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

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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.