therefore, teachers were asked to explain what pedagogical strategies they used in these cases. It became evident from their answers that the teachers dealt with these situations based on their own personal attitudes toward cultural diversity — very much in line with what

Banks et al. (2001) defined as the essential principles for teaching and learning in a multicultural society. Here are some of the answers they gave when asked this:

> *"I do not believe it myself. I will tell them my perspective." (Teacher 16 Roseau Primary School, interview, February 2016)*
> *"Because when you see them [the Kalinagos] you realize that they are very peaceful people."(Teacher 19 Goodwill Primary School, group interview, February 2016)*

As was observed, teachers used various strategies to guide their students on how to interpret these misconceptions about the Kalinago culture. One of the teachers interviewed additionally provided a specific example of how she made use of "culturally responsive instructional strategies to transform information about the home and community into effective classroom practice" (Banks et al. 2001).

> ***Interview question: Do you think the discussions about stigmas are challenges you have to face as a teacher when teaching about this topic?***
>
> *"Well, not really. What we try to do different […] we have to be able to explain to them that not everything is true. And then we use people of Kalinago background who have contributed, like Mr. Sanford and others, to show them that not everything is true. " (Teacher 14 St. Luke's Primary School, interview, February 2016)*

In this example, the teacher used a positive representation of the Kalinago people by narrating the story of Mr. Sanford (a cricket player), whose contribution is recognized in Dominica. This strategy can provide teachers with the opportunity to replace students' prior knowledge about the Kalinago with the content they are learning in class.

Regarding teachers' knowledge about their learners' characteristics, both groups of teachers indicated that their classroom demographic was multicultural. In the case of teachers within the Kalinago Territory, the presence of Kalinago students is predominant, while in schools outside the territory, it is less prevalent. This coincides with the principals' descriptions of their schools' ethnic demographics (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7: Description of the schools' ethnic demographics from the school principals in the Kalinago Territory.

Principal, Salybia Primary School	Yes, they do. We do not only have one ethnic group. We have a mix of ethnic groups.
Principal, Sineku	Yes, Our children are not pure, what you say Kalinago; there is a mixture,

Primary School	but then we still emphasize the culture of them.
Former Principal, Atkison Primary School	Well, I have to say that our school is not really in the Kalinago Territory; it is off the boundary. But we served 60% of our students come from the Kalinago Territory. So basically we can say we are part of the heritage. And although the students do not live in the territory, they have family and relatives there; so there is a link somewhere. So the fact that they are here is because they are Carib; it is part of them.

N.B.: The principal of Concord Primary School was not interviewed for this study. The day the school was visited, the principal had an activity in Roseau.

Finally, teachers agreed that the ethnic composition of their students, coming from different cultural backgrounds, influences their learning experiences and how they perceive Kalinago culture in different ways. For instance, teachers described the Kalinago students as usually being shyer in class than other students. Both groups of teachers, from within the territory and outside the territory, indicated that they try to provide their students with an inclusive classroom setting.

6.5 Internal and external stakeholder interviews

The Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development of Dominica can be considered an internal stakeholder. Education Act Nº 11 of 1997 conferred all powers of management and administration of the national education system on the ministry. As a consequence, duties related to the development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of educational policy are executed by the Ministry of Education. Since indigenous history and heritage also involves culture, I have also included the Division of Culture of the central government as an internal stakeholder. The Education Act provided space for the involvement of other groups and NGOs in the education process, but in a non-formal way. In the Kalinago Territory, local governing bodies, non-governmental cultural groups, public primary schools and their teaching staff were identified as external stakeholders whose participation represented a valuable contribution to education planning, but not a decisive one.

This study particularly looked at how the different stakeholders engage and participate in the educational process. In interviews with representatives of the MEHRD,[44] it was observed that they are open to evaluating the contributions of external

[44] In Education Act Nº 11 of 1997, there is no explicit reference to the Division of Culture, though it is defined by a working paper of the UNESCO Office for the Caribbean. The Division of Culture is part of other ministries of governmental bodies that can impact the ability of the Ministry of Education to implement plans, but are external to decisions about the direction in which the Ministry of Education should be moving. On their website, the Ministry of Education of Dominica identifies parents, students and teachers as stakeholders.

stakeholders and to what extent they add value to the teaching and learning of indigenous history and heritage in Dominica.

Between October 2015 and January 2016, interviews were organized with six stakeholders coming from different areas of interest, such as governing bodies of the Ministries of Education and of Kalinago Affairs and representatives of Kalinago cultural groups (Table 6.8). All had strong connections with the community of the territory and were not directly involved in teaching.

Table 6.8: *Local stakeholder interview list.*

	Interviewee (s) Affiliation/occupation	Date	Notes
1	Cultural Project Officer, Division of Culture, Ministry of Youth, Sports, Culture and Constituency Empowerment	October 2015	Governmental
2	Educational Officer/ Curriculum Office, Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development	October 2015	Governmental
3	Cultural Officer, Kalinago Territory	October 2015	Kalinago Council
4	Leader of the Karina Cultural Group/ Queen of the Kalinago	January 2016	Cultural Group
5	Development Officer, Ministry of Kalinago Affairs	February 2016	Governmental
6	Chief Education Officer	February 2016	Governmental

These stakeholders provided a multivocal perspective on the analysis of indigenous history and heritage in schools. Their contributions afforded a better understanding of the current status of heritage education in Dominica and the different efforts undertaken by cultural and official institutions and non-governmental cultural groups to bring knowledge of the Kalinago people and culture to the school setting. From the interviews with stakeholders, I obtained information about the curriculum, available teaching resources, programs and initiatives and how the teaching of indigenous history and heritage of Dominica was involved. To complete a qualitative content analysis, the interviews were coded using combined inductive (data-driven) and deductive (theory-driven) strategies. Codes were suggested by the interviews themselves by looking at specific aspects of the pedagogical content knowledge theory as reflected in stakeholders' opinions. The conversations with stakeholders followed a semi-structured format (see Appendix B).

6.5.1 Teacher training and education

This group of stakeholders emphasized the importance of teacher training. In fact, Dominica has progressively increased the percentage of trained teachers in the past years.

Table 6.9: *Percentage of trained primary-school teachers (nationally).*

School Year	Percentage
2008/9	57.8
2009/10	60.8
2010/11	57.7
2011/12	50.7
2012/13	65.2
2013/14	65.0

Source: *Dominica Education Digest 2013/14*

In particular, this research examined teachers' perceptions of indigenous heritage. Therefore, the opinions and statements from these "non-teaching" stakeholders contributed to understanding the role that teacher training plays in ensuring that Kalinago heritage is being adequately taught in the classroom. Along these lines, in one of the interviews, it was stated that pedagogical knowledge has to be considered an essential part of teacher training.

> "They [the teachers] need to be trained in terms of 1) accessing and coming to grips with information about Kalinago heritage, but 2) also to develop the teaching methodology. That is absolutely important: how to creatively impart the subject matter of the Kalinago heritage in the classroom using different methodologies and techniques and so on" (interview with Mr. Gregory Rabess, Dominica, October 2015).

This finding calls attention to factors that influence teachers' practice in both formal and non-formal educational settings. This aspect is described in the section on the analysis and discussion of the results. Key stakeholders from MEHRD certainly agreed that teacher training in indigenous heritage was an important factor to be considered. However, there was no mention of the possible assignment of resources for this purpose. The priority of the MEHRD at that time was focused on teacher training in other subjects, such as literacy and numeracy.

> *"We have not been doing it currently. A lot of times we focus on literacy and numeracy. But the Cultural Division also has summer programs, and I know that they have included some aspects of indigenous culture […] learning about the drums, the visual/performing arts. They have engaged in some of that" (interview with the CEO, January 2016).*

In fact, I conducted an interview with a representative of the Division of Culture (of the Ministry of Youth, Sports, Culture and Constituency Empowerment): Project Officer Mr. Gregory Rabess. The views and opinions expressed in his interview were of great help in understanding the position of the Division as regards teacher training, programs and initiatives currently underway. At the time, however, it was not possible to identify any teacher training program specifically related to indigenous heritage. Mr. Rabess

expressed the Division's receptiveness to all efforts aimed at bringing knowledge to school communities both inside and outside the Kalinago Territory.

Among the interviewees, there was a shared concern about the need to make knowledge about the Kalinago people, their history and heritage more accessible to the teachers. There appeared to be a need for a consensus in defining which institution or institutions are responsible for managing teacher training programs in indigenous heritage. This is counterproductive for facilitating the teaching of the subject. I identified certain key institutions that might be considered for the design, planning and implementation of training programs for teachers. The name of the Dominica State College, for example, came up several times.

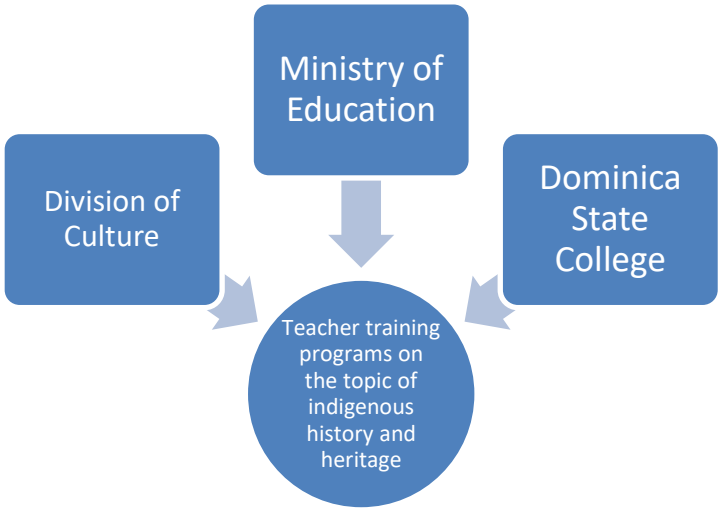

Figure 6.7: Institutes with direct influence on the design and planning of teacher training programs in indigenous history and heritage.

6.5.2 Initiatives and activities

During the visit to the Kalinago Territory, it could be observed that the various stakeholders participated in different programs and initiatives organized to promote the indigenous history and heritage of Dominica among students, teachers, parents and the public in general (Table 6.10). In this research, I identified those sources of information, materials and activities related to Kalinago history and heritage that non-formal educational institutions provide to the school community. Thus I focused on collecting all the information on the resources available, contrasting the views of local government and non-government stakeholders with the responses from the teachers.

Table 6.10: *Initiatives undertaken by various stakeholders to promote Kalinago history and heritage.*

Institution	Initiatives and Activities
Ministry of Education	• Independence Day (November 3), celebration of Dominica's cultural heritage, including Kalinago heritage (dances and food)

	• Kalinago Week (September) celebration in the Kalinago Territory, with the participation of local schools • Efforts in the Kalinago Territory to revive and maintain the language • School trips to the Kalinago Territory • Availability of books on Kalinago heritage and culture • "The Snake King," Kalinago Primary School project
Division of Culture	• History week organized from October 12–19, 2015 • "The Road to Independence," ongoing project (since 2015) focusing the period from 1950 to 1978; includes the production of a website for http://dominicahistory.org/start/ (open source) • Field trips to the Kalinago Territory: classroom-based projects and visits to the national exhibition organized by the Division of Culture • Exhibitions at the Old Mill (Cultural Center) • Visits to the school to give talks on Kalinago heritage (2014)
Ministry of Kalinago Affairs **Kalinago Council**	• Talks at schools (on history, culture, identity, values, different cultures, traditions) • Practical things like dances from long ago, creative dancing and drums, which relate to social life • Proposal for the Kalinago Curriculum (2003; still active): This curriculum was designed by members of the Kalinago Curriculum, which proposed to integrate knowledge about the daily life and the heritage of the Kalinago people into primary-school subjects • Educational resources: Creation of legends (hands-on activity for schoolchildren) • Lectures outside the territory (secondary schools that also have Kalinago children)
Karina Cultural Group	• Different activities oriented toward reviving the language, herbal medicine, traditional knowledge and traditional singing and dancing

For these stakeholders, local and national celebrations such as Independence Week, Carnival and Kalinago Week seemed to be great opportunities to help raise awareness among the community. During these days, the country celebrates and commemorates historical events and provides a space to acknowledge the contributions of different ethnic groups — Amerindians, Africans, Europeans — to the country. Although these activities are not necessarily educational in nature, they can enrich children's knowledge about the history and culture of Dominica.

a) School trips and resource persons

Among the opinions expressed, many school-oriented initiatives were mentioned. For example, school trips to the Kalinago Territory were repeatedly indicated as a recommended activity. Representatives from the Ministry of Education stressed their interest in encouraging teachers from outside the territory to visit it among relevant historical sites.

> *"We are very popular about activating field trips. For example, we go to the Cabrits, a fort that was used by the British defense of the country against external aggression, for example, by the French. Many of teachers do that, to give them the on-site feel; and then there is a place in Kalinago Territory called 'L'Escalier Tête Chien;' there is a legend behind that; it is like a step that comes up from the sea into the land and it looks like a huge serpent. I don't know how true that is; but if you are talking about the history of Dominica and the history of the Kalinago people, then you are talking about this greater legend … So when it is being taught, you will get your hands-on experience to bring them out. That is something that is being encouraged; field trips are very important, and also speaking to the people from the area: when you go on field trip, you talk to the older people in a community who will know a lot about what happened before in the community" (interview with Mr. Edward Lawrence, October 2015).*

In fact, the Chief Education Officer also referred to field trips as a pedagogical strategy that is often used to teach Kalinago heritage in history classes at the primary and secondary level. This is an important point, because it shows that if teachers are willing to organize such activities, they may count on the support of the ministry in carrying out trips to the Kalinago Territory after completing the ministry's requirements.

> "They [the teachers] do things like projects that bring out the history. There are a lot of field trips each year; schools have to write to the ministry to ask for permission for field trips, and a lot of them are to the Kalinago Territory; some of them use it as a culminating activity for the unit of the indigenous people. Others use it to start that unit. They engage the children in various activities that will bring out the information that will give them the knowledge" (interview with the CEO, January 2016).

It was interesting that both representatives of the Ministry of Education who were interviewed mentioned the Kalinago Territory as a destination or part of the field trips that were carried out. They also made reference to the L'Escalier Tête Chien, a natural staircase coming from the Atlantic Ocean, located in the territory near the hamlet of Sineku, which forms part of the Kalinago legends. The cultural village Barana Auté, which also hosts an open-air museum, was less frequently mentioned as a preferred destination.

Field trips are thus a valuable pedagogical strategy in which a school or class can visit outdoor places and engage the children in learning situations where they are able to interact with their environment. Sometimes, as a consequence of such field trips, members of the cultural institution or they may later be invited to visit the school and share their knowledge and experiences with the students. They then become resource persons. When there are circumstances in which a school cannot organize field trips, moreover, these resource persons can visit the school as an alternative. School visits by resource persons can be organized at the request of a teacher or the principal, and can provide the children with a more personal perspective on the Kalinago history and heritage.

In addition, the teachers referred to the use of resource persons as something they have already done or are prepared to do. Representatives from the Ministry of Education did not make explicit reference to resource persons in the interviews, but they stressed the significance of speaking to people from the communities and gathering information from them as valuable sources of knowledge for the students.

b) Educational resources

The production of educational resource material was also mentioned in most of the interviews, and in particular, resource material referring to indigenous history and heritage. Educational resources such as books and online resources were pointed to as teaching and learning materials. Besides the written material produced by Lennox Honychurch, one of the most influential historians in Dominica, other educational materials about the indigenous history and heritage have been produced by community members in the Kalinago Territory. During visits to the schools, these books were present in the school libraries, and principals indicated that teachers make use of them to complement the topic of "indigenous people." In fact, I was able to corroborate that, at the Ministry of Education, these materials are known and their use in an educational setting is welcome. "Then there are the books that have been written on the Kalinago Territory and their culture and heritage of the indigenous people. We make sure that they are available and the children get to read them. I grew up reading about the fairytales" (CEO, interview, Dominica, January 2016).

These are some of the books principals and teachers in the Kalinago Territory have in their libraries to use with their students: *Kalinago Traditional Cook Book* (2012), by the Karifuna Cultural Group; *Heritage of the Kalinago People* (2007), by the Cultural Division, Ministry of Community Development, Gender Affairs and Information; *A Photographic and Interview Portrait of Carib Life and Culture*: *Yet We Survive* (2003), by the Carib Territory Communications Group; and *Kalinago Myths: A Retelling* (2002), by Julius Green.

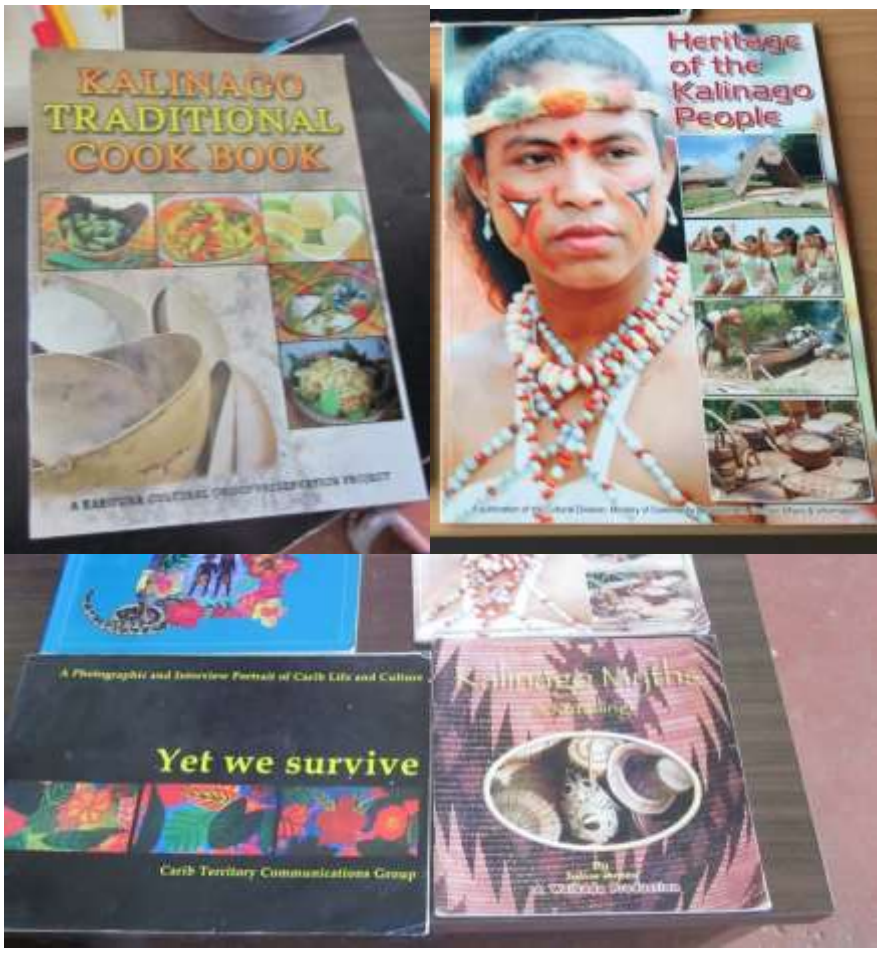

Figure 6.8 : Educational resource material produced by members of the Kalinago community and used in their primary schools. Pictures were taken by the author at Atkinson Primary School, October 2015.

These materials are not targeted to school audiences per se. However, their content is helpful for teachers who are interested in providing students with additional information about the Kalinago people, their history and culture. They comprise a variety of themes, from traditions, food and history (and oral stories) to information about the political organization of the Kalinago Territory. The use of these resources is not mandatory, and it depends on the teachers to what extent this material is applied in their class.

The social sciences curriculum guide for Dominica includes as teacher resource texts or resources other reading different to the ones shown in Figure 6.8: *Caribbean Social Studies*: *Our Family, Home and School*, *Caribbean Social Studies: Our Local Community* (Book 1), *Caribbean Social Studies: Our Country Community* (Book 2), *Caribbean Social Studies: Our Caribbean Community* (Book 3) and *Caribbean Social Studies: Our World Community*, by Marcellus Albertin and Marjorie Brathwaite; *Caribbean Social Studies*, by Mike Morrissey; and *Caribbean Social Studies: Dominica* (Book 4), by Merlyn Jno-Baptiste.

These school textbooks (with the exclusion of *Caribbean Social Studies: Dominica*) provide a much more pan-Caribbean perspective, oriented to a more regional audience

throughout the Eastern Caribbean countries. This shows that there is a need to integrate educational materials about the Kalinago people, their history and heritage more consistently within the curriculum guides for teachers. Additional information can contribute to enhancing schoolchildren's knowledge about the main themes — "Who Am I," "Resources" and "A Changing Society" — of the social science curriculum at the primary-school level on the basis of available information about local examples in Dominica.

On the other hand, there is also the matter of how the available educational resources can be used in classroom practice. This is a factor that influences teacher training. Mr. Rabess (Project Officer for the Division of Culture) states that is essential to assist teachers by providing them with the skills to convey this additional information to their classes. Besides content, he pointed out that there is also a need to pay attention to the methodologies and strategies to creatively teach the subject of Kalinago heritage.

> *"Then you have a second criteria or track of putting together the teaching support, teaching aids and support material; whether is in literature, prints, electronic material and audiovisual material, having developed the teaching tools, resources will be a second important engagement of track that has to be addressed for increasing heritage learning in the schools" (Mr. Rabess, interview, Dominica, October 2015).*

c) "The Snake King of the Kalinago" School Project

Among these initiatives taking place in Dominica — which contribute to some extent in raising awareness about the indigenous history and heritage of the Kalinago in the community — there are still other examples that are the product of local initiatives from villages near the Kalinago Territory. This is the case of the children's book "The Snake King of the Kalinago" (2010); this book was the result of a school project prepared by the sixth-grade students of Atkison Primary School in the village of Bataka in Dominica under the guidance of their teacher at the time, Micheline Bruno, who is currently (2016) the principal of Atkinson Primary School. This book, as the Papilote Press website describes it, "tells the story of the myth of the Kalinago snake. Like all myths it has changed down the centuries and this version is an adaptation by a primary-school class who, from their own knowledge and their own imaginations, came up with this lively tale."

d) Kalinago Curriculum

During my school visits, some school principals mentioned the Kalinago Curriculum as a resource they have in their library. In interviews with stakeholders, the Kalinago Curriculum was also cited. This is a project that started in 2003 when members of the Kalinago Territory community decided to join efforts to design a Kalinago Curriculum,

aiming to reach a national audience; the curriculum has been prepared for primary-school education. Because this material has not yet been approved or published by the MEHR, a detailed analysis of the document is not included in this study.

There are, however, some interesting aspects of this Kalinago Curriculum that I will briefly describe here. I had the opportunity to access this material with the permission of the authors; it was possible to observe that this curriculum provides a holistic approach to introducing heritage across the core subject areas of the curriculum. This document had followed a design similar to that of the official curriculum for Dominica. It has been organized by subject area so teachers can find information about the subject matter, objectives, activities, resources and assessment.

> *"We started working on the curriculum in and around 2003. From the onset we had a bit of difficulty because getting by from schools and committee members. But the government of the island has given us a commitment to take on seriously the development of the Kalinago Curriculum, so we hope that we can engage the central government to partner with our local expertise (experts) to further develop the structures we had for the Kalinago Curriculum, and it will not only be for the Kalinago schools but across the board, also for people of non-Kalinago descent" (Mr. Cozier Frederick, Development Officer, Ministry of Kalinago Affairs, interview VR0041, Dominica, January 2016).*

6.6 Analysis and discussions of results

This investigation was based on documentary analysis of relevant sources about the formal education system of Dominica and its national curriculum in order to develop a framework for understanding. This was combined with two country visits. The results showed a general awareness of the importance of the teaching of indigenous heritage; I was also able to identify points of common interest among the stakeholders concerning the teaching of indigenous heritage. The interviews showed that there seems to be a shared interest in understanding more about the indigenous past and its importance in having shaped Dominica today.

The analysis of the interviews and questionnaires shows that there is still a need to achieve (design) a project that is capable of adequately addressing indigenous history and heritage in the school curriculum at the national level as a way of reinforcing national integration. All parties involved should come together to determine an agenda or action plan; to discuss at length all the different perceptions and opinions that prevail among them; and to come up with effective procedures to reinforce the presence of indigenous history and heritage in the school curriculum to the satisfaction of all Dominicans, including the Kalinago people.

6.6.1 Prospective: Teaching and learning strategies for Kalinago heritage education

a) Indigenous heritage in the curriculum

Elements of indigenous heritage are found in the social science curriculum. Most respondents agreed that the teaching of these elements of indigenous heritage within the social science curriculum is worthwhile and can be reinforced in the classroom. In large part, this will depend on the individual teacher: how they choose to incorporate these elements into the formal social sciences curriculum, and the resources they have for teaching in the classroom, the school and the community. Ministry of Education stakeholders expressed the opinion that, while reinforcing the teaching of indigenous heritage through the curriculum might be a good initiative, the priority areas for improvement were literacy and numeracy, where there is a deficit in student performance.

Teacher respondents expressed that one alternative could be to reinforce materials on heritage and use heritage in a cross-disciplinary way within the present curriculum. Respondents suggested that heritage in general can be integrated not only into the social sciences, but into other basic education subjects as well.

b) On teachers' content knowledge and instructional strategies

This investigation has shown that Dominican primary-school teachers made their choice of instructional strategies in connection with their attitude toward a subject (content knowledge) and their knowledge of students' understanding and of their immediate environment (context knowledge). Their subject matter knowledge was not always based on formal teacher training, but they had a solid idea of what indigenous history and heritage is or ought to be. Teachers use a large variety of strategies, often not based on curriculum guidelines. In fact, the results show that the context plays a prominent role in teachers' decision-making regarding instructional design.

Providing teachers with training about heritage education and how to use it as an approach to teaching history and culture can lead to better and more substantial connections with the current curriculum framework for Dominica, which dates from 2006. As long as the teachers perceive heritage education as content rather than a pedagogical strategy, then connections with the curriculum content will be forced and restricted. Recent studies on heritage education conducted in the Netherlands have explored how this approach to heritage education can be incorporated into the Dutch history curriculum (van Boxtel et al. 2011). It was observed that teachers' knowledge on the subject matter not always was often based on their personal experiences. Teachers expressed the need for teaching resources within the classroom and school as well as more hands-on activities (see chapter 7, Conclusions). For instance, teachers placed great value on taking their students to outdoor activities, either visits to museums and

other cultural institutes or to archaeological and historical sites. They believe that learning through first-hand experience is of great value. There was good knowledge of local heritage sites and other resources in the community.

Chapter 7
Discussion: The role of teachers in the formation of a balanced Caribbean identity within the framework of regional policy

"Most of the cultural heritage is being taught in social science lessons, so they will get to know about the persons who came into the country, the first inhabitants or ancestors and the areas in which they contributed culturally" (Teacher interview, Concord Primary School, Dominica, 2016).

7.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the most relevant issues in the status of the teaching of indigenous heritage in public primary and secondary schools as identified in this study, which was conducted in three Caribbean countries — Saint Kitts and Nevis, the Dominican Republic and Dominica — from 2014 to 2016. Many stories have shaped the Caribbean culture that we know today, from its Amerindian, colonial, slavery and plantation past to its more modern independence and revolutionary movements up to the present day. However, the tangible Caribbean heritage is under threat not only from human activity, but also from the natural events that affect the region on a regular basis. Because of this, among politicians, activists, local communities and researchers, there is an increased interest in finding ways to protect and preserve the heritage that has survived for future generations. Following this line of reasoning on the future of Caribbean heritages, the Nexus 1492 research project sought to tackle this issue from a multidisciplinary perspective that could shed light on the current status of archaeological sites, heritage management strategies and community engagement in the region. This study was concerned with the latter in particular, aiming to study how the school community engages with indigenous heritage from the perspective of the teachers. The discussion in this final section will highlight how indigenous heritage is taught in school contexts. As a researcher in the field of heritage education, I believe that this work can provide insights to heritage managers and cultural stakeholders that aim to find sustainable approaches to heritage protection in the Caribbean region.

First, I discuss how the educational policy agenda influences curricular design in the region, drawing from fieldwork on how teachers value the role of indigenous heritage in the construction of a Caribbean identity. Secondly, I address teachers' perceptions of the concept of indigenous heritage based on an analysis of pedagogical content knowledge components, and how the instructional content (subject matter) on indigenous peoples is taught and integrated into daily classroom practice (instructional strategies).

I then discuss to what extent the knowledge of the opportunities that non-formal education settings offer to the school community influences teacher practice. Finally, a

section is dedicated to explaining how to improve teacher quality, one of the main strategies of the Caribbean education agenda, which could in turn cultivate teachers' professional knowledge about the past from a more balanced and inclusive perspective.

7.2 Narratives of Caribbean identity in the school curriculum

In line with the research aims of Nexus 1492, which strives to raise awareness of Caribbean histories and legacies, this investigation started from the premise that to raise awareness, it is first necessary to understand how people relate to their heritage in various dimensions of their daily life. Therefore subproject 4, "A Future for Diverse Caribbean Heritages." sought to understand the relationship between society in heritage from different perspectives: via museums, the relationship between the local communities and their landscapes, heritage law, and finally as experienced in the educational setting.

In this way, to achieve the research aim of this investigation — understanding pedagogical practices in indigenous heritage in the countries studied — it was first necessary to look at the broader discussion about the role of regional bodies in harmonizing education policies, which are not necessarily aligned with the local agendas of the member states. As result of this investigation, I can point out the following issues that became apparent from both the primary sources (teachers and education stakeholders, in the form of interviews, surveys and participatory activities) and secondary sources (education policy documents):

a) Perception that local and regional identity are independent from each other

I noticed that there was a tension between local and regional discourse, which also translated to curriculum guidelines and teaching practices. I observed that in the Anglophone Caribbean, teachers were eager to participate in school exchanges with their neighboring countries, and to learn and exchange knowledge about the history and culture of the region. However, in practice, when teachers were asked about the local history of the island, in the specific case of Saint Kitts, they pointed out that there was a need to include more of their local history and heritage in textbooks where there is an emphasis on Caribbean identity.

In Dominica, where there is a strong component of indigenous heritage due to the presence of the Kalinago people in contemporary society, the discussion was concerned with devoting more attention to Kalinago history and heritage in the school curriculum, rather than to the understanding of Caribbean identity. Finally, in the Dominican Republic, the teachers made no mention of the concept of Caribbean identity as understood in the Anglophone Caribbean, but there was an interest in devoting more of the curriculum to studying the heritage of the first inhabitants and their contribution to

Dominican society. According to teachers, there is yet more instructional content and strategies they can include in the curriculum to teach indigenous history and heritage.

In summary, it appears that a concept such as the "ideal Caribbean person," as proposed by the regional bodies of the OECS and CXC for the Anglophone Caribbean, is a contested concept that does not particularly fit the local demands and realities of the rest of the countries in the broader Caribbean region. Additionally, this concept tends to create a social studies curriculum that, on the one hand, is generalizable to every country in the Anglophone Caribbean, but on the other, because of it is broader aims, poses questions about the extent to which it is succeeding in the inclusion of local narratives.

b) Lack of consensus in defining contents and strategies for teaching indigenous heritage

One of the main issues that can be drawn from this study is the lack of consensus in how indigenous heritage is taught across the case studies. Due to the education framework of each subregion, each social studies curriculum varies in terms of learning objectives. This can lead to deeper differences about concepts such as Caribbean identity and how subjects such as indigenous heritage (e.g. the first inhabitants, indigenous peoples' technologies, Amerindian influence in contemporary Caribbean society) are represented in classroom activities.

In the two Caribbean subregions in this study, indigenous heritage is included in the social studies curricula. However, there are differences in their learning objectives. For instance, in the Anglophone Caribbean, the main goal of social studies is the education of the ideal Caribbean person; thus the subjects of social studies and Caribbean history as taught in this subregion seek to create a sense of regional and shared identity. However, in the case of the Dominican Republic, located in the Spanish Caribbean, social studies (in primary and secondary education) does not pursue the idea of Caribbean identity as a learning goal per se; instead, it emphasizes how students should be prepared to be citizens that are ready to face the challenges of a globalized era.

Thus, identifying common practices is still complex in an educational space that is not homogenous in terms of how heritage, citizenship and identity are defined in the curricula. In this context, the so-called Caribbean Educational Policy Space (CEPS), defined by Jules (2016) as a "discursively created space that employed the external delivery mechanism of 'lesson-drawing' through a gradualist approach to educational reforms at both the regional and national level" (p. 307), could influence how indigenous heritage is taught in the wider Caribbean context from a perspective that supports sharing best practices in learning and teaching. So far, there is still a gulf between regional policies in the Caribbean subregions that inhibits dialogue among education professionals within and beyond CARICOM.

7.3 Contribution to the knowledge of teaching indigenous heritage: Tools for heritage professionals

The study of how indigenous heritage is taught in school curricula was one of the main objectives of this research. Therefore, concepts like heritage education, archaeology education, social studies education and teacher education were explored. It was a complex endeavor to define a theoretical framework for this study due to its multidisciplinary characteristics, and here is where one of its main contributions lies.

Previous studies have sought to define heritage education, and in this regard there have been past efforts to study how the concept of heritage education is defined by teachers and, consequently, how it is put into practice.[45] However, two contributions of this research to the growing fields of heritage education and teacher education can be underlined. First, this investigation contributes to the understanding of heritage education by studying its representation in the social studies curriculum, which is a field that still demands further investigation. Secondly, I intend to contribute to defining a research framework for studying pedagogical content knowledge for indigenous heritage education; therefore, based on the model of teacher knowledge (Grossman 1990), I adapted this author's framework in order to study the pedagogical content knowledge of primary- and secondary-school social studies teachers concerning the subject of indigenous heritage.

As a result, I added new subcategories of analysis, drawn from the interviews, to Grossman's framework. I expect that this adapted model of teacher knowledge can be used as a reference for future studies on heritage education in the context of social studies education. From this study, it was observed that teachers conceive heritage education from a constructivist approach, meaning that society participates in defining and interpreting what heritage is and how they form a relationship with the expressions and remains of the past in their contemporary lives.

This research also tackled deeper issues concerning the state of social studies education and even more about its future. Do changes need to be made in how social studies is taught in the classroom? Is there a need to consult education professionals in order to reflect and come to an agreement on what social studies is about? What should teachers of social studies know about the subject matter and its pedagogy (Whitson 2004)? To this end, I believe we have not yet reached a consensus about what social studies education is. To what extent does it encompass diverse topics ranging from history, to geography, to culture, to citizenship? Unfortunately, the precise definition of social studies is still too ambiguous.

[45] See chapter 2 "Heritage Education and Teaching practice" for references to previous studies in Heritage Education.

Therefore, after conducting this investigation, I have concluded that, in order to continue the study of how indigenous heritage is taught in the school curriculum, education professionals and other professionals aiming to work on this subject should be called on first to examine teacher education and what pre-service teachers are learning in the social studies education program, and secondly to conduct longitudinal research with pre-service and in-service social studies teachers.

Regarding the role of education policies in the Caribbean, I would like to draw attention to the social studies curriculum, as it often appears that social studies education equals citizenship education; is this really the case? I would like to pose a question concerning to what extent school programs are continuously perpetuating a traditional view of social studies as teaching about history and geography. Moreover, why do we not instead refer to this school subject as citizenship education, and make it clear that is not the same as the subjects of history and geography? Overall, the teachers who participated in this study were social studies, history and geography teachers; the majority of them valued the subject of indigenous heritage as an essential component of educating their students about the history and culture of their islands.

I believe that the discussion of how indigenous heritage is taught within the school subject of social studies leads to a broader debate, precisely that which is discussed by Powel (2017) concerning the current status of teacher education in social studies. In fact, in my conversations with in-service teachers, they welcomed the idea of training activities that could enhance the way they teach about heritage. However, social studies is set aside in favor of improving students' performance on standardized exams in the areas of language and mathematics.

7.4 Overcoming the challenges of education research

When I began this investigation, I met with education stakeholders in the countries of study. Unfortunately, at the time there were no programs or running projects on the subject of heritage education in which I could have taken part to conduct my research. From my point of view, not being part of an education program per se was a limitation in this investigation; I believe that being part of a preexisting program would have facilitated the research process and allowed for further research into teacher practice.

Research in education does not necessarily need to have practical implications with regard to content, pedagogy or practices. However, research in education would benefit from being supported by evidence-based findings. From my point of view, this can be achieved when the researcher is directly linked to education institutions or education programs. Consequently, this investigation provides insights on the current status of teaching indigenous heritage from localized examples; it does not strive to directly influence education policy or teaching practices, but rather provide an explanatory overview of how the histories of the first inhabitants of the Caribbean

islands and their legacy in contemporary Caribbean society are taught today in the school contexts of the countries studied.

In this framework, this research instead intends to provide theoretical contributions to the fields of heritage education and social studies in the Caribbean region. After carrying out documentary and field research, I observed that there is a knowledge gap in understanding approaches to teaching indigenous heritage across the region, in a broader context where there is an increasing debate concerning the purpose of the social studies education, and in a sphere in which there is a growing interest in the paradigm of Global Citizenship Education, which continues to gain more and more attention in academic discussions and policy debates worldwide; see Hickling-Hudson (2004), Davies et al. (2005), Pigozzi (2006), Davies and Pike (2009) and Adbi et al. (2015).

7.5 Prospective for studying indigenous heritage in the Caribbean region

As an education researcher, being aware of the criticism that surrounds education research as well as qualitative research, I would like to underline Hammersley's (2002) ideas about evidence-based practice. He advocates that funding teachers to carry out small research projects whose results could be disseminated to colleagues is a way to overcome this criticism of the field of education research. Along these lines, I intended to involve teachers in the research process more actively by organizing workshops in which teachers interacted with content on the topic of indigenous heritage.

Teacher inputs were used as a reference in designing educational resources that would respond to their main questions concerning the concepts of heritage and indigenous heritage. Certainly, this approach was beneficial to this research, as it allowed me to provide the teachers with immediate output from this investigation, as well as the opportunity to work collaboratively with local partners and learn from their experiences about how indigenous heritage is situated in the school curriculum and activities.

Nevertheless, I believe that future efforts in studying indigenous heritage would benefit from applying an evidence-based approach in which teachers carry out research within their own classrooms. The main reason for this methodological approach is my personal approach that I consider that in order to be able to influence instructional content, pedagogy and teaching practices, education research needs to be embedded in an education program linked to the school community.

I am certain that this investigation would have benefited from a longitudinal survey design that would have tracked changes or trends in how indigenous heritage is taught over time, for instance over a period of five years. In addition, future research on this topic could benefit from applying a life-history research method in order to work closely and form long-term relationships with teachers; this would allow for a deeper

understanding of how teachers view teaching about indigenous heritage, while taking into account not only their roles as teachers, but also their roles as citizens, parents, partners, siblings and children, to name a few examples.

Finally, this research has shown how education policy endeavors in education and culture can be informed by including teachers' perceptions in documenting instructional content and its implications in classroom practice. There is still much more to learn from teachers and their personal stories and experiences, and how these influence their views on teaching about our past (precolonial, colonial and postcolonial). We cannot assume that the curriculum per se is the only instrument used by teachers for their classes; as seen in this investigation, based on their beliefs, teachers might decide that they can adapt curriculum contents for the benefit of their students (Durrani and Dune, Jones et al. 1997). I believe that, in line with the interest in improving teacher quality in the region, there is a call to deepen our understanding of how the various dimensions of teachers' knowledge (PCK) translates to their daily teaching activities.

As a final remark, I believe that regional policies in education and culture could benefit from a shift toward a more global understanding of citizenship education, since most of the policies encountered in this study focused on the aim of cultivating citizenship and democratic values that lies at the core of the social studies curriculum. Global Citizenship Education (GCE) is an international initiative that was launched by UNESCO in 2012; it was conceived within the context of "signaling a shift in the role and purpose of education to that of forging more just, peaceful, tolerant and inclusive societies" (UNESCO 2014: 5). Consequently, the concept of Global Citizenship Education poses questions to local and regional educational policies about how the profile of citizenship education is accommodated in the curricula. Teaching about who our ancestors were and what our heritage is today is an essential component in the region's social studies curricula. A shift in the education paradigm for social studies toward Global Citizenship Education implies changes in content, pedagogy and teaching practices, and thus how education professionals deal with narratives of global identity within the current framework of regional education policies. Thus the increasing interest in the paradigm of Global Citizenship Education poses questions for future education agendas. Facing the challenges of poverty, human rights violations and inequality that threaten peace and sustainable development, Global Citizenship Education seems aligned with the Education 2030 Agenda and framework for action: "Global Citizenship Education (GCED) is UNESCO's response to these challenges. It works by empowering learners of all ages to understand that these are global, not local issues and to become active promoters of more peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable societies" (UNESCO 2018).

Throughout this study I have tried to understand how the content of indigenous history and heritage and its learning goals fit within the school subject of social

studies.[46] After completing this investigation, I noticed a regional difference in the way indigenous heritage is taught, and this is precisely due to the approach to citizenship education that has been adopted in the countries in this study. Thus, in the face of a larger debate concerning global identities, and considering that this research aims to explain how indigenous heritage is taught in the school curriculum, it was observed in the interviews conducted during the field research that the debate between local and regional narratives influences the way instructional content — for example, about the first inhabitants, our ancestors, the Amerindians — is represented in the school curriculum.

In this context, the final results of this research highlighted issues that possibly influence learning and teaching processes with respect to indigenous heritage. Due to the fact that education agendas in the wider Caribbean region vary from one subregion to another, there is a need to pay attention to how the understanding of identity varies among contemporary Caribbean societies. Consequently, the question of local versus regional appears as a call to education and other professionals linked to education initiatives to join their efforts and to create a space for sharing education practices and experiences in the region. In this regard, the wider Caribbean region would benefit from adopting a Global Citizenship Education profile, as it could help in reconciling the dichotomy between regional and national identities by framing this debate within a broader picture, namely the emerging paradigm of global identity.

[46] In the regions considered in this investigation, indigenous heritage is included as instructional content within the subject of social studies.

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Websites of Regional Organizations:

CARICOM: http://www.caricom.org/

OECS: http://www.oecs.org/

Websites of Global Organizations:

British Commonwealth of Nations: http://thecommonwealth.org/

OECD: http://www.oecd.org/

World Bank: http://www.worldbank.org/

UNESCO: http://www.unesco.org/

Appendix A: Interview Protocol

INTERVIEW FORMAT WITH ORAL CONSENT

Protocol format provided by Dr. Jimmy Mans, Caribbean Archaeology Research Group, Leiden University, 2013, and adapted by the researcher according to her investigation.

Before recording:
1. Do you mind if I record this interview?

I will record this audio for my personal research only. It makes it easier for me, since it records more quickly than I can write.

Start recording:
Just for completeness and to be sure that you are informed of my intentions: my name is --- and I am a PhD student in the Faculty of Archaeology at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands. I am here to --- (indicate the purpose and aims of your research and interviews in the country). My intention is to research and write about this in one or more publications.

2. *Are you okay with me using your name for reference, or would you prefer that I keep it anonymous?*
3. Are you okay with us doing this interview and with me using the information you provide for my research? Perhaps it is needless to say, but just so you know, if you no longer enjoy doing this interview, you can of course stop at any moment.

Start of interview:

(Interview questions)

End of interview:
Thank you very much for this interview.

4. Do you have any remaining questions for me? If you have any questions or concerns later on, just contact me (give your contact details). Also, if you realize later that you actually did not like the interview or the information you provided, just let me know and I will no longer use the information you provided. If I publish something about this interview, I promise I will provide you with a copy.
Thank you very much for this interview!
Stop recording.

Appendix B

Interview Guides (for in-service teachers, workshop participants and stakeholders 2014)

General questions for in-service teachers and workshop participants:

1) Do you consider it important that students learn about their indigenous heritage, its conservation and protection?
2) What educational practices are already taking place in your community/museum/school to promote indigenous heritage? Do you believe there are more opportunities to increase the activities promoting indigenous heritage?
    a. If your answer is positive, can you please mention some examples of these initiatives?
    b. If your answer is negative, can you please describe the aspects you consider most positive/valuable in the activities that already exist?
3) Do you think it is important to teach about indigenous heritage? How do you think "indigenous" heritage learning activities within formal and informal educational scenarios can provide students with a better understanding of their history and culture?
4) What is the place heritage has in your community/city/country? Is there a common understanding of heritage discussions within the school community?

Specific questions to be directed to school principals, educational officers and coordinators of museums (2014–2016)

1) What is the current place that indigenous heritage-related content occupies within the school curriculum?
2) What is your opinion regarding the assessment of these educational activities in promoting indigenous heritage? How do you measure their effectiveness or sustainability for the community?
3) What is the current situation of teacher training programs in archaeological indigenous heritage content and practical learning activities?
4) How is the communication with other cultural institutions within your country or the Caribbean region? How would you feel about establishing a network for the exchange of learning experiences in promoting indigenous heritage in both formal and informal scenarios?

Appendix C

Interview Guide (for in-service teachers and teachers participants of the workshops held in 2015 and 2016)

1) What do you think indigenous heritage education is about? In your opinion, do you think it is important that your students learn about their indigenous heritage, its conservation and preservation (as part of their school curriculum)? And why?

2) Which of the following topics would you include in your classes when teaching about heritage education? I will be naming them one by one and you can answer "yes" or "no". Here we go: natural landscapes, architecture (buildings), historical places, archaeological sites, indigenous heritage, artistic expressions, intangible culture and manifestations. Are there any others you would like to mention now?

3) Are your students interested in learning about the past and, in particular, about the period before the European encounters of 1492? Can you give some examples that can illustrate how they are interested in this topic?

4) How do students learn, or how can they learn, about indigenous heritage (e.g. what is difficult for students to understand)?

5) What strategies do you as teacher apply (or would like to apply) to promote students' learning about indigenous heritage, and why do you think these strategies are (potentially) powerful?

6) How do you think your students would benefit from a hands-on approach to learning about the past?

7) What is the current place that heritage-related content occupies within the school curriculum?

8) What educational activities or initiatives are already taking place to promote indigenous heritage in your community/museum/school? Please explain briefly. Can you give some examples of alternatives you think would help promote the knowledge and appreciation of indigenous heritage in your community?

9) Are there any teacher training or formative programs in the subject of heritage education, archaeology education or indigenous heritage education in your community, school district or nearby areas?

Appendix D: Survey Questionnaire

The following questions are meant for research purposes only, and no further personal details are required. Thank you for your collaboration.

In the following table, please mark (tick) the correct answer:

Gender		Teaching experience	
____Male	___Female	Less than five years _____	More than five years _____

1) *How do you define "heritage education"?*

2) *From the following table, how can you best describe the category of heritage present in your region? (Please mark).*

Natural heritage	
Historical (colonial) heritage	
Archaeological indigenous heritage	
Intangible heritage	
Others: Please specify and describe shortly below	

Others:

3) *Do you think that there is a relation between archaeology and indigenous heritage? Please explain your answer.*

4) *Is the indigenous heritage from the pre-Columbian period included in the school curriculum guidelines? YES_____ NO_____ I DON'T KNOW_____*

5) *Is there a connection between pre-Columbian heritage and contemporary cultural expressions in today's society? (depending the island context the question would change) YES_____ NO_____ I DON'T KNOW_____*

6) *From the following list, can you select at least three (3) aspects which you think will be helpful in defining indigenous heritage?*

- ○ Oral traditions
- ○ Clothing
- ○ Housing
- ○ Musical instruments

- ○ Kitchenware
- ○ Transport
- ○ Utilitarian ware
- ○ Myths/cosmology

7) *What strategies do you currently use to teach your students about (indigenous) heritage? (Please mark in the table below.)*

Textbooks and documents	
Visit to museums	
Visits to historical sites	
Visits to archaeological sites	
Visits to national archives or other archives/records offices	
Invite resource person/specialists	
Evidence: Artifacts, photos, videos	
Internet and multimedia	
Others: Please specify and describe shortly below	

Others:

8) *How often do you plan outdoor activities with your students to teach them about indigenous heritage? Please mark.*

Never	A few times	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

Appendix E: CXC Caribbean History Curriculum Indicators

Section A, Theme 1: The Indigenous People and the Europeans	
***Topic Coverage**	***Cognitive Demand**
1. Migration and settlement patterns	*Describe* migratory and settlement patterns of the indigenous peoples in the Caribbean up to the arrival of the Spanish in 1492.
2. Taino, Kalinago and Maya practices: (i) Interaction among social groupings of each people; (ii) Political systems and leadership roles; (iii) Economic patterns: levels of self-sufficiency, acquisition of surplus.	*Describe* the social, political and economic practices of the indigenous peoples in the Americas up to 1492.
3. (i) Indigenous art forms: architecture, music, painting, pottery, sculpture, dance. (ii) Indigenous beliefs and technology: *(i) Polytheism: types of gods/goddesses;* *(ii) Animism;* *(iii) Ancestral worship and sacrifice;* *(iv) Scientific applications: mathematics, agriculture, astronomy.*	*Explain* the relationship between the main art forms and the beliefs and technology of the indigenous peoples.
4. Motivating factors that led to Columbus' voyages: "Gold, God, and Glory".	*Explain* the factors that led to Columbus' voyages.
5. Impact of the Europeans on the indigenous peoples: (i) Demographic changes; (ii) Colonization; (iii) Cultural imposition; (iv) Economic destabilization.	*Assess* the impact of the Europeans on the indigenous peoples up to 1600.
6. Impact of the Indigenous peoples on the Europeans: (i) Introduction of crafts, agricultural products; (ii) Provision of labour; (iii) Diseases.	*Assess* the impact of the Europeans on the indigenous peoples up to 1600.

Adapted from the Caribbean History Syllabus (Caribbean Examination Council 2010).
*Categories have been adapted from the curriculum indicators following Porter and Smithson (2001).

***Modes of Presentation**
Fieldwork, essays, presentations, streaming films, role-playing, hands-on activities: making of models.

Adapted from teacher interviews from Dominica-Saint Kitts (2014–2016).

Appendix F: CXC Social Studies Curriculum Indicators

Section A, Theme 1: The Indigenous People and the Europeans		
Topic Coverage	**Cognitive Demand**	**Modes of Presentation**
The cultural diversity of the Caribbean region. a. Existence of cultural patterns, customs, ceremonies, religions and festivals in the Caribbean region; b. Promotion of ancestral customs, art, craft, language, music, dance and folklore by national organizations and groups.	Account for the cultural diversity of the Caribbean region.	Students view documentaries on Caribbean culture. a. Students from different cultural backgrounds should be encouraged to make presentations on their customs, ceremonies, religions, festivals, music, food, dress and language. Alternatively, they can undertake group research and presentations on the cultural practices of different ethnic groups in the region. b. Students write a calypso or skit or design a costume for a national festival. Students form and enter a band in the national cultural festival depicting different aspects of the culture.

Adapted from the Social Studies Syllabus (Caribbean Examination Council 2010).

*Categories have been adapted from curriculum indicators following Porter and Smithson (2001).

Modes of Presentation
Fieldwork, essays, presentations, streaming films, role-play, hands-on activities: making of models.

Adapted from teacher interviews from Dominica-Saint Kitts (2014–2016).

Appendix G: Contents Related to Indigenous Heritage in the Social Studies Curriculum, Dominican Republic

Nivel Primario Primer Ciclo					
Grado	Competencias Específicas	Contenidos (Conceptuales)	Contenidos Procedimentales	Contenidos Actitudinales	Indicadores de Logro
2do	Ubicación en el tiempo y el espacio Utilización crítica de fuentes de información Interacción socio-cultural y construcción ciudadana	Eventos históricos esenciales que conforman nuestra identidad	-Descripción de los modos de vida de los primeros pobladores (taínos): ubicación geográfica, medio natural en que habitaban, roles de hombres y mujeres, principales actividades, vivienda, costumbres, idioma, creencias, alimentación, fiestas y otros. -Comparación entre el modo de vida y expresiones culturales de los primeros pobladores y aspectos de su cultura que se han mantenido hasta el presente y aspectos que han cambiado	Valoración de las características que conforman su identidad	-Ubica en líneas de tiempo simples los principales acontecimientos históricos que conforman nuestra identidad (taínos, españoles, africanos)
3ro		Lugares y festividades de importancia histórica y/o cultural de las distintas regiones del país. Migración	Indagación a través de diversas fuentes sobre las costumbres festivas de su comunidad (de carnal, patrias y religiosas)		-Reconoce distintos aspectos culturales de su comunidad provincia y región que son producto de las

					distintas migraciones de sus pobladores y pobladores

Nivel Primario Segundo Ciclo					
Grado	Competencias Específicas	Contenidos (Conceptuales)	Contenidos Procedimentales	Contenidos Actitudinales	Indicadores de Logro
4to	Ubicación en el tiempo y el espacio Utilización crítica de fuentes de información Interacción socio-cultural y construcción ciudadana	Geografía de las Antillas y la República Dominicana Historia Dominicana -Origen y formación del pueblo dominicano: Primeros pobladores de la isla Culturas arahuacas de las Antillas Taínos, ciguayos y macoriges Conquista de la Española: colonizadores españoles Explotación colonial: repartimientos, encomiendas y esclavitud. -Defensa de los indígenas y formas de resistencia indígena y africana: alzamientos y cimarronadas, manieles y	-Indagación sobre las Antillas Mayores, sus rasgos comunes: características geográficas, costumbres, música, baile, sociedad y economía. - Interpretación de distintos gráficos y mapas temáticos para extraer información sobre características culturales, sociales, geográficas y económicas de la República Dominicana y otros países del Caribe (Puerto Rico, Cuba, Jamaica). - Preparación de material visual (gráficos, mapas, folletos, entre otros)	- Aprecio de los elementos de la cultura indígena, africana y española. - Valoración positiva de las formas de defensa de los derechos humanos de indígenas y africanos. - Actitud crítica frente a las formas de dominación europeas desarrolladas en la época colonial. - Respeto y tolerancia hacia los diferentes grupos humanos que	-Ubica en líneas de tiempo simples los principales acontecimientos históricos que conforman nuestra identidad (taínos, españoles, africanos)

		palenques	comparando países de las Antillas Mayores. - Observación en mapas de las rutas de poblamiento de la isla de Santo Domingo. - Investigación en fuentes diversas sobre los primeros pobladores de la isla de Santo Domingo y organización de la información. - Lectura y comentario de texto sobre la vida social y costumbres indígenas de la isla. - Búsqueda y tratamiento de informaciones extraídas de diversas fuentes sobre aspectos claves de la cultura taína (ubicación geográfica, lengua, religión, alimentación, modo de vida, arte, organización social, mitos). - Identificar, sobre un mapa mudo, la ubicación de los grupos indígenas de la isla y de algunos	conforman la población de la República Dominicana.	

			cacicazgos y de las federaciones de cacicazgos al momento de la llegada de los españoles y lo relaciona con la ubicación de la provincia en donde vive. - Confección y recreación de elementos propios de la cultura taína (adornos corporales, vasijas, pictografías, casabe). - Representación (museo, dramatización, escritura de cuentos o mitos, carteles, exhibiciones) de la cultura taína incluyendo los aspectos estudiados. - Utilización de distintas fuentes para obtener información acerca de la llegada de los españoles a la isla de Santo Domingo. - Realización de actividades que conduzcan a percibir y explicar las distintas perspectivas de los taínos y los españoles al		

		Convivencia Humana	momento del “choque del descubrimiento”. - Ubicación e identificación de las primeras villas fundadas en La Española por los colonizadores. - Confección y recreación de elementos propios de la cultura española (vestimenta, adornos corporales, utensilios domésticos, alimentos, vivienda, transporte). - Representación (museo, dramatización, escritura de cuentos o mitos, carteles, exhibiciones) de la cultura española incluyendo los aspectos estudiados. - Lectura, comentario de texto y discusión sobre el régimen o institución de las encomiendas en la isla y las Antillas: -Análisis, desde la perspectiva de los derechos humanos, de distintos hechos	-Disposición a un comportamiento de respeto hacia sí mismo/a y hacia las demás personas. -Manifestación de respeto a las diferencias étnicas, creencias religiosas, opiniones y	

			históricos: trato a los taínos y a los africanos en los tiempos de la conquista, las devastaciones de Osorio.	pensamientos.	
5to		**Historia de América** - Poblamiento de América. • Civilizaciones precolombinas: mayas, aztecas e incas. Sus aportes principales. • Los pobladores indígenas de Santo Domingo. Comparación cultural y económica con el resto de los indígenas del continente. - Expansión europea en el siglo XV:	Realización de actividades recolectando información, sobre un hecho histórico de su interés, de distintas fuentes (oral, gráfica, escrita). - Análisis y comparación de un mismo hecho histórico narrado por diferentes autores/as. - Elabora historias y relatos a partir de los conocimientos adquiridos sobre la historia y sus fuentes. - Lectura, comentario de texto y discusión de materiales que expliquen la división del pasado en	Valora los adelantos de las culturas del continente americano. - Reconoce la importancia del estudio de la historia para comprender nuestra identidad. - Respeta las diferencias culturales de los grupos humanos dominados y dominantes q	

			Prehistoria e Historia y los acontecimientos esenciales que marcaron cada período (escritura, agricultura, cerámica, etc.).		
6to				-Respeto y protección del patrimonio nacional.	

NIVEL SECUNDARIO					
Grado	Competencias Específicas	Contenidos (Conceptuales)	Contenidos Procedimentales	Contenidos Actitudinales	Indicadores de Logro
1	Ubicación en el tiempo y el espacio Utilización crítica de fuentes de información Interacción socio-cultural y construcción ciudadana	-Expansión colonial europea a los continentes asiático africano y austral en los siglos XVIII y XIX	-Descripción de los modos de vida de los primeros pobladores (taínos): ubicación geográfica, medio natural en que habitaban, roles de hombres y mujeres, principales actividades, vivienda, costumbres, idioma, creencias, alimentación, fiestas y otros. -Comparación entre el modo de vida y expresiones culturales de los primeros pobladores y	Valoración de las características que conforman su identidad	-Ubica en líneas de tiempo simples los principales acontecimientos históricos que conforman nuestra identidad (taínos, españoles, africanos)

			aspectos de su cultura que se han mantenido hasta el presente y aspectos que han cambiado		
2		Dinámicas de la población	Comparación de distintos tipos de familias y reflexión sobre sus diferencias y semejanzas		Distingue con aprecio la diversidad de los seres humanos en la República Dominicana Representa sobre un mapamundi las rutas principales de migración en el mundo actual y debate sobre sus posibles causas
3	Ubicación en el tiempo y el espacio Utilización crítica de fuentes de información Interacción socio-cultural y construcción ciudadana	Los retos del presente latinoamericano en la época de la globalización	-Memoria de las violaciones de los derechos humanos. Crímenes y violencia política. Comisiones de la Verdad. Raparaciones por la vía judicial.		-Como product de una investigación guiada idéntica tres ejemplos de sitios susceptible de una intervención para la conservación de la memoria histórica en su espacio (geográfico) -Reconoce el valor del estudio de lugares y la regulación/conservación de espacios de importancia histórica como un derecho ciudadano (conservación del patrimonio)

Notes:

1. Curriculum Indicators have been organized based on their categorization per Cognitive Demands and Topic Coverage in Porter and Smithson (2001).
2. All content has been adapted from the curriculum documents “Diseno Curricular Nivel Primario Primer Ciclo”, “Diseño Curricular Primario Segundo Ciclo” and “Diseño Curricular Nivel Secundario” (MINERD 2016) (source: Educando website, Dominican Republic).

Appendix H: Summary of Indigenous Heritage Contents in the Social Studies Curriculum at the Primary School Level, Dominican Republic

Primary Level	Topic Coverage
Grade 1	Personal identity Immediate social institutions -Family -School: member and space -Community: house, streets, neighborhood Spatial orientation: Temporal orientation: past, present, future; yesterday, today and tomorrow; before and after Natural space: landscapes, topography, trees, sea, rivers and lakes Social space: streets, roads, parks, yards, and gardens Social occupations and activities The island of Santo Domingo; Dominican Republic and Haiti Rights and individual needs: food, health, identity, housing, education, employment and leisure Right and duties in family, school and community National symbols: flag and national anthem
Grade 2	Spatial orientation Country and the island in the world (spatial location) Community: natural space and social institutions Human interactions and the nature; productive activities in the immediate surroundings Social events in the family history and community Historical events that are part of our identity Forefathers of the country National symbols and their components: flag, coat of arms, the anthem and origins Human rights; rights and duties of the children Road safety education: norms and road signs
Grade 3	The earth: oceans, seas and continents; islands and archipelagos; the Greater and Lesser Antilles Geographic Spaces: basic concepts Regions, provinces, municipalities Lifeways: countryside, town and city Space and its representation: plans and maps Places and festivities of historical and cultural importance of the different regions of the country Migration Family origins Cultural diversity Density of population Well-known figures of Dominican culture: music, sports and dance
Grade 4	Geography of the Antilles and the Dominican Republic -The Caribbean and the Greater and Lesser Antilles: physical, social and cultural features -The island of Santo Domingo: position, topography, climate and demography Dominican history

	Origins and formation of the Dominican people -First inhabitants of the island -The Arawak cultures of the Antilles -Taínos, Ciguayos and Macoriges -The Spanish conquest: Spanish colonizers -Colonial exploitation: *repartimiento*, *encomienda*, slavery - Indigenous defense and indigenous and African resistance: alzamientos y cimarronadas, manieles y palenques / rebellions and runaway and maroon communities -New island territory organization from colonization; cities foundation and cabildo -Colonial economic activities -Monopoly, smuggling, piracy -Features of Santo Domingo island in the seventeenth century -Depopulation of Osorio -Differences between the two colonies of the Santo Domingo island -Saint-Domingue revolution and Haitian independence -Surrender to France and return to the Spanish colonial power and short-lived independence -Period of Haitian unification -Birth of the Dominican Republic
Grade 5	General Geography -Continental location and spatial relation (hemispheres, extent, physical borders); geographical features of the continents (seas, topography, rivers, lakes, deserts, islands) -Migrations: concept, types, and regions -Economic activities in relation to physical characteristics and migrations; primary, secondary and tertiary activities -Geography of the Americas
Grade 6	General geography

Notes:

1. Curriculum Indicators have been organized based on their categorization per Cognitive Demands and Topic Coverage in Porter and Smithson (2001).
2. All content has been adapted from the curriculum documents "Diseño Curricular Nivel Primario Primer Ciclo," "Diseño Curricular Primario Segundo Ciclo" and "Diseño Curricular Nivel Secundario" (MINERD 2016) (source: Educando website Dominican Republic).

Appendix I: Social Studies Curriculum Indicators for the Primary School Level, Dominica

Theme: Who am I				
Grade	***[Unit 1] People and Origin***	***[Unit 2] Patriotism***	***[Unit 3] Location***	***[Unit 4] Weather***
K	*Ancestors*	*National symbols*	*Location of their home*	*Things related to the weather and human interaction with these things*
1	*Ancestors as part of our history*	*National identity (appreciation of national symbols)*	*Location of their school*	*Daily weather change and its influences on human activities*
2	*Caribs as one group of our ancestors*	*What makes them Dominican*	*Location of their community in relation to others and to their island*	*Natural features of the weather its influences on human activities*
3	*Recognizing the characteristics of the indigenous people, the Caribs of Dominica*	*Relevance of national symbols*	*Location of places or features on the map of Dominica*	*The earth and its features and its influence on the everyday activities of people*
4	*Contribution of other ancestors to the development of their country*	*Recognizing and appreciating the importance of our national identity*	*Location of Dominica in relation to the Caribbean and how its location benefit us*	*Natural phenomena that impact man and the role of disaster preparedness and management*
5	*The diversity of the Caribbean population*	*Preserving our national identity and Caribbean identity*	*Location of the major landmasses and water bodies of the world*	*Climate of the Caribbean compared with other areas of the world*
6	*Appreciation of the diversity of the world population*	*Understanding the factors that influence our national identity*	*Studying a specific physical region of the world and the culture of the people living there*	*Climate of some physical regions of the world and the natural phenomena associated with each*

Theme: Resources			
Grade	***Uses, conservation/preservation***	***Groups and Cooperation***	***Work and Occupation***
K	*Resources in the house, yard and neighborhood*	*Family as a group and role of family members*	*Types of work and occupation of people in their family*
1	*Resources in their school and surroundings*	*The school as a group and the role of members and activities in the school and home*	*The school members and their occupation*
2	*Resources available in their community*	*Groups and functions of members of their community*	*Types of economic activity in their community and services provided*
3	*Resource in their country and their uses and understanding of the conserving/preserving the natural and man-made resource in their country*	*Ability to work for the benefit of their country and sense of belonging to a group*	*Economic activities in their country*
4	*Major resources in the Caribbean and their uses. Laws to conserve and preserve resources in their country*	*Process of selecting leaders and importance of a cooperative*	*Understanding of the production and provision of goods and services in their country*
5	*Major resources of the world and their use. Conservation/preservation practices in the Caribbean*	*Cooperatives in their country. Understanding of the importance of groups in nation building*	*Major economic activities in the Caribbean*
6	*Distribution of the world's resources and the impact of the use and misuse of resources in other countries of the world. Conservation and preservation practices of resources in the world*	*Appreciating that their country belongs to different organizations. Appreciation that cooperation is necessary for a country's development*	*Appreciating the mutual impact of economic activities on the Caribbean and world*

Theme: A changing society			
Grade	***Social Change***	***Rights, Responsibilities and Governance***	***Social Issues***
K	*Changes at home (feelings toward and reasons for change)*	*Rules and leaders at home*	*Problems that family members face at home*
1	*Changes at school (feelings and reasons towards change)*	*Responsibilities (leaders and authorities) at school*	*Problems in the classroom and school*
2	*Changes in the community*	*Rights and responsibilities in the community where they live*	*Problems affecting the community*
3	*Physical changes in the community*	*Rights and responsibilities as citizens and importance of leaders in their country*	*Common problems in the community and in other groups*
4	*Changes in the way of life of Dominicans*	*Rights and responsibilities in choosing leaders*	*Major issues affecting Dominica and their impact on country growth*
5	*The various ways in which change influences Caribbean people*	*Role of citizens in nation building and appreciating the importance of good leadership*	*Causes of major social issues that affect the country and ways to raise awareness*
6	*Changes in the word and its impact on the Caribbean*	*Role of citizens in the electoral process*	*Major social issues in the Caribbean and the world (ways to resolve them)*

Notes:

1. Curriculum Indicators have been organized based on their categorization per Cognitive Demands and Topic Coverage in Porter and Smithson (2001).
2. All the content in the tables has been adapted from the National Curriculum Programmes of Study per Key Stage and Grade (source: Ministry of Education and Human Resource website).