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

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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.

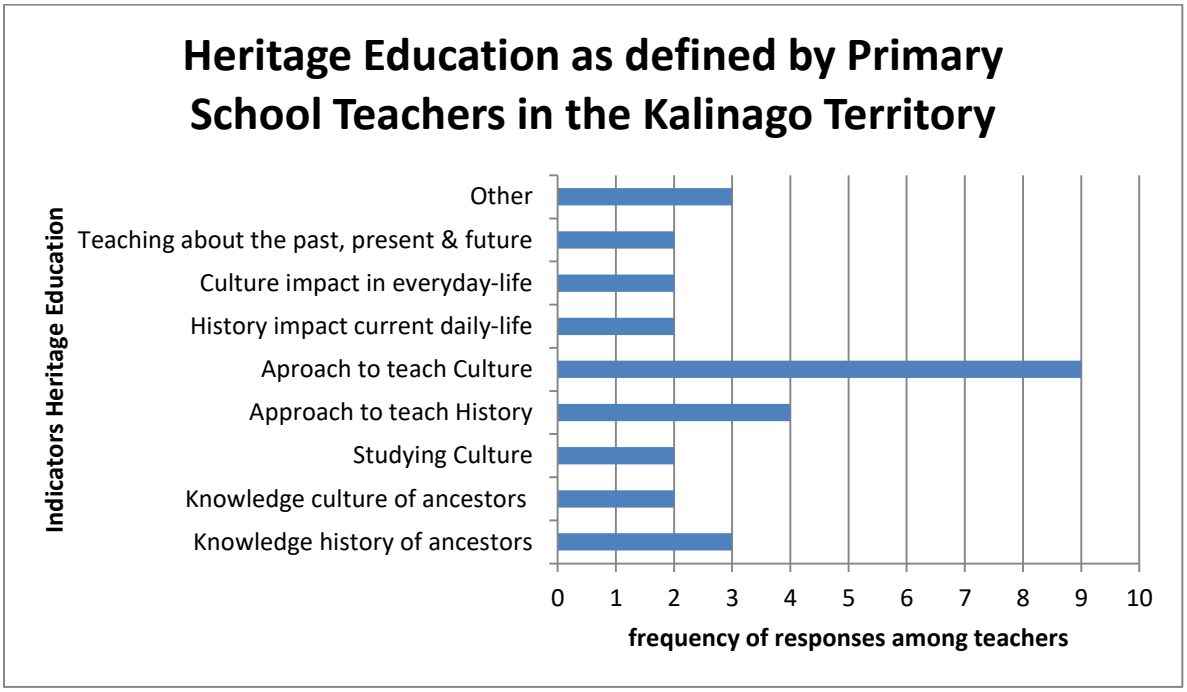

Figure 6.3: Results from question 1 of the questionnaire.

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.

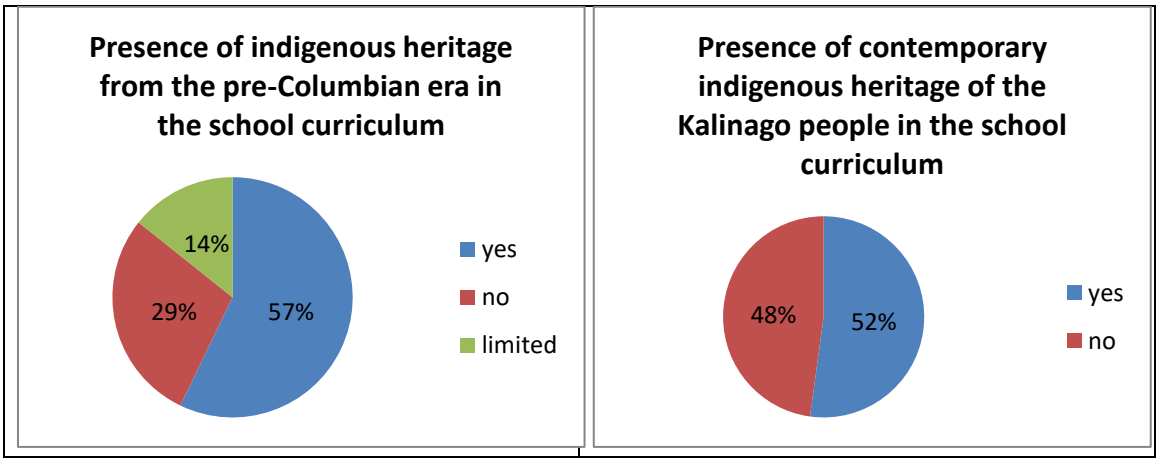

Figure 6.4: Teachers' opinions on the presence of indigenous heritage from the pre-Columbian era (left) and present-day Kalinago heritage (right) in the school curriculum.

- **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.

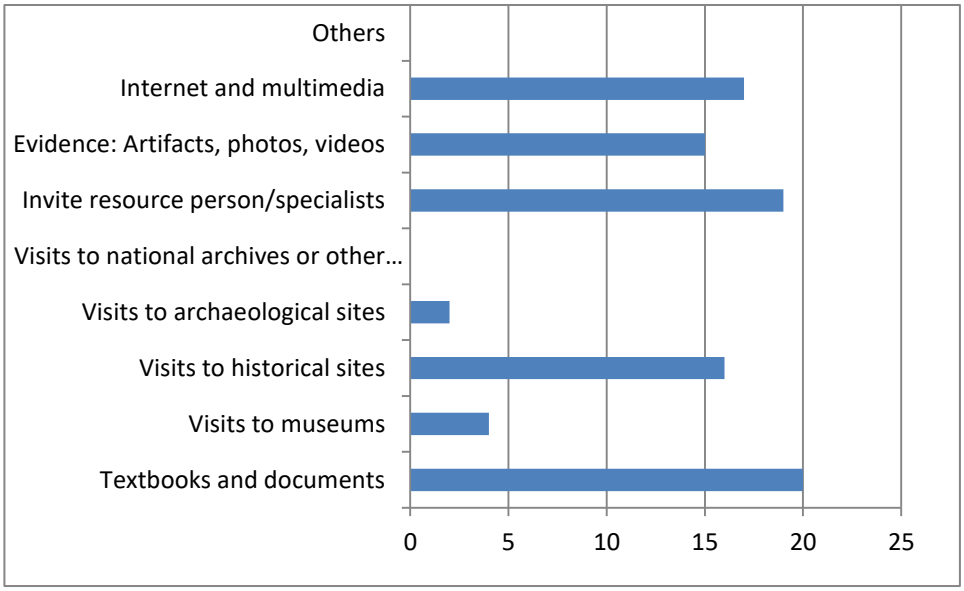

Figure 6.5: Strategies used by respondents to teach their students about indigenous heritage.

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.

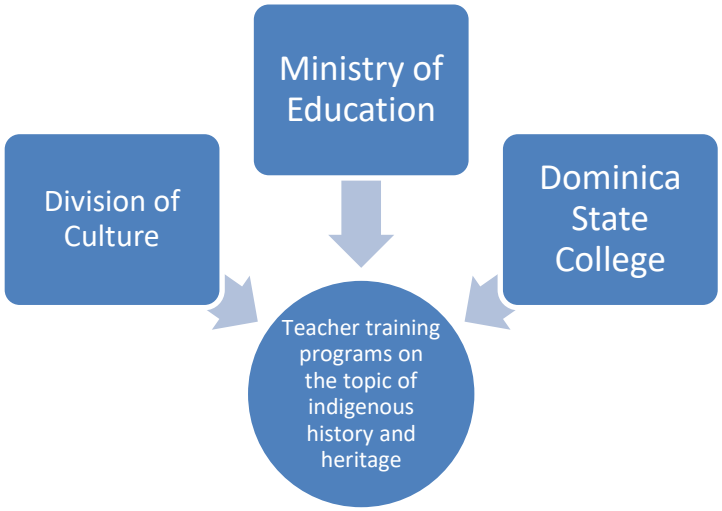

Figure 6.7: Institutes with direct influence on the design and planning of teacher training programs in indigenous history and heritage.

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.

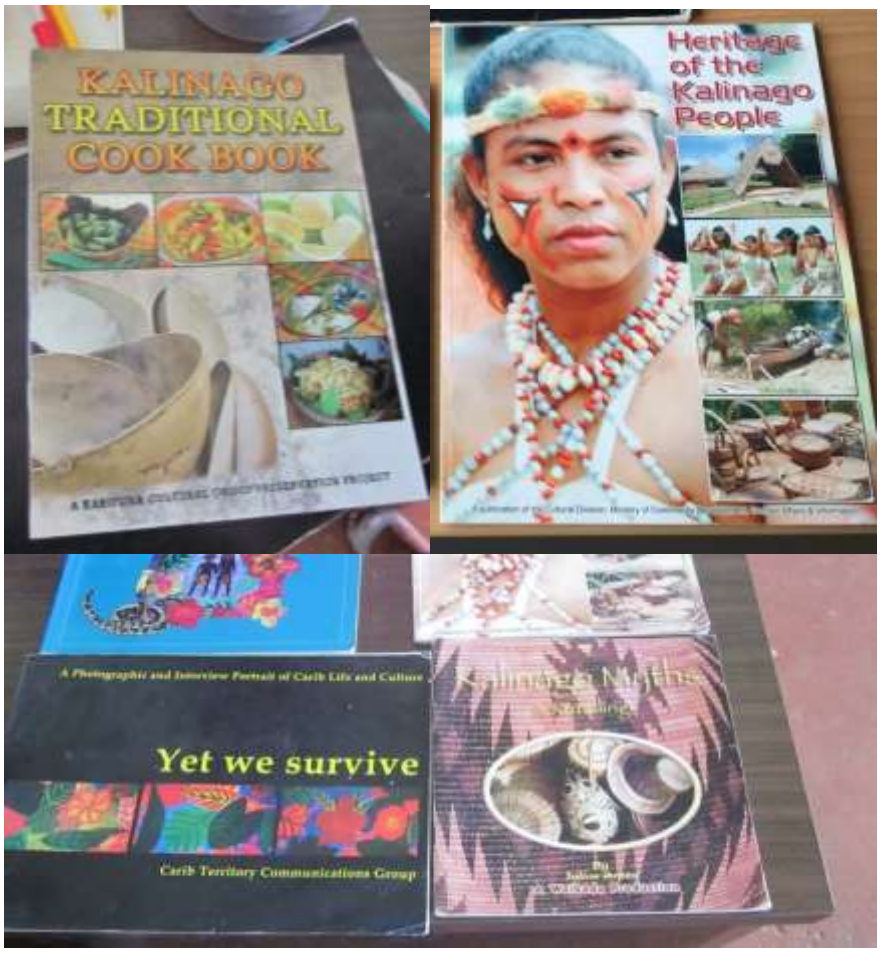

Figure 6.8 : Educational resource material produced by members of the Kalinago community and used in their primary schools. Pictures were taken by the author at Atkinson Primary School, October 2015.

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.