The Social and Historical Construction of Black Bermudian Identities: Implications for Education

By

Donna May Outerbridge

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the doctoral degree
Graduate Department of Humanities, Social Science and Social Justice Education
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Donna May Outerbridge (September 2013)
This dissertation looks at the historical and social construction of Black Bermudian identities, and how identities have been shaped in contemporary Bermuda by its education system. I grapple with, and attempt to make sense of the complexities, messiness, ambiguity, disappointments, and painful reality of Black Bermudians’ identity and cultural dynamics. It is necessary to have a total understanding of identity and its connections not only to enslavement and colonization but also the rest of the Caribbean and Africa. The present understanding creates an amputated sense of self. Through the use of three concepts: Afrocentricity, Anti-colonialism and creolization, this dissertation seeks to reunify Bermuda with the rest of the Caribbean and Africa by moving Bermuda from the peripheral of international discourses to the larger and broader discussions on African-diasporic identity. It is through the synthesis of these theories that Black Bermudian identities and how Black Bermudians self-identify are understood through their various forms of resistance to dominant narratives. The dissertation also proposes a re-examination of the role of schooling and education—through teaching curriculum, texts and pedagogical practices—in producing a particular narrative of Black identity and the implications of such knowledge in constructing Blackness in Bermuda. The dissertation note that dominant forms of knowledge and epistemological orientation can shape the way Black Bermudians tend
to understand themselves in relations to their history, culture, values, worldviews, and identity. Consequently, a fragmented self or what Frantz Fanon refers to as "amputation" is produced within Bermudian classrooms. The dissertation concluded with four key steps that are essential for Black Bermudians to re-engage through counter-hegemonic knowledge that is rooted in Anti-colonial, Creolization, and Afrocentric discourses and theories.
Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to give thanks to God, I truly believe and attest that through Him all things are possible. I give acknowledgment and thanks to my late maternal grandmother Rita Burgess for instilling the importance of having God as my foundation. If it was not for Him I would not have survived the many challenges of life that have brought me here to the completion of my dissertation. This academic journey was not just about my accomplishments, it is about the process along the way, it is about humility, purpose, commitment and responsibility not only to myself, my son, but the many people that I have and will encounter on many levels throughout my life.

I would like to thank my supervisor and committee members. My supervisor, Dr. Rinaldo Walcott, I thank you for your support, understanding, guidance and nurturing my inner ability to push beyond my perceived limitations. Thank you for being there for me in my most difficult times. I will carry this gesture with me everywhere I go. To you, Dr. George Dei, I thank you for your support, understanding, encouragement and feedback, it was immeasurable. And, to Dr. Peter Sawchuk I thank you for your support, encouragement and providing feedback.

I would like to also acknowledge my family, friends, peers and colleagues who were all instrumental in variants ways of supporting my academic endeavor. I would first like to thank and acknowledge those who are no longer here who have been a part of this life changing journey. I want to give thanks to the late Honorable Nelson B. A. Bascome, JP, MP, Minster of Health for his support and providing me with the various literature on Bermuda especially those that were no longer in print. Above all, I am most thankful for his friendship and his constant reminder that this is my defining moment, my time to determine my destiny. I am also thankful to Honorable Nelson Bascome for introducing me to Dr. Llewellyn (Lew)Simmons who has
continued on from him. Dr. Llewellyn (Lew) Simmons thank you for continuing the mentoring and extending the consultation. I cannot thank you enough for your support on so many levels. You have provided various literature current and past on Bermuda. You have been a listening ear when this academic journey seem insurmountable; and reminded me that I am more than of capable of succeeding at the doctoral level. And, that my research is an important contribution to Bermuda.

I give homage to the late Ashfield De Vent Sr. (Papa) he was a constant support to both me and my son (his grandson). I am most thankful and blessed to have had him in my life. I am especially thankful that I was able to spend time with him before he departed, our last conversations were most enriching. He encouraged me to value life in all of its intricacies.

I am also thankful for the privilege and blessing of knowing the late Genither Dujon whose friendship was invaluable. She was insightful, loving and a prayer warrior who enriched my life tremendously. She was the first person to extend loving kindness when we both commenced our undergraduate studies at York University. She will be dearly missed in academia and in my life.

Dr. Paul Adjei, I cannot thank you enough for your immeasurable support, assistance and commitment to seeing me through to the complete of my dissertation. Your words of encouragement are food to my soul, in particular the following words: "Always listen to your heart. Believe in yourself and whenever you have self doubt, remember what brought you here. You are not an afterthought or a footnote of the academy. You are the main text of the academy, for you do not only have what it takes to be here, but also have proven that you belong here". To you Paul, I give an ennobling thanks.
To Dr. Clarence Maxwell, fellow Berkeleyite and friend. I also give an ennobling thanks. You have been my rock, my confidant, my listening ear, my voice of reasoning who constantly reminded me of our high school motto: respicie finem (Keep the end in view). To my mother, Florence Outerbridge whose life has been a motivating force and the impetus behind my drive to succeed, I thank you. To my siblings thank you for all of your love and encouragements. Thank you, Kent Henry for encouraging me to take the first step in pursuing my education, and to trust that the rest will work its way out.

Thank you Jeanann Stovell, Pastor Terrance Stovell, Philip Perinchief, Kenneth Dill, Robin and Dorian Tucker, Cherie and Cyril Whitter, Lisa Reid, Patrice Burgess, Dwight Furbert, Chandler Jones, Karen Burchall, Lucy Lowe, Belvina Burt, Arthur Douglas, Preston Swan, Richard Smith, David Foley, Corin Smith, Gerald Bean, Latasha Spence, Edison Jones, Jacquelyn Basden, Calvin Cumberbatch, Michelle Wainwright, Conrad Lister, Letia Outerbridge, Brain Godwin, William Harvey, Alvin Williams, Paula Green, Margaret Brennan, Lise Watson, Ruth Rogers, Kristine Pearson, Tiffany Lethabo King, Marlon Simmons, Patsy Sutherland, Nadia Richards, Francisco Villegas, Paloma Villegas, Nadesha Gayle, Aman Sium, Caroline Shenaz Hossein-Sen, Eric Ritskes, Ron Green, Dwayne Locke, Dr. Helen Pearman Ziral, Dr. Lois Burgess and Dr. Sharon Apopa for your support, encouragement and prayers throughout my academic journey; and to my entire family and Bermudian clan who are far too numerous to mention, my thanks are to all of you as well.

To Samuel (Chris) Hall my close and dearest cousin I thank you for your love, support and always making me laugh when I needed it the most. You are my inspiration and have shown me what it truly means to survives life's many challenges with a smile and laughter no matter how difficult it may be.
Last but not least, to my son Gabriel De Vent who I love with all my heart, my biggest inspiration, joy and accomplishment. I thank you for your love, support, understanding and the many words of encouragement. Especially when you have reminded me that "its not where I started but where I end up". Thank you for understanding the importance of this academic journey, being my biggest cheerleader and for the many hugs.
## Table of Contents

Abstract .............................................................................................................................................. ii

Acknowledgements .......................................................................................................................... iv

**Chapter One: Introduction** ........................................................................................................... 1

  Personal Location ............................................................................................................................ 5
  Historical Context ........................................................................................................................ 9
  Assessment of Black Identity Formation in Bermuda ................................................................. 11
  Significance of Study ..................................................................................................................... 12
  Organization of Chapters ............................................................................................................. 13

**Chapter Two: Review of Literature on Bermuda** ......................................................................... 16

  Introduction: Selected Discourses on Slavery and Post-slavery ............................................... 16
  Slavery ........................................................................................................................................... 18
  Mis-Education of the Slave: A Hidden Agenda ............................................................................ 23
  Post-Slavery: Segregation ............................................................................................................ 25
  Education Post-Slavery ................................................................................................................. 26
  The 1959 Theatre Boycott: Ushering in of Desegregation ......................................................... 28
  Summary: Foundational Construction of Identity in Bermuda ................................................... 29
  Point of Departure ....................................................................................................................... 30

**Chapter Three: Research Methodology** ..................................................................................... 33

  Introduction .................................................................................................................................... 33
  Grounded Theory .......................................................................................................................... 33
  Research Sample and Selection Procedure ................................................................................. 36
  Data Gathering Methods/Gaining Access .................................................................................... 37
  Conducting Interviews .................................................................................................................. 38
  Interviewing .................................................................................................................................... 39
  Interview Protocol and Ethical Consideration ............................................................................. 39
  Individual Interviews ..................................................................................................................... 40
  Memo-writing ................................................................................................................................. 41
  Extant Texts ..................................................................................................................................... 42
  Data Coding .................................................................................................................................... 43
  Data Interpretation ........................................................................................................................ 44
Demographic Profile of Research Participants .......................................................... 45
Limitation of Study ......................................................................................................... 45

Chapter Four: the Infusion of Theoretical Frameworks: Understanding the Social and
Historical formation of the Black Bermudian Identities ........................................... 46
Introduction..................................................................................................................... 46
Anti-colonial Theory ..................................................................................................... 56
Afrocentricity Theory .................................................................................................... 63
Creolization Theory ....................................................................................................... 67
Synthesis of Theoretical Pillars to Understanding the Complexity of the Bermudian Situation.................................................................................................................. 71

Chapter Five: History, Data Findings ......................................................................... 73
Introduction..................................................................................................................... 73
The Search for Answers - Situating Bermuda’s History ................................................. 75
The Agenda: Project Annihilation .................................................................................. 78
Pedagogical Challenges ................................................................................................. 86
Pedagogical Challenges: Student responses and disconnections ............................... 93
Pedagogical Possibilities ............................................................................................... 99
Conclusion: History and Knowledge Production ......................................................... 102
The Fecundity of Bermuda’s Comprehensive History ................................................. 106

Chapter Six: The Curriculum and Education in Bermuda ........................................ 113
Conclusion: Education, Schooling and Teaching Curriculum in Bermuda ............... 129

Chapter Seven: Identity and the Politics of Identity in Bermuda’s Education System .... 139
Conclusion: Identity and Politics of (Re) Emancipating the Bermudian Identity ........ 152

Chapter Eight: Summary and Conclusion .................................................................... 159
Step 1: Re-positioning our mindset .............................................................................. 162
Step 2: Loving our blackness ......................................................................................... 163
Step 3: Politics of caring ............................................................................................... 165
Step 4: Culturally relevant curriculum ......................................................................... 166
Future Research Directions ......................................................................................... 167

Bibliography .................................................................................................................. 170

Appendix A: Ethical Review Protocol ......................................................................... 178
Appendix B: Participants Profile .................................................................................................... 194
Appendix C: Letter of Invitation: Ministry of Education .............................................................. 195
Appendix D: Letter of Invitation: Principal/Educators ............................................................... 196
Appendix E: Letter of Invitation: Students ................................................................................... 198
Appendix F: Letter of Invitation: Bermudian Authors ................................................................. 200
Appendix G: Consent Letter: Authors .......................................................................................... 202
Appendix H: Consent Letter: Principals/Educators ................................................................. 203
Appendix I: Consent Letter: Parents ......................................................................................... 204
Appendix J: Interview Guide: Principals ..................................................................................... 205
Appendix K: Interview Guide: Educators ................................................................................... 206
Appendix L: Interview Guide: Students ...................................................................................... 207
Appendix M: Interview Guide: Bermudian Authors ................................................................. 208
Appendix N: Ethics Approval ...................................................................................................... 209
Appendix O: Annual Renewal of Ethics Approval ...................................................................... 210
Chapter One: Introduction

This is a study about the social and historical formation of Black Bermudian identities and the role that the educational system has in shaping and constructing particular identities. To date, there has been a lack of critical engagement with Black Bermudian identities, both within the context of the larger society and also within the education system. The closest that much of the literature has come to talking about Bermuda, with regard to identity, is the experiences of the White settlers in relation to insolent Black folks; and these narratives were mostly written through the lens of whiteness (see, Bernhard, 1999; Zuill, 1999; Jarvis, 2002, 2010). There are few other studies that talk about social injustice, civil unrest, struggle for decolonization and various forms of resistance as counter-narratives to the White discourse about Black Bermudians (see, Packwood, 1975; Philip, 1987; Hodgson, 1989, 1997; Maxwell, 1998, 2000, 2009; Swan, 2009).

The goal of this study is to critically engage Black Bermudian identities, in particular, and examine how the complex and nuanced history of Bermuda has contributed to creating what is today represented as "Black Bermudian identities." While this work adds to the existing body of knowledge about Bermudians' history and culture, it departs from existing work by demonstrating the tension, contentions, contestations, and uniqueness of Black identity in understanding the current socio-political arrangements in Bermuda. Historically and until current time, identity has been used as a means to assign people their social, political, economic and educational location in life; it measures one’s worth and necessitates life chances. This study focuses on how history and education play a vital role in shaping Black Bermudian identities with the view of proposing plausible solutions to move beyond the paralysis of enslavement and colonization, to think syncretically in terms of multiple cultural identities. This task becomes
especially important given the saliency of identity; that is, the complex, relational, contextual, political and intersectional reality that is embedded in any understanding of self.

One of the contemporary challenges within Bermuda is the need to understand how the past interacts with the present, and how each part of the past has strong implications for the social and historical construction of the present Black Bermudian identities. There exists Black Bermudians' [mis]conception that the past is not relevant for understanding contemporary Bermudian identities. Accordingly, this study not only investigates the role of the educational system, in conjunction with the community, but its role in teaching the importance of knowing one’s history in its entirety, beyond the common 400 year discovery story.

Knowledge is power and "power produces knowledge... there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (Foucault, 1977, p. 27). Within this context, I ask, in terms of the structure of teaching curricula and pedagogical practices that exist in Bermuda: Which groups does the education system favour? When a Eurocentric education is privileged, marginalizing the Black Bermudian identities, to what extent does it create an imbalance between the lived reality of Black Bermudians and what is taught within the classroom? In a Eurocentric learning environment, such as the one I characterize in Bermuda, where racialized histories and voices are left on the peripheral as insignificant data, what are the tendencies and methods of reinforcing a dichotomous relation of inferiority and superiority on learners who are oriented in such a learning environment? This is particularly noteworthy when looking at the demographic of Bermuda from the 2010 Census of Population & Housing Preliminary Result; the population of Bermuda was approximately 64,186, comprised of 33,353 females and 30,833 males. The racial breakdown was: 54% Black, 31% White, 8% Mixed, 4%
Asian, 4% Other and 1% Not stated (2010 Bermuda Census). The education system fails to reflect this breakdown through its teaching of Bermudian history and its failing to connect the Caribbean to its Black roots in Africa. By dismissing these critical facts, the schooling system in Bermuda devalues Black Bermudian identities and distorts Bermuda’s history.

In order to implement a culturally relevant curriculum, we (Bermudians) cannot afford to continually and uncritically subscribe to a European curriculum. We must encourage our students to question the devaluation, negation, and omission of Black identities that have long been embedded in schooling and education, producing a particular kind of identity and knowledge production that are distant from the learner. It is imperative that we offer students multiple and collective readings of the world, which entails exploring multiple and alternative knowledge forms. It is important to comprehend how Black Bermudians construct and understand their identity in juxtaposition to the complexities, contestations and ambiguities of the colonial, White rendering of Bermuda’s history and Black identity. Subsequently, the learning objectives of this research study are to:

a) explore the social construction of Black identities, through schooling and everyday public discourse;

b) re-examine the role that schools/education have in producing a particular narrative of Black identities;

c) examine school curriculum, texts and pedagogy to understand persistent dominant narratives in construction of Black identities; and

d) discuss how critical education can resist and counter dominant narratives of Black identities.
By looking at the role of education within the context of the political, social and economic power structure, we can examine how these structures have mediated Black students’ life chances and economic opportunities through the social construction of their Bermudian identities. How has the void of knowing one’s history contributed to identity formation that is steeped in inferiority and dependency?

How has it produced Black youth who experience disconnections between what is taught in schools, their history and their lived experiences? Developing from these questions and the above stated research goals, the major research questions guiding this study are:

a) How is Bermuda’s identity constructed? What is the role of the school system in producing dominant narratives about identity formation?
b) How do educators link knowledge, schooling and identity formation?
c) How do schools, teachings, pedagogies, curricula and texts inform history?
d) How can an alternative education system be effective in providing a cultural relevant curriculum? How would it be re-structured?

Whether Bermudians realize it or not, their identity is shaped by history; it shapes what they think of themselves and others. When individuals are inundated with a distorted history, questions of links between culture, history, politics and identity arise. It affects their psyche and produces a particular kind of identity; in this case Black Bermudians disconnect from their Caribbean and African ancestors. The education system has played a significant role in the production of this anti-Black history and the production of a White ideology that, despite a White or Black ruling party, prevails. These are some of the important issues that this study takes up.
**Personal Location**

I locate myself in the theorizing of Black Bermudian identities, in which I have come to recognize the importance of knowing one’s identity, through my physical relocation. I did not give much thought about my own identity as a Black Bermudian until coming to Canada. I grew up in Bermuda during my formative years and I unquestionably accepted my identity as a British subject. I lived in blissful ignorance among people that looked like me, of Black and mixed heritage. Mixed heritage was not a major concern for me at the time because, in the context of Bermuda one was either White or Black. Blacks were the majority and, although we did not enjoy the same socioeconomic and political wealth as the minority Whites, we had reflections of ourselves in each other. This reflection on my community does not dismiss Bermuda's history of segregation nor negate the continuing residue of racism and segregation in Bermuda. However, due to my sheltered upbringing, I never had the need to explain or think about the intricacies of my identity until coming to Canada.

I was raised in a family that was mixed and did not focus on a race-conscious identity beyond the phenotype of being either Black, White or yellow skinned. My maternal grandmother was mixed her father was white and her mother Black; my parental grandmother was a white English woman, and my paternal grandfather was a Cree-Indian. However, there was no critical articulation of race and its distinction between blackness and whiteness within my home life or school experience. This is not to suggest this was true for all Black Bermudians some were socialized in a very race-conscious home environment.

However, in the context of Canada, race took on a different and very pronounced role from my socialization and understanding of race in Bermuda. In Canada, there is a multiplicity of "races", in which mixed heritage is considered an actual classification; but in Bermuda, racial
classification began with a distinction between White and Black/Colored. It has only been in recent years that Mixed, Asian and Other were added to Bermuda's Census of Population and Housing Preliminary data as acknowledgeable categories. It was not until 2010 when Bermuda officially recognize mixed heritages as distinct categories outside of Black and white.

This was the context of my socialization and helps explain what might be perceived as a problematic lack of race consciousness prior to relocating to Canada, as well as leading into understanding the impetus behind my research. It was not until I was exposed to a new culture(s) that I realized there was more to my limited identity of being a Black British subject. Shortly after beginning my undergraduate studies at York University, I was inundated with questions of identity. This constant inquiry about my identity only increased as I continued into my postgraduate studies; it was inescapable. Not only was I being asked to identify myself by Whites, but by Black people as well. These constant episodes of interrogation precipitated my purposeful visit back home in the winter of 2006.

I returned to Bermuda on December 19, 2006, and it was unlike any other return; it was a time to remember my history, my ancestry, and to journey down a path I had never taken before. It was an exploration into who I am as a Black Bermudian and what my identity means in relation to the Caribbean and the rest of the world. Three days after my arrival I visited my homestead; I arrived to find my Uncle John milling about in the yard and my Aunt Lois in the kitchen having lunch. I was here for two reasons: one, a visit; and second, a historical acquisition — in search of a new consciousness and awareness about my Black Bermudian identity.

After the usual greetings and pleasantries, our conversation advanced to the nature of my research topic, the ‘Black Bermudian identities’— a topic both my Aunt Lois and Uncle John had
unique experiences of, as they had both lived through a period of overt racial segregation. I listened attentively as they both recounted a period in their lives that I was unaware of, a particular reality that was somewhat shocking to me. They were poor; my uncle had to discontinue high school in order to help take care of the family. It was not unusual for Blacks in general, but men in particular, to forego their education in order to help support the family unit. This was indicative of the system that they lived under and in many respects still do. It took a while for the reality of their struggle to sink in; poverty to them was commonplace.

As our conversation continued my Uncle John explained how Black folks, particularly men, resorted to finding employment wherever possible, so Black Bermudian men would work on the cruise ships, such as the “Queens” and “Ocean Monarch”, as a means of supporting their families. It was a sacrifice that took fathers and husbands thousands of miles away for long periods of times. Working on the ships was a bonus among Black men not only was it an opportunity for them to provide for their families, but it also afforded them a chance to travel. A ‘luxury’ that would not have been possible on their own financial resources.

During our conversation the pressing question of why Black Bermudians felt they were better than other Caribbean people kept resurfacing. I needed to get an answer to my curiosity and saw this as a good opportunity to ask why. After posing the question, my Aunt Lois responded that even though there was slavery in Bermuda there was no plantation to work on; unlike slaves in the Caribbean islands, Black Bermudians worked alongside whites. She further explained that Blacks did not refer to the White men as master, but rather as ‘Sir.’ In addition, Blacks worked within the home of White folks and sometimes lived on the White men’s property. As I absorbed this information, the idea of doing research on Black Bermudian identities began to crystallize, particularly around understandings of how history impacted
current understandings of identity. For my aunt and uncle, their understanding of their identity was gleaned from their lived experiences and the limited histories passed down to them.

“Questions about identity are always questions about representation [as well as knowledge production and politics of knowledge]” (James, 1999, p. 23). The retelling of my return to Bermuda assists in contextualizing my research by addressing identity in a tangible manner. Identity, in the story of my aunt and uncle and in the various participants I interviewed four years later, was a complicated history of imposition, restrictions, misrepresentation and amputation. This is further evidenced in my review of Bermuda’s restrictive laws against Blacks dating back to 1609, as well as my examination of the continued reliance on colonial education that is not culturally relevant to the majority of Bermudians and prohibits Black self-actualization in understanding their mixed heritage.

Identity is not singular and encompasses multiple articulations; within a pluralist society, identity can be understood as one's citizenship or allegiance to that nation-state, by identifying as a Canadian or Bermudian (James, 1999, p.23). Or one can identify with their “ethnic ancestry, primary language and/or the cultural traditions…” (James, 1999, p.23). However, these two identities are not mutually exclusive; individuals embody multiple identities, "formed in historically specific relation to the different social spaces people encounter, move through and inhabit over time" (Smith, 1992, p. 501). According to Hall (1995), "cultural identities with regard to ethnicity are hybrid, syncretic and always in process" (cited in James, 1999, p.23).

By re-visiting Bermuda's history and looking at what has transpired, using identity as an analytical lens for understanding Bermuda and Bermudians, has assisted me in thinking through the complexity of Bermuda's current status. Looking at Bermuda’s history has also provided some understanding of the unsettledness and how Bermuda's unaddressed history of complex
identities has effected/affected contemporary Bermuda in general, and the education system in particular.

An example of the complex permutations encapsulated in the current Bermudian identity is how the idea of Bermuda as a British colony still contributes significantly to how Black Bermudians see and conduct themselves. Some Black Bermudians have embraced a pseudo or survivalist identity borrowed from their enslaver/colonizer, an identity that has persuaded them to either consciously move away from their historical past as Africans or to create an identity that can only be described as distinct or separated, a sort of Creolized or hyphenated African-Bermudian identity.

**Historical Context**

The prevailing dominant narratives of Bermuda history have enshrined colonial racial relationships based on colour, thereby producing and re-producing restrictions on Blacks’ ascendancy, be it physically, mentally, emotionally, academically, and ultimately, becoming self-actualized beings. As such, the dominant discourses have framed Black Bermudians as illegal traders, heathens, insolent and promiscuous, warranting discipline and punishment (Bernhard, 1999, p.191). As early as 1623, the Bermuda Assembly passed an act specifically for Blacks; “an act to restrain the insolences of the negro” (Packwood, 1975, p. 7). This was the beginning of the first formal legislation of its character in an English colony: “legal restriction based on colour—freedom of movement restricted, carrying weapons prohibited, and a right of independent barter denied” (Musson, 1979, p. 38). This act and the many acts that followed shaped not only the prevailing discourse of Bermuda’s history but also the social and historical conditioning of Black Bermudian identities and the education system.
For example, according to Hodgson (1989), post-emancipation Bermuda was not unlike Apartheid in South Africa in 1989. Bermuda accomplished the same segregationist policies through economic measures that South Africa did through legislation. She further stated that it was not until a decade or two later that a Black person was “permitted by law to live in what were Bermuda’s white areas. Any white person who lived in some of the crowded black areas would have been an “honorary black” and a total outcast from the whites” (p.14). These racial dynamics continued into the education system:

Education was totally segregated, and like South Africa the funding reflected the policy. There were four secondary schools for Whites funded by a Government grant of $4,449 while there was one secondary school for blacks funded with a Government grant of $975. In the ’50’s there were 616 white children of secondary school age, (that is between 13 and 15) and 1,883 black children of secondary school age. There were 152 children of Portuguese origin in that age bracket. The Board of Education believed that trying to educate some people was like knocking their head against a stone wall. Blacks were meant to believe that they were ineducable (Hodgson, 1989, p.14).

In addition to education,

Blacks were excluded from all white-collar jobs both within Government and within private businesses with the exception of teachers in black schools and any black person who, by hard work and miracles, could become a lawyer or a doctor. There were several black Bermudians who were able to achieve this goal in the forties and fifties and even earlier: they were servicing Blacks. In general a white collar job meant “White and Superior! Blue collar job meant “Black and inferior (Hodgson, 1989, p.15).

These various social injustices were the catalyst behind the Theater Boycott of 1959. The Theatre Boycott of 1959 was significant because it led to fundamental changes in social behaviour. It united Black Bermudians and together they expressed collective frustrations against the many injustices and segregationist policies. The Boycott demonstrated fervent resistance against the white oligarchy’s insidious efforts to control Blacks’ minds and self-determination, struggle for justice and dignity. Notwithstanding, there were some Blacks who undervalued their personal dignity to the extent that they were willing to betray the peaceful
struggle for justice. Hodgson (1989) posits that, “fear, self-doubt, self-interest and a general distrust of, and dislike for, those who share their oppression are [some of the reasons why support was given] to the violators of their humanity and their human rights” (p.27). Whites framed the Theater Boycott protesters as hoodlums who behaved badly and used force to solve their grievances; in addition, there was the fear that their actions could break down good Government. Blacks, on the other hand, refuted the allegations, stating that Bermuda was clearly “neither a “democratic country” nor even a “good” Government” (Hodgson, 1989, p.33). The general consensus of White Bermudians was that Black Bermudians “were incapable of having the intelligence, the dignity, the self-respect, or the courage to challenge the racial insults and evil in their society” (Hodgson, 1989, p. 34). Again, there were also some Blacks who agreed the general consensus of White Bermudians. These reviews of historical accounts about Black Bermudians and my own quest for understanding my identity assisted in arriving at the study of problem. Various literature addressed the injustices and resistance to them and Hodgson set the tone for the descriptive dialogue on race in Bermuda, but what is missing is a more in-depth analysis of identity and how it was being shaped by history.

Assessment of Black Identity Formation in Bermuda

Historically, Black Bermudians have been framed as insolent and inferior dating back to 1623 (Packwood, 1975; Smith, 1976; Hodgson, 1987, 1989; Zuill & Bernhard, 1999). In 1670, when the population increased to 8,000, inclusive of men, women, children and slaves (who represented one quarter of that total population), the White settler became greatly concerned. The increase of Black presence, coupled with various slave conspiracies in 1656, 1661 and 1673, led to the implementation of “an act, in 1675, prohibiting the importation of Blacks, Indians, and Mulattos” (Packwood, 1975 p.73). Blacks were labeled not only as insolent but also to be feared
and restrained. Can one assumed that the increased of Blacks, Indians and Mulattos presence was an legitimate concern in 1670? Or, can one conclude that the continuous distortion of these various identities was a means to justify White settlers' flagrant actions? Despite the various counter-narratives, the issue of Black identities and race politics in particular, continues to be deemed somewhat taboo in Bermuda.

**Significance of Study**

The significance of this study is to understand the social and historical construction of Black Bermudian identities and its implications on teaching curricula, policy making and social analysis. Constant reiteration of Eurocentric narratives and marginalization of blackness and Africa has subsequently amputated\(^1\) Bermuda's histories from mainstream curriculum. Black Bermudians are also complicit in this amputation through their desire to forget the "shame" of slavery and gravitate towards the societal power and allure of whiteness. So then, how does one re-engage the history of Bermuda in totality while being mindful of the pitfalls and dilemma of speaking about histories that contain moments of shame, pain, and disappointments? This research is to help educators and learners re-engage the totality of Bermudian history in ways that guard against shame and amputations. Contemporary education must subvert dominant and racist narrations if it is to re-engage histories in critical ways. This study demonstrates that White Bermudians' construction and narration of enslavement and colonization are instrumental in teaching Black Bermudians to reject blackness, which stands in counter-opposition to whiteness.

---

\(^1\)Amputation in this context is used metaphorically to explain the psychological severance experienced by Black Bermudians on multiple levels.
This study encourages Black Bermudians to acknowledge and critically examine history of Bermuda that connect them to the Caribbean and Africa, even if it means re-examining those painful moments of Bermudian history. I am aware that exercises of this nature can easily slip into a romanticization or uncritical glorification of the past, and I must guard against it; nevertheless, such threat should not cause one to abandon the exercise of going into the past of Bermuda.

This study aims to motivate Black Bermudians to strive towards real equality and true integration. It is important to show how emulating White culture has produced within Black Bermudians a culture of silence, complacency and a distorted view of their Black Bermudian identities. This research shows the saliency of knowing one’s history and the importance of re-inserting ourselves into Black Bermudian history. Black Bermudians can no longer afford to dismiss their history as if it has no bearing on today’s society, neither can we afford to look back in anger with the aim of retaliation. We must, rather, earnestly mediate on the value of this return, this remembering of the past for our ultimate growth and opportunity to create something new and holistic that will regenerate our country.

**Organization of Chapters**

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one has introduced the research learning objective, my personal location with the study, a synopsis of the historical context in which this study is situated, an assessment of Black identity formation in Bermuda and the significance of the study.

Chapter two reviews literature written about Bermuda by both White and Black authors reporting their respective perception about Bermuda. This chapter delineates the dichotomous relationship that existed and continues to exist between Blacks and Whites in Bermuda. It lays
bare how these inequitable historical relations have impacted contemporary Bermuda’s socio-political, economic and educational affairs, thus producing a particular kinds of Black Bermudian identities.

Chapter three discusses the theoretical frameworks utilized for the study. The chapter will focus on the rationale, merits and relevance for choosing such theories as Anti-colonial, Afrocentricity and Creolization to analyze the complex multiplicities of the Bermudian identity and the positionality of being both a colony and self-governed. In-depth discussion will ensue around the impact of these factors on the social and historical construction of Black Bermudian identities and the education system.

Chapter four discusses the research methodology employed in this study. It provides the rationale for using the grounded theory constructivist approach for collecting and analyzing data.

Chapters five, six and seven focus on the voices of the participants in response to questions asked about history, education and identity. These chapters also analyse the data gathered in relation to the research objective. Information from the literature review, data findings and theoretical frameworks are interwoven into a dialogical discourse to address and provide plausible understanding of the social and historical construction of Black Bermudian identities. In addition to the data findings I conclude with looking at the broad philosophical, theoretical and practical implications of the research findings. In doing so, it attempts to push the boundaries of theoretical and philosophical understandings of identity.

Chapter eight is the summary, conclusion and recommendation. In this chapter I summarize the importance of having a solid understanding of the complex Bermudian identity and how this understanding can be the catalyst for the re-awakening of historical consciousness
thorough education, repudiation of the colonial legacy and the re-construction of the Bermudian identity. I conclude with future areas for exploration and recommendations.
Chapter Two: Review of Literature on Bermuda

Introduction: Selected Discourses on Slavery and Post-slavery

Because identities are embedded in systems of power based on race, class, and gender, identity is a highly political issue, with ramifications for how contemporary and historical collective experience is understood. Identity, in a sense, is about ways of looking at people, about how history is interpreted and negotiated, and about who has the authority to determine a group’s identity or authenticity. (Clifford, 1988, 289)

Two themes have emerged from the literature as the foundational construction of identity in Bermuda: slavery and Creolization. The two themes are also the most influential elements used to construct Black Bermudian’s identity and the education system. Slavery assists in understanding the legal frameworks in Bermuda; all the laws around Black Bermudians were constructed in relation to slavery. By the end of the Somers Island Company period in 1684, to be Black was to be a slave. Creolization assists in addressing the cultural perspective of Black Bermudians, particularly as it relates to demography; that is, where the majority of Black people originate prior to abduction. According to Maxwell (1999), "[the] early records state that the ships bringing the earliest Negroes and Indians came from the West Indies....particularly from the Spanish West Indies since the Spanish settlements had the most advanced slave systems in Bermuda’s earliest years" (p.50). Maxwell (1999) further noted that “the movement by Negroes and Mulattos towards some form of cultural assimilation began virtually at the beginning of inter-cultural confrontation" (p.50). Maxwell (1999) and the subsequent review of literature on Bermuda provide the historical background relevant to this dissertation and solidify the necessity of reviewing Bermuda’s history. Through this review of literature various themes emerge that show the relationships between suppression, derogatoriness, servitude, black rejection of self, an inferiority complex and internalized racism.
Some Black Bermudians may perceive this revisiting of history as unnecessary; however, “[t]hose who fail to recognize that the past is a shaper of the present, and the hand of yesterday continues to write on the slate of today, leave themselves vulnerable by not realizing the impact of influence which do serve to shape their lives” (Akbar, 1996, p.1). Moreover, “our objective should not be to cry stale tears for the past, nor to rekindle old hatreds for past injustices. Instead, we should seek to enlighten our path of today by better understanding where and how the lights were turned out yesterday” (Akbar, 1996, p.3). Therefore, by revisiting the various literature and juxtaposing the representation of identity and performance through these texts, I highlight how these texts depend on each other, and other texts about identity and performance, to create meaning. It is imperative to not only have a firm understanding of history but also to examine the texts critically in regards to how history has been represented and how it has impacted the social formation of Black Bermudian identities.

It was not until the 1970’s that Black Bermudian authors began writing oppositional narratives to counter the narrow-minded writings of White authors; whose accounts minimized Blacks' experiences by framing them as insolent, warranting control, and framed slavery in Bermuda as benevolent. A review of literature on Bermuda provided me with a better understanding of how the past interacts with the present, thereby shaping contemporary Bermuda, and how it has facilitated the social construction of Black Bermudian identities. Currently, there has been no research that has focused primarily on the social construction of Black Bermudian identities as a result of these historical indignities.

Historically, Black Bermudians’ social and political resistance to the colonial construct was reduced and labeled as insolence, dating back to 1623 and later as a 'Storm in a Teacup' (an idiom meaning a fuss about nothing) in 1959, during the period of segregation (Hodgson,
In these incidents, White Bermudians sought to de-legitimate Black Bermudians’ resistance to dehumanizing policies designed to affirm Black inferiority and White superiority.

This review focuses on the historical context of Bermuda, specifically various acts to restrict, dictate and mediate an ascriptive Black identity. Bermuda's racialized inhabitants were abducted from their place of origin and relocated to Bermuda; a remote island. Indoctrinated with an Eurocentric history that abetted their continuous amputation from their ancestral histories. A history premised on a dichotomous relationship of superiority and inferiority, built on slavery, colonization and segregation.

**Slavery**

According to Smith (1976), slavery in Bermuda was different from the plantation colonies of the British West Indies; Bermuda's slaves were "treated more humanely than most of their counterparts in other British-held territories" (p. 39). In Bermuda, slavery was about individual ownership of comparatively small numbers of slaves performing a broad range of duties, mainly domestic in nature. This purportedly encouraged a degree of intimacy and personal contact between masters and slave, which would have been unlikely on the larger plantations (Smith, 1976, p. 39). Narratives of this nature promoted a falsehood that slavery was benevolent; it is unequivocally about ownership of the body under law, engendering a regime of 'chattelisation' of labour. Slaves and their treatment were dependent on and mediated by the customs and laws of the society to which they belonged. In Bermuda, he/she was not accorded many legal rights:

his labour and life were as much at the master's disposal as those of his horse and other beast of burden. He could be put out to work in the field, hired out as a labourer, sold to the highest bidder, transferred to different ownership as a gift or to pay debt, or left as a part of a legacy. To a large extent, his welfare and happiness depended on unpredictable factors, and even in Bermuda, with its milder form of slavery, there could be no excuse for the moral
injustice inherent in a system which condoned the ownership of a human being. (Smith, 1976, p.39)

These inherent injustices were to saturate the political system in Bermuda during slavery and beyond.

Packwood (1975), in his book *Chained on the Rock*, provided a local perspective on the relationship between Bermudian slaves and their owners. He refuted the myth espoused by Smith (1976) and states that “a benevolent system would never have resulted in the numerous slave escapes and conspiracies, which occurred throughout slavery” (Packwood, 1975, p.xi). Packwood (1975) further noted that slavery existed in Bermuda to fill a need for cheap labour and Blacks were used in all aspects of Bermuda’s diversified economy. He also states that the few books that were written from the 17th through to the early 19th century about Bermuda were more concerned with the White settlers and their survival than with slavery. However, when slavery was mentioned it was always in a condescending manner (Packwood, 1975, p.xi). For example, racist comments purported as ‘truth’ and espoused by Bernhard (1999), a white professor of history at the University of St. Thomas, suggest that “Bermuda’s first generation of blacks had defined their identity by insolent behaviour toward whites, and in the succeeding generations (1670 -1680), patterns of black assertiveness continued to disturb white society” (p.201). Despite Bernhard (1999) noting that Whites and Blacks often conspired together in acts of illicit trade and in disrespecting religious and social rules, she nonetheless, emphasizes Blacks’ non-compliance. She proclaims that Blacks’ flagrant behavior reflected their desire for autonomy enacted through “acts of petty theft, insolent manners and illicit sexual liaisons” (p.191). Bernhard’s accusations regarding Blacks' insolence dismissed earlier accounts written by Packwood’s (1975) and Hodgson’s (1997). Both Packwood (1975) and Hodgson (1997)
provide the missing contexts in which these alleged misdemeanors and accusations occur, filling Bernhard’s (1999) selective accounts.

Packwood (1975) disclaimed Bernhard's assertion emphatically noting that it was not a simple matter of stealing. Blacks were denied land for personal cultivation and this refusal encouraged them to resort to theft (Packwood, 1975, p. 119). With respect to Blacks exhibiting insolent behaviors, Packwood (1975) refuted the claim of insolent, stating, in fact, was being misconstrued as insolent was Blacks emulating pride and dignity (p.118). With respect to illicit sexual liaisons, Hodgson (1997) addressed this misconception two years prior to Bernhard's (1999) claim. Hodgson (1997) vehemently states, “No one stopped to consider that fornication and adultery may have been no greater sin, in the sight of God, than murder, lies, falsehood, oppression, or usury” (p. 112). She expounds, “negroes committed adultery and fornicated and they bore illegitimate babies—and they compounded a great self-hate. Negro men suffered most of all. There was so little against which Society permitted them to pit their manhood, freely and openly, or to conquer” (Hodgson, 1997, p. 112). Every essence of Black men's manhood, in society was restricted. The only assertion of their maleness seems to be in their relationship with their women, but even that was compromised by white society (Hodgson, 1997, p. 112). Constantly being “snubbed, insulted and despised at every turn [Black men] seemed to need to prove their manhood by their fertility and the number of their offsprings” and sought “temporary solace” for their ego in their relationships (Hodgson, 1997, p.112).

However, while this 'temporary solace' brought some relief to Black men, it produced another psychological effect; Black women were left feeling emotionally abandoned by their Black men. Based on Bernhard’s bibliography, she did not read any of Hodgson’s publications on Bermuda, in particular Second Class Citizens; First Class Men, where Hodgson addressed the
issue of the alleged illicit sexual liaisons. Consequently, Bernhard’s (1999) narration appears to neglect earlier literature written by Black Bermudian authors, and what she did reference was often taken out of context.

According to Packwood (1975), "in the earlier years of Somers Island Company, Blacks were indentured servants, Black families were kept together as a unit...[but] when slavery was instituted, Blacks were property and owned for life" (p.82). The shift from indentured servant to slave changed the dynamics of Blacks' relationships: "[u]nder slavery, the Black family, did not legally exist" (p.83). This shift from indentureship to slavery devalued the Black family unit. The propaganda of illegitimacy, crime and any anti-social behavior was used to convince Blacks that they were involved in an even bigger crime than constant subjugation and abuse at the hands of Whites (Hodgson, 1997, p.114). These deceptions and injustices were consistent throughout the slave era in Bermuda, as demonstrated via the many acts and laws that were enacted to control Black people. The predominant theme that emerged from this review of literature was the conflict between slavery and normative social institutions: marriage, family, etc; institutions which are necessary in the constructing of identity. However, as a result of the forcible insertion of slavery, the social formation of Black identity was interrupted and distorted.

In the 1600's, several laws were passed that dictated and controlled the behavior of Black people and shaped their ascribed identity. The most notable act was in 1623, passed by the Legislature entitled "An Act to restrayne the insolencies of the Negroes". It was the first formal legislation of its character in an English colony, which marked the beginning of legal restriction based on colour. This law restricted the freedom of Blacks' movement, prohibited them from carrying weapons and denied them a right to independent bartering (Packwood, 1975, p. 7; Smith, 1976, p.19; Musson, 1979, p. 38; Bernhard, 1999, p.203). Apropos, the weapons to which
the law referred were sticks and canes used by Blacks as means of self-defense or to ward off attacking animals (Packwood, 1975, p.121). The laws also forbade slaves from having interracial sex (Bernhard, 1999, p.192). According to Maxwell (1999), the 1623 act, “changed the rights of Negroes and Mulattos” by making a distinction “between free and indentured, propertied and property-less”, thereby fostering “a hardening of social distinction in the colony” (p.54). Even beyond the restriction of Blacks to establish or maintain any sort of independent livelihood, the 1623 act was instrumental in structuring Bermuda's culture by reducing Blacks to a life of servitude and instilling a contentious hierarchal race relation that still persists today. Subsequently, with the continuous succession of various laws, Blacks' livelihood, autonomy and sustainability of family and self were compromised.

After 1623, more restrictions precipitated a series of laws, "rather haphazardly ... which defined and prescribed the rights of the slave, and [also] revealed the prejudices and apprehensions of the masters" (Smith, 1976, p.19). Acts “against the ill keeping of the fferrie”, prohibited Blacks from rowing people across the water for a small fee when the ferry was closed on Sundays. Any infraction to this order was considered extortion punishable by whipping (Packwood, 1975, p.7). Maxwell (1999) proclaims that the act against the ill keeping of the fferrie was “intended to prevent the growth of an internal market which provided a profit for Negroes” (p.54). In addition to Maxwell’s (1999) observation, I posit this act impeded Blacks’ self-actualization and rendered their identity to one of inferiority through control of movement and self-autonomy.

These racist acts and laws were constantly deployed to further dehumanize Black people. They were overly censored by virtue of being Black and treated as sub-human (Packwood, 1975, p.6). For example, Blacks were not the only ones accused of causing disturbance in Bermuda; the
Irish were “bold enough to flout the law openly, and certainly were not adverse to man-handling officers of the law” (Packwood, 1975, p.143; Smith, 1976, pp.28 -29). Yet, there were no laws implemented to curtail their "disreputable" behavior.

In another example, there was a plot between the Irish and Blacks in 1661. The governor and council were informed and the plot was foiled. Emergency measures were taken; nightly watches in each parish were organized to detect any signs of uprising (Packwood, 1975, p.143; Smith, 1976, p.29& 53). As a result of the conspiracy, if two or more Irishmen or slaves were found together they would be whipped from the place of meeting to their respective abodes. However, Irish punishment still did not compare to the heinous inflictions imposed on Blacks. Blacks were subjected to additional attention consistently they were “stigmatized on the face with a hot iron, to form the letter “R” (rogue), had their noses slit, and whipped before being executed…”(Packwood, 1975, p. 143; Smith, 1999, p.96). These historical accounts highlight a few issues: the inhumane treatment of Blacks, especially how abuse was meted out as punishment; the various laws/acts that were used to inform who had privilege; where Black people could live; where Black people could/could not assemble; who could be educated and to what level; and who could own property and have political power. Ultimately, all of these injustices and various acts/laws shaped Black Bermudian identities. It can be inferred that the formation of identity was impeded by Black’s limited ability to self-determination and the constant negation of their humanity.

**Mis-Education of the Slave: A Hidden Agenda**

Education in Bermuda bore the same limitations for Black Bermudians; in 1648, “masters” were advised to teach their young slaves to read in order to understand the Bible only. The intent was to make slaves more complacent in slavery (Packwood, 1975, p.98). The first
official introduction to education was in 1663 when the Bermuda Company had three schoolhouses built for the primary purpose of training Indians from the mainland, New England, and Bermuda. One of the schools still exists today and forms a part of what is known as Warwick Academy. However, succeeding the Bermuda Company era, focus on education waned. Bermuda’s leaders at this time were uneducated men and left the teaching to the clergy (Zuill, 1999, p.222).

In 1724, interest in education re-surfaced; Bishop George Berkeley proposed a grand scheme to erect a college in Bermuda. The proposal was entitled: *A Proposal for the better supply of churches in our foreign Plantations, and for the converting of the savage Americans to Christianity, by a college to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isle of Bermuda*. Bermuda was chosen due to its location, climate and proximity to the British colonies. The following year on 1 June, 1725, Bishop George Berkeley solicited England for funding to set up a college to be named St. Paul College with the purpose of educating American Indians to the Master of Arts level (Packwood, 1975, p. 99; Zuill, 1999, p.223). Zuill (1999) indicates in his book, *The Story of Bermuda and her People*, that the money for this venture was not forthcoming and although Bishop Berkeley did cross the Atlantic and lived in Rhode Island for a while he never reached Bermuda (p.223). In addition, Packwood (1975) specifies that Bishop Berkeley’s educational scheme did not include Blacks and Indians living in Bermuda it was only for American Indians who would be taught and returned to the mainland to convert their fellow Indians to Christianity (p.99).

Later, in 1825, the Church of England adopted a “regular system” to instruct Blacks in their school; this religion-based model was similar to the 1648 recommendation when masters

---

2 Virginia Company, and then the Bermuda Company, ran the islands like a fiefdom. This wearied the settlers so much they sued to have the company’s charter rescinded, and in 1684 Bermuda became a British crown colony.
were advised to teach their slaves to read the Bible (Packwood 1975, p.100). By 1832, the Methodist ministers had nine functioning Sunday schools staffed by 50 white and 16 black teachers. There were 283 slave children and 96 white children who were taught reading, writing, and the scriptures (Zuill, 1999, pp. 222-223). In the same year, a classical academy was opened, teaching Greek, Latin Classics, mathematics, and geography. The school comprised 25 white pupils none of whom were Blacks; academic qualifications were reserved solely for White students (Packwood, 1975, p.99). Packwood (1975) concludes that despite Whites’ opposition to the education of slaves, a good portion of them were able to attain a rudimentary education by Emancipation. He proffered that Free Blacks “felt a compulsion to read and write, which they transmitted to their children. They knew the value of an education and that it held the key to the door of the future” (p. 102). For Blacks, the preferred education accorded them was one that promoted and venerated white culture and, subsequently, only superficially denoted a move away from slavery and inferiority for Black Bermudians.

**Post-Slavery: Segregation**

On Emancipation day, Smith (1999) contends, slaves gained absolute freedom (p.124). Hodgson (2008) refutes that absolute freedom was gained. She purports, "official segregation needed to be developed after emancipation in order to accomplish the same purpose of slavery – economic exploitation, control and a policy that imposed a sense of inferiority in blacks and a sense of the right of supremacy among whites" (Hodgson, 2008, p. 4). In essence, absolute freedom was a myth.

The period of segregation was fraught with several battles against the whole structure of the society. Black men and women fought tirelessly to feel some semblance of human dignity but "it was by the very nature of the society, a battle that was lost before it was fought. It mattered
little, in fact, what the Negro did contribute, his efforts were usually viewed with scorn, contempt and criticism, or simply ignored” (Hodgson, 1997, p.16). Moreover, in order to ensure that Blacks’ contributions were circumscribed, every effort possible appeared to be made to prevent Blacks from obtaining both adequate education and any form of vocational opportunities that would facilitate their autonomy (Hodgson, 1997, p.16).

Acts, dating back to 1690 that prohibited buying, selling or bartering with “Negroes, and other slaves”, and the act in 1779 passed “to prevent vending or retailing goods, wares or merchandise by Blacks, Mulattoes, or Mustees, whether bond or free, throughout Bermuda… excluded Free Blacks from...lucrative business”(Packwood, 1975, p.119-120). The 1806 act passed to prevent Free Negroes and persons of Colour from being seized of real estate was intended to prevent Blacks from possessing land and also rendered it impossible to inherit land as well (Packwood, 1975, p.119-120). Without land and thirty pounds, one could not vote. Zuill (1999) highlights the calculative installment of this act by the Bermuda parliament that occurred simultaneously in passing a local emancipation act. (p.124). Hodgson (1997) bemoaned this injustice, proclaiming that “from the time of emancipation, there have been men, and politicians, of colour who had faced the reality that, without the power to vote, the people were at the mercy of their overloads, whether their struggle was against the political, economic or mental bondage which resulted from a disenfranchised people” (p.14). Blacks’ personhood and livelihood were compromised in every way imaginable. These impositions continued into Bermuda’s post-slavery education system.

**Education Post-Slavery**

In 1837, Chief Justice John Christie Esten proposed a radical educational plan for all children in Bermuda. He argued that training children of former slaves were a moral obligation
of White people. The rationale he provided was that slaves had shown obedience, provided long
labour; incurred minimum food and clothing expense to their masters, plus Whites were enriched
by the fruit of their labour (Hodgson, 1997, pp.16 -17; Zuill, 1999, p. 224). Zuill (1999) stated
that Esten’s “far-reaching plan” was denied by the government but later, in 1839 government
issued the first general grant for educating both Whites and Blacks (p.224). Hodgson (1997)
stated that although Esten argued his case well, he was unable to convince the Government that
Blacks must be educated in a manner equal to Whites. A decision was made “that, while the sons
of the slave must become citizens, they must be second-class citizens,” recipients of “second-
class education” (p. 17). In other words, the offspring of the enslaved are still considered sub-
human.

Sixteen years later, a new school opened, which was alleged to be a part of Bishop
Berkley’s plan; however, Rev. William C. Dowling, who was at the helm of directing the school,
had divergent ideas about the implementation of education. He proposed that the school should
be non-segregated. The school commenced with predominately Black students and a few Whites.
Local White Bermudians protested, and Dowding was forced to return to England (Zuill, 1999,
p. 225). Similar reaction towards Blacks being educated continued until 1949 and after many
years of struggle, free education was introduced and made compulsory from the age of seven to
thirteen for all students (Zuill, 1999, p. 227). Hodgson (1997) commented on Esten’s tenacious
act being instrumental in exposing “Bermuda’s Negroes to the written word”, but, she injected
that it was the “Negroes themselves who quickly realized that much more was needed. [In
particular], Negro men, who, often themselves illiterate, struggled against tremendous odds to
provide secondary education” (p.17).Their struggles stemmed from the lack of money,
education, basic information and opposition both subtly and directly by many of the leading White power holders and sometimes even their own people (Hodgson, 1997, p.17).

The 1959 Theatre Boycott: Ushering in of Desegregation

The 1959 Theatre Boycott was the beginning of the turn of events; Black Bermudians had grown weary of the "dehumanizing policies"(Hodgson, 1989, p. 13) designed to calcify their inferior status. The Theatre Boycott of 1959 led to fundamental changes in social behaviour and it united Black Bermudians in the expression of their collective frustrations. It also demonstrated fervent resistance against the white oligarchy's insidious efforts to control Blacks' minds and self-determination; it was a protest for justice and dignity. However, there were some Blacks who did not support the movement.

The effects of slavery were extremely potent and engendered mixed reviews of any form of resistance. A prime example was the perception of the Theatre Boycott. Whites referred to the protesters as hoodlums behaving badly, using superfluous force to solve their grievances, which could only lead to the breakdown of good governance.

Two weeks after the Theatre Boycott both hotels and restaurants ended their segregation policy. However, this was only in terms of dining; the overnight accommodations still remained segregated. The Legislative Committee or the Governor’s Special Committee was given the credit for desegregation but “there was no doubt in their mind, or in the minds of most black Bermudians” that it was in fact the Theatre Boycott that was the real catalyst behind desegregation (Hodgson, 1989, p.43). As a result of the rapid rate of desegregation in all the entertainment institutions, an anonymous letter to the local newspaper signed “Bermudian” was posted, stating, “It must be apparent....to all clear thinking citizens that the anonymous instigators of the present boycott are trouble-makers suffering from a power complex” (Hodgson,
1989, p.42). This comment was meant to be a flagrant affront to the collective accomplishments of the organizers of the boycott. “Power complex” with respect to Blacks had become synonymous with insolence.

Following Bermuda’s desegregation policy, another defaming editorial was published in the Bermuda Churchman expressing regrets that the normal channels for settling grievance were not sought. The editorial purported that a “matter of good sense, and a sign of progressiveness to use the normal channels, of which there were plenty in Bermuda before making a scene [had not been utilized]. Bermuda has the British sense of “fair play and free speech” (Hodgson, 1989, p.44). The editorial claim was categorically refuted by Hodgson (1989) who stated, “Bermuda did not…have a tradition of either “fair play or free speech”. If there were “plenty” of normal channels for settling grievances, Blacks were certainly excluded from them,” or unaware of such media (p.44). This assertion of 'fair play and free speech' hurled by Whites could only have stemmed from selective amnesia that would allow such vapid accusations.

**Summary: Foundational Construction of Identity in Bermuda**

The conclusion to be drawn from this review of Bermuda’s history was the intentionality of laws that were not only enacted to impose physical restrictions but also impeded Black Bermudians' self-actualization and identity formation. In particular, the 16th and 17th century impositions sought to promote cultural annihilation through the various laws that were enacted. These laws were indicative of the determination of White slave owners' desire to mould Black people into the image of sub-human. According to Angela Davis, this was necessarily “contrived in order to justify their actions” (cited in Packwood, 1975, p.6). As such, these racist acts and laws were constantly deployed to dehumanize Black people. Black Bermudians were overly censored by virtue of being Black (Packwood, 1975, p.6). Devoid of the freedom to
create one’s own identity, another is created in the distorted version and limitations set in place at the discretion of the enslavers. Acts such as that of 1663 and the ‘Slave code’, coined by Packwood (1975), enacted in 1700, assisted me in formulating my hypothesis of the restrictive and punitive nature of the laws as they pertained to Blacks’ struggle to form a positive self-identity during that era.

**Point of Departure**

Existing literature on Bermuda does not focus on how all of the laws and many impositions has created a particular kind of identity. An identity that is far removed from ancestral roots; thereby producing an assimilated identity. Given that slavery was the beginning of Bermuda's first large population of non-whites, Hodgson (1997), in her book *Second Class Citizens; First Class Men*, poses several pertinent questions:

Had slavery and segregation done its worst when it deprived the Negro of physical liberty, economic progress and political participation? Or was the black man's mental confusion and distortion of personality through fear an even greater crime? And was it really possible, even amidst his world privilege, for the white man to escape unscathed from all that he had imposed upon others? (p.63)

Hodgson (1997), in her text, questions the psychological effects of enslavement, segregation and the implied colonization on both the "Negro/Black man and the oppressor", but stopped short of any critical analyses on this dichotomous relation. She acknowledges that "there were many questions and so few answers—so few that could be given with certainty" (p.63). Writing similarly about black men in France, Frantz Fanon spoke about the effects of an anti-nomic "psycho-existential complex" (Fanon, 1967, p.12), created through colonialism, not only on Blacks but also, in a different way, on Whites: “There is a fact: White men consider themselves superior to black men. There is another fact: Black men want to prove to white men, at all costs, the richness of their thought, the equal value of their intellect” (Fanon, 1967, p.10). When one
juxtaposes the situation of Bermuda to the situation of France, one can trace elements of a psycho-existential complex on many Black Bermudians. Thus, we cannot fully understand identity issues in Bermuda without investigating further Fanon's psycho-existential complex and the extent to which it has created identity crisis for Black Bermudians. This is not to suggest that Black Bermudians' identity issues can only be explained with Fanon's psycho-existential complex. If this were the case, then there would not be any need for this dissertation. Black Bermudian's identity crisis is complex and connected to its ambivalent, ambiguous, and nuanced history, education, and contemporary issues. This study, while building on the work of other Black Bermudian authors, will be exploring complex and nuanced ways to unpack and understand identity issues in Bermuda. The discussion will dove-tail on the three critical questions that Eva Hodgson asked earlier on, but will not end there. This study will go beyond previous research and critically examine the relevance of these questions in understanding the current identity crisis in Bermuda.

This dissertation employs Anti-colonialism, Afrocentricity and Creolization as theoretical frameworks to unpack and explore these questions. I hypothesize that one cannot fully understand and appreciate the complex issues surrounding Black Bermudian identities without first understanding the colonial relationship which “chains the colonizer and the colonized into an implacable dependence [thereby molding] their respective characters and dictated their conduct” (Memmi, 1965, p.ix). This exploration is not an attempt to romanticize the Bermudian past but to show the relevance of the past to contemporary realities in Bermuda. Besides employing these critical theoretical frameworks, this study, using qualitative research methodology, interviews twenty-six Bermudians who are authors, educators, and students to help understand how the history of colonization and education have helped to influence and shape
current identity issues in Bermuda. By using the voices’ of these research subjects, the dissertation intends to build on the existing works about Bermuda. But even more importantly, by including the voices’ of contemporary educators, authors, and students in the investigation, I intend to demonstrate the currency and relevancy of identity issues in Bermuda's education.
Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Introduction

My research method selection commenced with a review of the literature on quantitative and qualitative research methodology and methods, taking each into account. From my research I selected three books to primarily rely on. *Interviewing as Qualitative Research A Guide for Researchers in Education and the Social Sciences* (2006) by Irving Seidman, assisted me in choosing which interviewing techniques would be most appropriate for my method of data collection. This book also provided discussion on in-depth interviewing and its limitations. The second book I relied heavily on was *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design Choosing Among Five Approaches* (2007) by John W. Creswell, which assisted me in the development of my research design and chosen method of analysis for the data being collected. In addition, this book provided five qualitative approaches of inquiry to choose from: narrative, phenomenological, grounded theory, ethnographic and case study research. After carefully reviewing each approach and how it can fit the objective of this research, grounded theory was selected, specifically the constructivist approach. For a more in-depth understanding of constructing grounded theory, I used *Constructing Grounded Theory – A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis* by Kathy Charmaz, which rendered clear guidelines on how to work from the data to develop emerging themes. My chosen research methodology compliments my theoretical frameworks, by taking into consideration the lived experiences of the participants.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory as a methodological approach offers a connectedness to the world that we study and the data we collect: “We construct our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices”
Grounded theory is flexible and allows for "diverse kinds of data" collection such as field notes, interviews, information in records, reports and texts (Charmaz, 2006, p. 14). Through diverse data collection I was able to learn about Bermuda's social and historical construction of identities and the participants’ interpretation of their identity through their various statements.

Grounded theory, qualitative research methodology, was an appropriate choice for this dissertation. It focuses on everyday life experiences, values participants’ perspective, it is descriptive, and it helps researchers to understand people, and the social and the cultural context within which they function (Charmaz, 2006, p. 3). In the context of Bermuda, this method of inquiry was instrumental for me in addressing and unpacking the complexity of Bermudian identities and how it has been socially and historically constructed within the local context. Grounded theory allows theory/theories to emerge from the data rather than imposing theory/theories that are disconnected or in opposition to the methodology. As researchers, we may already have a particular theory or theories that we intend to use. However, this does not become crystallized until we begin the research; go through the various stages of data collection, memo writing, transcribing and coding. Grounded theory allows for a systematic yet flexible process of data collecting, data coding and assists in seeing the connections between the data and theory/theories that emerge. Grounded theory positions the voices of the participants at the centre of the discourse, which will be discussed in more detail in my data findings in chapters five, six and seven.

Grounded theory also gestures to the roles of the researcher and interviewee in the knowledge production process, recognizing that the perceived neutrality of many researchers is a fallacy.
Qualitative research of all sorts relies on those who conduct it. We are not passive receptacles into which data are poured (Charmaz, 1990, 1998; cf. Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Glaser, 1978). We are not scientific observers who can dismiss scrutiny of our values by scientific neutrality and authority. Neither observer nor observed come to the scene involved untouched by the world. Researchers and research participants make assumptions about what is real, possess stocks of knowledge, occupy social statues, and pursue purposes that influence their respective views and actions in the presence of each other (Charmaz, 2006, p.15).

With respect to qualitative research, Charmaz, Glasser and Strauss raise salient points that are applicable to my research on Bermuda, such as the importance of constantly evaluating any biases I may have throughout the research; to be aware of the politics of identity that each participant brings to the discussion of what constitutes a Bermudian identity; and to not only be cognizant of the research participant's location - be it student, educator or author - but also to recognize other dependent variables such as age, type of socialization, and level of education. Charmaz (2006) adds that when conducting research it is the "researchers, not participants, [who] are obligated to be reflexive about what we bring to the scene, what we see, and how we see it" (p.15). Researchers must be cognizant at all times of how data findings are presented in an effort to maintain the authenticity of the research participant's views. Grounded theory as a methodological tool delineate that the key objective in the research process is the accountability and responsibility of the researcher to be reflective of the lived experiences of their research participants.

The primary purpose of my research was to hear the voices of the participants and how they self-identified and, through this, to begin to dismantle power structures that have facilitated historical injuries through the mis-representation of Black Bermudian identities and the constant perceived attempt to undermine their autonomy.

This emphasis on the participants does not “minimize [my role as the] researcher in the process…. decisions about the categories” were made throughout the process by bringing
“questions to data, and advances personal values, experiences, and priorities” (Creswell, 2007, p.66). Utilizing this form of research allows for active application of codes that focus on the participants’ viewpoints and assertions, placing them into categories during the data collection process. It also allowed me to bring my own viewpoints and questions to the data with the recognition that any conclusions that developed were understood as “suggestive, incomplete, and inconclusive” (Creswell, 2007, p. 66). The process of analysis was an on-going process that was not static. Throughout the research and writing processes, I re-read the data, observed the emerging themes, grouped related concepts, and assessed the interrelationships among the categories.

A more in-depth exploration of the methodological process includes the following steps: deciding the research sample and selection procedure, gaining access, conducting interviews, ethical considerations, memo-writing, extant text, data gathering, coding methods and data analysis.

**Research Sample and Selection Procedure**

The research sample for this study consisted of twenty-six participants ranging in age from twelve to sixty-plus. The participants consisted of five Black Bermudian authors, four of whom are retired, and one who teaches overseas as an Associate Professor; twelve educators from all the five Bermudian Middle and High schools, of whom three were African-Americans married to a Black Bermudian; and nine Black Bermudian students from Middle or High school. The principals and educators of these schools were contacted via telephone, followed with a letter of invitation that was e-mailed reiterating who I was, the purpose of my research, some of the questions my research hoped to answer, the interviewing process, and their rights as research participants (See Appendix B). With respect to the students, I obtained their names and parents’
information through informal referrals and contacted the parents via telephone explaining the nature of my research. Once consent was given I arranged a date, time and place to meet followed with an invitation letter that was e-mailed to the parents (See Appendix C). On the day of the scheduled interview all consent forms were signed (See Appendixes E & J).

The age range of my middle and high school student participants was 11 to, and 14 to 18 respectively. My rationale for choosing this age range was this is the period in an individual’s life when he or she is going through specific developmental stages. A period of secondary socialization, and during which individuals are beginning to develop a sense of identity; it is a complex stage. Due to the complexity of Black Bermudian identities this age range was a fundamental starting point for my analysis of identity formation.

Data Gathering Methods/Gaining Access

The fieldwork began immediately after the Ethics Review Committee approved my proposal to conduct research on May 18, 2010. The recruitment process was carried out using three channels. I contacted the Director of Academics in the Ministry of Education (whom I was introduced to in May 1999, by the late Nelson Bascome Jr., Minister of Health and Social Service), the Office Manager of Bermuda Union of Teachers and informal referrals. The Director of Academics was sent an e-mail requesting a list of middle and high school principals who I could contact via email and could also assist in recruiting teachers and students to participate in the research (See Appendix A). Contacting the Ministry of Education is a standard procedure for all the research that is carried out in schools, in Bermuda.

When the first method of recruitment did not yield many responses (e-mailing school principals) I used snowball sampling. I contacted the Office Manager of the Bermuda Union of Teachers (BUT) who then provided me with names of principals and educators whom she pre-
screened by forwarding the letter of invitation that I had provided (see appendix B) outlining the purpose of my research. Once the principals/educators had expressed an interest, I e-mailed them. I then contacted the interested individuals to arrange a day, time and place to meet. With respect to students and their parents, I applied the same snowballing method used to contact educators, parents would provide names and contact information of other potential respondents.

**Conducting Interviews**

Grounded theory necessitates going beneath the surface of the participant's described experience(s), requesting more detail or explanation, stopping to explore their statement, restating the participant's point to ensure accuracy, validating the participant's perspective, and using observational and social skills to further or end the discussion (Charmaz, 2006, p.26). Questions were asked pertaining to the research study and were tailored to fit the participant’s experience and location, be it author, educator or student. The questions asked were general enough to cover a “wide range of experiences and narrow enough to elicit and elaborate the participant’s specific experience” (Charmaz, 2006, p.29). Questions pertaining to history, education and identity were asked to elicit discussion relevant to this research. These various questions allowed for a comparative analysis between the voices of the research participants and the various published documents to ascertain how far contemporary Bermuda had changed from the past, specifically in terms of, but not limited to, pedagogy - that is, teaching strategies, student's epistemological belief and approach to learning - and the authors' reflection on their earlier publication, whether or not they still maintain their same position. Using the voices of the participants and reading published work in tandem with the interviews provided richer analyses of these various perspectives.
Interviewing

Interviewing provided a necessary avenue of inquiry given that there is a plethora of research conducted on school in general, but very little is based on hearing the perspective of the students, educators (education officers, home school teachers and retired teachers) and authors whose individual and collective experiences are valuable. Seidman (2006) states that “at the heart of interviewing research is an interest in other individuals’ stories because they are of worth” (p.9). The benefit of interviewing was to understand the lived experiences of the participants and the meaning they make of their experiences through their respective stories surrounding history, education and identity. Most importantly, interviewing re-centers their voices and dislodges them from the peripheral of a discourse that involves them while simultaneously marginalizing them.

Interview Protocol and Ethical Consideration

Each interview began with obtaining the consent of the participants to record and transcribe the conversations. Participants were ensured that their confidentiality and identity would be protected through the use of pseudonyms. In addition, all participants were informed at the interviewing stage of their rights to withdraw from the research at any time. Should they withdraw from the research, all information pertaining to their participation would be removed. The consent form further informed and assured research participants that there were no foreseeable risks and harm in doing the research. They were also informed about their right to decline responses to any questions that they felt uncomfortable answering. In addition, they were directed to read over the invitation letters, which indicated that the research would not involve collection of personal data. They were asked to sign the letter of consent which included my contact information. At the signing of the consent form, I explained that they reserve the
right to contact the University of Toronto Ethics Review Office if they had any questions about their rights as participants, information on the purpose of the research, how data will be gathered, how data will be stored, the condition around participation, issues of confidentiality, and how the final outcome of the research will be reported.

All audio tapes and written documents pertaining to the interviews were stored and locked in a safe cabinet and only accessible to me. Any data from participants who have withdrawn from the research have been destroyed. The remaining data from the participants who agreed to continue will be kept for 10 years before the data will be destroyed. Lastly, each participant was informed that he or she could have access to a summary version of the research if he or she requested (See attached Appendix B, sample of consent letter). Participants were also advised that they could request that specific information or remarks not be recorded.

**Individual Interviews**

The participants were interviewed individually using an open-ended questionnaire. Their responses to the questions were both digitally recorded and hand written. The digital recordings were transcribed verbatim and collated into emerging themes.

Each interview was scheduled at a location and time that was convenient to the participants. Most of the participants chose to be interviewed at their homes. The others were either interviewed at their school, in an office that I had access to, or in a park. Prior to the interview each participant was required to sign a consent form that outlined the parameters of the research and the steps that would be taken to keep their information confidential. The process of the interviews followed a semi-structured interview format with the assistance of guided questions. Each interview focused mainly on a range of general questions surrounding identity, education, history of Bermuda and its connection to the Caribbean and Africa. As a means of
providing an open and casual atmosphere, I began by asking participants to tell me about themselves and often in the telling about themselves, this lead into the guided questions.

Each sub-group (author, educator, student) was asked similar questions; however, the questions were framed differently according to the participant's respective location (see Appendixes F, G, H & I). The purpose of re-phrasing the questions was to ascertain the convergence and divergence of the responses to the three areas of interest: history, education and identity.

During the interviewing process, I was primarily interested in the experiences of the educators and students in the classroom and what meaning they made of their particular experiences. Schutz (1967, cited in Seidman, 2006, p.11), identifies this as “subjective understanding.” In this case interviewing was the most appropriate avenue of inquiry, coupled with the use of memo-writing and extant texts.

**Memo-writing**

This process allows for stopping and analyzing ideas about the codes on a periodical basis during the research. By writing successive memos throughout the research process, I was kept constantly involved in the analysis and minimized disconnection from the data. Memos captured thoughts, compassion and connections made, and crystallized questions for further inquiry, especially when a participant raised issues outside of the purview of this research (Charmaz, 2006, p.72). In addition, memo-writing was useful in ascertaining if my original analysis remained the same or changed after later, closer readings of the transcribed interviews.
Extant Texts

In addition to memo-writing, I incorporated extant texts such as books, reports, newspaper articles and government documents to address the research questions and provide historical background. It was understood that the various texts consulted were constructed for specific purposes that were different from the purpose of my research and mediated by or within social, economic, historical, cultural and situational contexts but were necessary in gleaning a better understanding of how identity formation may have begun (Charmaz, 2006, p. 37). I further acknowledge that all texts draw on a particular available discourse and provide accounts that record, explore, explain and justify or predict actions, whether or not the specific texts are elicited (written by research participants) or extant (not the construction of the researcher). These extant texts that I used are nevertheless informative and portrayed the mindsets of the individuals in that particular era from when they were extracted.

Additionally, extant texts provide useful information, but they can also be limited. For example, when looking at historical texts one may find omission and mis-representations, but it is not until interviewing participants that these omissions and mis-representations become glaringly noticeable.

Moreover, by analyzing texts I was able to comprehend how Bermuda’s social life and aspects of Bermudian culture, such as education and mass media contributed to identity formation. A more comprehensive understanding of the contemporary challenges of education in Bermuda was achieved. They assisted in highlighting the historical barriers that have prevented Black Bermudian youth from attaining their educational goals.

Exploring the purpose and objectives of these various texts exposed what avenues have not been explored, such as the social and historical construction of Black Bermudian identities.
As such, extant texts were complimentary through the process of interviewing, by answering questions and filling in the gaps between my interviewees’ knowledge. The following questions were held at the forefront while interviewing my participants:

\[\text{On what and whose facts does this information rest?} \]
\[\text{What does the information leave out?} \]
\[\text{Who has access to the facts, records, or source of the information?} \]
\[\text{Who is the intended audience for the information?} \]
\[\text{Who benefits from shaping and/or interpreting this information in a particular way?} \]
\[\text{How, if at all, does the information affect actions?} \] (Charmaz, 2006, p.37)

Guided with these respective questions, reading the texts ensured that I remained critical in my analysis.

Once the process of interviewing participants was completed and interviews transcribed, the next step in my process was data coding. In particular, focused coding was used to pinpoint and develop the most salient categories in large batches of data. Theoretical integration began with focused coding and then proceeded through all subsequent analytic steps” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 46). This process of interacting with the data was repeated several times and, as a result, some of the perceptions I held at the initial stage of coding changed.

**Data Coding**

According to Charmaz (2006), “coding is the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain [the] data.” (p.46). Coding provides a means to “define what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means” (p.46). Through the use of grounded theory, two methods of coding were offered: one, the initial phase which involves “naming each word, line, or segment of data followed by...[two], a focused, selective phase that uses the most significant or frequent initial codes to sort, synthesize, integrate, and organize large amounts of data” (Charmaz, 2006, p.46). I opted to code the data by segment, thereby conducting a closer reading of each participant’s transcribed interview to ascertain what
themes were emerging. On a flip chart these themes were noted for each participant. In order to visibly differentiate the three categories under which each theme was designated, a color was assigned: green represented history, blue represented education, and yellow, identity. The colors were purposefully selected based on the symbolic meaning I ascribed to them: green represented foundation, a groundedness of history and foundation of a people; blue represented the richness of knowledge that is endless and boundless; and yellow, the beauty of our identity even in the midst of the messiness, ambiguity and complexity, the importance in understanding and knowing who we are.

Data Interpretation

When interpreting data, I accounted for differences in the representation of voice by allowing the voices of my research participants to speak and interrogate each other. Dei (2006) expresses the importance of voice: "by inserting the actual voices of the participants, the text moves beyond an abstract theoretical discussion of [history, education and identity]. In fact, the voices of different subjects (students, teachers, and community educators) reveal a nuanced interpretation of what inclusive education means" (pp. 48-49). In terms of choosing which quotes to use, I chose voices that represented different perspectives and articulations of the messiness, complexity, and ambiguity of Bermuda's history and identity. I looked for sub-text and hidden messages in the text. I remain mindful of my own biases when interpreting the texts. With respect to quotes, I made minor adjustments by removing some of the pause words such as ("ah", "um", "you know") and, where necessary, a few grammatical corrections were made so that the quotes read fluently. In editing the quotes I made sure not to alter the meaning of what was said.
As I proceeded with my transcribing and closer reading of various texts and documents, I began to connect the missing pieces and noticed what had been embellished, omitted and distorted. I was not only consciously seeking information to substantiate that Black Bermudian history had not received the same attention as European histories, but I also remained open to acknowledging when I found information that opposed my initial pursuit.

**Demographic Profile of Research Participants**

Author and educator participants were not restricted by gender or age; however, the students were limited to those attending middle and high school (See appendix A, demographic chart which represents the breakdown of the characteristics of the participants.) The participants ranged in age from 12 to 60+ years, spanning three generations. The gender breakdown is as follows: 13 females and 13 males, controlling for gender bias in the responses. Of the 13 females, 2 were authors, 6 educators, and 5 were students. Of 13 males, 3 were authors, 5 educators, and 5 were students. The apparent diversity of the age of the participants reflects several implications in the data findings. The older participants had a more solid grounding of their history, a greater appreciation for education, and a firmer sense of their identity than the younger participants.

**Limitation of Study**

My geographical distance from the location of the research posed a challenge in terms of being able to re-connect with participants. E-mails, telephone calls and Skype were used as alternative methods to contact participants to clarify certain statements that were made; however, this method proved to be challenging as well. E-mails that were sent out several times did not always receive response and long distance telephone calls became too expensive to continue. As a result of these challenges the completion of my research was delayed.
Chapter Four: the Infusion of Theoretical Frameworks: Understanding the Social and Historical formation of the Black Bermudian Identities

Introduction

My theoretical frameworks, much like my methodology emerged from my data. After careful consideration and reading of the interview data, I reflected upon which theoretical frameworks could best speak to the complexity, ambiguity, and nuances of Black Bermudian identities. The uniqueness of Bermuda's history reveals some complex and ambiguous findings. On one hand, Bermuda is in a post-enslavement era where the Transatlantic slave trade was abolished more than two hundred years ago; and, on the other hand, there are elements and traces of mental slavery within the education system and social relations in Bermuda, which are solidified by Bermuda's political status. Bermuda became a self-governed country in 1620 but still owes its allegiance to the British monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, thus remaining a British dependent colony. Bermudians, to date, travel around the world using the British passport that identifies them as British Overseas Territories Citizens. Despite this ascribed colonial identity, some Bermudians see themselves and construct their identity outside of these colonial dominations. Bermuda has an equally rich shared cultural history with other Caribbean Islands and people of African ancestry. The multiplicity and complexity of Bermuda's history and current situation require theoretical frameworks that can help unpack Bermuda's identity in an innovative way, incorporate a critical review of Bermuda’s history and acknowledge the multifaceted layers of Black Bermudian identities.

This chapter provides a rationale for infusing three theoretical frameworks into this study—Anti-colonialism, Afrocentricity and Creolization— as a means of critically analyzing the complexity, ambiguity, and "difficult knowledge" of the social and historical process of identity formation in Bermuda. These theories examine how the educational system is instrumental in
shaping and constructing particular identities. As previously stated in my introductory chapter, there is a deficit of critical engagement with respect to Black identities both within the larger context of the Bermudian society and within the education system, which requires multiple readings and understandings. Accordingly, an epistemological understanding of Bermuda is gleaned from critical engagement and embodiment of literature, documents, interviews, opinion pieces and newspaper articles that convey various articulations and exhibitions of Anti-colonial thought, Afrocentricity and Creolization as they emerge, collide, converge and diverge.

Combining these respective theories was a fecund endeavor and served as a concerted effort to piece together both a local and global understanding of identity formation in Bermuda. For instance, there have been no literature that addresses identity formation or even what constitutes a Bermudian identity, be it in the local or global community, or academic echelon. Despite the various, albeit, limited literature that has been written about Bermuda, much of the discussions have either taken the position of portraying Blacks in a negative light (see Smith, 1976; Bernhard, 1999; Zuill, 1999) or have taken the oppositional position of resisting dehumanizing policies designed to affirm Black inferiority and White superiority (Hodgson, 1974, 1996, 1997, 2008; Packwood, 1975; Philip, 1987; Maxwell, 1999, 2000; Swan, 2009). This dissertation, however, refuses the assertion around the Bermudian enslaved identity evolving and being defined by insolent behaviour toward whites; and, simultaneously refuses to totally subscribe to a resistance-only posture. Instead, I choose to position my work in between questions of lack of autonomy, resistance and on-going post-slavery struggle to demarcate what is a Bermudian identity. It is impossible to theorize the history of enslavement, colonization and identity formation of Black Bermudians without discussing broader arguments around Anti-colonialism, Afrocentricity and Creolization.
The truth of the matter is that Christopher Columbus's trip to the so-called New World changed the history of humanity and global relations in ways that had never happened before:

The true story of Christopher Columbus is not the encounter of the Old World with the New: it is the story of how two worlds were linked and made one: Columbus's voyages changed the ethnic compositions of two continents, revolutionized the World's diet and altered the global environment. His legacy is the "Columbian exchange," the crucial *intermingling of peoples*, animals, plants, diseases between Europe, Africa, and the America. This is the theme of seeds change...[which] we think holds the key to the meaning of Columbus voyage. (Hyatt, V. Lawrence & Nettleford, R. M. (1995)

As critical frameworks, Anti-colonialism, Afrocentricity, and Creolization all attempt to speak to issues emerging as a result of Columbus’ voyage. These frameworks not only acknowledge the implications of Christopher Columbus’ 1492 voyage, but also show ways in which its negative residual effects could be challenged in contemporary times. As already shown through the historical narrations in Chapter One, and as my data findings will also affirm, Bermuda's current conditions are as a result of Columbus' voyage. Within this context, these frameworks are useful in speaking to Bermuda's educational issues. While these frameworks share a collective recognition and concerted efforts to challenge the negative effects of Columbus' 1492 voyage, they differ in approach and epistemological stance on ways to challenge the aftermath of Columbus' 1492 voyage and the resulting colonial intrusion.

Afrocentricity, for instance, has critiqued the notion of reducing the history of Africa to a New-World-centered, post-Columbus 1492 voyage. Molefi Asante, one of the primary proponents and architects of Afrocentricity has called for analysis of Africa that "reestablishes the centrality of the ancient Kemetic (Egyptian) civilization and the Nile Valley cultural complex as points of reference for an African perspective in much the same way that Greece and Rome serve as reference points of European World" (Asante, 1998, p.11). For Molefi Asante, while Columbus' 1492 voyage is crucial and important, it does not tell everything about Africa nor the
entire history of people of African descent in Africa or its Diasporas. As a means to address the deficit in the Bermudian context, some of my respondents likewise called for educational reforms in Bermuda that would center Africanness. They insisted that Bermuda's history must explore historical moments beyond Transatlantic slavery.

In response to this call, in January 2004, a pilot Afrocentric curriculum program dubbed Ashay was introduced to Dellwood Middle School in Bermuda by Melodye Mincere Van Putten, an African American married to a Bermudian. This Ministry of Education approved program was to expose Bermuda's students to the history and culture of global African people. The premise of the program was to teach students about integrity and self-worth through the use of the seven Principles of Ma'at (peace, unity, justice, reciprocity, harmony, truth and righteousness) used to govern social relations among 42 kingdoms in ancient Kemet (Bardgett, 2004). According to Van Putten, the important feature of this African journey is one where all students are welcome. It was not an ethnic-centred program but rather another vehicle to teach and learn; a vehicle for self-development, to understand and respect other people’s culture, and the African way of life. For Black children it is a space to reinforce who they are and what their African ancestors accomplished. Afrocentricity recognizes the saliency and importance of acknowledging Africans in the Diaspora (i.e. people of African ancestry who have been amputated from their ancestral homeland) who have been deliberately deculturalized and forced to accept the conqueror’s code of conduct and modes of behavior as a corrective measure. In this regards, the Ashay: Rites of Passage program provided an awareness of the need for re-centering and repositioning as a means to foster and promote liberation of African people through their own intellectual agency. The Ashay Program is paralleled with the focus of Afrocentricity, which is that African people cannot remain captivated within the philosophical and intellectual position of hegemonic
patriotism. It is here that Anti-colonialism and Afrocentricity converge in their objective to re-center Blacks from the peripheral, subvert dominant thinking, and seek to regain liberation through Blacks’ ontological and epistemological awareness.

According to Myra Virgil, Commission for Unity and Racial Equality (CURE) executive officer, the Ashay program received favorable reviews. Students and teachers felt that Ashay's teachings were essential to young people. It helped them to gain knowledge of a part of history that had been ignored:

Both black and white students felt that the history of African descent was important to learn, as some of them had never heard of accomplishments of any peoples before or outside of Christopher Columbus,...their only previous association with Africa was a reference to slavery, which seemed not only erroneous but tragic. (Walters 2005)

The students expressed their excitement about learning about values steeped in African culture:

“it’s not just about black history; it's the keys for life in history...moving from theory to practical self-delivered application” (Walters, 2005). The Ashay program was also introduced to two other middle schools; Clearwater, where it ran from September to December 2006, and T.N.Tatem, for a year in 2007 (Raynor, 2008).

Despite the favorable reviews there were others who were either ambivalent or opposed to any form of Afrocentricity. The advent of the Ashay Program came with much criticism a White businessman, Douglas Howe branded the program racist, religious and a personal affront to his Christianity. He refused to give the Dellwood Middle school staff members a discount that is usually afforded to schools. He spewed “I am not black and don’t support these [Ashay] principles” [furthermore] it was his choice to extend discount to whom he wanted" (Walters, 2005). Howe continued with his pejorative comments: “why are we embracing an African values curriculum, when we are a British colony?” (Walters, 2005). He claimed that he read
through the Ashay printed material and found it highly offensive as children were not being given a balanced view. Is Mr. Howe alluding to, and purporting that, European values provide more balanced views?

Fanon (1963), writes about the discomfort that such rooted positions cause in settlers: “As soon as the native begins to pull on his moorings, and to cause anxiety to the settler, he is handed over to well-meaning souls who in cultural congress point out to him the specificity and wealth of Western values” (Fanon 1963, p.43). Mr. Howe unabashedly displayed his anxiety of any form of Black self-actualization and instantly inserted, "I am not black....this is a British colony" (Walters, 2005). His disparaging remarks are reminiscent of the same mentality purported in 1935 by His Worship the Mayor in efforts to discourage Blacks from receiving an academic education. The Mayor proffered that Black “...children should endeavour to learn to use their hands 'and to be satisfied ' in that state of life in which 'it pleased God to call them'...” (Hodgson, 1997, p.25). These statements highlight the prevalent superiority/inferior ideologies that continue to foster the great divide between Blacks and Whites. Karen, a Middle School principal and one of my respondents who has been an educator for approximately forty years, responded to the absurdity of Howe's remarks: “black children have been learning about European history in school for some time now, so why would learning African History be seen as racist?” (Walters, 2005).Karen admonished Mr. Howe by emphasizing the importance of continuously examining our beliefs and behaviours to ensure that they are based on accurate information, gathered with an open mind and heart. She further stressed that all people, Blacks included, have a valuable history, culture and contribution to make; that, if this world has truly learned anything from the lessons of the past, what we need to be is open to learn from each
other in an atmosphere of mutuality and acceptance (Karen, letter to editor, 2004). In 2008, the Ashay program was disbanded in the midst of the education reform.

While Afrocentricity’s reading of continental Africa and Diasporic Africans appeals to the re-centering of Africanness pre-Columbus, it has been critiqued for being fixated in the past and ignoring the reality of the nature and complexity of identity post-Columbus 1492 voyage (see Adam 1959; Alleyne, 1988, 1989, 1993; Allen, 1998; Beckles, 1998; Bayart, 2005). These scholars and many others have used the term "Creolization" to speak to the cultural fusion and emergence of new cultures across the globe, addressing the mixture and hybridization that have been created due to the coming together of different cultural groups—what Stuart Hall refers to as three "presences": presence africaine, presence europeenne, and presence americaine (1990)—while also illuminating and signifying different disciplines, times, places, and new areas of study for a dynamic and fascinating process (Cohen and Toninato, 2010). Cohen and Toninato (2010) further argue that ‘Creolization’ help us to understand and analyze ‘cultural complexity,’ 'cosmopolitanism,’ ‘hybridity,’ ‘syncretism,’ and ‘mixture,’ which are today prominent and significant in understanding global relations in a post-Columbus 1492 voyage world.

Both Creolization and Afrocentricity recognize the messiness of claiming one's history. Afrocentricity chooses not to be laden by that messiness; its claim to a distinctly African past is political and strategic. Political because it is a counter knowledge to Eurocentric discourse that attempts to erase the identity of diasporic bodies and their connection to Africa. In other words, Afrocentricity is political in its decision to center counter narratives to Eurocentricity. There is a saliency to claiming a history that speaks to a beginning, rather than arrival stories or a discovery story. It is also a strategic choice because Afrocentricity wants to assert its African agency and resistance power.
While Creolization concerns itself with questions that speak to messiness of identity and ways to unpack the mess, both Afrocentricity and Anti-colonialism refuse to engage questions that may derail, limit and prevent any attempt to explore alternatives to the past for contemporary politics, they are firmly rooted in history and location as the basis for political action. For example, while Creolization speaks about hybridity, fluidity and the changing nature of identity (see Bhabha, 1994), Afrocentricity and Anti-colonialism do not subscribe to the idea of "third space" as espoused in the work of Homi Bhabha (see Dei and Asgharzadeth, 2001). By evoking Creolization, Afrocentricity, and Anti-colonialism as theoretical frameworks, I intend to demonstrate that, despite the historical messiness of identity in Bermuda, any contemporary discussion and ways forward cannot discount the past. Alternatively, while there is validity in claiming Africanness for political and strategic reasons, we also cannot dismiss the difficulty for some diasporic individuals who do not embrace a universal claim of returning to, or originating from Africa.

Creolization is useful in unpacking complex identities within Bermuda's context. While, Bermuda's history obviously goes beyond the post-Columbus’ 1492 voyage era, its contemporary relations and sense of self cannot be discussed without understanding the Columbus era and the ‘mixed’ identities it brought with it. Despite the desire to talk about the relationship between Bermuda and Africa, as rooted in ancient Kemet (see Asante 1988, 1998, 1997), such conversations do not fully explain contemporary identity issues in Bermuda. This position is reflected more in some of the comments of my research participants: "Before I can get my people to embrace and understand the origin that Africa plays in their localized identities, before I can get them to understand it, I've got to get them to understand who they are in their local context, going out and then bringing that relationship of Africa back to them" (Amar,
August, 28, 2010 Interview). Bermuda's history and its contemporary identity are a mixture of Africanness, Europeanness and Americanness. Thus, to have a significant understanding and reading of Bermuda, each of these historical moments and identities (Africanness, Europeanness and Americanness) must be included in any conversation about Bermuda. Within this context, Creolization provides a broader frame of reference to read and understand Bermuda's history and identity.

Although Afrocentricity and Creolization both offer helpful standpoints in understanding and reading Bermuda, they do not speak strongly about the on-going colonial relations in the colony. An Anti-colonial theoretical framework offers a paradigmatic shift in reading Bermuda within colonial tropes of still being a dependent territory of Britain (see Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1965; Dei and Asgharazeh, 2001; Dei, 2006; Loomba, 2005). An Anti-colonial framework defines “colonialism” not simply as 'foreign' or 'alien', but rather as 'imposing and dominating"(Dei, 1999, p.117). This framework posits that colonial violence and exploitation should not be limited to a distant past, but rather read along the lines and relations of domination between the countries in the North and South. So, within an Anti-colonial framework, Bermuda's situation would not be read as outside of colonial domination or through an understanding that colonialism was merely a physical phenomenon that ended at a particular date; it is ongoing.

It seems that the ordinary Bermudian learner knew more about the history and culture of the United States than Bermuda. In this regard, the "power of Anti-colonial prism lies in its offering of new philosophical insights to challenge Eurocentric discourses" (Dei, 1996, p. 2). According to wa Thiong'o, "since culture is a product of the history of the people which it in turn reflects, the [students are] now being exposed exclusively to a culture that [is] a product of a
world external to himself/herself. [They are] being made to stand outside [themselves] to look at [themselves]" (wa Thiong'o, 1986, p.17). This imposition is an example of one of the things that happens in a colonial school system, such as the one in Bermuda, where students are often not taught about who they are, but learn about the great empires and histories of conquest — the empires of England and of the U.S. For example, when I asked students if they learned about Bermuda’s history in schools, Jeremy, an eleven-year-old boy, said, 'they [educators] do American history' Jessica, an eighteen-year-old girl, said, "I don't really learn much in school but I learn from my granny and older people," and Amy, a fourteen-year-old girl, said, "I know that [Bermuda] was founded awhile ago, a long time … actually, I don’t know much, to be honest."Wayne, a fifteen-year-old boy, told me, "They [educators] didn't really tell us about Bermuda history they taught about other countries and stuff" (Jeremy, Jessica, Amy and Wayne, Interview 2010). These responses are some examples of the epistemological and pedagogical deficit of Bermuda’s history within the education system, which is not chiefly the educators’ fault but also a much more systemic government and schooling issue.

In order to understand the complexity of the Bermudian identity, there has to be an understanding of Bermuda’s tenuous position between, on one side, an ongoing and continuous colonization process and, on another side, an Anti-colonial longing for, but not limited to, political independence. Recognizing Bermuda as being both a colony and self-governed, an Anti-colonial framework assists in exposing the complex power structures that have been instrumental in disrupting Black Bermudians' ontological existences. Anti-colonialism digs beneath the surface of self-government to recognize the continued imposition and domination of colonialism, revealing how colonialism has not ended in Bermuda but, instead, re-invented itself under the facade of autonomy and self-governance.
Anti-colonial Theory

Anti-colonial theory explores the nature and extent of social domination, in particular, how relations of power in multiple places work to establish dominant-subordinate relations (Dei et al., 2006, p.2). The framework is rooted in the struggle for political independence from European countries after the Second World War. Many names such as Leela Gandhi, Frantz Fanon, Albert Memmi, Aime Cesaire, Kwame Nkrumah, and Che Guevara are remembered for their central roles in contributing to the discourses and movements that have became the starting point of the theory.

As a framework, Anti-colonial theory acknowledges and recognizes power dynamics in colonial relations. For Anti-colonialism, stemming from initial colonial encounters and continuing on, colonialism and its attendant problems cannot be understood and dealt with outside of the structural and systemic power that manifests them. For instance, identity cannot be understood outside questions of power, in particular, the struggle to control material realities that come with claiming a particular identity. Anti-colonialism, unlike Creolization, recognizes and makes no apology about the politics embedded in claiming a particular identity. Anti-colonialism rejects any idea that a particular identity claim might be innocent or neutral; people claim and cling to particular identities due to the power that identity might produce or contain within it. For instance, Whiteness contains a set of stated and unstated power relations and privileges that affect the manner in which people and nations coalesce around it, and operates in a power hierarchy in relation to non-White identities. There is a reason why Bermuda, despite its so-called self-governance, still clings to the idea that it is a British colony. Why this gravitation towards Whiteness or Europeanization despite the colonial domination it entails? For Anti-colonial theory, the answer is that there is power and material rewards that come to clinging to
Whiteness and colonial masters. For instance, traveling around the world as a Bermudian with a British passport makes movement easier and also gives access to certain doors and opportunities that would not be available if Bermudians were to have an Island passport. Within the Bermudian context, Anti-colonialism contends that the so-called identity crisis in Bermuda is rooted in colonial history that continues to produce power, through Whiteness, to Black Bermudians. Anti-colonialism insists that Bermudians cling to their European connections not because of the messiness of their history but because of a particular politics at play: in this case, the politics of accessing Britishness.

In addition, an Anti-colonial perspective is grounded in Indigenous ways of knowing (knowledge of the local people) and understanding the spiritual sense of self and each other, and provides a holistic way of living and learning. It offers a form of cultural resistance by working "with the idea of the epistemological power of the colonized subjects" by connecting issues of identity to knowledge production (Dei and Kempf, 2006, pp. 5-6). For example, in the 1960’s and onward, Black Bermudian writers such as Packwood (1975), Musson (1979), Philip (1987), Hodgson (1996) and Swan (2009), to name a few, began writing counter-narratives as a form of resistance, highlighting the indomitable of the human spirit and delineating the invaluable contribution of unsung Black heroes and heroines. Unfortunately, these informative texts are under-utilized in Bermuda's curriculum. Their contribution, as Black Bermudian authors, embodied an Anti-colonial posture that addressed and resisted historical mis-representations about Black Bermudians. They understood how the collective past is significant for pursuing political resistance and how "colonized peoples must identify the colonial historical period from the perspective of their places and their peoples" (Dei et al, 2006, p.1). This understanding is pivotal "for colonized peoples decolonization [which] involves a reclamation of the past,
previously excluded in the history of the colonial and colonized nations” (Dei et al., 2006, p.1). However, in the context of Bermuda, which has a large population of mixed race people whose ancestors were transplanted to Bermuda, this reclamation can prove to be challenging.

This challenge was addressed by engaging early Anti-colonial works of Fanon (1963, 1965, 1967), Gandhi (1998) and Memmi (1965) that delineate the complex relationship between the colonizer and the colonized and explain the continuous reproduction of colonial relations that are embedded and subverted daily. Contemporary works of Loomba (2005) and Dei (2001; Dei et al., 2006) build on earlier works of Anti-colonial thinkers and simultaneously utilize Post-colonialism's strength of recognizing the complexities and the disruption of the colonial experiences and aftermath. These various theorists’ work was sought specifically for the areas of their work that speak to identity and how they are related to the Bermudian context. Postcolonial theory points to the "complexities and the disjunctures of the colonial experiences and to the aftermath of the colonial encounter" (Dei, et al., 2006, p.56). Post-colonial theory assists in explaining "the shift of anti-colonial thought from a focus on agency and nationalist/liberatory practice towards a discursive analysis and approach, one that directs our attention to the intersection between 'Western' knowledge production and the 'Other' and Western colonial power" (Shahjahan, 2005, p. 9). According to Gandhi (1998), postcolonial theory "can be seen as a theoretical resistance to the mystifying amnesia of the colonial aftermath. It is a disciplinary project devoted to the academic task of revisiting, remembering and, crucially, interrogating the colonial past" (p.4). However, within postcolonial studies there has been semantic disagreement over whether postcolonial should be hyphenated or not. It has been argued that, "the unbroken term 'postcolonialism' is more sensitive to the long history of colonial consequences... Whereas, some critics invoke the hyphenated form 'post-colonialism as a devise temporal marker of the
decolonising process" (Gandhi, 1998, p.3). Whatever theoretical posture postcolonialism takes, Bermuda does not fit neatly into its theoretical purview because Bermuda is still a colony. Gates, one of the authors and interviewees in my study, remarked, "Notwithstanding that the rest of the world is living in a postcolonial era, the vestiges of colonialism are highly dominant and most profoundly pronounced through our continued allegiances to the British Crown" (June 7, 2010 interview). Bermuda cannot articulate a postcolonial condition that it has not experienced. For example, in 1968, Bermuda shifted in status from being a British colony to a British Dependent Territory with the transfer of authority and power from the Monarch in England to the Government of Bermuda, which was the white ruling party at that time (http://www.bermudalaws.bm/Laws/Consolidated).

Later in 2001, the British Overseas Territories Bill granted British citizenship to everyone who was a British overseas territories citizen except for the Sovereign Base areas, Akrotin and Dhekelia. At this time Bermudians were granted British citizenship and right of abode in the United Kingdom (http://www.ifes.org/Content/Publications/Constitutions/2001/The-Bermuda-Constitution-Amendment-Order-2001.aspx). Even though the titles changed, the agenda still remained the same; the alteration of labels did not involve a substantive change of law. Bermudians’ rights and duties are still dictated by Britain, and Bermudians still do not have status as their own nationality.

The superficial concessions that Britain has given to Bermuda in terms of self-governing and citizenship is incongruous in nature; there can be no true autonomy while remaining a colony and/or engaging in colonized ideologies of inferiority and dependency. History has shown that economic and political control could have never been complete or effective without mental control and Anti-colonialism holds this to be true. According to Goldberg (1996),
colonialism “succeeds” to the extent that its “social relations of power remain invisible, so long as their presumed naturalism goes unchallenged” (p.183). An Anti-colonial theorizing makes the invisible forms of power visible, removing the veil that has kept information hidden by developing an awareness that,

[C]olonialism is not simply complicit in how we come to know ourselves and its politics. It also establishes sustainable hierarchies and systems of power. Colonial images constantly uphold the colonizer’s sense of reason, authority and control.....The historical relationship of the colonizer and the colonized continues to inform contemporary subject identity by recreating colonial ideologies and mythologies (Dei, 2006,p.3).

In other words, an Anti-colonial framework analyzes and theorizes the effects of colonialism's domination, in particular the multiple places in which power works to establish and re-establish superior and inferior connections. Dei, Asgharzadeh, Bahor and Shahjahan (2006), in *Schooling and Difference in Africa Democratic Challenges in a Contemporary Context*, note the importance of challenging the hidden narratives that are embedded in discourses of nation building and nationhood, particularly when there is a normative claim of identity that does not acknowledge differences (p.57). In the context of Bermuda, this awareness is pivotal. An Anti-colonial framework stresses the importance of developing an awareness to see the urgency for creating an educational system in Bermuda that is liberatory, empowering, reciprocal and transformative by acknowledging the role of the school in producing and privileging different knowledge forms. Anti-colonial theory recognizes the importance of drawing upon "different discursive traditions to explain social and political phenomena" (Dei, 1996, p.3), and in this way, synthesizes well with the other theories I bring into discussion in this dissertation, including Post-colonial theory. Its ability to understand the messiness of the colonial encounter that creates "instability and fluidity of the colonial relation, the nature and dynamic of the resistance inherent in colonialism, the ability of the colonized to manipulate the colonizers and his/her colonial
practices, as well as the way the colonizer and colonized are changed by such encounter" (Dei, et al., 2006, p.57).

By synthesizing Afrocentricity and Creolization with an Anti-colonial framework, that incorporates the strengths of a post colonial analysis, I can provide a richer and more complex analysis of Bermuda's history and identity, both from a local and a global perspective. Admittedly, these three theories have not been brought together before and it may be argued that Creolization, in particular, re-inscribes colonial and colonizing relations rather than subvert them. This is based on the historical underpinnings of Creolization's theory. The important issue to consider with this argument is situatedness. "Such "situated knowledges point to the importance of subjectivity, positionality, location and history. In this regard, the anti-colonial referent is to the epistemologies about, and of, marginalized, colonized subjects" (Dei, 2006, p.3; see also hooks, 1991; Collins, 1990). It is this situatedness and the particularity of Bermuda and Bermudians that demand an understanding of creolization and the recognition that the identities of Bermudians cannot be understood or encapsulated using one theory. Even within the Caribbean, what is germane to Bermuda may not be the case in other Caribbean islands. For instance, Bermuda's history is one of 'discovery'; there are no historical records of Indigenous people. Bermuda's slavery was framed as being 'benevolent'. There were no plantations and the relationship between slave and slave master was considered one of 'mutual' respect as they worked alongside each other. Bermuda is located in the North Atlantic ocean and the nearest countries are Turks and Caicos Islands, Bahamas, British Virgin Islands and U.S Virgin Islands. The noteworthiness of this information exemplifies how Bermuda is not only isolated geographically, but is also outside of any academic discourses concerning other Caribbean
islands and Africa: especially discussions about enslavement, colonization and decolonization of its people, politics, economics, history and education systems.

This dissertation recognizes the fecundity of Anti-colonial political call for responsibility and accountability to "find authentic and viable solutions to our own problems [that requires] radical transformation of the mainstream discourse so that minoritized, subjugated voice, experience and history can be powerfully evoked, acknowledged and responded to" (Dei, 2006, p.4). What can be more radical and unique than fusing Anti-colonialism, Afrocentricity and Creolization "to articulate the grounds on which we share a dialogue and challenge the power relations of knowledge production..."(Dei, 2006, p.4)?, and move towards understanding the social and historical construction of Black Bermudian identities. As mentioned previously in the introduction, when a Eurocentric education is privileged and does not center Black Bermudian identities, it creates an imbalance between the lived reality of racialized people and what is taught within the classroom. Anti-colonial discourse recognizes these colonial relations of power and how they are mediated within the curriculum, calling for resistant practices such as culturally sensitive curriculum.

Using an Anti-colonial approach we can expose practices as dominating and imperial through “interrogat[ing] the interlocking systems of power and dominance, ... [in order to understand]...how dominance is reproduced and maintained, and how the disempowered are subjugated and kept under constant control” (Dei and Asgharzadeh, 2001, p.317 & Dei, 2006, p.5). This complex interrogation is necessary; Black Bermudians cannot leave the restoration of their humanity to Europe, or anyone else for that matter. Neither can they afford to continue to have a superficial conversation about race if there is to be a true liberation, empowerment and educational reform.
Afrocentricity Theory

Afrocentricity, like all theories, has its own specificity. It focuses primarily on African epistemology that emphasizes the relevancy of centeredness, with the end goal of liberating African peoples from the grips of Eurocentrism. Afrocentricity purports that, in order to obtain these goals, there must be a self-conscious awareness of the need for re-centering through African people's intellectual agency. The prevailing message of Afrocentricity is that African people cannot remain captivated within the philosophical and intellectual positions of hegemonic patriotism (Asante, 1998, 2003). As stated previously, Afrocentricity is not about replacing ‘white knowledge’ with ‘black knowledge’... [its aim] “is to seek ways to unite the country based on mutual respect for the cultural agency of all its people” (Asante, 1998, p. xi). Asante (1998) states that in order to have a clear understanding of Africa we must link Africans to their classical past. This position was strongly articulated by Cheikh Anta Diop, who recommended that we “abandon the idea of Africans as those who are only marginal to Europe, as those who stand on the periphery of Western triumphalism, as those who are only acted upon rather than acting, and as those who are culturally and historically dominated” (quoted in Asante, 1998, p.xii). In other words, until Africans and Africans in the Diaspora are thought of in terms of African history, it will be impossible to write a coherent sociology or psychology of African people’s experience (Asante, 1998, p.xii). These arguments presented by Afrocentricity are notable ones and very relevant to my study; similar sentiments were conveyed by Alice, one of my respondents has been an Education Officer for over thirty years. She believes that having an Afrocentric education would instill not only African centeredness, but also Black Bermudian pride. Alice expressed a disquietness that students were unfettered in saying they were "not totally Bermudian, I am half this or that and be so proud of that other nationality they might be a
part of... I used to say all the time, why are they not proud of being Bermudian?" (July 7, 2010 Interview). In addition, she expressed concerns about Bermuda adopting the Cambridge curriculum 'as is' from Britain:

So my thing is that by adopting Cambridge ‘as is’, which means you change nothing.. Because the third part to the curriculum ...I have spoken of the written, the taught, the third part is the assessed. Now, if you buy assessments ‘as is’, that means that these assessments are based on a curriculum ‘as is’, none of which have a Bermudian component. That means nothing on Bermuda is going to be on that test. So if you are a teacher pressed for time and your mandated curriculum in Science, in English and in Math - no longer has a Bermuda component, you can leave it to the last, because you are going to be evaluated on how your students perform on this exam. So even though you have good intentions and you might try to squeeze it in here and there...but why should information on your own country be squeezed in? (July 7, 2010, Interview)

Alice's concerns raised issues surrounding "identity and the cultural roots of diasporan blacks... society...." Dei, 1994, p.8). Her concerns also substantiate the importance of this dissertation, in particular the rationale for not just subscribing to one theoretical framework to comprehend the complexities, messiness, ambiguity, disappointments, and painful reality of Black Bermudians’ identity and cultural dynamics.

According to Afrocentricity, cultural agency can be articulated within education from a centricity standpoint: “centricity refers to a perspective that involves locating students within the context of their own cultural references so that they can relate socially and psychologically to other cultural perspectives. Centricity, is also " a concept that can be applied to any culture" (Asante, 1991, p.171). Opponents of Afrocentricity purport that centricity denotes an essentialist approach. This prevailing notion is refuted by Afrocentricists who advocate that the centrist paradigm is “the most productive method of teaching any student [by placing] his or her group within the center of the context of knowledge” (Asante, 1991, p.171). Problematic in these critiques is that, when White students are placed as the centre of analysis (as most education systems do) there is no debate or claim of racial essentialism; as Asante (1991) reminds
us: “almost of all the experiences discussed in classrooms are approached from the standpoint of White perspectives and history” (p.171). Afrocentricity posits that, “a person educated in a truly centric fashion comes to view all groups’ contributions as significant and useful. Even a White person educated in such a system does not assume superiority based upon racist notions” (Asante 1991, p. 171). It is here, in this dialogue on inclusivity and centricity of all views of groups, that I invite Creolization to fill in the gaps and explain mixed race people, who represent a large portion of Bermudians. I posit that both Afrocentricity and Creolization can assist us in understanding how people come to create material realities, whether those realities are based in class or race conditions. When one becomes centered, he/she is able to deconstruct the socially constructed version of reality by understanding reality objectively through interaction with the external environment and other people who are engaged in their own interactions and reality forming processes.

Alice adds her voice to this mingling of ideas and contends that until we address the colonial issue, education cannot blossom:

And to me I feel Afrocentric education cannot fully blossom in an atmosphere where people still value colonial values and attitudes. So to me you have to be free as a people that is as a Bermudian nation before you can appreciate what that is because it is coming to terms with who you are as a country whether you be black, white, purple or pink that allows you to be proud of those things you have done as a country… and that is my frustration because people feel that we have been OK under… as a colony. And I say if that is so, then why are so many people around here broken? (July 7, 2010 interview)

Alice's assertion encompasses Afrocenticity as an Anti-colonial discourse. In Alice's analysis, Afrocentricity and an Anti-colonial framework converge in their goals and objective to re-center African people from the peripheral, subvert dominant thinking, and regain liberation through African ontological and epistemological awareness. This Afrocentric view is also embraced by Chan (2010), a Bermudian author and university professor who teaches in the United States he
denounced that the oligarchy did not want or encourage Blacks to see themselves as autonomous beings. According to Chan, any display of African awareness or connection to an African identity was the result of Black Bermudians who studied the African system and aligned themselves to the African culture. This alignment was meant to combat an anti-African, Eurocentric narrative that mis-represented Africans, to reposition and celebrate Africa, its cultures, its histories, and most importantly, its peoples.

Although Afrocentricity provides a compelling argument of the experiences of Africanness in diasporic contexts, and may be tempting to use as a major part of the discursive framework for this dissertation, I would be remiss if I did not acknowledge and address the history, heritage and culture of Black Bermudians that is not only comprised of presence africaine, but also presence europeenne, and presence americaine. These presences require more than one view of reality and, as such, "afrocentricity cannot have one and only one meaning for all African people [by extension mixed race people] irrespective of the differences of class, ethnic, and gender differences" (Dei, 1994, p.16). According to Hunter (1983), "the belief that one's view of reality is the only reality is the most dangerous of all delusion"(p. 243; Dei, 1994). I concur with Hunter(1983); one perspective cannot possibly capture the entirety of the Bermudian situation. Despite the criticisms that see Afrocentricity as exclusive and essentialist, one of the distinguishing aspects of Afrocentricity is the holistic component that proposes a connection to, and a building of, various elements of people's lives and living that acknowledges polycenters of culture and history (Bekerie, 1994). This recognition of multiplicity within Afrocentricity crafts a space for me to include concepts of Creolization into the discursive mix of this dissertation and to speak to the particularity of Bermudian history, education and identity formation.
Creolization Theory

Creolization provides another way of looking at Bermuda's social and historical dynamic and it brings Bermuda from the periphery of Caribbean discourse into the center of the discussion. Creolization has been critiqued by various scholars for being a problematic term, as well as praised for being innovative and seeking to move forward in creative fashion despite the painful legacies that brought it into being. The definition of Creolization that I utilize in this discussion is one gleaned from Edward Braithwaite (2005) who describes Creolization/creole as a distinctive character or culture which was neither purely British nor West African. He explains how these societies are developed as a result of European settlement and exploitation of a new environment.

Although Braithwaite's analysis was of Jamaica, Bermuda's social construction bears resemblance to Jamaica. Admittedly, Bermuda has not been theorized in this manner before, but Creolization is a necessary conversation to assist in understanding the complexity and messiness of the Bermudian identity.

As stated previously, there may appear, for some, to be a dissonance in my bringing together of Creolization with Afrocentricity, particularly from opponents of Creolization who see the idea as a hegemonic construct imposed on Black people's lived realities. However, what needs to be clearly noted and cannot be dismissed is the fact that, whether or not we are imposing or resisting, we are all operating within the paradigm of a dominant culture that necessitates our use of dominant language or terminology to articulate our theoretical positioning and strategies of resistances. By virtue of being in the academy and engaging in these academic exercises, we are using language that is not always accessible to the broader or general population and part of larger dominant and exclusionary frameworks. "The concept of
Creolisation is [still] important because it avoids both the view that enslaved Africans were stripped of their cultures and acculturated into a European culture, and the view that evidence of... African heritage... lies only in "retentions" or "survivals" (Bolland, 2006, p.1; Erasmus, 2011, p.643). Bermuda, unlike the rest of the Americas, was the only place in the Americas where there were no known or recorded Indigenous cultures at ‘discovery’. This is one of the distinguishing features of Bermuda, that is different from the rest of the Caribbean Islands where discussions of Creolization need to account for the remnants and disappearances of Indigenous peoples

Creolization assists in grasping the nature of the processes of socio-cultural change operating in Bermuda. It assists in revealing the various tactics of cultural adaptation expressed and utilized by Black Bermudians and how they negotiate the structural effects of a hegemonic space.

In my interviews, Esther (one of my respondents) asserted a version of Creolization when she talked about the eclectic culture in Bermuda:

So everybody has a culture, even when we took on things that came from outside of Bermuda, we either changed it by the way we saw it or handled it, or we made it an integral part of who we were....We have so many different people from different places, and when you say “African dressed,” and so on, the reality is that we have as a result of our history, much that reflects what is generally a western culture. Whether they are talking about our speech or whether we’re talking about our clothes or whatever, we have adopted and often adapted cultural items from other places. The Gombeys are clearly a part of the Bermuda culture, even if Gombeys exist elsewhere. And I think that the Gombeys in Bermuda again have adopted certain qualities from different areas. Some is from the Caribbean and some is from the Indians and so on. But the Gombeys as they are, with whatever difference is a part of our culture.

Well, you talk about our food, that’s a mixture and may come from elsewhere. Our values which I think are an important aspect of culture is certainly a culture as a result of colonialism and slavery; it is an authoritarian culture which is, can also be oppressive both to the group and to the individual. We have begun to express ourselves today through writing and painting and music in a way which is relatively late in development. And, part of the reason those artistic impressions are late in development is because of the oppression both as
again you can either say “slavery” or “post-slavery.” But as a very oppressive and authoritarian society, everything was oppressed and therefore, oppressed and therefore depressed. You can’t give expression to these things if you are so busy just trying to survive economically.

When I was growing up for example, I didn’t know any Black person who had written a book, and when I travelled to Great Britain the first time and I met people from the Caribbean who were authors, I was very impressed. But any young person growing up today can’t say that, because all kinds of Bermudians have written books. Whatever quality they are, whatever standard they are, there are many more Black Bermudians who have written all kinds of books from children’s books, to poetry. There’s a lot more written expression and certainly there’s a lot more artistic expression. Whether you go to the Bermuda Society of Arts, the Bermuda National Gallery, or to Master Works. These are three institutions, all of them either encouraging art, or exhibiting art by Bermudians, which is tremendous when you think that this didn’t exist, shall I say, 50 years ago (Esther, July 3, 2010 Interview).

Esther, in her evocation, identifies the three 'presences' noted by Hall (1990), Presence Africaine, Presence Europeenne and Presence Americain. She speaks about the fluidity of identity, the creative or what Crichlow and Northover (2009) refer to as "the journeys toward the refashioning of self, time and places, in the intertwinement of global and local process" (p.285). Esther's assessment of Bermuda’s culture attested not only to the miracle of Creolization that can give creative expression to written and artist texts, but also to the colonial entanglement that delayed and complicated the artistic, written and cultural expressions. However, as a result of the "convoluted ontological conditions of existence, or complex wombs of space that enfold and pull differences together" (Deleuze,1993; Crichlow, M. and Northover, P., 2009, p.18) these creative articulations were able to manifest in tangible ways. All of which were mediated and, in many regards, dictated by what Edouard Glissant describes as the "entanglement or what he calls the relations between different cultures forced into cohabitation in the colonial context" (Cohen and Toninato, 2010, p. 28).This forced acculturation produced creative means of adjusting and surviving in a place geographically disconnected from the rest of the Caribbean Islands. Isolation in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean added to its particularity.
Creolization is not in opposition to Anti-colonialism and Afrocentricity but rather offers a different perspective of how people construct their identity amidst the impact of enslavement and colonization. It provides a bridge between the gaps of the other two theoretical frameworks, especially when Afrocentric theory avows a commitment to “resolving the cultural crisis as a way of achieving economic, political, and social liberation” (Asante, 2009), and Anti-colonialism asserts that “different discursive traditions [are necessary] to explain social and political phenomena…[they are] important strengths for multiple knowings” (Dei, 2006, p.3).

The identity composite of Black Bermudians is not fixed or immutable given the history of abduction that facilitated their ancestors’ arrival to the island. As a result of this interruption, one cannot imagine what life would have been like “if there had not been any intervention of colonialism or enslavement” (Asante, 2009, p.1.). This imaginative scenario erases my existence, as well as those of the majority of Black Bermudians. The questions I pose are this: we are here now, where do we go from here? And, how do we move pass this dichotomous relationship, or can we?

Brathwaite (2005) poses similar questions at the end of his discussion in *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica*; he questions:

whether the society will remain conceived of as 'plural'—the historical dichotomy becoming the norm—or whether the process of creolization will be resumed in such a way that the 'little' tradition of the (ex)slaves will be able to achieve the kind of articulation, centrality, prestige and influence—assuming, that is, that it is not by now too debased—that will provide a basis for creative reconstruction. Such a base, evolving its own residential 'great' tradition, could well support the development of a new parochial wholeness, a difficult but possible creole authenticity (p.311), [especially now, with] the political power...in the hands of the black majority of the popular.

His questions, posed in 1971, centralizes the dynamism and complexity of what is transpiring within Bermuda. It further supports my position of choosing to utilize an Anti-colonial-Afrocentric-Creole theoretical framework to analyze the phenomenon of the Bermudian identity,
which is at the crossroad of finding itself and moving toward a 'New Humanism', which Fanon (1963) suggests does not erase the presence of the 'other', but rather seeks liberation, healing and simultaneous celebration of differences and similarities. According to Fanon (1963),

[h]umanity is waiting for something from us other than such imitation, which would be almost obscene caricature....if we want humanity to advance a step further, if we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries. If we wish to live up to our peoples' expectations, we must seek the response elsewhere than in Europe. Moreover, if we wish to reply to the expectations of the people of Europe, it is no good sending them back a reflection, even an ideal reflection of their society and their thought with which from time to time they feel immeasurably sickened. For Europe, for ourselves, and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man (pp.315-316).

Independently, Afrocentricity and Creolization both run the risk of mimicking European discourse, particularly through their concepts and defining assumptions. For example, Afrocentricity appears to claim an ethnic absolutism that can be conceived as a blackened version of Eurocentrism, while Creolization utilizes ideas of purity and mixture derivative of Eurocentric discourse.

**Synthesis of Theoretical Pillars to Understanding the Complexity of the Bermudian Situation**

Collectively, the engagement of Anti-colonial-Afrocentric-Creolization theoretical frameworks moves us away from the notion of one all encompassing theory and the mimicry of Eurocentric ideology which demands neat, singular answers. This amalgamation effectively addresses the political and socio-cultural complexity of identity formation in Bermuda and the diversity of viewpoints expressed by my participants. For instance, when they were asked about their Bermudian identity, some identified themselves in connection to the West Indian and Africa, while others took solace in being unquestionably Bermudian. Many of the students I talked to were perplexed by the question of identity; they had limited knowledge about their
Bermudian history, especially when compared to their ability to recall American history. This speaks, in large part, to the need to center Bermuda in discussions of identity before looking to outside influences: first, there needs to be a clear understanding of what is happening in Bermuda. Through these theoretical interventions I seek to center Bermuda, moving it from the peripheral, to understand local dynamics and identities, and then, as a secondary move, seeking to re-unite the people to their ancestors through awakening their historical consciousness, ontologically and epistemologically. These theoretical interventions create a wide scope for examining the social and historical construction of Black Bermudian identities and, collectively, they provide multiple ways to discuss and acknowledge how Black Bermudians self-identify, without having to limit or alienate their respective choices.
Chapter Five: History, Data Findings

We know whom we are and what we are supposed to do to the degree that we know our history. A people without an appreciation of the value of historical experiences will always create chaos. (Asante, 2003, p.1)

Introduction

This chapter analyzes my data findings on Bermuda’s social and historical construction of Black Bermudian identities and the implications these findings have had and continue to have on the educational system. The narratives that follow assist in delineating the psychological consequences of having a deprived heritage, while simultaneously highlighting the necessity of having a historical understanding of the past that can facilitate a ‘new’ positive Bermudian identity, one that is connected to the Caribbean and Africa. Rearticulating Chapter Two’s conclusions, we know that Bermuda’s history was fraught with laws enacted to impose physical restrictions and prohibit Black Bermudians’ self-actualization and identity formation. As a form of resistance and as a means of centering Blackness, particularly within education, the participants were asked questions specifically related to Bermuda’s history, education and identity. The discussions on these three topics are divided into three sub-sections for clarity. I have chosen to arrange the findings from my interviews starting with the authors first, followed by the educators, and then the students. My rationale for choosing this ordering was not due to any hierarchical reasoning, such as status, but rather the importance of providing the historical background of Bermuda that the authors and educators were able to provide. The authors and the educators provided the foundational information needed to contextualize this discussion and findings.

History is foundational to the understanding of the social construction of Black Bermudians identities. An understanding of the past reveals how it interacts with the present to
create this contemporary moment. In the process of historical memory there must also be an acknowledgment of “the intervention of history, as that which constitutes identity as “a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as being” (Hall, 1990, p.225). Acknowledging historical memory was at the forefront in my interview with Esther, a Black Bermudian author, particularly how Bermudians define and express themselves as a result of history. The intervention of history requires that we ask: What are we interested in when we review historical evidence; and, what sort of themes emerge when we look at historical phenomenon?

Upon reflection and a more in-depth analysis, colonial history had portrayed and programmed Black Bermudians to view themselves as incorrigible beings, requiring stringent laws to control every aspect of their lives. According to Dei (2006):

As resisting subjects, we will all have to confront and deal with the historic inferiorization of colonial subjects, and the devaluation of rich histories and cultures. What is required is critical educational praxis that is anchored in anti-colonial thought to challenge and subvert the "Western cultural and capital overkill", and shed the insulting idea that others know and understand us [as colonized subjects] better than we understand ourselves (p. 4; see also Prah, 1997, pp. 19-23).

Dei's (2006) declaration solidifies the importance of confronting and dealing with the historic inferiorization of colonial subjects, by challenging dominant tropes that have sought to de-humanize and devalue Black people’s worth. European history is purposefully disseminated and selected over Black history and its position as a singular and all encompassing history is arrogantly normalized. Alternative knowledges are needed to combat this Eurocentric reading of history. These knowledges can challenge and question which history is being taught to students, the colonial history or a Bermudian history that makes connections to the Caribbean and Africa? Which history is taught will generate different outcomes, one empowering and the other debilitating. I posit that Black Bermudians have developed a dependency and inferiority complex that have stripped them of their autonomy, causing a psychological paralysis manifested in fear,
rejection of self, and self-hatred. As a pseudo escape, Black Bermudians appear to assimilate White ideology and re-conceptualize self under the White gaze. What other recourse was there, especially when this historic inferiorization destroys and re-creates the two partners of colonization into colonizer and colonized. One is disfigured into an oppressor, a partial, unpatriotic and treacherous being, worrying only about his privileges and their defences; the other, into an oppressed creature, whose development is broken and who compromises by his defeat. (Memmi, 1965, p.89)

Esther, in our interview, addressed the broken development of Black Bermudians, in particular Bermuda’s Black leaders. She posited that, despite their political ascendancy as the ruling party, they were “reared in the oppressive, racist, White supremacy environment” that cultivated fear of White power and paralyzed their ability to help their own. I postulate that this mindset of inadequacy and fear is a derivative of slavery and colonization, coupled with the many acts, laws and educational forms used to restrain any movement towards autonomy.

I have chosen to use three theoretical concepts that allow for a multi-perspective analysis of the Bermudian situation: Anti-colonialism, Creolization and Afrocentricity. An Anti-colonial theoretical framework assists in analyzing how Bermudians consciously and unconsciously engage in Anti-colonial responses to their status of being dependent, albeit self-governed. Creolization provides a more effectual theorization of Bermuda’s complex cultural identity; while Afrocentricity’s centering of Africanness provides a means to recapture a part of Bermuda’s history that has been suppressed by most Black Bermudians.

The Search for Answers - Situating Bermuda’s History

Bermuda’s geographic location is 600 miles off the North Carolina coast in the Atlantic Ocean and is not a part of the Caribbean Islands landscape. Despite the geographic specificity, Bermuda has an interrelatedness of ancestry and similar histories of enslavement, colonization and Creolization that parallel other Caribbean islands. Notwithstanding the physical alterity of
Bermuda, the prevailing historical question that Bermudians confronted with is why do Black Bermudians tend to distance themselves from the rest of Caribbean, which is a part of their lineage?; This question of has always evoked a sense of unsettledness in me, even more intensely since arriving in Toronto in 2001. The defining moment, or more specifically the unsettling moment, was not being able to locate myself among others who had a firm understanding of their history complete with their traceable roots back to their ancestors. Constantly questioned and asked to trace my lineage to the Indigenous people in Bermuda was a frustrating and futile endeavor. The story I am told and that continue to be told are that Bermuda was discovered. Borrowing from Fanon (1967), it would appear “[Bermuda has] no culture, no civilization, no long “historical past” (p. 34). Because of the absence of Indigenous peoples on Bermuda, there appears to be an erasure of indigenous Bermudian people’s history in exchange for the discovery story. The discovery story centers Europeans at the origin point of Bermuda, and when this dominant trope is constantly reiterated it becomes the regime of truth, disenfranchising Black Bermudians and disconnecting Bermuda from the rest of the Caribbean and the African Diaspora.

I broached the subject of cultural distancing with Arthur, a Black Bermudian author in the interview, in 2010. Prior to answering the question he identified himself as a first-generation Bermudian, indicating that both parents hailed from Trinidad. He stated:

Since the 19th century and in terms of identity, Bermudians have … express[ed that]… despite the fact that there is amongst the Black population a heavy portion of precedents coming away from the Caribbean. Many of the descendants of these people accept[ed] and express[ed] a philosophy that the White power structure encouraged them to think of themselves separate from the Caribbean, and in some ways look down on the Caribbean. Bermudians are conflicted in terms of their view of Caribbean… (June, 9, 2010 Interview)
From Arthur’s comment emerged a very interesting revelation about the latent tendency of the power structure and its colonizing propensity to embed a sense of superiority into its inhabitants (in relation to the rest of the Caribbean) while simultaneously inscribing an inferiority complex (in relation to White, European descendants). This view is shared by Hodgson (1974) in her excellent exposition about Bermudian history where she argues that "Bermudians, under white tutelage, have always pride[d] themselves on not being West Indian" (p.143). In particular, she proffers:

Geographically, Bermuda is not a part of the Caribbean area. Historically, the plantation system was short lived in Bermuda, and therefore we were not cursed with plantation absentee ownership, as were many of the Caribbean islands. As a result, Bermuda was more developed economically and therefore enjoyed a higher standard of living. Over the years, the white oligarchy found it expedient to remind black Bermudians of their higher standard of living with the clear implication that we were, therefore, inherently superior to the West Indians—as if the material standard was significant in terms of human worth and integrity. (Hodgson, 1974, p.143)

Hodgson’s (1974) assertion not only unveils the source of Bermuda’s alienation and amputation from the Caribbean islands but also provides a further explanation of Arthur’s comment about Bermudians having a strong sense of superiority in relation to the Caribbean islands. It is this notion of superiority that is engrained in the Black Bermudian psyche that disconnects Bermuda from the Caribbean islands and, by extension, Africa in terms of historical and cultural identity. Who would want to attach himself or herself to a group or individual she or he feels superior to? Relationships are built on the grounds of mutual respect and recognition of the worth of each one. If, in the process, one group feels superior to the other, a concrete and genuine relationship cannot be built.

In the opinion of Arthur, although Bermudians are conflicted in terms of their view of the Caribbean, the decision that needs to be made is "our decision and not necessary [that of] the
power structure, because the power structure will always do what's to its benefit" (June 9, 2010 interview). His comment begs the question: Did Black Bermudians have an underlying desire to feel superior in light of their inferior disposition within Bermuda, specifically during the oligarchy's reign? Or, is this something that is germane to enslavement and colonization?

The Agenda: Project Annihilation

The unofficial strategy of the colonial education was to ban any mention of ancestral connections to Africa, and to amputate Bermuda from the other Caribbean islands. And what better ways to pursue this politics of separation than by offering a false sense of hope and entitlement, that Black Bermudians are superior to those African on the other Islands. In conjunction, the colonial education and this false demarcation succeeded in stifling any enthusiasm and desire that Bermudians might have gained from the stories of resistance and resilience of other Islanders. After all, what is there to learn from people that were already despised? This subliminal message has been passed on from one generation to the next through a culture of silence that prevails in Bermuda, by either consciously or unconsciously refusing to tell stories of their forefathers and foremothers. In this regard, Arthur rightfully noted that Black Bermudians are complicit in their inherent separation from the Caribbean islands: “They [White power structure] encouraged us to believe that, [we are better than the Caribbean]. You can’t make anybody do anything; the issue is we must have been receptive to the idea” (June 9, 2010 Interview).

The underlying premise is not only the separation from the Caribbean and Africa but also an alienation and amputation from Blackness. Nyasha, an African-American female educator who is married to a Bermudian and has been teaching in Bermuda for the last eight years, noted
that the education system in Bermuda has made Bermudians feel ashamed to acknowledge their Black identity. She recounted an incident:

I have had interactions with students this beautiful child she must have been about 8, 7 or 8, 9 somewhere in that area, and she was just so pretty. And someone said to her you’re such a beautiful child you’re so pretty. She dropped her head and said but I am Black. In Bermuda when you say somebody is Black you are literally talking about the colour of their skin you’re not talking about for example, let’s say there were 5 ladies sitting at the table and you and I were talking maybe three of us and you were trying to identify one of the ladies over there you would say which one? One of the Bermudians would say the Black one, I have heard people say. They are all Black, which one are you talking about? They are talking about the darkest one. (June 24, 2010 Interview)

Nyasha's comments throws more light on the earlier observation made by Arthur and corroborated by Esther. For Nyasha, Black is used in the context of Bermuda as inferior, separate and different from the rest. That many Black Bermudians do not read themselves as Blacks in comparison with the Caribbean or Africa reveals the extent to which Bermudian education has succeeded in alienating learners from their own history. In Black Skin, White Masks, Frantz Fanon (1967), spoke in regard to lactification: "For, in a word, the race must be whitened…; Whiten the race, save the race, but not in the sense of that one might think: not “preserve the uniqueness of that part of the world in which they grew up,” but make sure that it will be white" (p.47). In the context of Bermuda, there appears to be a sort of lactification occurring this race (rush) to Whiteness has resulted in alienation from Blackness. The desire not to see anything in common with Blacks in other Caribbean Islands is not because Bermudians feel superior (despite White indoctrination of divide and conqueror) but more so because there is the rush to dismiss and destroy anything that links our identity with other people who consider themselves as Blacks and are read in a derogatory manner. In linking Arthur, Nyasha, and Esther's comments to a Fanonian argument, what can be gleaned is that a hierarchy of identity has been created in the Bermudian education system, where Whiteness has been placed at the top and Blackness at the
Learners are being programmed to read themselves in relation to Whiteness and Blackness. The closer one is to Whiteness (not only in a sense of skin pigmentation but also in shared values and worldviews) the more one feels superior. In reversal, those who feel closer to Blackness are made to feel inferior and less desirable. Given that identity is situated in culture and history, one can deduce that the more Black Bermudians consider themselves White, the less they will be interested in exploring other parts of their history and culture that connect them to the Caribbean and Africa.

Nyasha is not the only person who expressed concerns about the education system in Bermuda and its colonizing tendencies to amputate learners from Blackness. Chan, one of the respondents, a Black Bermudian author and university professor also had this to say:

Black people don’t love themselves as Black people. And if [they] don’t look at [themselves] positively, as a Black person it is easy to see, sometimes that rage is played out on other people that look like [them]. So it’s almost like a process of self-destruction, and for me, it’s not even just a historical phenomenon, you have to look at even what’s the societal backdrop of these folks that are caught up in this youth violence. What’s their family background? What’s their social background? What’s the situation that they are coming out of or raised in; and on top of 400 years of racism, because it’s not as just slavery comes and is over, there’s other factors, other mechanisms of control and socialization that continue. The bedrock of it is Black people looking at Black people as their enemies. It’s connected with Black people not looking at themselves positively which is connected with Black people not seeing Africa as a positive place, because to the extension that you have a positive view of Africa, a Black person is probably going to have a positive view of themselves (July 28, 2010 Interview).

Chan indicated that the problem (not looking at being Black in a positive way) is not just a historical phenomenon but also a current problem of not loving oneself compounded with 400 years of racism. His position echoes my own sentiments that Black people need to love themselves as a means of restoration and liberation from the psychological bondage of enslavement and colonization. If past injustices, pain and dehumanization are not addressed,
they will inevitably continue to manifest themselves in various ways in the future, as Chan has indicated.

Esther asserts that they have already manifested, speaking from a personal, historical and current perspective:

That’s always been there [Black’s rejection of each other], but it became important when the PLP came to power because I can no longer say that what is happening is because White people are doing it. It is happening now because Black people are doing it. Why are Black people doing and behaving the same way as white people. It is because they believe the same thing that white people believe which is that white people are superior and Black people are inferior. That’s not a new thing. White ice is colder than Black ice. That’s been around for ages. Black people believe that white ice is colder than Black ice and it’s such an excellent illustration, because of all things, ice is ice. It’s impossible for one to be colder than the other, but anything white Black people think … and while they may struggle with it … I think that most Black people, many Black people at some level struggle with it for themselves, but it’s very hard to get rid of. It’s in their bones and in their blood just like it’s in the bones of White people (Esther, July 3, 2010 Interview).

According to Esther, and I concur, Black people struggle with their own self-worth and for Black people to believe in the supremacy of White people is obviously a very conflicting and difficult kind of thing because it is not natural.

Gates, one of Bermuda's avid authors captures the palimpsest of colonialism in Bermuda, when he stated:

Notwithstanding that the rest of the world is living in a postcolonial era, the vestiges of colonialism are highly dominant and most profoundly pronounced through our continued allegiances to the British Crown. However insidious in nature this may appear, we have yet to extricate ourselves from its principle tenants, which continue to undermine the precepts of self-determination. We live in a political conundrum in which there exists the semblance of democracy without the fruits of a true democracy. The dominant political order, although anachronistic in nature, is governed through a four hundred year old Colonial Parliament, which lacks absolute sovereignty. Upon this historical backdrop, the contemporary social climate has been stultified. Thus lacking a dominant social consciousness, self-determination has become even more elusive by virtue of a political apparatus which historically has governed itself by political inertia, docility, ignorance or fear. (June 7, 2010 Interview)
Gates's statement provides an accurate analysis on the insidious nature of colonialism within Bermuda and how Black Bermudians still docilely remain faithful to the British Crown at the expense of their own autonomy. The current Black ruling party’s inability to delink from Bermuda’s colonial past is the result of their suffering from historical amnesia. The term ‘historical amnesia’ is not meant to be derogatory but rather denote the uneasy forgetfulness that has occurred for sometime in Bermuda and continues even with the Black ruling party gaining power in 1998. Esther also responded to the role and impact of having Black leaders for the first time in Bermuda’s history:

The emergence of the PLP [Progressive Labor Party] to political ascendancy was of tremendous psychological value to Blacks, [however] these new Black leaders had also been reared in the oppressive, racist, White supremacy environment; they think no differently from the average man, which means that they have concentrated more on Whites than they have concentrated on Blacks in the new political power,...which means that they are either afraid to do anything positive for Black people because they are still afraid of White economic power, or they express, even though in one sense, white people may not have political power at the moment, they still have economic power. [Therefore,] even today under a PLP government, Blacks are in a major psychological and economic disadvantage (July, 3, 2010 Interview)

Esther's assessment of the situation mirrors my own: that a historically entrenched fear of Whites has produced Black leaders who have not addressed Bermuda's long history of psychological trauma. Their reluctance to engage in discussions of oppression, racism and White supremacy has had a crippling effect and, as a result, has skewed their ability to be critical and independent thinkers. Instead of traditional knowledges, Black Bermudians have relied, over the years, on Eurocentric ideologies to govern every facet of their lives, an ideology that has led them further from themselves. Esther attributes the current state of Bermuda to four indignities: segregation, free slaves not having voting rights, not having appropriate representation, and economic depravity. She indicated that Bermuda has alleviated the first two indignities, segregation and
voting rights, prior to party politics but once PLP came into power "there has been absolutely no
discussion of the economic disparity between the two races, [moreover], party politics has done
more damage to the Black community than anything else"(Interview 2010). What is clear based
on Gates’ and Esther’s statements is the depth of enslavement and colonialism. Albeit, there is
no longer physical enslavement, there is, however, a strong prevalence of mental enslavement.
According to Akbar (1996):

we can reverse the destructive effects of slavery by looking to strengths in our past and
beginning to make plans for our future. If we begin to direct our children’s attention to
strong images like themselves, they will grow in self-respect. We must honor and exalt our
own heroes and those heroes must be people who have done the most to dignify us as a
people. We must seek to overcome the “plantation ghost” by identifying the forces which
lead to enslavement and self-abasement. (p.15)

Akbar's (1996) instructive tone was in relation to the need for African-Americans to break the
chain of psychological slavery by building on the strength of the past as a means to move
forward into the future. He believes that by showing African-American children positive images
of themselves, particularly those of Black heroes, this would generate self-respect, and thereby
assist in eliminating the continuous debasement and perpetual psychological enslavement of
Black people. Although Akbar’s (1996) advice was directed to the African American situation,
the same concerns were voiced by the Black authors and educators in my study. They felt that
there is a need for students to know their local history and the connection that their history has to
the Caribbean and Africa. Both the authors and educators proffered that if Black students were
imbued with the knowledge of their ancestors' struggles, resilience and foresights for a
substantial and different future, their perspective would be different and moreover, students
perceived sense of entitlement would not be so pervasive.

According to Lilly, (an American married to a Bermudian) who has been teaching for ten
years as a Science Resource teacher in one of the Middle Schools, “that sense of value is non-
existence, as if [students] never heard of the concept. And I believe that is not being passed on. [Elders are] not telling the story they’re not telling the story of the struggle to instill the sense of value" (August 16, 2010 Interview). What is being implied and/or accepted in the absence of oral history? What does this absence produce? This absence can potentially produce two kinds of people: those who remain entrapped in a colonial mindset of inferiority and dependency (some of the older generation); or those who have embodied a sense of entitlement, which includes some of the younger generation. Kinto, one of my respondents and educator adds, "I see that very much among the students and it’s called a sense of entitlement. You feel like you are entitled, and you are entitled because your parents are so serious about giving you what they didn’t have. They are born entitled" (July 16, 2010 Interview).

In contrast, Arthur appears to view the importance of history with a bit of skepticism, stating:

one has to always be careful about excusing performance or actions based on past situations, ... [any] given situation persons with exactly the same, of course they are never exactly the same, but in general, the same environmental conditions, history and everything some will succeed and some will not succeed and that is based on the actions of those individuals. What the environment does is influence the portion of a category of people who succeed. (June 9, 2010 Interview)

While I respect Arthur's difference in opinion, the past still has very strong implications for the present. Even in his own admission he recognizes that the environment influences the "portion of a category of people who succeed." (June 9, 2010 Interview). This reveals that the problems that exist are not entirely on the individual; there are, as Chan indicated, "other mechanisms of control and socialization" (July 28, 2010 Interview). As Esther aptly stated previously "even today under a PLP government, Blacks are in a major psychological and economic disadvantage" (July 3, 2010 Interview). Esther’s analysis was that “many of them [Black Bermudians] made no serious attempts to change Government policy either by pressure or by withholding their votes
from prejudiced legislators” (July 3, 2010 Interview), is the same analysis made in Second Class Citizens; First Class Men(1997) twenty-two years prior. Hodgson (1997) contends that, unfortunately though, “negroes” did not show a united front (pp.88-89). Both assertions speak volumes to the psychological and economic disadvantage of Black Bermudians. In addition, these various authors’ comments provide an insight into the human component of their written texts; there was no deviation from what they espoused at the time of their writing, but rather they provided clarity about how they arrived at their particular standpoint.

Throughout my conversations with the Black Bermudian authors and educators, I felt the magnitude of their convictions of wanting to see a different Bermuda, one that had learnt from its past. For example, Esther disclosed that her focus of late has not been on slavery but rather:

I can forget that and say this is the point when White people had an opportunity to create a different kind of Bermuda. And, it was at this point that they did all of the oppressive things, which means even today under a PLP government, Blacks are in a major psychological and economic disadvantage....[to reiterate] Even though the PLP is a Black government, the reality is here is still a great deal of White fear, white intimidation, even when it’s not necessary. And it goes back also, not only to the reality of the oppression of the White power structure economically withholding credit or capital or whatever, but it is also a part of what has happened to the psychology of Black people, who believe that if it’s not supportive of White domination, then it cannot be encouraged(July 3, 2010 Interview)

The predominant view was that we (Black Bermudians) cannot move forward; we cannot heal; we cannot liberate and empower Black Bermudians without holding the past and present in tension; we must reconcile historical issues in order to "create new ways to imagine and make the future" (hooks, 1992, p.5). We must install not only the pride of Bermuda’s connection to the Caribbean but also its connection to Africa. The pride of the African connection is clearly articulated in the voice of Gates who questioned the intentions of the current Black ruling party. He felt that Black Bermudians are still invested in White ideology that purports a dichotomous arrangement built on Blacks’ dependency on Whites. For instance, Gates purports, "a large
percentage of members of the Black community were and remain staunch and ardent supporters of the White establishment. Many have been cosseted through political patronage, economic incentives and social class acceptance” (June 7, 2010 Interview). It appears there is a relationship of dependency, but also a desire for Black Bermudians to disentangle from their colonial past. These two paradoxical mindsets have been instrumental in maintaining the political inertia in Bermuda that was mentioned by Gates. This prevailing dependency on and investment in White ideology was also evident in the pedagogical challenges purported by the educators as they tried to teach Bermuda’s history.

Pedagogical Challenges

The pedagogical challenge within the education system is: how can we connect issues of identity, knowledge production and school, specifically in terms of Bermuda’s history? Educators were asked has much of Bermuda’s history been included in the curriculum and what texts are they using? Kinto, an uncertified teacher who has been teaching Social Studies for seven years, replied:

I would say quite a lot of Bermudian history is in our curriculum. I’m just going to add immediately that, Bermudian history isn't necessary... the history of Black Bermudians and what gets put forth as Bermudian history is just that, it’s 400 years of information and that’s one of the shortcomings of it....With Black Bermudians, there are so little deep connections made with anything before 1609, really and truly.... It’s the history written by the people who were in power and they feature heavily in it.... our Africa’s history is what makes us up; this 400 years over here in Bermuda is just confusion. You look at ourselves and all we can really do is look at pockets of successes, oppression and failures, that's all we have over here. (July 16, 2010 Interview)

Kinto's response elicits a deeper understanding of Bermuda's history. He quickly stated that it’s a particular kind of history that is being taught - an incomplete history, which does not include Black Bermudians' history beyond the confines of 400 years of enslavement, displacement and
colonization. It is a history that is not told by Black Bermudians; as a result there is a disconnection between our places of departure from elsewhere to our arrival in Bermuda. When an Eurocentric education is privileged, it creates an imbalance between the lived reality of racialized people and what is taught within the classroom. This imbalance creates a false identity mediated by the history that is taught, thereby isolating Bermuda from the rest of the Black Diaspora.

Arthur adds:

People need to understand the breadth of history and not just look at something in a narrow sense. It is always convenient to categorize somebody or some group as being at the bottom of the pile and then everybody pile down on top of them. In Indian society, East Indians still have trouble with that, their untouchables, they have several different levels of castes and these people are not slaves in the formal sense of it but they are looked down upon by each of the level of caste above them. That’s a major problem in Bermuda right now. Not talking about much, but it is a problem. (June 9, 2010 Interview)

Arthur stresses the importance of understanding history; history can assist in the comprehension of contemporary social formation, race, and ethnic group stratification. In terms of Bermuda, stratification was used by the White power structure to create distance between Black Bermudians and the Caribbean. It was all a part of the divide and rule tactic dating back to slavery being framed as 'benevolent' in Bermuda, in relation to the rest of the Caribbean (Smith, 1976; Bernhard, 1999). “'Divide and rule’—by fear—was as effective in Bermuda as it had even been anywhere in the world” (Hodgson, 1997, p.83). The simplistic and reductionist statements about the benevolence of Bermuda’s White elite conveyed an underlying message to Black Bermudians that they were in a better position than other Africans in the Caribbean and should not complain about their ‘mild’ exploitation and oppression.

For example, in 1941 when Dr. Edgar Fitzgerald Gordon (a West Indies surgeon from Trinidad residing in Bermuda) proposed the implementation of trade unionism by way of the
Bermuda Workers Association, “to protect the economic interest of its members and to prevent exploitation of their labour... “despite the connotation of a benevolent society” his proposal was met with much opposition” (Philip, 1987, p.172). Counter arguments from the White oligarchy purported that Black Bermudians "were the best dressed, best fed, best housed and best paid workers in the world; and furthermore, they added, labour had not requested such legislation" (Philip, 1987, pp. 172-173; Hodgson, 1974, p.143). Comments of this nature were hurled at Dr. Gordon who was bold and tenacious enough to challenge the White power structures in an effort to facilitate Black Bermudians’ interests. This was one of many divide and rule tactics implemented by the White power structure to ignite dissonance between Black Bermudians and the Caribbean. “After all he was a West Indian—and Bermudians were not allowed to forget that fact” (Hodgson, 1997, p.83). But even beyond this superficial claim of the oligarchy, a fact that Black Bermudians need not forget, is that no matter their station, be it, academic or not, in the context of the oligarchy he/she is still beneath the Whites.

Although, Gates makes references to the East Indian’s caste system as a comparative example of social, political and economic stratification in Bermuda between Whites and Blacks, a more productive comparison is the parallel between Haiti and Bermuda post-emancipation. According to Hodgson (1997), "from the time of emancipation, there had been men, and politicians, of colour who had faced the reality that, without the power to vote, the people were at the mercy of their overlords, whether their struggle was against the political, economic or mental bondage which resulted from a disenfranchised people" (p.14). Comparatively, the descendants of the emancipated slaves in Haiti “advanced a reason for the sole ownership of Haiti” given that it was their hard labour that built the country. They no longer saw Haiti:

as a place of exile, holding out the hope for freedom in reparation, but as a new cradle of a revitalized existence with roots in the history of slavery and rebellion. It seemed only right
that those whose labored built the land should become the new inheritors. This principle of territorial acquisition and ownership of a homeland was not controversial after the French were evicted from Haiti. (Permdas, 1996, p.15)

The relevance of this comparison is in contrasting Haiti’s approach to self-dependency versus Bermuda’s. After emancipation, Haiti’s slave descendants fought for their entitlement to the land. Haiti’s focus was freedom through the process of struggle and becoming a sovereign state, while Black Bermudian freedom was seen as coming to fruition by way of education and materialism. In other islands such as Belize and Curacao, including Bermuda, which has a multiracial and multiethnic population, another difference is that the dynamics of determination were different "especially in contexts of rivalry over power and pre-eminence among ethnocultural communities" (Permdas, 1996, p.16). Rivalry of this nature was also chronicled in Philip’s (1987) book Freedom Fighters From Monk to Mazumbo, which was about the courageous struggle of two daring Black men for justice and the dignity of Black people. Both men were expatriates: West Indian born Dr. Edgar Fitzgerald Gordon (Mazambo) and American Charles Vinton Monk. In Philip’s poignant retelling of this historical account we see the delineation of the systematic injustices that both men face, the rivalries which are stimulated, and the total disregard for Black human dignity that still persists today, albeit in a more subtle fashion.

Black Bermudians’ dependency, unlike Haitians, led them to wait for a gradual succession of rights to be granted to them by the White oligarchy. As a result of their complacent attitude, they were more susceptible to control, despite their discontent; their allegiance was to the White power structure. Mazumbo (an American who was married to a Bermudian), and now teaches in Nigeria, deemed Black Bermudians’ loyalty to the crown as problematic and termed their dependency as a survivalist culture:
Bermudian culture is rooted in slave culture, just as African-American culture is rooted in slave culture. And as long as you try to raise people in what I call survivalist culture; culture that was placed upon them just to survive, then they would only go so far, because they won’t have real roots. The roots are too close to the surface. They are not deep enough. [Moreover], I think the first forefathers would have cried and said, “oh, what will happen to the ones coming after me? They won’t know who they are.... And I don’t think they would admire just paying homage to survivalist culture and that’s what you do when you say, “I’m Bermudian,” “I’m African American.” This is all we have to say and do to survive, but that’s not who we really are (July 18, 2010 Interview).

Mazumbo's contends that Black people cannot be satisfied with accepting what was forced upon them they must know their history; it is paramount to re-claiming their identity and humanity. There can be no celebration of the physical removal of slavery without an accompanying complete mental liberation, a relinquishing of the survivalist mentality. In addition, it is not enough to hyphenate our identity and believe this will resolve Black people's historical crisis. It requires much more. It requires a re-connection to part of Black Bermudian’s history that was amputated. What really needs to be considered are the situations and conditions that have caused and sustained a culture of survival in Bermuda. Despite the moments of protest and attempts towards autonomy, Black Bermudians have largely decided to take the path of least resistance and accept the superficial concessions offered by the British Crown. Isolated geographically from the other Caribbean islands, precariously situated between a historical loss and an assimilated identity fostered through a survivalist mentality, a sort of creole identity that was shaped by extenuating circumstances such as enslavement and colonization, has come into being.

In contrast to this historical dislocation and ambiguity that I have described, and as a means to address a historical and educational disparity, the Ashay program mentioned previously was introduced in January 2004 by Mrs. Van Putten. She stated that “if you don’t know who you are you don’t know where your place is in society… our children are feeling alienated, and they
feel they don’t have a stake in society because they don’t understand who they are” (Bardgett, 2004, p.1). The Ashay program offered students an understanding of African heritage.

This focus on knowing our African heritage was echoed by Karen, one of my respondents, who is an educator. She added that we need to know our African heritage as well as its value across racial and ethnic lines:

the lessons of African culture and history are lessons that we can all learn, and learn from, and that they are valuable in not only building self esteem and self understanding, but also mutual understanding and tolerance, because all of our children, Black, White, whatever, need to know the history of African people, and in fact that they too, and their ancestors, scientifically proven, came from Africa. So they need to understand those connections that mankind has and see their place in it. The connection to their ancestors is something that I don’t think we stress (July 7, 2010 Interview).

Karen saw the importance of students connecting to their historical beginnings, to claim what has been ruptured and falsified, and the necessity of incorporating these understandings to contemporary discussions. She acknowledged that connections are important not only for Black children but for everyone; it is a means of understanding each other in a mutually respectful manner. While the Ashay initiative is well meaning and addresses some of the missing history of Bermuda, it does not address Bermuda’s creolized identity. These same goals, of understanding one’s past and identity, can be achieved both through understanding of Creolization and Afrocentricity, as both value diversity of experience and personal location.

Similar sentiment was shared by Jane, a middle school Social Studies teacher with five years of experience, but in a rather paradoxical manner. Her first response regarding the importance of the Bermudian identity was, “I’m Bermudian because I’m Bermudian, that’s my identity. My parents were Bermudian, my grandparents were Bermudian, that makes me Bermudian. I don’t look at it as a Bermudian identity beyond that aspect” (August 3, 2010 Interview). She then complicated her previous statement and said, “if we don’t have an
identity, we will always look to others to work out our issues or confirm who we are…” (August 3, 2010 Interview). Jane’s initial response reflects an indecisiveness about whether identity beyond the Bermudian identity was important or not. As our interview progressed she made an unexpected admission, stating:

I tell the children, there really is no such thing as a Bermudian. We are Bermudian because that is what we are called, because none of us were here before this island was discovered, so where did we come from?... And one student came back and their parent was kind of perturbed at the fact that I was telling them that they are not a Bermudian and they came from somewhere else. [She further stated,] it’s very interesting how there are still parents who don’t want to be associated with anything outside of being Bermudian when you know that we are really not. (August 3, 2010 Interview)

Jane's bafflement to the reaction of the parent’s response was ironic, given her own reluctance at the beginning of the interview, where she only articulates an identity connected to her parents and grandparents who were Bermudians and only Bermudian, making her Bermudian.

Jane's shift in historical consciousness was refreshing, hearing that she had encouraged her students to look beyond the confines of the label Bermudian to an identity that encompasses more than a local understanding of who they are. A narrative that focuses in Bermuda as an isolated, bounded unit of analysis leads to the deracination of Bermudian peoples, as we are now labeled, through the failure to acknowledge our African ancestry and the enslavement and colonization that brought us to the Island.

The reality is, there are still many like the parents in this story, who are unwilling to engage is histories of Bermuda that recognize the history of ‘forced migration’. My own beginnings and remembrances of Bermuda were of disconnection and a limited understanding of having an identity beyond Bermuda. Although, I no longer consciously engage in selective memory — I cannot dismiss that I was once of the same mindset — and, therefore, I am able to
comprehend why some children and parents are equally resistant to knowing the totality of their history; it is a historical severance passed down through generations.

An example of this resistance is conveyed by Lilly’s account of her interaction with her students when talking about the history of their ancestors. She recalled her disheartenment when trying to assist students in understanding their history:

It goes back... to the understanding of the history...in order to value what they have. For so many students it’s just not there... There’s no connection to, even the idea of the notion of, well, you’re refusing to read. What about your ancestors who had to hide under candlelight at night, under threat of death, trying to teach themselves to read, so that they could build the foundation that you now stand on, and you dishonour that! Many generations before, yes, but you still dishonour that struggle. And we talk about “well, we came out of slavery,” and how are you honouring that? (August 16, 2010 Interview)

Lilly spoke to the disconnection, the students' failure to honour their history and their ancestors, a failure that becomes a part of the educational system to educate about these histories. She poignantly points out that students need an understanding of their histories in order to understand their present moment.

**Pedagogical Challenges: Student responses and disconnections**

As a means to better understand this educational disconnection spoken of by Lilly and other educators, I asked students ranging from 12 to 18 years old the following questions: How well did they know their Bermuda history, and did it help them to understand their Bermudian identity? In addition, were there any connections made in the classroom between Bermuda, the Caribbean and Africa? These questions served as a means to ascertain the students’ level of comprehension of their Bermudian history, and their ability to articulate an understanding of identity from both a local and global perspective.
My initial student interview took place at the home of Monisha, one of my respondents, a 12 years old middle school student. Her mother was present during the interview. When asked how well she knew her Bermuda history, replied:

Very well, Bermuda was discovered in 1609...they used to have, umm, an Easter parade. We celebrate Good Friday every year. We have a Bermuda day. We were colonized by England. Most people eat cod fish and potatoes on Sundays, most Bermudians. And...we have agricultural exhibition every year and...PLP came into power in 1998, UBP came out of power in 1998. We celebrate the Queen’s birthday every year and our Queen is Queen Elizabeth the third I think. The Bermudian is only grown in Bermuda and Bermuda is an island. And we build our houses out of limestone (July 19, 2010 Interview).

Despite Monisha stating that she knew Bermuda history very well, she provided only a superficial overview and mistook the date that Bermuda was settled in 1609 for the date it was discovered in 1503. When asked, did she feel there is a connection between Bermuda, the Caribbean and African, her immediate response was “Yep!” devoid of any further explanation (July 19, 2010, Interview). I had to prompt her to expand on her one-word answer, after which she added, “Well, Bermuda has some, umm, Jamaicans in it and some people from the Caribbean islands in there and that is part of our, what you called it, what is the word?” (July 19, 2010 Interview). Unsure what word she was searching for I offered ‘population’ as a suggestion. She indicated no, the word she thinks she was searching for was ‘religion’. She then retracted and said no, ‘population’. She continued stating, “No some are half Jamaicans and half I think African but people from all over the world some people are half... or mostly half, umm, Caribbean and half Bermudian in them and it kind of affects our population” (July 19, 2010 Interview). I asked her, how does this affect our population, and her reply was, “umm … I don't really know” (July 19, 2010 Interview). Monisha’s inability to offer more comprehensive answers can be partially explained through a deficit in the written and taught curriculum.
Sue, a fifteen-year-old senior school student in S1 was asked the same questions: How well did she know her Bermudian history? She remarked, “I guess, so-so. I know stuff about my history.” At this point I elicited further clarity and she expounded:

Basically, we learned about the different types of foods that Bermudians like, what’s endemic to Bermuda. The different types of birds and stuff like the endemic plants and all this. The traditions of Bermuda, how Bermuda’s architecture is different, the way that we dance, like our Gombeys are different from everybody else (July 21, 2010 Interview).

Sue’s answers again provided general information about Bermuda. I asked whether she had been taught about Bermuda’s discovery story, slavery and segregation? Immediately, she replied:

Oh yes, and different types of ships wrecks around Bermuda... They taught us about slavery... They taught us about world suffrage, what it’s like. Stuff like that, the Theatre Boycott.... Dr. E. F. Gordon, seven people in the group, they were anonymous. Can’t remember what the group was called....They taught us about the slave trade. Europe would trade the guns and ammunitions. Africa would trade the slaves and then America I believe traded sugar crops and stuff like that. There’s a slave trade triangle. (July 21, 2010 Interview)

Her response prompted me to ask if she was familiar with Ira Philip, Dr. Eva Hodgson, Cyril Outerbridge Packwood, Nelli Musson and Elizabeth Kawaley, Bermuda’s notable Black authors who have written about Bermuda in various capacities to my disappointment, she replied, “No”. Her answers were not uncommon from the other participants; they either recalled not learning much about Bermuda history or not learning anything at all about it in school.

A prime example was my interview with Jessica, an eighteen-year-old recent high school graduate. When asked what she had learnt about Bermuda’s history: “I [didn’t] really learn much in school, but I learn from my granny and older people” (August 6, 2010 Interview). Not wanting to speculate about why she did not learn much about Bermuda’s history in school, I asked what exactly was she taught in school about Bermuda? She explained that in high school in S1, Social Studies was the only course that was designated to Bermuda’s history, where educators touched
on “politics, the parties, old traditions, it tells you about the judicial system in Bermuda and different events in the past... [and] we [covered] a lot of topics like kite flying and old weddings, lot of old tradition that are still practiced and some that are not” (August 6, 2010 Interview). I queried whether she was familiar with the 1959 Theatre Boycott, and how it was instrumental in de-segregation? Jessica responded, “I wasn't taught it in Berkeley but I participated in the Bermuda Quiz Competition and that's where I learnt that. It was put on by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. I learnt about the BIU [Bermuda Industrial Union] strike, we learned about all aspects about Bermuda history like sports, music and geography” (August 6, 2010 Interview). I expressed my surprise that these two pivotal events were not highlighted within the school curriculum. She paused as if she was assessing my disconcertment and added, “I think they probably were, but I am not sure, but I remember learning them in the Bermuda Quiz Competition” (August 6, 2010 Interview). Jessica’s inability to remember alludes to the possibility that these two crucial events were either not taught in school or, as she stated, she simply did not remember due to lack of emphasis put on Bermuda’s history. I decided to move on to the next question regarding the connection between Bermuda, the Caribbean and Africa. I inquired whether she felt there was one, and if she was taught about these connections in school? She replied, “Yes, we learnt about the African slave trade and how Bermudians were taken to Turks and Caicos for the salt trade that a lot of our ancestors came from the Caribbean” (Jessica, August, 6, 2010 Interview). The interviews with Monisha, Sue and Jessica demonstrated that there is a disconnection between Africa and Bermuda in the transmission of historical information and what is being transmitted is sparse.

Tony, one of my respondents, a 15 year old boy in S1 (first year of senior school) was asked what he knew about his Bermuda history. He responded:
Built by a volcano...well... from a volcano. It’s sitting on top of a volcano and all that.... umm.... there was a few shipwrecks no one knew about it. ... Well people knew about it but it wasn't discovered until I think...oh gosh I forgot I don't know what year it was discovered. umm... it was hard to get into. ... Bermuda with all the reefs. (August, 5, 2010 Interview 2010)

His response was the result of several promptings to elaborate on each answer. Bermuda’s history did not appear to be a paramount topic within the school curricula and many of the students did not seem interested in remembering what was taught. Tony’s level of interest waned as he was constantly distracted answering his Blackberry notification. I decided to ask him one last question. I asked him if he felt there was a connection between Bermuda, the Caribbean and Africa. He said, “Yes that's where all the slaves came from Africa. Didn’t they? His reply was laden with uncertainty indicated by his question at the end of his answer. Tony’s answer to whether the school helped him in understanding those connections was: “Yea, it tells you what they traded, they traded guns and all that for umm slaves” (August 5, 2010 Interview).

I asked Wayne, another one of my respondents, a fourteen-year-old boy, also in his first year of senior school (S1) and younger brother of Tony, about his Bermudian history: “….we have pink sand; lots of tourist come, that is it” (August 5, 2010 Interview). As a means of focusing his attention and probing further, I asked if he had learned about the discovery of Bermuda. He replied, “Oh yes, by some guys, the boat got broken or something and they discovered Bermuda” (August 5, 2010 Interview). He added, “They didn't really tell us about Bermuda history they taught about other countries and stuff” (August 5, 2010 Interview). I remarked, they talked about other countries? Yup! He replied. Not only is there a historical disconnection from Africa and the Caribbean but, through a Eurocentric curriculum that focuses on ‘world history’ (primarily European and American), there is a standardized centering of whiteness.
How are the curriculum instructions and pedagogical practices situated within the Bermudian education system that do not allow these students to understand, appreciate and unpack the relevancy of inclusive history lessons about Bermuda? How will an inclusive history lesson prepare Bermudian students to see the connection between Bermuda, the Caribbean islands and the continent of Africa? Will such knowledge help in the social and political mobilization of resistance against ongoing colonization in the Bermudian classroom? How will such knowledge impart the identity politics of Bermudians in relation to Blacks and Africans in the Diaspora?

There seems to be an obvious disconnection. According to Carter G. Woodson (1992),

The so called modern education, with all its defects, however, does others so much more good than it does the Negro, because it has been worked out in conformity to the needs of those who have enslaved and oppressed weaker peoples… No systematic effort toward change has been possible, for, taught the same economics, history, philosophy, literature and religion which have established the present code of morals, the Negro’s mind has been brought under control of his oppressor. …The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples (pp. xii-xiii).

In other words, no matter how defective modern education may be, Blacks are still the ones most disadvantaged. This trend of relying on Eurocentric education continues at the expense of losing Black children spiritually, physically and educationally. Yet, Bermuda's Ministry of Education, effective September 2010, re-introduced the Cambridge International Curriculum from Britain, a curriculum that is European-centered and devoid of culturally relevant pedagogy. What existed then and still exists is the disconnection between the policy makers, educators, parents, and community.
**Pedagogical Possibilities**

Lilly’s explanation of the disconnection in transmission of historical knowledge put the responsibility on the students; “students want to be entertained... [they want educators] to put on a show...they want everything to be like a party, and that’s not realistic” (August 16, 2010 Interview). She conceded that educators want to engage students and incorporate their interest however, “the cultural of diligence must remain” (Lilly, August 16, 2010 Interview). Lilly's concern was that students required more than entertainment they also need to develop their critical thinking and logical reasoning skills. She proposed radical pedagogy as a means of infusing old methods with innovative ones that will not only engage the students but also maintain the balance of diligence.

Lilly also conceded:

I don’t know if we do enough to foster Bermudian heritage...so the real sense of this is who I am, this is where I belong, this is my connection, it’s hard to see it. There is not a consistent reference to the nation of Bermuda or the community of Bermuda. It’s not embedded. ...There’s not a strong oral tradition in the sense that people don’t talk about the former generation(August 16, 2010 Interview).

Lilly’s observation was made in juxtaposition to her upbringing in the U.S. Virgin Islands where oral history was a part of her daily interaction with her mother. In Bermuda, however, she had not experienced the sharing of oral history, even among her Bermudian in-laws. I posit that the dearth of Bermuda’s oral history is a result of “the soul-destroying ugliness of Bermuda’s racial contempt.... And adding to that, one learns, almost by accident, that black people, are ashamed of the slave period too, and so there is more shame. No one tells you that the brutality of slavery was not your responsibility....To talk about it would make the teacher guilty of racialism” (Hodgson, 1997, pp. 133-135). Hodgson’s anecdote provides a rationale for explaining why Bermuda's culture is framed as a ‘culture of silence’. One can assume that this perceived
posturing was adapted as a means to alleviate the feeling of humiliation and frustration that was so great, to even talk about the ‘ugliness’ inflicted more pain and humiliation. As such, “the age-old white propaganda of Negro inferiority” prevailed and silenced the Black population, quelling oral history (Hodgson, 1997, p.125).

According to wa Thion’o, the “most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world….For colonialism this involves two aspects of the same process: the destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of a people’s culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the coloniser" (wa Thion’o 1986, p.16). For instance, although Bermudian history is mandated according to the Ministry of Education as a part of the public curriculum, it has not been given priority within Social Studies; this has clearly been articulated in the interview with Lilly and other educators. Dominant discourses have diluted the salient parts of Bermuda’s history, devaluing Bermuda’s history to local ramblings and customs devoid of their histories. Devaluation is not a new phenomena, as historical writings have demonstrated, there is a need for re-awakening the historical consciousness, both within the school and the community. A re-awakening that can only be started through a deeper awareness of how Bermuda's history has shaped the current psycho-social, economical, and political materiality of Black Bermudians. Joe(an American married to a Bermudian) has fifteen year of experience in education and is the principal of one of the local middle schools. He believed that a more intentional and energetic teaching approach is essential when teaching Bermuda’s history:

First and foremost those teachers who have been charged with teaching Bermuda history need to teach it with a great deal of energy and enthusiasm, because kids tend to receive things based on the way it is delivered. So, if you are teaching something, without a lot of fanfare and enthusiasm more than likely that is the type of response you are going to get
from children. But if you help students to see the relevance of history…and help them understand how much their foremothers and forefathers contributed to society as it exists today in Bermuda….you help them see the relevance of it and what it means to them; then I think students will begin to gain a much better appreciation of [history].(July 17, 2010 Interview)

Both Lilly and Joe agreed that a more innovative approach is required to engage students; however, Lilly maintains that innovative methods should not be in the absence of old methods. The two methods need to coexist in order to ensure a comprehensive standard of learning.

Sherry, one of my respondents, a Social Science educator and Team Leader with seven years experience, indicated that some teachers utilize innovative methods in their teaching. For example, "last year the teachers...had [the students] write raps or songs about Bermuda's discovery" (July 12, 2010 Interview). She affirmed that the educators noticed the students’ enthusiasm and their ability to grasp Bermuda’s history through this method. She indicated that this method of teaching worked well and demonstrated how there is a correlation between the slaves’ songs, hip hop and rap. She was able to explain to her students that songs were instrumental in helping Black people through their difficult situations.

The various suggestions that were made in favour of a more creative learning environment should be strongly considered given that the current pedagogical methods being used are ineffective. It is important to re-visit and focus on the teacher/learner relationship to help remedy this dilemma of theory and practice being disconnected. Freire (2007) suggested that education should not be looked at as a ‘banking concept’ where information is being deposited into the students, inhibiting their creative power, but rather as a ‘problem-posing’ method that involves a constant unveiling of reality. By taking this approach, students would be able to develop “their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world” and will come
to the realization that “the world is not a static reality, but a reality in process, in transformation” (Freire, 2007, p.83).

Incorporating this method of ‘problem-posing’ the activity and interests of the teacher and students are no longer separate. The teacher will always be engaged in what is in the best interest of the student, whether he or she is preparing a project or in dialogue with the student. By applying the ‘problem-posing’ method educators are constantly re-forming their reflections in the reflection of the students: The students [are] no longer docile listeners; [they] are critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher” (Freire, 2007, p.81). According to Freire (2007), the role of educators is to creatively collaborate with their students by viewing them as valuable contributors and rejecting the traditional behaviourist type of learning (p.80). In doing so, students may begin to embrace learning with a new perspective. Freire (2007) provides a template for innovative pedagogical praxis that came to be used by Lilly, Joe, Sherry and other educators to engage their students. A lack of these methods will continue to produce students who exhibit disconnection between what is transmitted, what is actually retained and its relationship practices.

The interviews in this chapter are reflective of a defective modern education and it was glaringly obvious that knowledge of students’ heritage is limited and insufficient. It appears as if today’s generations are not taught, nor do they see the saliency of, history, education and knowing their identity beyond 400 years of captivity. Who is at fault?

**Conclusion: History and Knowledge Production**

Why should history be relevant to knowledge production and identity formation? Historical narratives provide us context, trajectory, analyses and understanding of the social, political, economic, and contemporary existence. Alternatively, historical narratives can also
create problems due to selectivity of their composition, which can corrupt, disrupt, and deny our understanding of context and trajectory of historical events. Regardless, we cannot afford to ignore the multitude of historical narratives; each informs our existence and we need them all in understanding Bermuda’s situation. Our agenda should be premised on facilitating epistemological, ontological, axiological, and pedagogical awareness — an awareness that embraces “difficult knowledge” and an acceptance of reality that is not linear or static; an awareness that refuses romantic notions of a world where only one ethnic "race" exists. This recognition and acceptance is conveyed quite eloquently by Derek Walcott (1974):

I accept this archipelago of the Americas, I say to the ancestor who sold me, and to the ancestors who bought me I have no father, I want no such father, although I can understand you, black ghost, white ghost, when you both whisper “history,” for if I attempt to forgive you both I am falling into your idea of history which justifies and explains and expiates, and it is not time to forgive, my memory cannot summon any filial love, since your features are anonymous and erased and I have no wish and no power to pardon. You were when you acted your roles, your given historical roles of slave seller and slave buyer, men acting as men, and also you, father in the filth-ridden gut of the slave ship, to you they were also men, acting as men, with cruelty of men, your fellowman and tribesman not moved or hovering with hesitation about your common race any longer than my other bastard ancestor hovered with his whip, but to you, inwardly forgiven grandfathers, I, like the more honest of my race, give a strange thanks. I give the strange and bitter and yet ennobling thanks for the monumental groaning and soldering of two great worlds, like the halves of a fruit seamed by its own bitter juice, that exiled from your own Edens you have placed me in the wonder of another, and that was my inheritance and your gift (p. 27).

Walcott (1974) embraces the bitter sweetness of the past that was responsible for his and other Caribbean people's existence. According to Walcott (1974), and I concur, history has been predicated on two worlds and two roles: slave seller and slave buyer. The commonality of their "races" does not supersede their historical roles but rather engenders a polemic quest that has and continues to negate their interconnectedness. Each in their respective roles was responsible for history; each role produced the cumulative identities of Black Bermudians that is neither just Black nor White. The gravity of this reality is bitter-sweet; neither can claim "purity' of "race"
but both can be a part of a new humanity going forth. As such, there is a responsibility to acknowledge the tangential connections between the two worlds; indeed, the very discourse of two worlds is an aspect of Western civilization’s anxiety and concern with mixture and purity. The real issue is to get past this inherited paradigm, which posits a mixed race between two pure ones; to move forward and “set afoot a new man”, a new ontology: in short, a new humanism as proposed by Fanon (1963).

This forward movement towards a new humanism is germane in the Bermudian context, particularly due to the dominant historical narrative of ‘accidental discovery’ by Juan de Bermudez and Bermudians subsequently inheriting the Spanish en-slaver of African people’s last name as Bermudians ascribed identity. This naming renders Black Bermudians perpetually enslaved, albeit not always physically but psychologically. Operating under this psychological impediment, consciously or unconsciously, maintains power structures, disconnections, restrictions, and an over-reliance on dominant narratives that are disempowering, paralyzing, and incomplete. Moreover, the naming of the island after an enslaver of African people inadvertently or advertently sets the precedent for breeding continuous oppression and devaluing of Blacks and other non-white denizens.

Historically, Black Bermudians were framed as insolent and inferior dating back to 1623 (Packwood 1975; Smith, 1976; Hodgson, 1997, 1989; Zuill & Bernhard, 1999) and were later “meant to believe that they were ineducable” according to the Board of Education in the 1950’s (Hodgson, 1989, p. 14). History and knowledge production are interconnected one informs the other, and when both are skewed the outcomes are oppressive, debilitating, and abusive. According to Dr. Clarence Maxwell, a Bermudian historian who vehemently expressed this in a conversation with me, “the way many Blacks have been given their history is a form of abuse”
and he coined it a “historiographical abuse” and defined it as a construction of a historical consciousness that has been injurious to Black people (Maxwell, 2011). Dr. Maxwell’s point is relevant in explaining Bermuda’s education system that has undergone many reforms since its inception in 1663. All of these reforms have ignored the historization of Black identity; specifically, how Blacks have been negatively portrayed throughout history, which is the fundamental historical crisis of schooling and education. There is a continuous deficit in the teaching of history; one historical voice reigns supreme. As noted in my research findings, many of my research participants expressed serious concerns about the manner in which history lessons in Bermuda are designed and taught in the classroom. For my research participants, as poignantly noted by Kinto, the history of Bermuda is “written by the people who were in power and feature heavily in it” (July 16, 2010 Interview). As often repeated and perhaps cliché: history is always written by the conqueror, and Bermuda typifies this popular saying. In fact, it was not until the mid 1970s that Black Bermudians began to write back as a form of resistance against the dominant narratives that sought to silent their voices and the voices of their ancestors. Why should anybody care about this one-sided history in Bermuda’s education system? Thomas Popkewitz and Marie Brennan (1998), in their chapter “Restructuring of Social and Political Theory in Education: Foucault and a Social Epistemology of School Practices”, provide some thoughts for reflection:

The construction of knowledge…expropriates and incorporates the “Other” into a system that is totalizing and thus does not allow the “Other” legitimacy. To place this convergence into contemporary American educational reforms, the very system of reasoning that are to produce equality, justice, and diversity may inscribe systems of representation that construct “otherness” through concrete pedagogical practices that differentiate, compare, and normalize children along a continuum of value. (p.8)

While Popkewitz and Brennan’s (1998)’s commentary was in reference to contemporary American educational reforms, their observation is also applicable to Bermuda’s context my
research findings clearly agreed with their findings. They show the danger of adhering to pedagogical practices that facilitate the assimilation of students into a particular way of knowing. By looking at the role of education within the context of the political, social and economic power structure, we can examine how these vehicles have mediated students’ life chances and economic opportunities through the social construction of their Black Bermudian identities. In particular, how the void of not knowing one’s history has contributed to identity formation that is steeped in inferiority and dependency, producing Black youth who are disconnected from their history and lived experiences.

Roiyah Saltus-Blackwood (2000), a Black Bermudian author, addresses the ambiguity of Bermuda from a historical and political standpoint, expressing her mystification of how the “colonial legacy is constitutively disavowed in the contemporary Bermudian political discourse despite the fact that the white oligarchic rule continues to mould the future imaginaries of the island” (Saltus-Blackwood, 2000, p. 24). She refers to Bermuda’s phenomena as being “colonial absented present.” In other words, a denial of colonialism and its pervasiveness, specifically, "where notions of colonialism have become so ambiguous, and where the articulation of legacies and continuities of colonial rule seem to evade political discourse" (Saltus-Blackwood, 2000, p. 171). Saltus-Blackwood (2000) makes a salient observation regarding Bermuda’s political and historical discourses that are intrinsically linked to education and how it is necessary to include, engage, and dismantle the pervasiveness of colonialism and its implications on the historical and social construction of Black Bermudian identities.

The Fecundity of Bermuda’s Comprehensive History

Bermuda’s history, as previously stated and observed by the various research participants, has been linear in the way it has been taught within the school system. Preference
has been given to a European (re)conceptualization of Bermuda’s history that has omitted the ontological and epistemological existentialism of Black Bermudians. The repercussions of this one-sided history is the maintenance of the structure of dominance, while simultaneously denying alternative discourses and knowledge production. As a corrective to how this history has been delivered, Afrocentricity proposes a self-conscious awareness and a re-centering of African minds that will inevitably bring about a liberating consciousness. According to Asante (1998), “the principal motive behind [Afrocentric] intellectual work seems to have been the use of knowledge for the cultural, social, political, and economic transformation of African people” (p. xi). Asante (1998) further states:

If we have lost anything, it is cultural centeredness; that is, we have been moved off our own platforms…. we cannot truly be ourselves or know our potential since we exist in a borrowed space. Our existential relationship to the culture that we have borrowed defines what and who we are at any given moment. By regaining our own platform, standing in our own cultural spaces, and believing that our way of viewing the universe is just as valid as any, we will achieve the kind of transformation that we need to participate fully in a multicultural society. However, without this kind of centeredness, we bring almost nothing to the multicultural table but a darker version of whiteness….We have, however; arrived at a point at which the entire process of human knowledge is being assessed and reassessed in order to help us discover what we know about each other. As we open the doors to return to our own platforms, we greatly enrich the world. (p. 8)

Asante's (1998) assertion is that African people cannot continue to remain captivated within the philosophical and intellectual position of White hegemonic patriotism; it does not make sense to their social or economic struggle. Afrocentricity is a political stance that contends that educators should not write about repositioning and re-centering Africa merely for the sake of self-indulgence, particularly, when the African dispossession is vast and the displacing myths are pervasive. We do not have the luxury of simply sitting idly by watching the process of African peripheralization without taking any corrective action; if we do so, we are equally complicit in our own demise (Asante, 1998).
I agree with Asante (1998) when he suggests that we need to deconstruct the Western vision that belittles other people. Questioning European analysis is not an easy feat, particularly, for those who remain heavily invested in Eurocentric ideas about culture. However, we cannot allow fear to paralyze us from severely critiquing “the preponderant Eurocentric myths of universalism, objectivity, and classical traditions [that] retain a provincial European cast” (Asante, 1998, p. 10). Afrocentricity recognizes that African Indigenous knowledges are essential for social transformation and aid as a corrective for displaced Africans in the Diaspora who have been deliberately de-culturalized and made to accept the colonizers’ ways of knowing. It addresses the crises of colonization by repositioning African people and their reality away from the margin of European thoughts, attitudes, and dogma, into the center, providing a place for their knowledges within the realm of science, social studies, and culture. This is a liberation of the mind from any notion that Europe is the teacher and Africa is the pupil. We must continue to contest every space that Europeans have monopolized, and locate in that space the freedom for Africans to express their own "truths", recognizing that truth is multiple. Afrocentricity emphasizes African cultures and behaviors, but notes that the intention of Afrocentricity, as mentioned previously “is not to replace ‘white knowledge’ with ‘black knowledge’ but rather to seek ways to unite the country based on mutual respect for the cultural agency of all its peoples” (Asante, 1998, p. xi). When used in education, “centricity refers to a perspective that involves locating students within the context of their own cultural references...” (Asante, 1991, p.171).

Hodgson (1989) has highlighted, and my research findings have equally noted, how Black Bermudians have been culturally indoctrinated with Eurocentric ways of knowing that have rendered them inferior, rather than fostering a sense of pride of who they are as Black Bermudians. This is the reason why a culturally sensitive reform needs to be implemented to
address the broader questions of curriculum, inclusion, pedagogy and instructions, educational change and knowledge production.

Consciously or unconsciously, Black Bermudians have embraced the inferior roles even when they were/are in positions of power they have continuously sought directive for their own affairs and incessantly borrow from White philosophy. This over-reliance on colonial hegemony has created a cultural ‘norm’ of behaviour that Black Bermudian educators and learners feel they must follow in order to be accepted and considered on equal footing with their White counterparts. Frantz Fanon's (1967) racial interpellation concerning "anti-nomic “psycho-existential complex” (p.10), illuminates the struggles many Black Bermudian educators and learners encounter in the classroom. It has also led to these one-sided history lesson that metaphorically amputates Black Bermudians from their rich cultural history that expands beyond the post-slavery era.

In order for this anti-nomic psycho-existential complex that affects Black Bermudians to be broken, Bermuda's ways of constructing, validating, and disseminating history in the classroom must be decolonized. According to Freire (2007), no pedagogy that is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed, especially when it treats them as unfortunates. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption (p.54). What can be gleaned from Paulo Freire's comments, which my research findings also support, is that it is time for Bermuda's education to re-claim and re-build the history lessons that include every aspect of Bermuda's history. Asante (1991) stated that an Afrocentric perspective does not subjugate or discriminate against other people but rather “views all groups’ contributions as significant and useful” (p. 171). An Afrocentric way of knowing will unite Bermuda based on mutual respect for the cultural agency of all its peoples (Asante, 1998,
Afrocentricity will locate Black Bermudian learners within the context of their own cultural references so that they can relate socially and psychologically to other cultural perspectives. Afrocentricity, as a framework, provides the space to begin meaningful dialogues through common values that all people, regardless of "race", can adhere to unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity and faith.

What the historical stories presented in this dissertation is the uniqueness and messiness of the Bermudian situation. Afrocentricity contends that one has to claim his or her Africanness in order to obtain self-autonomy (Asante 2007) and while this may be true in other contexts, Bermuda's history reveals the need for further reflection, something more complex and nuanced. Within this context, Creolization, arguably, offers a more comprehensive approach to addressing Bermuda's educational crisis than Afrocentricity. This is not to suggest that Afrocentricity has nothing to offer Bermuda's educational crisis. No, that is not the point, and, in fact, as it has already been established, there are so many useful strategies and ideas Afrocentricity offers to Bermuda's education. However, the complex nature of Bermuda's history also requires a theoretical framework that acknowledges and speaks to the messiness, nuances, and ambiguity of Bermuda's history. While Afrocentricity admits to the messiness, nuance, and ambiguity of Bermuda's history, it proposes political approaches and strategies that rewrite Bermuda's history with strategic interest that links it to Africa. However, as has been established by my research findings, there is the need to explore many intersections of identity and not to rely on a single interpretation.

Chimamanda Adichie warns us of the danger of relying on a single story (Adichie, 2009), especially when we are talking about history. Bermuda's history cannot be completed
without showing its connection to Africa, but we cannot talk about Bermuda's history as if it is all about Africa. Different groups and communities came together to form Bermuda and history lessons in Bermuda must reflect the contributions of all these groups.

The truth is that there has never been one historical narration about how Bermuda was formed; different bodies and groups have taught and spoken about Bermuda's history from different angles. According to Hall (2003):

Writers like Edouard Glissant use the term "creole" in a broader sense, to describe the entanglement—or what he calls the “relation” between—different cultures forced into cohabitation in the colonial context. Creolization in this context refers to the processes of “cultural and linguistic mixing” which arise from the entanglement of different cultures in the same indigenous space or location, primarily in the context of slavery, colonization, and the plantation societies characteristic of the Caribbean and parts of Spanish America and Southeast Asia. In Glissant’s terms, slavery, the plantation, and the tensions and struggles associated with them were necessary conditions for the emergence of creole. This process of cultural “transculturation” occurs in such a way as to produce, as it were, a “third space”—a “native” or indigenous vernacular space, marked by the fusion of cultural elements drawn from all originating cultures, but resulting in a configuration in which these elements, though never equal, can no longer be disaggregated or restored to their originary form, since they no longer exist in a “pure” state but have permanently “translated.” (pp. 30-31)

My research findings clearly show that Bermudians' identity is not only one of enslavement, colonization, miscegenation, but also a 'discovery narrative' that is absent of an Indigenous element. In addition, Glissant’s rationale for using Creolization to explain transculturation and entanglement of different cultures forced to live together in a colonial context is also befitting in explaining the Bermudian experience. My research findings also evoke a clarion call for the need to encourage learners to question the devaluation, negation, and omission of these complexities in the history lessons in the classroom. The overarching question is: how do we move forward? We need to destabilize entrenched dominant discourses that have consciously omitted the salient parts of our history by re-telling our history for ourselves. However, to proceed in this direction requires teaching curriculum that holistically speaks about
Bermuda’s history and experience in its complex, nuanced, ambiguous, and messy forms. What my research findings also revealed was the importance of being mindful of the power dynamics that exist among different groups in Bermuda. The education system in Bermuda gains nothing when it replaces the history lessons based on Eurocentric forms with history lessons based on Afrocentric forms. How do we then tell this messy history of Bermuda? This is where Creolization becomes a useful addition. Similar to Afrocentricity, Creolization calls for an equilibrium of self-awareness that does not privilege one aspect of identity over another. However, the method of acquiring equilibrium differs; Creolization problematizes the search for a classical past in exchange for understanding the entanglement of various histories.

While Afrocentricity and Creolization both recognize that Africans in the Diaspora have been deliberately de-culturalized and made to accept the conqueror’s codes of conduct and modes of behavior, for Afrocentricity this process of accepting the conquerors' code of conduct is a defeatist approach, but Creolization may read it as a form of ingenuity and as a survival mechanism. As noted in my research findings, some of my participants were absolutely against this notion of survival mechanism. For them, such a measure is temporal and fails to seek a deeper historical representation of Bermuda. This is part of the intellectual challenge of speaking and teaching Bermuda's history: Where should one begin and at what point can one rightly say that all aspects of Bermuda's history have been captured? This was an intellectual dilemma for my research subjects, but such a dilemma cannot be used as a legitimate excuse to ignore Bermuda's history in its totality. Perhaps, it is this seductive trap of “all or nothing” that makes Creolization a useful addition to the theoretical frameworks of this dissertation, in its willingness to work with complexity and perceived half-measures.
Chapter Six: The Curriculum and Education in Bermuda

Breaking the existing trend of colonizing and imperializing education has not been easy. It is not just because of the lack of political will. The problem... is the entrenched interests that defend the “status quo” for the benefits gained. The problem has equally to do with the failure on the part of the leaders and the vanguards of society to develop a vision of education that neither confuses nor privileges short term therapeutic benefits with a deeper understanding of the long term deleterious consequences of “mis-education”. Therefore, what is needed is vision of education that promotes structural change informed by the lessons and resilience of local peoples’ knowledge of their place in the world, and what is seen as the collective responsibility of everyone (Dei, 2004, p.2).

Education is the carrier of culture, knowledge, identity, history, values and world views that exist in every society; without education, society risks losing the opportunity of transferring its knowledge, history, identity, and culture to the next generation. It would be contradictory for anyone to say that she or he has been educated but somehow has not been affected by the values, the world views, the culture and the history of the place in which she or he received that education. For these reasons, any discussion of identity and the lack of inclusive history lessons must be read in the context of the curriculum, instructive, and pedagogical practices that exist in Bermuda's education system. Woodson (1992) highlighted the error of relying on Eurocentric curricula that fail to include African American history and culture. He also pointed out how the system has mis-educated African American students by failing to prepare them for success, as well as giving them a sense of who they are within the system that they must live. He further purported that many Blacks lost sight of their original reason for becoming educated and became engrossed with assimilating within White culture in an attempt to become successful under White standards instead of investing in their own communities and applying their knowledge to help liberate other Blacks. Although Woodson’s (1992) focused was on African Americans, his assertion is equally relevant to a Black Bermudians’ context.
Historically, the educational system in Bermuda has been anti-black. According to Hodgson (1997):

Coloured people, apparently, were not supposed to regard education as a country’s obligation to its young people, made possible through the taxation of themselves. The unexpressed implication seemed to be clear. If the coloured administrator forgot to be duly humble and suitably subservient, the school would be made to suffer, since education for Negroes was regarded as a major concession. (p.27)

In the context of Hodgson (1997) and Woodson’s (1992) comments, I asked my research participants how they view the teaching, curriculum and education system in Bermuda. Alice saw the problem of mis-education in Bermuda not only in the context of what is taught but also who is teaching it. For Alice, if Bermudian teachers are not well-grounded in instructive materials that are decolonizing, they will undoubtedly reproduce and perpetuate colonized and violent curricula, even with good and genuine intentions:

If the teachers themselves have not gone through the metamorphous of questioning what is considered the norm. Then those books and those values that are going to be portrayed in the classroom are not going to be what needs to be. And this is where I get to the curriculum. You have a written curriculum which can be a document which can be 300-400 pages. You can have all the theory that we have for all the courses on Africa and we have Bermuda stuff, but if, the taught curriculum that is, how the teacher brings that written document to life. If they are not conscious then they are not going to teach it in a way, and this is the problem I have particularly at primary school. Oh this is just Bermuda stuff. Oh...oh...oh.... we will just do this and this and the other, and hurry up and inject things… and even if they inject or spend more time on, it could be Africa and it could be America or it could be whatever, but my point is this, what message are you sending to the child that this is just about Bermuda. We will hurry up and get rid of this so we can do other stuff. My belief is you cannot teach Bermuda history properly without talking about the lives of Black Bermudians over the ages. And if you do it means you do not consciously tell the kids this person is black. (July 7, 2010 Interview)

Alice's comments are instructive and informative. Her central argument is that everything comes down to teachers and officials' commitment to transformative education. It is one thing to have all the necessary educational material and theories to support them, but it is a whole different
thing to have committed educators who are willing to implement them. The central question that has not been asked in the midst of all this: do teachers see inclusive curriculum as necessary and relevant for the education of Black Bermudian students? Until teachers understand and appreciate such curriculum, there will be no commitment on their parts to teach it. Marilyn Cochran-Smith observed in her essay, Learning to Teach Against the Grain, that the task of teaching critical issues outside the prescribed curricula is very challenging and sometimes discouraging for even experienced teachers. For the young and inexperienced teachers who are struggling to understand the politics of schooling, such a venture remains unattractive (Cochran-Smith, 1991, p.284). Today, many teachers are not willing to take risk in teaching against the grain for fear that if anything goes wrong, nobody will come to their defence (Cochran-Smith, 1991). This is the situation in Bermuda where the version of truth that is embedded in the curriculum is steeped-deep in Eurocentric ideology. Thus, many teachers in Bermuda do not see why they should risk everything to teach something outside their requirement, especially as they will not be rewarded for such a risky venture.

Furthermore, as already noted, education is about investment towards the future. Educators at every point in time must recognize that what they teach has material, emotional, psychological, and even spiritual implications for learners. What is left out and what are the implications when Bermuda’s history lessons are reduced to "this is just about Bermuda?" (Alice, July 7, Interview 2010). What kind of official identity are educators helping to construct when they leave out other instructive materials that will make learners more connected to Africa and the Caribbean? If knowledge is power, then what happens when knowledge is distorted and falsified in the name of "we cannot do everything?"(Alice, July 7, 2010 Interview). These are some of the questions Alice's comments bring to light for discussion.
Alice's comments must also be read and understood in the broader historical context. Historically, educating Blacks was not deemed a worthy endeavor. A few year after emancipation, James Christie Esten, Chief Justice and President of the Council of Bermuda, made an impassioned plea to the Government to accord freed ‘Negroes’ education as a moral obligation, given that 'Negroes' had been “obedient and attached slaves” (Hodgson, 1997, p.17). In addition, he felt that 'Negroes' needed to be educated in the same manner as their White counterparts (Hodgson, 1997). While the Government agreed to a minimum form of education for ‘Negro’ children, it did not concede to ‘equal’ education: “The decision had been made that, while the sons of the slave must become citizens, they must be second-class citizens. Second-class education, therefore, became, and remained, segregated” (Hodgson, 1997, p.17). Although Hodgson (1997) made the claim about this de facto segregation in 1988, my interviews in 2010 reveal a similar trend, despite the change to a Black ruling party. For instance, Esther in her interview said changes in Bermuda's society have not come easily because Black learners have been mis-educated to believe that they are inferior to their White counterparts.

Instead there has been a shift from de jure segregation to de facto segregation with the continuous use of race and class as a divisive tool. For Alice, the tragedy of Bermuda's education is that nothing has changed in 400 years despite the change of stakeholders:

And it all goes back… if you really investigate it goes back to how we continue to operate and have operated for 400 years. It doesn’t make a difference the colour of the player, the point is they adhere to the same values and belief systems and unless you examine that then it is going to be the same old, same old. [She says this Laughing]… and that is it in a nutshell [Laughing again]…. (July 7, 2010 Interview)

Alice's cynicism is understandable because, despite the political rhetoric in Bermuda, no serious and concrete steps have been put in place to address the problem of education. It appears the officials are content with the ways things are going. This “same old, same old” to which Alice is
referring, is an ideological mindset established through White indoctrination which continues to affect the social, political, and educational sphere. These old relationships facilitate and promote unhealthy racial divides based on White/Black; superiority/inferiority; deserving/not-deserving; rich/poor; and gradations of all these same variables are exhibited within and among the Black community.

For Arthur, the situation of Bermuda's education must be examined in a broader context. While not blaming the victims (Black people), he expressed concern that there is lack of agency, acknowledgement of complicity, responsibility, and accountability among those who express concerns about Bermuda's education:

One of the problems we have right now is that a significant portion of persons do not accept responsibility for their own actions will blame everything on the past and I think that in fact, weaken their actions. Now, having said that, some people may deem what I am saying as blaming the victim. I don’t really think so, but having said that, there is no question in my point of view that this system of education developed a situation in which the state, which is the Government, provided greater resources for the ethnic group which is white and lesser resources for ethnic group which is Black. (June 9, 2010 Interview)

Arthur expressed discontent over some Black Bermudians bemoaning the many injustices of the past, as if there were no other recourse but defeatism. He framed their self-pity as weak and irresponsible. However, I recognize that Black Bermudians are placed in the precarious situation of being both victimized and complicit in their own demise, often undermining each other’s efforts. This divisive mechanism has been produced and encouraged by the White power structure.

Freire (2007) wrote, “the oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption” (p.54). This was not the case for Bermuda’s first Black secondary schools, Berkeley Institute and Sandys Secondary School. It was purported that these two schools could not co-exist and every effort was made by “Negroes themselves” to derail Sandys Secondary.
As a result “the school failed to gain a foothold” (Hodgson, 1997, p.19). It was not until ten years later that Sandys Secondary school was re-opened due to the efforts of Nurse Alice Scott (Hodgson, 1997, p.19). In the observation of Hodgson (1997), as a result of this divisiveness, a claim was made that “coloured Bermudians could support only one secondary school since Bermuda’s coloured “elites” could attend the Berkeley Institute there was no need for another secondary school” (p.20). The fact that Blacks fought against each other with the hope of securing upward mobility through one ‘elite’ secondary school was farcical and deemed a “pathetic absurdity” (Hodgson, 1997, p.20). Hodgson further contended that the only prominence a ‘Negro’ could receive would be among his or her own who were less fortunate, yielding no acknowledgement by the White power structure. This was evident in the scholarships that were awarded: the Bermuda Scholarship was reserved for White students, which automatically led to the world-renowned Rhodes Scholarship; and the Bermuda Technical Scholarship was reserved for ‘coloured’ boys with a restriction that education must “be of a technical nature” (Hodgson, 1997, p. 22).

Arthur attested to the government’s egregious behaviour in meting out financial support:

All education in Bermuda was fee paid up until 1949. Even so, assistances were provided more to the White schools than Black. And much as possible was done to benefit the White schools. The only Black school that had any financial support, Black secondary school I should say, that had any financial support from Government prior to 1950 was The Berkeley Institute, but there were about five White secondary schools that had financial support from Government. They started creating more Government supported Black secondary schools in the middle of the 1950’s but even when that was done education reports showed that those Black secondary school were designed from the point of view of the Ministry of Education to provide education which was non-academic in purpose and aimed mainly to provide people who will be the service type people throughout the community. (June 9, 2010 Interview)

Arthur demonstrated how the White oligarchy ensured that a second-class status would prevail through differential distribution of financial support and scholarships accorded to White
and Black schools. For example, during the thirties an official report listed the distribution of grants allocated to the various vested secondary schools. Vested schools were schools identified as having their own property but receiving financial assistance from Government. The vested schools were Whitney Institute, Bermuda High School for Girls, Saltus Grammar, and Warwick Academy for white students, and The Berkeley Institute for ‘Negro’ students. The funding that was accorded was 1,050, 1,149, 1,050, 1,200 and 975 pounds respectively with The Berkeley Institute receiving the least funding. Despite the government's official excuse of not having sufficient funds for building another Black secondary school; in that same year, it built additional schools for Portuguese children. According to Hodgson (1988, p.27), this expense was completely unnecessary because it came not at the request of the Portuguese, but was rather a means for government to maintain its agenda of segregation in Bermuda.

The behavior of the White oligarchy was predictable, but even more disappointing was the Progressive Labour Party’s (PLP's) (formed in 1963 by the Black majority) failure to address Bermuda’s long history of racial disparity within the country once they won the General Election in November 1998. This failure is most regrettable, but perhaps understandable given Esther’s earlier comment regarding Black leaders who were raised in an “oppressive, racist, White supremacy environment,” an environment that germinated a philosophy that Whites’ are genetically superior and Blacks inferior. Governing under such a mindset will inevitably produce the same outcome, or worse.

Alice candidly expressed an annoyance with the PLP government. When they came into power, whatever projects the educators were working on was cancelled without question despite the time and money already invested. The previous UBP (United Bermuda Party) government had paid millions of dollars, between 8 to 10 million, to hire CTB McGraw Hill who does the
Terra Nova exam, to work with the Education Officers. The exams were meant to evaluate students’ Math and English language skills:

Which our kids haven’t been doing well on, but we know why because it’s a skill base exam and teachers are still putting the emphasis on content rather than learning activities which focus on the various thinking levels...PLP government made this assumption that because the people who were in curriculum were here under the [United Bermuda Party] UBP that nothing they were doing could be of any use. So they were just ordered to stop whatever you are doing - we don’t even want to know what you’re doing, just stop it. And to this day 12 years later they have never sat down with the officers to ask them anything. And the funny thing about it is we had so much freedom under the UBP government; because most of their kids... none of their kids were really in public schools.... It gave [us] as technical people some power to do what [we] needed to be done. (Alice, July 7, 2010 Interview)

If, paradoxically, there was increased freedom under the UBP, versus decreased freedom under the PLP, what accounts for it? Alice alluded to a benign neglect under the UBP, in contrast to a more involved but politically motivated policy under the PLP. The UBP was supportive of the Bermuda's National Curriculum, which under the UBP Government, was developed to cover Math, English, Science, Social Studies, IT, Health, PE, Business Studies, DNT- Design and Technology, Family Studies, Music, and the Arts. The curriculum was a result of collaborative effort from people in the community and Education Officers. Alice further stated that, although all curricula are mandated under the PLP, there was no consequence for not teaching it.

Not only did Alice feel that this lack of continuity and accountability was damaging to students’ academic endeavors, she also had doubts about the logic of abandoning the Bermuda National Curriculum in exchange for the re-introduction of the Cambridge International curriculum which does not have a Bermudian component. This void means students will not be taught or tested on Bermuda, especially if a teacher needs to focus on preparing students for the mandated Cambridge curriculum in Science, English and Math. Given the mandated curriculum, teachers cannot leave the required material to the last because teachers are being evaluated on
how their students perform on the exams. Alice further stated that teachers may have good intentions of covering information on Bermuda by trying to squeeze it in, but she asked a valid question: “Why should information on your own country be squeezed in?

Alice’s views were not isolate, Karen also commented:

I think, in terms of mandated Bermuda curriculum, for the last, I’d say for the last 5 years, maybe more, the curriculum was revisited. The social studies curriculum, in particular and Bermuda content was more deliberately included, and so if you were to go into a grade 7 or an M2 classroom at any point in the year, you would hear the teacher and the students involved in that kind of focus. And, I don’t know to what extent, I think it’s also in existence at the primary level, to some extent, I wouldn’t venture to say how much. In high school, I think that is also true, and of course, there are world history courses, but there is sort of a focus on civics, Bermuda politics, and that sort of thing. So, it’s better than it used to be. Whether it’s taught with the kind of perspective that one might say it should be taught with is a debate that you want to have with social studies teachers. But certainly, it is there. Now, as such, because it’s the national curriculum, it’s mandated. It’s supposed to cover the curriculum. Where it gets a bit dicey is that it’s not been systemically delivered. That is, I think there’s been a bit too much autonomy on the part of teachers as to what they cover and what they don’t cover, because without common assessments it has been somewhat problematic. And we only brought in a common assessment that is criterion based. Last year, for the first time, in ages and this year maybe the last time we are going to do it because we are moving to Cambridge curriculum. (July 7, 2010 Interview)

Karen indicated that the Bermuda National Curriculum provided the cultural relevancy for students, despite the perceived variances she felt in what was covered. As a means to rectify the inconsistency, a common assessment was implemented last year; but, unfortunately, in September 2010 Bermuda’s National curriculum was replaced by the re-adoption of the Cambridge curriculum, coupled with the moving around of principals. Karen likens the restructuring of the school system to moving chairs around on the Titanic; moving things but not changing anything. Karen further conveyed her displeasure with how the Bermuda National Curriculum was perceived as inferior, fraught with the misconception that an "international stamp...with Cambridge or whatever" would fix Bermuda's education issues. She felt what was being overlooked were the success rate of students who have gone through the Bermuda National
curriculum. More specifically, they had successfully been accepted at various colleges and universities overseas. But instead of the policy makers celebrating those successes under the Bermuda National curriculum, they chose to focus on the ones who did not succeed to the point of abandoning the national curriculum entirely.

In addition, Karen stated that the Cambridge National Curriculum generated mixed emotions among people; some people perceived the move to be regressive while others felt Bermuda’s education system needed to find an international certification because the Bermuda National curriculum had no merit on a global level. Karen conveyed amazement at the powerful perspective that some people had towards their local curriculum and how it revealed a mindset of not believing Bermudian educators could produce a curriculum that could assist Bermudian children in becoming contributing citizens of Bermuda and the world.

Karen's substantiates her claim of the policy markers over-reliance on foreign experts as an affront to local educators by drawing on another example. She spoke about the research that was conducted on the plight of Black males in Bermuda, headed by Dr. Mincy, a professor from New York University, who analyzed Bermuda’s statistical data from the 2000 Census report. Dr. Mincy, along with his colleague, proceeded to do a qualitative research study by interviewing eighteen high school students from one of the senior schools. Karen stated that the findings were used as a cure-all remedy to help Black male students in Bermuda. She acknowledged that there were some salient points in the report, but she further stated:

I can guarantee you, and I can guarantee you because I know from personal experience that if a Bermudian does a piece of research and comes and says, “here I did some research on x, y and z that might interest you about education in Bermuda,” you would have heck to get anybody to read it, interest in it, and definitely, it would never get in the newspaper (July 7, 2010 Interview).
Karen’s comment highlights how local knowledge and expertise are under-rated. Her assertions speak to the inferiority complex that abounds on the island; specifically locals’ enchantment with foreign expertise as a panacea for local problems. The reality is that these foreigners who are being commissioned by the Ministry do not understand the specificity and complexity of the Bermudian culture and are allowed to conduct quick assessments despite their limited knowledge.

Sherry also expressed her discontentment with the Cambridge Curriculum being privileged:

No one really has the “guts ... to make a drastic change to make it fit our climate. Our clients who we’re teaching and the end of the day the children our clients, and we know what’s best for them as teachers, and we are not heard enough to say what we feel should work. We have outside sources that are saying, “Okay we feel Cambridge is the best,” but then when you look at Cambridge versus the curriculum that we’ve been using all this time, you’re going to have language barriers, because it’s a British system versus the American system. So you have different terminology in the tests, create a leaflet; that was one of them. What is a leaflet? So, if you didn’t teach that part, then they can’t answer the questions... when I talk to parents, [about the Cambridge curriculum] they are confused. I know at the end of the school year we still didn’t have a clear direction for September. We knew Cambridge is going to be fully implemented, but … they left it up to the individual school to see what [they] wanted to do. So, some schools used Cambridge throughout this past school year [while other schools did not]. (July 12, 2010 Interview)

Sherry cautions against the potential negative impact the Cambridge curriculum can have on students. She also addresses the ‘autonomy’ individual schools were given in terms of unofficially implementing the curriculum prior to the official start date. Sherry also provides an insight into the unsettledness that was brewing among educators and parents surrounding the implementation of the Cambridge International Curriculum. She states that concerns were festering regarding the constant vacillation from a British system to American one and back to British curricula. Sherry also felt that there was no consideration given to the impact these changes might have on the overall well-being and learning of the students.
Joe echoes Karen and Sherry adding:

the education system has been a political football. When the UBP was in power, you didn’t have as much negativity towards the public system as you do now....under the UBP administration, that’s when they moved to the mega schools and middle schools. People who don’t have a grasp of the past tend to think that it was the PLP government that instituted and implement these staggering changes, but since then [when PLP became the ruling party] education has been under scrutiny. And, every time there is a new administration, every time there is a change in the leader of the PLP, I think in the past 10 years we’ve had about six different Ministers of Education; that in itself let’s you know it’s a political thing. Each Minister has his or her own agenda with regards to what direction the school system should go in terms of curricular. At one point, you had your British curricular, and then you started infusing the Canadian and the American system, and now you’re back to the British system, and now the British system is in the process of changing what we’ve just adopted. Of course it’s a political football. (July 17, 2010 Interview)

Joe's observation was not unlike Alice's and Sherry's, adding that under the leadership of UBP there was minimum negative publicity, but once leadership changed to the PLP there were many inconsistencies in terms of the curriculum and personal political agendas that over-shadowed the Ministry of Education’s willingness to support the educators. He used the analogy of football to describe the back and forth and inconsistency that were occurring within the education system.

What was lost in the proverbial political football match? I conclude that the key players — the educators whose informed perspectives and pedagogical knowledge were dismissed, and the students — had become collateral damage as a result of the instability. Alice's, Sherry's and Joe’s accounts denote a peculiar kind of psychological disconnection from the past, an amnesic affect, a forced assimilation resulting from the need to survive, a ‘survivalist culture’ as mentioned previously by Mazumbo.

What accounts for this assimilation and/or survivalist stance? Woodson (1992) furnishes a plausible explanation:

Negroes who have been so long inconvenienced and denied opportunities for development are naturally afraid of anything that sounds like discrimination. They are anxious to have
everything the white man has even if it is harmful. The possibility of originality in the Negro, therefore, is discounted one hundred per cent to maintain a nominal equality (pp. xi - xii).

In other words, the education system in Bermuda has failed to prepare Black students for success, as well as failed to give them a sense of "self", in particular as it relates to their lived experiences. Eurocentric education did not consider the Black student, but rather sought to fashion good colonial subjects. Education was/is the tool used to afflict mental confusion and distortion of self. In this instance, education is being defined not only in terms of the formal indoctrination within the classroom but also informal socialization both within and outside of the classroom. Dei (1997) refers to this as ‘deep curriculum’, which includes both formal and informal “aspects of the school environment and the intersections of culture, environment, and the organization life of schools” (p.144). Many Blacks lost sight of their original reason for becoming educated and became engrossed with assimilating into White culture as an attempt to become successful under Whites.

Evidence of the failure of education to connect with Black students is noticeable in the responses from the students when I asked why they feel students disengage and drop out of school. The students' comments, viewed in juxtaposition with the educators' responses, reveal conflicting perceptions of education in terms of whose responsibility it is to ensure that students learn and what pedagogical practices should be used to engage the students.

Sue, a senior high school student, affirmed that the material was not relatable or interesting:

Some teachers make teaching difficult because … They don’t make it as if you want to actually pay attention in class. Some children actually fall asleep in class trying to listen to the teachers…. Make the subject more interesting. You can’t have every day where you sit down and write, full stop. One day maybe have games, or watch a movie about it, or something like
that. You can’t just sit in the classroom and write all day, [there are] different activities that you can do around the class. (July 21, 2010 Interview)

Wayne, had a different analysis of education. He felt there is a lack of commitment and care on the part of teachers: “They tell you if you don't do your work and everything your going stay back and …like oh um… I don't care how you learn and everything because I'm still getting paid and everything, like that stuff” (August, 5, 2010 Interview). He added that teachers put pressure on students without offering any assistance, and they simply did not care whether the students learned or not. Wayne's comment reflects the tension perceived by some students in terms of the educators' negative attitude towards students, which he felt was not conducive to students' learning.

Jessica, who just completed senior school, provided a contrasting opinion to both Sue and Wayne she felt students did not want to help themselves and teachers did not want to waste their time helping them. When asked why she felt students had lost interest and dropped out of school, she offered a plausible explanation, stating that some students felt high school, in particular Berkeley Institute where she attended, was too strict in terms of the dress code and some students were lazy.

Junior, a twelve-year-old middle school student, made similar inferences as Sue. He purported, “[teachers] could … make it similar to what [students] like, like they like sports, they could put the class work and make it like sports. And that would probably make them have interest in the work” (August 6, 2010 Interview). Both students and teachers raised valid concerns from their respective location. What accounted for the two different observations given by students and educators? Valenzuela (1999) posited that students reflect their non-caring attitude towards school and learning, similarly to the non-caring attitude teachers exhibit towards
them. Teachers and the schooling system expect that students participate in a unilateral exchange of knowledge, one that is devoid of caring and minus a reciprocal relationship between teacher and student. She further postulated that although teachers perceived themselves as caring, many of them unconsciously communicated a different message to their colleagues as well as to their students (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 63). In contrast, committed teachers who did “invest their time in students [were] chided for their efforts, with the reminder that working hard is not worth the effort ‘since these kids aren’t going anywhere anyway’” (Valenzuela, 1999, pp. 63-64). A similar message is being conveyed within the Ministry of Education in Bermuda through the lack of support accorded the educators in terms of available resources. Both groups are reflecting this lack of supports that have been generated within the system.

Learning environment and space was another valid concern. Spaces such as “everyday learning, learning in practice, learning in schools and other educational institutions, learning at work and collective learning” (Illeris, 2004, p. 175). These respective spaces cannot be seen independent of one another each space influences the other, especially the attitude the students have towards the learning context, the teacher, the subject, their respective school, and society in general (Illeris, 2004, pp. 175-176).

With respect to theory and praxis, Freire (2007) proffered that the ‘problem-posing’ method will enhance the activity of the teacher-students, alleviating the separatism and leading teachers to engaging in a reciprocal dialogue with students rather than the students being led to mechanically memorize the narrated content. The ‘problem-posing’ method allows the educators to be constantly re-forming their reflections in the reflection of the students: “The students [are] no longer docile listeners; [they] are critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher” (Freire, 2007, p. 81). Teachers and students can recognize shared positions and respond to them
together. Students are geared to take action; the teacher and the student teach and learn simultaneous both learn, question, reflect and participate in meaning-making. Education becomes an experience capable of naming or using a vocabulary that dismantles perceived notions and stirs students towards more innovative thinking.

Similar to Freire (2007), Giroux (2001) believed that educators needed to understand their students and to address the contexts of their everyday lives, a position that was also voiced in my interview with Joe. Giroux (2001) substantiates Karen, Alice, and Lilly’s concerns when he challenges the “dominant views of education to reassert the fundamental political nature of teaching and the importance of linking pedagogy to social change, connecting critical learning to the experiences and histories that students brought into the classroom as well as engaging the space of schooling as a site of contestation, resistance, and possibility” (Giroux, 2001, p. x). Valenzuela’s (1999) caution of over-reliance on technical discourse champions the views expressed by Sue, Wayne and Junior. Valenzuela (1999) argued that, “technical discourse refers to impersonal and objective language, including such terms as goals, strategies, and standardized curricula that is used in decision made by one group for another” (p. 22). She proffered that these concerns unfortunately take precedent over the students’ subjective reality and quick judgments are made using traditional behaviourist theory to analyze students based on their outward appearances and actions. In doing so, this closes the door of possibility for a more relational and compassionate pedagogy. What needs to be considered is the significance of individual histories that students and teachers bring to their classroom encounters that can influence the chances for successful relationship building (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 73). Instead of focusing primarily on standardization, teachers should also consider the overall well-being of their students and should
endeavor to provide an environment that will allow them to flourish both academically and personally to achieve a greater understanding of self.

**Conclusion: Education, Schooling and Teaching Curriculum in Bermuda**

As already noted, there is a need for Bermuda's history to be taught in its complex, messy, nuanced, and ambiguous form. However, in order for this feat to be achieved, it is important for a thorough revamp of the teaching curricula in Bermuda. Much has been written about inclusion in education (see Dei et al, 1997; Dei et al, 2000). But as Dei and James (2002) have eloquently argued, perhaps, inclusion is not so much about what is missing but actually what is already there. Since Bermuda's education is Eurocentric, then all other additions will be peripheralized. Within this context, my research findings call for an urgent reform of the curriculum in Bermuda's schooling and education. Given that education is the vehicle that transports and interprets the past, the Eurocentric vision of Bermuda constructs a problematic narrative. It a narration that gives a narrow vision of Bermuda, which is deficient and superficial in understanding the connections and contacts Bermuda has with other Caribbean Islands and Africa. Such knowledge does not help learners in Bermuda construct their identity in ways that reflect their complex, nuanced, and messy history. What is the purpose of education to Bermudian learners, if the curriculum cannot teach them the truths about their history? What happens when Eurocentric articulation of history about Bermuda becomes what Michel Foucault (1982) refers to as a regime of truth? My research findings clearly show that there is a disconnection when a unilateral interpretation of Bermuda's history places learners, especially, Black Bermudian learners, on the periphery of their history. Within this context, the astute words of African literary writer, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) are instructive:
Since culture is a product of the history of a people which it in turn reflects, the child was now being exposed exclusively to a culture that was product of a world external to himself. He was being made to stand outside himself to look at himself. …’Catching them young’ as an aim was even more true of a colonial child. The images of this world and his place in it implanted in a child take years to eradicate, if they ever can be. Since culture does not just reflect the world in images but actually, through those very images, conditions a child to see that world in a certain way, the colonial child was made to see the world and where he stands in it as seen and defined by or reflected in the culture of the language of imposition (p. 16).

And since those images are mostly passed on through orature and literature it meant the child would now only see the world as seen in the literature of his language of adoption. From the point of view of alienation, that is of seeing oneself from outside oneself as if one was another self, it does not matter that the imported literature carried the great humanist tradition of the best in Shakespeare, Goethe, Balzac, Tolstoy, Gorky, Brecht, Sholokhov, Dickens. The location of this great mirror of imagination was necessarily Europe and its history and culture and the rest of the universe was seen from that center. But obviously it was worse when the colonial child was exposed to images of his world as mirrored in the written language of his colonizer. (pp. 17-18)

There is a lot that can be gleaned from wa Thiong'o (1986) when speaking about the teaching curriculum of Bermuda.

My research findings show that the literature that has been provided for students in Bermuda is mainly written by Whites, who have established themselves as the main protagonists of Bermuda's history. The effect of these White narcissistic narratives in Bermuda is a superficial account of Bermuda's history that ignores all other contributions of non-white participants. The danger of this Eurocentric ontology is that absence is interpreted as non-existence. Consequently, Black Bermudians go through the education system with an understanding that their ancestors played no special roles in constructing Bermuda. As my research findings clearly suggest, many students in Bermuda have little or no knowledge about how Bermuda was formed. Most of their knowledge is skewed towards a narrative that makes white Europeans heroes and heroines of Bermuda's history. At best, the only part Black ancestors and other non-White groups play is as carriers of woods and drawers of water. The effects of such knowledge are that many Black
Bermudians are ashamed to acknowledge and accept any part of their history that relates them to their Black ancestral roots. Frantz Fanon (1963), makes a projection about the negative effect of colonization on colonized bodies. He argues that “colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native’s brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it” (p. 210). It appears that the teaching curricula in Bermuda has succeeded in keeping Black learners subjugated and amputated from their history.

Hodgson (1989), expressed similar concerns; however, she added that the future of Bermuda will be “the direct responsibility of today’s black leader” (p. 70). This comment was made in 1989 in her book "A Storm in a Teacup, while reflecting on the trajectory of what occurred despite the struggle for justice under Black leadership in 1959. Hodgson (1989) indicated that Blacks still felt the need to prove to themselves that they can behave responsibly, according to the White ideals of those with power. She insists that, instead of Black leaders focusing on the struggle for justice, their attention was diverted to their desire for personal and political power and the acquisition of wealth. This quest for power was sought in negation of historical trauma and continuous collateral damage of our Black people in general, and our Black students in particular.

In the interim of obtaining the pertinent texts and curriculum reforms, Bermudian educators can expose the gaps and ask critical questions such as: what are the gaps concealing? Why are Blacks only referenced in menial, subordinated roles in the present literature, and why are they framed as being less human? What fears drive these myths? More specifically, are these omissions intentional, meant to keep Blacks subjugated? Woodson (1933; 1992) provided an explanation for why Black educators are failing to deliver their comprehensive history:
The “highly educated” Negroes do not like to hear anything uttered against this procedure because they make their living in this way, and they feel that they must defend the system. Few mis-educated Negroes ever act otherwise; and, if they so express themselves, they are easily crushed by the large majority to the contrary so that the procession may move on without interruption. (p. 24)

This phenomenon is germane to Bermuda’s education system. For example, one of my research participants recounted a meeting with HSBC bank's education arm, David Hopkins, and other Education Officers that took place a year before the official Review of Public Education in Bermuda, May 2007 report, coined the Hopkins’s Report. The purpose of the meeting was for David Hopkins to present his findings on public education in Bermuda. Alice remembers how the educators’ inquiries concerning the report were received with annoyance and assumptions that they were not supposed to know anything:

He got a bit miffed that we were asking questions, these probing questions, so we were cut off after that point. Once the CEO was made Chair of the interim board [of Education], he made sure that none of us would participate or be a part of it. And we are the only ones, and that is part of the problem. We are the only ones in Bermuda who understand curriculum and all the little facets that have gone into it (July 7, 2010 Interview).

What Alice has conveyed in her narrative is that nothing has changed; we still reside within the binaries of master/slave, colonizer/colonized, inferior/superior, intellectual/backwards and the list goes on. Black Bermudian intellectuals continue to perpetuate the mis-education of Black youth through the over-reliance on Eurocentric curriculum and foreign advice that are not culturally relative or sensitive to Bermuda. What message is being sent when Black Bermudian educators’ expertise, invested interest and willingness to act in the best interest of their students are being undermined, dismissed and replaced?

The dilemma of education is complex. While some students claim that educators do not care about their students, correspondingly educators claim that some students do not value their
education. The reality is that while some educators are doing their best with limited resources to ensure the best for their students, there are those who need to do more than what they are currently offering to students. However, the central issue is not only whether some teachers care about their students or not, but also whether they are really aware of the implication of mis-educating students.

The continuing neglect, distortions and misrepresentations of Black Bermudian history deprive Black students and their heritage and relegates them to insignificance. How can we (Bermudians) expect anything differently for, and from, Black students if they are already set up to fail and feel inferior? The education of any people should begin with the people themselves. Books like: *Second Class Citizens; First Class Men* (1963) by Eva Hodgson, which encapsulates the decade from 1953 to 1963 during Bermuda’s desegregation period where she highlights this period as one of Bermuda’s most tumultuous social historical eras, when the Progressive Labour Party (Black) and the United Bermuda Party (White) were formed and began to represent Black Bermudians’ interests on the political stage; “*Chained on the Rock: Slavery in Bermuda*” (1975) by Cyril Outerbridge Packwood, who wrote candidly about slavery in Bermuda and provided a correction to the misleading and false perception that Bermuda had a benevolent slave system; and *Freedom Fighters: From Monk to Mazumbo* (1987) by Ira Philip, who wrote about the courageous struggle of two daring men of conscience for justice and the dignity of Black Bermudian people. Philip (1987) further lays bare and delineates the foundation of systematic injustice and the total disregard for human dignity in Bermuda. All of these books were written by Black Bermudians, yet their texts are not being used in the current curriculum.

Woodson (1933, 1992) critiqued the system by explaining how the vicious circle resulted and continues from mis-educated individuals who graduate and then go on to teach and mis-
educate others. Unfortunately, his observations still persist. At the time of Woodson’s (1933) writing, Black youth were his particular concern because he recognized the effects of education and how mis-education can later crystallize into deep-seated insecurities, intra-racial divisions, and interracial antagonisms. Woodson (1933, 1992), wa Thiong’o (1986), Hodgson (1989, 1997), Bhabha (1994), Amadu (1997), Asante (1998) and Britzman (2000) all provide examples for other scholars to follow by not only going to great lengths in tracing the historical foundations of the problem, its development, and its influence on interpersonal relations and historical scholarships, but also being realistic in the pursuit of historical knowledge. There has to be an epistemological and ontological understanding that history is not static, it is always occurring. For my research findings, the task ahead is fighting what Fanon (1963, p. 210) calls "perverted logic" in Bermuda's classroom. How do we proceed? For Afrocentricity, the teaching curricula must highlight Bermuda beyond its history of slavery and colonization, to a period in time where Black ancestors played pivotal roles in human history and civilization, as well as highlighting the many instances of Black agency and resistance throughout the moments of slavery and colonization. Afrocentricity recommends a re-awakening of historical consciousness, an epistemological understanding of history, education, and identity formation that clearly connects Bermuda to Africa.

wa Thiong’o (1986) highlighted two of the plausible causes of educational paralysis that has befallen African people and, by extension, Black Bermudians: cultural hegemony and the imposition of European literature. The first step, according to Afrocentricity is to deconstruct the means by which curriculum in Bermuda has defined a triumphal White vision that diminishes non-Whites. This, in the words of Asante (1998), "is a difficult road for those who are committed to the detours of literary analysis and historical speculation, because once again we are in the
area of the forbidden when we question the Eurocentric ideas about culture” (p. 10). Bermuda’s history has been primarily written from the Europeans’ conceptualization, with Black Bermudians’ contributions referenced, if at all, as a footnote. Amadiume (1997) rightfully states “our problem is one of historical depth” (p. 4). In respect to history, identity, and status, to which I add curriculum, she asks: whose interests have been most served by using this specific history? Through Bermuda’s history we see the answer: the White oligarchy has benefitted materially through the historical void; Asante (1998) shows us the connection: “scholarship rooted in such myths obviously lacks either historical or conceptual authenticity. The aggressive seizure of intellectual space, like the seizure of land, amounts to occupying someone else’s territory and claiming it as one’s own. When this occurs, cultural analysis takes a back seat to galloping ethnocentric interpretations of phenomena” (p. 10). Accordingly, similar cautions must also be considered when using Afrocentricity. To rely on one theoretical perspective excludes and does not acknowledge other theoretical articulation of Black diasporic experience in Bermuda. Specifically, Black people who do not fit neatly into the category of Africans. In this instant, Blacks who do not claim an African identity reside on the periphery of the Afrocentricists’ imagination.

We are left with a discontinuous history and an uncertain future if measures are not taken to assert our autonomy (Asante, 1998; Hodgson, 1989). Both Asante (1998) and Hodgson (1989) indicate how mis-education has sent a message to the native that he/she is not perspicacious enough to handle his/her educational affairs, no matter his/her station in life. My research findings impress the urgency of decolonization, the necessity of Black Bermudians to know their history in totality. Bermudians can no longer celebrate the physical removal of slavery without completing their total liberation. Bermuda’s curriculum and schooling system must emancipate
learners from ‘mental slavery.’ What is clear from my research findings is that colonialism was mentally and physically abusive to Black Bermudians, and the task at hand is to re-gain control over their minds and their actions.

However, such a redemptive and comprehensive approach to history and teaching is not without its own challenges. Rinaldo Walcott (2000) recounts the trauma, disappointment, and dilemma of teaching a history of Africa that includes its messy past:

Black communities make use of this history as the basis for a discourse of common community. In these courses, my desire was to stage a pedagogical encounter with “neoslave narratives” that might allow for a working through of the trauma of slavery and its aftermath for Black peoples. This desire rubs against the grain of historical study as salvational—that knowledge of the past will set one free and prevent future forms of racism and genocide....While most Black students are drawn to my courses because of the redemptive promise of their content, a content they hope to be self-affirming, many are disappointed by the points of view encountered in the texts we study. Once students are confronted with the narrative renderings of the details of slavery, especially details that are not necessarily heroic, shame and disappointment often constitute their responses (Walcott, 2000, pp.135-136).

Walcott's (2000) observation is useful and an advisement that the task ahead is a difficult and challenging one if we are to embrace the challenge of presenting and teaching Bermuda's history in its totality. There is a saliency in knowing our history, in particular, the difficult knowledge of those histories. As Britzman (2000) rightfully states, “If pedagogy is to create the conditions for the idiomatic urge to reconstruct an affective community, it must begin with how communities can also be destroyed. This is an appeal to thought and, in doing so, thought must touch what is both uncanny and sublime” (p. 49). It is important not to be selective in our memory; according to Homi Bhabha (1994), “memory is the necessary and sometimes hazardous bridge between colonialism and the question of cultural identity. Remembering …is never a quiet act of introspection or retrospection. It is a painful re-membering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present”” (p. 63). Both Britzman (2000)
and Bhabha (1994) convey the significance of history, of re-membering, of the trauma of re-membering and the pedagogical responsibility in delivering all histories, especially the difficult history.

While it is the responsibility of researchers and educators alike, to teach Black Bermudian students what global Africans have accomplished, we must also assist them in becoming critical thinkers. It is equally important that:

Teachers must also be open to learning about the confines of trauma, for the urge without the thought is subject to unconscious reversal and displacement. Symptoms of these dynamics can be located in the desire to rescue, in the idealization of the lost object, and in the numbness of disassociation. If contemporary students are to do more than be subject to traumatic combination of the unconscious of both their teachers’ and their own anxieties, then teachers will have to grapple with questions of transference and countertransference in pedagogy. (Britzman, 2000, pp. 49-50)

Britzman’s (2000) denouement is applicable to understanding historical events, a concatenation of enslavement and colonization that has informed the social and political and educational reforms in Bermuda. Without this understanding of trauma, Bermuda will continue to exist as a ‘culture of silence’ and perpetually seek refuge through assimilation into European culture. By looking at trauma as a pedagogical tool, educators can begin to understand their own anxieties and earnestly teach Bermuda’s history in a holistic manner. By having candid historical conversations devoid of idealization of a longing for an African classical past or a numbness of disassociation, students will develop an appreciation for histories that include the multi-faceted composition of their complex identities.

This project is one of taking accountability for our own history and our own education, at all levels, in all of its messiness, and in all its manifestations. Bermudian educators need to ask themselves these salient questions: How long will they continue to lodge the excuse that there is a scarcity of literature on Bermuda’s Black issues and Black history? How long will they
continue to deny space for Black Bermudians to see themselves as centered in the reality of any
discipline that is connected to the Caribbean and Africa?
Chapter Seven: Identity and the Politics of Identity in Bermuda’s Education System

Cultivating an epistemological understanding of identity was the most challenging part of this dissertation, especially when searching for notions of identity beyond a superficial articulation. For example, the common perception of identity in the local context, especially among Black Bermudian students, consists of who they are related to, their place of birth, their chosen attire, celebrated holidays, and the geographical landscape of Bermuda. Students’ comprehension of identity was very limited and they were unable to convey any awareness of the identity politics in Bermuda. The authors and, to some degree, the educators had solidified their identities and were not only cognizant of their connection to the Caribbean and Africa, but they were also proud of these connections. I attribute their groundedness to a combination of variables that emerged during our interviews, such as socialization, race consciousness, education and an epistemological imagination that were fostered in the home and/or enriched once they went overseas to study and further developed racial awareness. I posit that students’ limited understanding of identity is a result of a default mechanism deployed by the colonial education system, a system that advertently failed to recognize the tension, contestations and uniqueness of identity that are intricately linked to race, class, gender, contemporary and historical collective experiences, and laden with the power structure’s indiscriminate authority to determine a group’s identity and ‘authenticity’.

Accordingly, the issue of identity is important especially in respect to the way education contributes to identity formation and shapes the lived experiences of students. As such, the forms of knowledge and pedagogy that emerge from an epistemological understanding of identity will shape what is transmitted to students. When that transmission is skewed and/or omits key aspects, it produces fragmented beings with superficial understandings of their identities and
heightens the susceptibility of Blacks being drawn to stereotypical imagery presented for their digestion and commodification. Identity, therefore, requires a deeper analysis of its complexity and must incorporate history and education as a means of understanding its social and historical construction. While there is a necessity to embark on an identity journey, Walcott (2000) cautions that Blacks should not avoid the detailed narratives of slavery, especially details that are not heroic but rather embrace the “pedagogical encounter with ‘neoslave narratives’ that might allow for a working through of the trauma of slavery and its aftermath for Black peoples” (p.139). Walcott (2000) raises salient points that can be utilized in the context of Bermuda, particularly around issues of slavery and Creolization; Black Bermudians have to examine their own painful past in order to develop an identity through the encounter of what Britzman (1998) terms “difficult knowledge” that includes confronting issues of rape and miscegenation (Walcott, 2000, p.137).

In the context of Bermuda, identity has been framed as either primarily Black or White; Black being synonymous with ‘slave’/colonized and White synonymous with purity/colonizer. In light of this inaccuracy, an examination of Black/Afrocentric or white/Eurocentric identity alone cannot and does not begin to address the mixed raced identity that has occurred as a result of miscegenation. Creolization assists in addressing the limitations of the dualism of Black/White identity and can also assist in explaining and understanding “the ways in which Black communities make use of [Bermudian] history as the basis for a discourse of common community” (Walcott, 2000, p.135). As such, the issue of a creolized identity will be expanded on throughout this section. Looking at identity from this standpoint can unveil the superficial manifestation of identity and begin to critically examine the psychological impact of these historical and contemporary influences on the human disposition.
Mazumbo defines the identity conundrum in Bermuda, stating:

identity is very important in terms of the development of the character and the development of one’s sort of goals and directions that you want to take, and the problem with growing up in the western situation, where I would say in the Diaspora, is that one of the major crises in the people of African descent in the western world is this identity issue. They are, at most, schizophrenic about it. They don’t know how to identify, so they take on this dual identity (July, 18, 2010 Interview).

Mazumbo, aptly assessed the identity crises of people of African descent who have been over-exposed to White Western ideology, causing a psychological dislocation of self. He discloses his positionality as an American (who was once married to a Bermudian), and problematizes what being an American and Bermudian means:

I am American or I’m African-American. But what does that mean? That’s more of an emotional statement than a real one. Because basically they [Americans] know more about being American and nothing about being African. But yet, at the same time, they realize that their DNA is what it is, and that in reality they are what we call America, is based on rights and privileges. They are basically passport holders and they didn’t even get all their rights and privileges. It has nothing to do with DNA because there are no real Americans either...The whites who are in America, basically identified with the place they came from historically. That’s why they say they’re Irish-American, Russian-American, Polish-American. They have true identity, which they can trace. This gives them solid footing in their movement, but when you say “African-American,” they don’t have true identity which they can trace. And that puts them in a sort of a dilemma, because you need to be able to trace yourself back to something solid...and it shouldn’t be something ambiguous, something that you sort of titled yourself in order just to survive. So a man strives to be ... anything that is better than being a nigger is what I’m trying to say. So, identity is an important aspect in terms of normal, natural, wholesome development. Now in the terms of Bermudian situation, it’s similar. And it is also, as far as I’m concerned, even sort of a tricky because it’s worse than the African-American situation, because Bermuda was an uninhabited island, and even the white people who call themselves Bermudian, what are they? They again are passport holders with rights and privileges that come under the name Bermudian, but in reality, they trace themselves back to England or some other place. There’s no such thing as a Bermudian. It’s only a nationality based on rights and privileges. But our lives cannot be based just on rights and privileges. We come from families, we come from tribes, we come from culture and we come from DNA. And until we come to grips with that and accept that concept, then we are always in this dilemma and our children and our grandchildren are in this dilemma. Who are we? And “Who are we not?” And we shouldn’t be afraid to say who we are (July 18, 2010 Interview).
Mazumbo defines identity as being more than a passport that accords rights and privileges. He believes that one should be able to trace his/her 'true' identity to the place of origin, adding that, while this may be a feasible accomplishment for Whites, it is not plausible for Blacks. Tracing his/her 'true' identity has been fraught with insurmountable challenges that have caused Blacks to settle for a 'survivalist nationalist identity', such as African-American and Bermudian. Mazumbo's analysis of identity provides a good starting point to engage with identity and look at the conceptualization of identity in the Bermudian context, specifically how it is articulated by the various authors, educators and students in my study.

Mazumbo's conceptualization and operationalization of identity, in particular the way he visualizes identity in the context of one's Africanness, provide an important analytical debate. Mazumbo's words must be examined within the discourse of Afrocentricity and Creolization. There are still salient issues to consider here from an Afrocentric perspective, Mazumbo is suggesting that identity must be examined not only in the context of biology but also in the context of politics; that there are politics that come with claiming a particular identity. For Bermudians, claiming one's Africanness is about claiming one's history and legacy, and also about re-asserting one's agency and power to define one’s self. It is not so much about claiming Africa as a geographical space or origin point, but rather claiming Africa as part of a project of emotional, psychological, and spiritual awareness. Home is not limited to a geographical space; home is about emotional and spiritual attachment. While the physical attachment to home may be important, it is not the only means of conceptualizing home. Thus, the idea of dislocation and displacements are only historically applied to certain groups while others, no matter how much they move around, can always reclaim their histories and legacies. For instance, Europeans who have re-settled for long periods of time in North America do not consider themselves displaced
or dislocated and still claim particular ancestries if they so choose; yet, Diasporic Africans are often labeled as displaced and dislocated. Within this context, Mazumbo insists that Bermudians can politically reclaim their African selves without notions of displacement and dislocation.

While Mazumbo provides insightful exposition about identity and the politics of reclaiming, he ignores the fact that identity has never been static; it is always fluid. Bermudian identity is not only about Africa and the Caribbean; there is also part of Bermudian history that connects them to the current space called Bermuda. What constitutes Bermudian identity is not only a residue of African and Caribbean history but also an embodiment of the island experience. To insist that Bermudian learners should only claim their African or Caribbean selves and ignore their Bermudian self would be another form of amputation. Unfortunately, the current curriculum in Bermuda has failed to help learners engage the totality of their Bermudian identity as it relates to Africa, the Caribbean and their present location.

Conversations surrounding identity in Bermuda can best be described as diverse. Identity is defined from various perspectives ranging from a socio-political construction articulated by the authors, and is understood as a racial nationalistic construction disconnected from the Caribbean and Africa by the educators. Gloria, a Black Bermudian author linked her identity to the Caribbean, “We are multi-cultural even within the family. My identity, [she confessed] is that question mark, who am I? Am I Bermudian or do I accept the fact that I am part West Indian?”(June 2, 2010 Interview).Gloria, one of my respondents, a Black Bermudian author further admitted that although she wrestled with her identity she always defined herself as Bermudian/West Indian when filling the national census application. According to her, "it was only the other day [she] realized that [her] maternal grandfather was from Saba [a place in the West Indies] and that [her] West Indian identity was closer than [she] even imagined” (June 2,
She further conveyed that her recent revelation of her grandfather's identity was through her own research because the older generation seldom talked about their background. Her mother never talked about her background and was ‘completely silent’ with the exception of constantly expressing how she missed her father who died when she was 12 years old. Gloria argued that her mother was classed as a West Indian and "was not treated very well even amongst the Black Bermudians in the church context. Of course, the West Indians in the church embraced her but the Black Bermudians...she had a hard time with some of the Black Bermudians because she was not totally Bermudian" (June 2, 2010 Interview). In the opinion of Gloria, her mother was not accepted by the Black Bermudians because she was not viewed a 'true' Bermudian, although she was born in Bermuda.

Gloria's example speaks to the complexity, tension, dilemma, ambiguity, and nuances embedded within Bermudian identity. What constitutes 'true or authentic' Bermudian identity? How can Gloria's mother be born in Bermuda yet not considered as a "true" Bermudian? The answer is located in how Bermudian identity is constructed historically. As readers will recall in the earlier discussion about Bermudian history, I noted that many Bermudians are reluctant to draw any connection with Caribbean Islands because they were misled by Bermuda's oligarchy to believe that they were better than the Caribbean. This misconception explained why Gloria's mother who was half West Indian and half Bermudian, was not considered as a "true" Bermudian. Perhaps, the struggles of Gloria's mother to define herself within the context of Bermuda may explain her elusiveness and reluctance to disclose pertinent information about her heritage. This sense of 'otherness' among one's own can produce a more intense unsettledness within the self, fostering a further disconnection from one's 'true' identity.
Gates, (another one of my respondents who was also a Black author) on the other hand, shared a contrasting account about his identity. He emphatically declared:

Well, let me say this, I have never had a problem with identity, Black identity, identity as a person. I grew up in a home where we had no inferiority complexes, as a matter of fact to a greater extent as I look back now we may have had a superiority complex. But then it becomes so called superiority complex because a lots of people have inferiority complexes. Now, my parents were printers. My father hailed from Trinidad and he was recruited to come to Bermuda because of his expertise, expertise in what was the prevailing technology of the day and trade. He was a line type operator, a highly skilled one at that, a young man who intercepted my mother who was working at the Bermuda Press, which had been in existing for a long, long time. So we had that connection, that stimulus from the Caribbean, particularly Trinidad, in my family from forever, let’s put it that way. And my mother was fairly well off, if I may say comparatively speaking (June 7, 2010 Interview).

Gates did not accept or exhibit the historical pariah complex that befell many Black Bermudians, despite living through the segregation era. His position was clear; he accepted his cultural roots and recognized the importance of his heritage; it solidified his identity. In fact, he purported:

Black people became very, very independent.....when we were emancipated we had no infrastructure... we came with the clothes on our backs. We had no homes for the most part, some of former slaves...managed to build their own home and acquire land...We had to build our own infrastructure which we did through our Friendly Society (June 7, 2010 Interview).\(^3\)

Gates’ sense of pride in his Black identity was evident. He referred to the Bermudian identity as quintessentially borne out of resilience, pride, fortitude and courage despite the "genesis of the Bermudian identity [being] rooted in a colonial matrix which is undergirded by the brutal realities and subjective force of abject slavery; racism and cultural dehumanization, all of which was manifested through the circumstances of depravity and despair" (June 7, 2010 Interview).

Gates's historical nostalgia depicted an era of heightened collective Black identity.

\(^3\)Friendly Societies were organised before Abolition, "they were black cabals and black action groups which functioned in connection with specific causes throughout the era of slavery ... " (Robinson, 1979, p.147)
This collective Black identity was also articulated through Bermuda's Black Beret, which aligned itself with the "Black Panthers of the United States, their Black political struggle, anti-apartheid movement in South Africa and also political struggle in the West Indies..." stated Chan in our interview. The point, he was stressing was:

Blacks in this period didn’t see themselves as exclusive Bermudians. They understood that they were a part of a larger story of Black people disbursed in the world. If you continue back further, you can see even the Garvey movement of the 1920s which thrived in Bermuda...another example of how Blacks saw themselves as Bermudians but also as a larger African identity. (July 28, 2010 Interview)

A collective Black identity was/is an important component for both Gates and Chan, particularly the affiliation with the wider Diaspora. However, over the years the collective Black identity has dissipated. Esther provides a possible rationale:

Black people [have] been in conflict because of...having absorbed through osmosis the doctrine of White superiority, White supremacy. That probably can be linked with the word 'identity'. Who am I? Am I a Black person of African descent and what does that mean, when you’re being told on the one hand that’s who you are, and at the same time you’re being told that it doesn’t have worth? And today, with discussion of [gang] violence, very often I hear people say, they don’t know who they are. I think one of the ways I’ve heard people put it is to say, as a human being, they have worth. And if it’s a Christian Minister, they will say something like “this is who God loves and this is who Christ died for, therefore they have value.” But they don’t believe they have value. And the reason they can be so violent towards others is because they don’t have any respect for themselves. They don’t have any self worth. And it’s all a part of the same thing that if they have been told either verbally or by their social circumstances that they don’t have worth that they are inferior, inevitably, this for a great many young people becomes the reality. And once that is the reality, once they have absorbed the concept that they don’t have worth; then it means that nobody else has worth either. If I’m not worth anything, how can I place any worth on other people, which is why they can be so violent, they can take a life so very easily. It’s a part of not having any respect for themselves because they do not think of themselves as having worth (July 3, 2010 Interview).

Identity, Esther propounded is even more contentious among people of mixed origins:

I think, they want to escape... they’re like Tiger Woods... they are not just Black American, they are Asian or Indian or something else, and it’s not surprising that they want to escape the identity of just Black Bermudian or Black American. They want to claim these other identities so that they can escape(July 3, 2010 Interview)
Her astute observation suggests that Black Bermudians are uncomfortable and struggle with their Blackness. It is also reflective of how their ontological 'otherness' has been pathologized to the extent of wanting to create a distancing and alignment with anything other than Blackness. This creation of identity confusion, Chan points out, is the outcome of historical manipulation:

Historically UBP White government has tried to encourage Black people to not see themselves... connected to Blacks outside because this further served the purpose of colonialism. So in terms of identity, you see that those Blacks in Bermuda who have identified themselves as African, comes... from studying Africa, African system [that] understands our experience through slavery and tracing that experience through colonialism which is still on. [Moreover,] I think it’s primarily due to the colonial education system that our identity has been confused (July 28, 2010 Interview).

Chan aptly pointed out that the issue of identity is a historical one shaped by the colonial education system. He stated that history and education have been the main contributors in identity formation; for instance when Bermudians are asked:

What is Bermudian? and they say, “I don’t know.” The ironic thing is that they do have an idea. They have an idea primarily from a master narrative that has been put in place through the system ...if you ask them other questions then it kind of comes up what they really think. The master narrative suggests that Black in Bermuda, which means Bermudian have always, had it good. It’s always been nice because the ocean. Slavery was mild; there was no need to protest. There was no need to protest from slavery and there’s certainly isn't a need to protest now. There may have been racism, but things, for the most part are alright. That’s kind of the master narrative. There was the Theatre Boycott, but since then, things just got better, that's the master narrative. We have kite flying, lick marbles and [eat] codfish and potatoes, and Cup Match, and that’s it. But, in my work, in looking at what is a Bermudian, and using that term only because it formed as a bridge to connect with other people who already have some type of connection to that name. Bermudians have a tradition of protesting in the island, which I call Black radical tradition, which is...borrowing [a] term from Cedric Robinson, Black Marxism. All Black communities across the Diaspora have a Black radical condition, meaning an historical process of fighting against the system in an effort to reclaim who we were before we got to this place. (July 28, 2010 Interview)

Chan conveyed the pervasiveness of fatalism in Bermuda through his articulation of how and why Black Bermudians are in this state of not knowing their identities. Within his narrative is the understanding of how the dominant power structure has convinced Black Bermudians that they have and continue to enjoy a sense of ‘wellness’ through highlighting Bermuda’s
picturesque location, the perceived historical "mildness" of slavery, the inclusiveness that desegregation has engendered, and the festive holidays shared between Blacks and Whites. His analysis also challenges the superficial reading of the passivity of Black Bermudians, highlighting a history of struggle that is connected to other Black communities across the Diaspora. His analysis is complex and aware of the power dynamics at play.

However, with respect to students, as mentioned previously their comprehension of the Bermudian identity is limited to a superficial perception and restricted to the geographical landscape of Bermuda 'imposed', European traditions and holidays, citizenship, accent, and 'borrowed' Western style of dress that Chan highlights as the master(s) narrative. For Sue, Bermudian identity is about its unique accent and special cuisine:

A Bermudian identity is… the way we talk is different from the way that other people talk. If people see it, they say “oh that’s Bermudian.” They just know right off... that’s Bermudian....The different type of traditions we have and the different cuisine... Bermuda’s codfish and potatoes. (July 21, 2010 Interview)

Sue is not the only student in this category. Wayne also sees his Bermudian identity in context of his accent and way of dressing: "Oh my Bermudian identity. Oh my accent...how you dress" (August 5, 2010 Interview). The students' narrow description of Bermudian identity reflects what some authors and educators have described as an artificial construction of identity. This superficial construction is understood through a critical examination of Bermudian identity that highlights complexities such as the effects of European indoctrination and an individual's perceptions of identity influenced by his/her economic and educational locations. For instance, Arthur asserts, "in terms of Bermudian identity, as far as the Blacks are concerns they need to develop pride in their origins, pride in the fact that they come from the Caribbean" (June 9, 2010 Interview). Many of the authors and educators stated similar ideas.
However, not every Bermudian student in my study had a limited understanding of Bermudian identity. For instance, Jessica, one of my respondents, a recent high school graduate was able to link her identity with her ancestry and heritage: "I consider my heritage and background, my ancestors, where I come from, who I am related to... Just knowing where I come from. Knowing who my ancestors where and what they did for Bermuda" (August 6, 2010 Interview). While Jessica's insightful articulation of her Bermudian identity is revealing, she was quick to credit her grandparents rather than the school system as the source of this knowledge: "I learn a lot about my heritage...from my granny and older people" (August 6, 2010 Interview). It is obvious that Jessica's understanding of her identity is rooted in rich historical knowledge, which unfortunately did not emanate from schools. Jessica's case is one of the many examples that support the thesis of this research that the lost, fragmented, and fractured identity in Bermuda can and should be attributed to the lack of a comprehensive teaching curriculum in the Bermudian school system.

Nyasha, one of the educators, extends the students’ understanding of identity even further, recognizing that not knowing one’s identity is not just a local phenomenon but is seen “basically throughout the African Diaspora, [it is] the same story....Identity has been completely or almost completely wiped clean and so we have had to find out, investigate who we are” (June 24, 2010 Interview). Mazumbo, Arthur, Gloria, Gates, Chan and Nyasha all speak to the need to recover a “true” identity that is connected to Africa and the Caribbean and that, in this (re)connection, we as Black Bermudians will find our ‘true’ selves.

This search for a connection, led Sherry and Kintoto address issues of origin, albeit from different conceptual standpoints, with Sherry bemoaning the lost pride for a Bermudian identity. Her discontentment was voiced in the context of sports patriotism, school and Bermudian pride;
while Kinto expressed a vacuous feeling towards being called Bermudian due to the origins of the name, taken from Juan de Bermudez, a Spanish enslaver of African people who inadvertently discovered the uninhabited island in 1505. It was incomprehensible to Kinto that Black Bermudians did not resist and protest against the naming of the country. He posited that naming should be purposeful, should have a meaning and have a good vibration that generated positive energy; it should promote “a good strong self-identity, a good sense of who you are” (July 16, 2010 Interview). Besides, he posited, Black Bermudians needed to trace their origin back to Africa, back to the African way of knowing and being.

Mazumbo expressed something similar to that of Kinto, arguing that Blacks trace themselves back to “something solid...and it shouldn’t be something ambiguous, something that you sort of titled yourself in order just to survive” (July 18, 2010 Interview). Their prescription comprised of going back to Africa; Mazumbo advocated a physical return while Kinto’s focus was more of an epistemological and ontological return to Indigenous ways of knowing.

Joe added to these voices, recounting how at age nineteen he had attended a presentation at Temple University where Dr. Molefi Asante made a profound statement, “when you know your history, you know your greatness” (July 17, 2010 Interview). This statement had inspired him to read books written by and for people of African descent. He admitted, as a principal of a local high school and a proponent of Afrocentricity, his zeal is to give homage to the various accomplishments of Black Bermudians, he considered as African Bermudians. Joe expressed amazement when Black Bermudians deny or reject their Africanness.

Amar, a Central Office Administrator, shed some light on Joe’s bewilderment in terms of how Black Bermudians self-identify. He proffered that Black Bermudian identities are politically constructed and formulated through colonial ideology. Black Bermudians see
themselves as members of the “British Dependent Territory or the latest turn on, I’m going to get my UK passport. Your UK passport now gives you license to be what, a UK citizen? ... [it] feeds a dual identity …you don’t have to give up your Bermudian dependent territory passport if you get a UK passport and if you think of that, it’s a political construct” (Amar, August 28, 2010 Interview). He also concurred with Joe that knowing our history is important; however, he emphatically stressed that in order for Black Bermudians to appreciate and value themselves, they have to address their Bermudian identity right where they are now, in the local context: “How the hell are we going to make relationship with the African Continent if we can’t even make relationship to who we are on the island? That’s problematic” (Amar, August 28, 2010 Interview). There is a tension between understanding where Black Bermudians are right now, and understanding that their positionality is still maintained through a colonial construct that needs to be dismantled. Bermudians’ rights and duties are still dictated by Britain and they still do not have their own national status. The dual identity that is most often constructed by Black Bermudians is still Eurocentric, rather than one grounded in their own histories.

Esther offered another perspective to Joe’s and Amar’s positions on Black Bermudian identities:

Not until very recently, in terms of who we are ethnically, being Black Bermudian or being White Bermudian covered it all for us in this particular setting. Part of the discussion which has gone on is... at one point you would hear people saying Bermuda doesn’t have any culture. In reality, any living groups of persons have a culture, because culture is simply how you behave, how you live. It is not only what are your values and every group of people have certain values, they don’t just have certain foods, they have certain values. They have certain historical memory which is a part of what defines them and how they express themselves as a result of that history. All of that goes to make up a person’s culture. So everybody has a culture, and the reason I think that Bermudians are said not to have a culture is partly because it has taken us so long to give expression to ourselves either through writing or through music or anything like that. We were taking on from others. We hadn’t developed these kinds of things ourselves, so we were dependent on what came from outside of Bermuda. But the reality is, even when we took on things that came from outside of Bermuda, we either changed it by the way we saw it or handled it, or we made it an integral
part of who we were. I think that we hear less today that Bermudians have no culture, simply because there has been a conscious effort to identify our history, to express our history, and because Bermudians have begun to express themselves more through writing and through music (July 3, 2010 Interview).

Esther speaks not only to a particular duality within the Bermudian identity but also to the need to construct something that escapes those limitations. She recognizes the past tendencies to proclaim that Bermuda does not have a culture, which was attributed to borrowing customs from elsewhere, but also speaks strongly to the need to both recognize the cultures that always already exist and that are rooted in particular histories and traditions. There is an element of autonomy and creative power in the ways that the various customs were adapted to fit the Bermudian context.

This notion of tracing oneself back must be engaged in what Deborah Britzman (1998) describes as "difficult knowledge." This means there must be an acknowledgment of the complexities, messiness, ambiguity, disappointments, and painful reality of Black Bermudians’ identity that is intrinsically linked to slavery, survivalism, Africa, the Caribbean and mixed identities. To proceed without deep consideration of this "difficult knowledge" will invariably negate Black Bermudians’ ontological identities while evoking another form of amputation.

**Conclusion: Identity and Politics of (Re) Emancipating the Bermudian Identity**

Enslavement, colonization, and subsequent manipulations have been the impetus behind Black Bermudian peoples’ disruption of sense of belonging, identity, and the ambiguous notion of citizenship. Being a British Overseas Territories Citizen connects Bermudians to a history and an identity of servitude. Colonization taught non-whites that the “…West can desire, extract, and claim ownership of [their] ways of knowing, [their] imagery, the things [they] create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and
seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nations” (Smith, 1999, p. 1). In other words, a closer examination of these impositions are imperative; there can no longer be a denial of how citizenship connects people through a sense of belonging and identity: “How people are officially categorized shapes practically all aspects of their existential as well as material existence. The act of naming... citizens, permanent residents... involves much more than simply describing a person’s legal status, the act of naming also stipulates person’s entitlements” (Sharma, 2006, p. 140). Sharma (2006) raises a valid point concerning the act of naming and the entitlements or lack thereof that accompanies the naming. My research findings raised similar concerns about the naming of Bermuda, particularly its link to a Spanish enslaver of African people.

As previously noted, Kinto, one of my research participants, remarked concerning the origin of the name "Bermuda": “He just brought a shipment of slaves to the New World when he spotted Bermuda. Ain’t that something? And, we’re just going keep that name. We didn’t have the decency to change it” (July 16, 2010 Interview). I acknowledge Kinto's contention, as I share similar sentiments; however, Hall (1990) raises a poignant point that “instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a ‘production’, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation” (p. 222). This idea of identity being a production and always in process is deeply captured by my research participants.

Esther in her previous assertion broke down the complexity and ambiguity of Bermudian identity and the process that it has undergone. Identity encompasses multiple articulations. Within a pluralist society, identity can be understood as one's citizenship or allegiance to that nation-state, which is "its political institution and economic structure" or "one can identify with
their ethnic ancestry, primary language and/or the cultural traditions" (Smolicz, 1981, p. 29). These two identities are not mutually exclusive, for individuals embody multiple identities that occur in different historical and social spaces inhabited by people over time (Smith, 1992, p. 501). “Furthermore, cultural identities with regard to ethnicity are hybrid, syncretic and always in process” (James, 1999, p. 23; see also Hall, 1995). These different forms of beliefs and/or practices are shaped by variables such as history, education, family, and society.

Therefore, questions of identity are not only about representation but also about racial identity for individuals or groups who are ethnicized and raced. Hall (1981) argues that questions about race carry "strong emotional ideological commitments" (cited in Britzman, 1993, p. 27). He postulates, "it is not a topic where academic or intellectual neutrality is of much value (cited in Britzman, 1993, p. 27). Britzman (1993) agrees with Hall (1981), stating, "talks about race means talks about racialized selves, [that] everyone is 'raced' and so talk must include the meaning of whiteness as well as blackness" (p. 27). In the context of Bermuda, this exercise of exploring Whiteness can assist in understanding "the ways in which discourses about non-western 'other' are produced simultaneously with the production of discourse about white 'self'" (Weis and Fine, 1996, p.7). It further analyzes how this particular discourse perpetuates power relations that create colonizer and colonized.

James (1999) contends that "this understanding of whiteness as relational, dynamic and ever changing does not negate the fact of constructed identities related to race, ethnicity, gender, class and history, which provide meanings for individuals and upon which they act and form relationships" (p.25). Notwithstanding, cultural identity is complex, relational, and performative in regards to all racial identities; it is important to study how certain discourses of cultural
construction and representations contribute to social formation with respect to categories of ethnic and racial identities (James, 1999):

Exploring questions and issues of cultural identity, diversity and difference, then, does not mean that we avoid categorizing or naming, nor does it mean that we eschew commonalities. Rather, it means doing so with a commitment, not to silence, but to opening up dialogue, and to gain insight into individuals' understanding of themselves and their relationship to the structure of society and communities in which they live, go to school and develop friendships. Engaging in this process of exploration (which involves navigating around generalizations) is politically significant and should inform the ways we come to represent, appreciate and articulate cultural diversity. (James, 1999, p.26).

James (1999) stresses the importance of dialogue in understanding the construction of identity. It is important not to silence anyone, but rather have openness for, and a commitment to, listening to how individuals understand themselves and the society they live in. To reiterate what Amar told me in our interview, we need to understand ourselves in the local before we can begin to expand to the global. Listening may seem easy to do but Du Bois (2007) argues that “we seldom study the condition of the Negro to-day honestly and carefully. It is so much easier to assume that we know it all. Or perhaps, having already reached conclusions in our own minds, we loth to have them disturbed by facts” (p. xvii). It is at the micro level, through listening to the voices of those involved in the daily living out of the Bermudian identity, that we see what we have missed and, possibly, examine and hear the kernels of change. This listening as an analytical lens for understanding Bermuda and Bermudians has shown me, and assisted me in thinking through, the complexity of the current status and provided some understanding of the unsettledness and how Bermuda's unaddressed history of complex identity has effected/affected contemporary Bermuda.

Bermuda's historical and social construction of identity mirrored that of the Caribbean’s "colonial arrangement with a metropolitan European power, on the one hand, and a plantation arrangement on the other, and where the society is multi-racial but organized for the benefit of a
minority of European origin" (Braithwaite, 2005, p.xv). Although Bermuda did not have a plantation arrangement, the multi-racial makeup of the island resembles creolized societies in the Caribbean. Discourse surrounding the Bermudian identity must engage in discussions of Creolization in conjunction with Afrocentricty. According to Bolland (2006), Creolization is a useful theoretical framework because it acknowledges that:

Cultural change was not a one-way process in which colonized peoples passively absorbed the culture of the dominant Europeans, and the study of African influences should not be limited to the search for African retentions as if they are items under glass cases in a museum. The use of the concepts of creolization and creole societies by anthropologists, historians and other scholars has successfully emphasized the active role of Caribbean peoples and the importance of African cultural traditions in shaping the new and distinctive cultures of the region (2006, p. 1)

Bolland’s (2006) conceptualization and application of Creolization carry an aspect of resistance for Blacks in the Diasporas. It minimizes the propensity of having to reside in an either/or self-identification where one must chose his/her alliance. This is particularly important in the Bermudian context. It may appear that Black Bermudians have moved away from their Africanness because they do not vocally proclaim an African identity; however, cultural practices suggest otherwise. Black Bermudians have, as a result of enslavement and colonization, fused elements of African, Caribbean, and White settlers’ ways of knowing to create what one research participant referred to as ‘a survivalist identity’. Although, he was not in support of this adaption; I see this "survivalist identity" as necessary and forming a part of resistance against total assimilation or annihilation of his/her ancestor’s cultures.

The fact is that Bermuda’s inhabitants were a distinctive character or culture neither purely British nor West African, and itself the result of European settlement and exploitation; similar to Jamaica and other Caribbean Islands. Creolization captures the complexity of Bermudian's existentialism. While Creolization, similar to Afrocentricity and Anti-colonialism
has its own shortcomings, it still assists in explaining the distinctiveness of Bermuda’s culture “their “mixed” character, their creative vibrancy, their complex, troubled, unfinished relation to history, the prevalence in their narratives of the themes of voyaging, exile, and the unrequited trauma of violent expropriation and separation”(Hall, 2003, p.31). The complexity and ambiguity of Bermudian identity is metaphorically connected to the Caribbean through Creolization. It provides one of the theoretical moorings.

We can reverse the destructive effects of slavery by looking to strengths in our past and beginning to make plans for our future. If we begin to direct our children’s attention to strong images like themselves, they will grow in self-respect. We must honor and exalt our own heroes and those heroes must be people who have done the most to dignify us as a people. We must seek to overcome the “plantation ghost” by identifying the forces which lead to enslavement and self-abasement. (Akbar, 1996,p. 15)

Asante (2003) in agreement with Akbar (1996) states: “we know whom we are and what we are supposed to do to the degree that we know our history. A people without an appreciation of the value of historical experiences will always create chaos...That is why it becomes necessary to explore the manifestations of our cultural values both in their contemporaneity and potentiality” (pp. 1, 4). Both Akbar (1996) and Asante (2003) emphasize the saliency of knowing history as a means of understanding the quality of African cultural development. However, there is, on one hand, an inescapable fact that Blackness marks a tangible link with Africa, but on the other hand there is a creolization at work:

None of the people who now occupy the islands – black, brown, white, African, European, American, Spanish... East Indian ...Portuguese, Jew, Dutch – originally ‘belonged’ there. It is a space where creolisation and assimilations and syncretism were negotiated. The New World is the third term – the primal scene – where the fateful/fatal encounter was stage between Africa and the West. (Hall, 1990, p. 234)

Enslavement and colonization have mediated these inescapable ethnic and cultural changes; ethnic crossings and transformations have informed and constructed Black Bermudian identities.
In the midst of what appears to be a difficult knowledge about constructing and understanding Bermuda's identity, we must be guided by the question: what does it mean to be called Bermudian, rather than, who is Bermudian? This calls for the need to have a broader conversation about Bermudian identity, a conversation that involves asking disturbing and troubling questions. The point is not to have answers to all these questions, but asking them in is the beginning of a serious effort towards tough answers about the Bermudian identity in contemporary schooling and education.

The various interviews in this dissertation address the colonial power structure, how the past has mediated contemporary Bermuda, and its cultural dynamics. The interviews also expose the manifestations born of neglecting to address 'difficult knowledge' thereby producing a 'culture of silence' that has not been productive to the liberation of Blackness from enslavement.
Chapter Eight: Summary and Conclusion

The history of Bermuda has focused primarily on the denigration of Black people and their insolent behavior and, in recent years Black Bermudian authors have begun writing oppositional narratives to the disparaging claims. However, there has been no narrative that has addressed the ethno-cultural diversity of Bermuda. Black Bermudians have been socialized to denounce their historical affiliation with the Caribbean and Africa through an incomplete history but also an acceptance of their status as British Overseas Territories Citizen. This acceptance calls into question the ontological, political, historical dimensions of Bermuda that have been compromised in this acquiescence.

My research findings revealed that some Black Bermudians felt a need to trace their identity back to the Caribbean and Africa, while others had not given much thought of what constitutes a Bermudian identity. There were divergent conceptualizations of what represented a Bermudian identity; students speculated that a Bermudian identity comprised of dialect, cuisine, the way one dresses, the perceived friendliness of Bermudians, and being born to a Bermudian parent. Similarly, some educators also struggled with defining a Bermudian identity outside of their immediate Bermudian parentage, while others vehemently refuted the ascribed identity.

However, the most insightful research finding was the ineluctable black consciousness espoused by African American educators who are married to Black Bermudians. As previously noted they were astounded that Black Bermudians have limited knowledge about their own history, but were able to recite American history. They were equally dumbfounded by students’ exhibition of disdain towards Blackness, which had became synonymous with ‘ugly’ in Bermuda. Blackness was considered a pejorative, a concern shared by not only the African American educators, but also Black Bermudian authors. Anti-colonialism theorizes that the
power structure and the colonial education is the source of Black debasement. While Afrocentricity immediately calls for centering Africanness as a means to remove the disdain, Creolization is the bridge between Anti-colonialism and Afrocentricity by recognizing the messiness and precarity of being caught between the crossroads of identity formation in Bermuda.

Educators such as Alice, Karen, Amar, Kinto bemoaned a lack of governmental support that prevented the nexus between history, education and identity. The main emphasis, they argued, was on standardization and not prioritizing what was in the best interests of the students. According to Woodson (1992), "these "educated" people... decry any such thing as race consciousness... They do not like to hear such expressions as "Negro literature," "Negro poetry," "African art," or "thinking black"; and, roughly speaking, we must concede that such things do not exist. These things did not figure in the courses which they pursued in school, and why should they? Aren't we all Americans?" (Woodson, 1992, p. 7). And, by extension, aren't we all British?

My research findings also highlight how Bermuda remains trapped between a continuous colonization and an Anti-colonial longing inclusive of, but not limited to, a political independence and how this is a main obstruction to change. According to Fanon (1965),

liberation does not come as a gift from anybody; it is seized by the masses with their own hands. And by seizing it they themselves are transformed; confidence in their own strength soars, and they turn their energy and their experience to the tasks of building, governing, and deciding their own lives for themselves. (p. 2)

Buried within this tension is also, unfortunately, an inherent fear and resistance to possibly becoming branded as a ‘third world’ country, should independence occur. For many Bermudians, complacency, dependency, and an internalized inferiority complex have and continue to be central to their identity; often they appear to lack a desire or will to delink
from the Crown. My research findings have also crystallized the necessity of my research: there is a need for Black and White Bermudians to understand the complexity, ambiguity and nuanced nature of their identity that has been predicated on the history of enslavement and colonization. A history that Creolization identifies “as an effect of the transportation and relocation of people in the Americas and the Caribbean during the colonial era”(Burns, 2008, p.2). According to Glissant, Creolization "opens a radically new dimension of reality... [it] does not produce direct synthesis, but 'resultantes', results: something else, another way" (1995,p. 270). This other way should include Afrocentric presences that do not dismiss or amputate the presence of mixed race people but rather acknowledge that Bermuda, like other Caribbean islands, is multi-cultural and has multiple ways of knowing that can co-exist.

Accordingly, Bermudians need to challenge the education system and its proclivity to choose a Eurocentric curriculum that cannot adequately address the complexity, ambiguity, messiness and painful history of Black Bermudians. This act of dismissal not only creates a pedagogical disequilibrium but also creates chaos. Dei's (2006) comments bear repeating here: "history and context are crucial for anti-colonial undertakings. Understanding our collective past is significant for pursuing political resistance" (p. 1). Not only is history and context important to Anti-colonial analyses, it is also important in the utilization of Afrocentricity and Creolization as uncommonly paired but complimentary theories. Context, in terms of geographic location and culture—and all of its specificities—guides what theory, or in this case theories, are chosen to capture and facilitate a rich dialogue and interrogation of Bermuda's social and historical dynamics in conjunction with similar global discourses.

As noted in my research objective, my dissertation intended to explore the social construction of Black identity in school and everyday public discourse; re-examine the role of
schools/education in producing a particular narrative of Black identity; examine school’s curriculum, texts and pedagogy to understand persistent dominant narratives in the construction of the Black identity; and develop critical education that will resist and counter dominant narratives of Black identity. Based on my research findings, four key steps have been identified in addressing my research objective: re-positioning our mindset, loving our Blackness, politics of caring; and culturally relevant curricula.

**Step 1: Re-positioning our mindset**

The first step toward change is the repositioning of our mindset and moving away from dichotomous thinking. This entails looking at the past honestly and earnestly and seeing the complicity of both Blacks’ and Whites’ contribution to contemporary Bermuda, in all of their intricacies. It is no longer profitable socially, politically, and economically to engage in civil warfare, especially when Black Bermudian youth are at war with and within themselves. Bermuda’s political parties need to put aside their personal disagreements and collectively come together to ensure that educators are fully equipped to provide students with a holistic and supportive education.

When Blacks reaffirm their ability and agency to self-define, Whites will no longer be able to maintain their hegemonic and normalizing hold. Colonialism makes people what they are not by hiding the truth in order to sustain itself. Fanon spoke to colonial untruths, calling them “the lies of the colonial situation” (Fanon, 1965, p.128). Goldberg (1996) further points out that in the colonial situation, “...colonialism is predicated only on force and fraud. Colonialism “succeeds” thus to the extent its social relations of power remain invisible so long as their presumed naturalism goes unchallenged” (p.183). Accordingly, Anti-colonialism, Afrocentricity
and Creolization provide a diverse spectrum of discourses that offer an alternative for Black Bermudians to re-map their historical identity and account for their lived experiences and reality.

In addition, colonial education has served to rob Black Bermudians of their history by creating a pseudo representation of who they really are. Black’s worth and contribution to Bermuda have been either negated and/or falsified. Evidence of this negation and falsification can be seen in the textbooks that are used within the curriculum. According to wa Thiong’o (1986), “Language and literature [have taken] us further and further from ourselves, to other selves, from our world to other worlds” (p.12). This psychosocial and political battle has been ongoing; despite pockets of Black resistance to forced assimilation into the dominant European world that still rejects them no matter how refined they become they are still considered unequal to European oppressors (Eshleman & Smith, 2006, p.77). By implementing a holistic education, all students regardless of their race, gender, and cultural background, will be included. Students will be taught the need to consider the totality of their identity, their meaning and purpose in life, spirituality, and the values of compassion and peace.

**Step 2: Loving our blackness**

The second step is the need to love our Blackness in its complexities, tensions and ambiguities. Loving our Blackness is our ontological resistance, our terms of engagement, and our move towards decolonization. The goal of loving Blackness is not a claiming of false unity or "purity of race" but rather beginning the process of restoring the humanity of both the oppressor and oppressed. In this process, instead of Black being synonymous with ugly and all that is evil, Blackness now shifts to being synonymous with decolonization, which is the search for a new humanism that is inclusive of all Bermudians. Loving our Blackness can incorporate a measure of “love ethic.” According to hooks (2000), ‘love ethic’ comprises “care, commitment,
trust, responsibility, respect, and knowledge of love—in our everyday lives” (p.94). Accordingly, Bermuda’s “educators can incorporate loving blackness and love ethics into their course curriculum and liberatory pedagogy” (Outerbridge, 2010, p. 118). Loving our Blackness can assist in examining the way in which colonization has instilled and reinforced internalized racial hatred via White supremacist thinking that saturates Bermuda’s education system.

Loving our Blackness and decolonization work in unison as a political process, a struggle to (re)define Blackness; it is a form of resistance to White domination. In our search for a new humanism, Black Bermudians need to re-claim and re-write their history, failing to do so will result in a relinquishment of their autonomy. As hooks, (1992) eloquently points out, “we are always in the process of both remembering the past even as we create new ways to imagine and make the future” (p.5). Accordingly, it is essential for Black Bermudians to take control of their self-definition and move towards a new humanism. The fact that Bermuda has a predominantly Black population should not bar Bermudian educators from looking at how Black students are marginalized and how “learning, for a colonial child, became a cerebral activity and not an emotionally felt experience” (wa Thiong’o, 1986, p.17). It is imperative that Bermudian educators create a context within the education system where students can love Blackness as a worthy standpoint for bonding. As a means of loving our Blackness, hooks (2000) proposes that we “bring love ethic to every dimension of our lives...” (p.87). She further believes and agrees with Fanon (1963) that we need to do things differently. I believe that hooks’ (2000) concept of love ethic is a viable solution and positive move towards a new humanism.

Love ethic can transform our lives by offering Blacks a different set of values to incorporate into their lives. Although hooks (2000) looks at love ethics in terms of family and friends, her concept can be extended to Bermuda’s education system and serve as an expanded
articulation of Fanon’s (1967) statement of the “understanding and love amongst coloured brothers” (p.7). Loving our Blackness is our political resistance, our decolonization and a beginning of our new humanism that will enable us to look critically at Bermuda’s education system.

**Step 3: Politics of caring**

The third step is a ‘politics of caring’, once the mindset has been re-positioned and loving Blackness has been infused there can be an openness to caring, a mutual transaction between teacher and student. This notion of teacher-student relations and the politics of caring was introduced by Angela Valenzuela (1999) in the context of U.S. Mexican youth, but it also conducive for Bermuda’s education system. Educators need to be cognizant that students will reflect their non-caring attitudes towards school and learning, similar to the non-caring attitude teachers exhibit towards them. Although teachers perceived themselves as caring, many of them unconsciously communicated a different message to their students. This was one of the predominant complaints of students. Educators need to revitalize their antiquated pedagogy that is distanced from their learners and move towards reciprocal learning and engagement that incorporates the politics of caring. Our students will not care about how much we know until they know about how much we care.

With respect to this final step I proposed utilizing Freire’s (1970) and Valenzuela’s (1999) teaching methodology as a starting point to engage teachers and students in an epistemological relationship that can facilitate both learning and knowing.
Step 4: Culturally relevant curriculum

The fourth step can be successful if educators, students, the community and government are committed to a re-positioning of mindsets, a willingness to loving blackness and a desire to implement the politics of caring, not only for Blacks, but also other ethnic groups in Bermuda. I further recommend that in order to truly construct an educational system that is inclusive of all Bermudians, there is a need to break loose from the dichotomous history and thinking that has paralyzed any progressive moment that is in the best interests of the island in general, and the students in particular. All Bermudians need to draw on the wealth of knowledge and capability that resides in the island to design or restore a Bermuda’s National Curriculum that will help develop our young Black men and women. There is an urgent need to engage in consistent, mutually respectful dialogue that can begin the process of change for a new Bermuda. Bermuda cannot continue to subscribe to a superior and inferior existence that leads to the same results: chaos. In order for change to occur we have to be prepared to do things differently, if we (educators, the community and government) do not teach this generation who they are in all of their complexities, messiness and ambiguity, they will continue to be defined by enslavement and colonization or they will define themselves by taking on an identity from elsewhere. The point is this: it is not where one starts but rather where one ends. By investing in our students from a holistic standpoint, we will be investing in the sustainability of Bermuda. Education is not just about teaching, it is also about developing the whole human, the psycho-social. These steps are not exhaustive and require a commitment to trying over a period of time in order to adequately assess the success of their implementation.
Future Research Directions

This dissertation lays out the challenges within the Bermudian education system and the need for reforms that will make the teaching curricula and pedagogical practices inclusive. Although the dissertation poignantly shows the relationship between the social and historical construction of Bermudian identity and what is taught in the classroom, this dissertation obviously has not exhausted the discussion about Bermuda, education, and identity issues. Future works can examine how identity formation affects the political and economic relations in Bermuda. For instance, at the time of writing this conclusion, a new ruling party, One Bermuda Alliance (OBA), came into power in Bermuda on December 17, 2012 after a hard-contested general election. The Black ruling party, Progressive Labour Party (PLP), witnessed their first defeat after being in power for fourteen years. Their demise was a result of Black Bermudians loss of faith in the PLP’s ability to lead the country. Esther’s assessment of the PLP in 2010 bears reiteration in this context; she posited that once the PLP came into power in 1998 "there [had] been absolutely no discussion of the economic disparity between the two races, [moreover], party politics has done more damage to the Black community than anything else" (July 3, 2010 Interview). Her comment resonates loudly and bears the question: What does this shift in government mean for the future of Black politics, in particular, and the country in general? The irony is that OBA is a political party that is historically affiliated to the white ruling class or slave masters. Giving that the majority of the voting bloc in Bermuda are Blacks, it stands to reason—and the result of the current election shows that many Black voters prefer to be ruled by a White ruling class rather than the Black ruling party.

What has made this conversation relevant today is the core message that won One Bermuda Alliance (OBA) the election, which is that Bermuda is one country now - not Black
Bermuda or White Bermuda but one Bermuda – and that Bermuda gains nothing when people attempt to divide it based on their racial and historical difference. This message, obviously, was appealing and seductive to many Black voters who voted for the party. However, there are political and social implications if such liberal ideas are bought into schooling and education. What will be the implication for those of us calling for inclusive teaching curricula? While this subject matter requires an extensive discussion, this dissertation asks: what happens when school teaching curricula and pedagogical practices are built on this seductive liberal rhetoric? What happens when difference and diversity are positioned as the opposite of unity, and what is erased or negated through unity based on Eurocentric frameworks? What happens to issues of power and social equity when "oneness" is misrepresented as an absence of difference? These are questions that future works need to examine.

In the meantime, this dissertation argues that Bermuda has always been one, but it is not "one" that is inclusive. It is "one" that ignores and excludes others. This dissertation clearly has shown the political, social, and intellectual implications that having an exclusive teaching curricula have on both learners and teachers. This is why any critical, anti-colonial educator needs to re-examine the central message of OBA, that "one Bermuda" should be the goal. This dissertation advocates for the unity of Bermuda; however, unity that ignores differences is not unity worth pursuing. Unity that skirts around the issues of power and distribution of resources and opportunities is not unity that needs to be entertained. Unity that is based on a "zero sum game" (winner takes all) is a dangerous precedent to encourage in any intellectual debate about the future of Bermuda. There is another Anti-colonial reading of unity that can be pursued in the context of Bermuda, that is unity with multiple centres. It is unity that is built on fairness, equity,
and social justice. It is unity that embraces and works with differences. This is the premise and result of this dissertation and a framework for any future work on Bermuda to take up.
Bibliography


Jarvis, M. J. (2010). In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680-1783. Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia Series


http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200102/ldbills/004/en/02004x--.htm


1. TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT

Historical Consciousness: Reclaiming the Identities of African-Bermudians in a Colonial Context

2. INVESTIGATOR INFORMATION

Investigator:
Title: Ph. D. Candidate
Name: Donna May Outerbridge
Department: Sociology and Equity Studies, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education/U of T
Mailing address: 96 Fifeshire Rd. , Apt.206, North York, Toronto, Ontario, M2L 2X9
Phone: 416-225-1262   Email: donna.outerbridge@utoronto.ca

Level of Project
Faculty Research  CBR/CBPR Research
Post-Doctoral Research
Student Research: Doctoral  Masters  Student Number: 995276963

Faculty Supervisor/Sponsor:
Title: Dr.
Name: Njoki Wane
Co-Investigators:
Are co-investigators involved? Yes ☐ No ☒

Title: ☐
Name: ☐
Department (or organization if not affiliated with U of T): ☐
Mailing address: ☐
Phone: ☐ Fax: ☐ Email: ☐

Title: ☐
Name: ☐
Department (or organization if not affiliated with U of T): ☐
Mailing address: ☐
Phone: ☐ Fax: ☐ Email: ☐

Please append additional pages with co-investigators’ names if necessary.

3. UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD:

Health Sciences ☐ Social Science, Humanities and Education ☒
Please consult http://www.research.utoronto.ca/ethics/eh_rebs.html to determine which Research Ethics Board (REB) your proposal should be submitted.

4. LOCATION(S) WHERE THE RESEARCH WILL BE CONDUCTED:

If the research is to be conducted at a site requiring administrative approval/consent (e.g. in a school), please include all draft administrative consent letters. It is the responsibility of the researcher to determine what other means of approval are required, and to obtain approval prior to starting the project.

University of Toronto ☐
Hospital ☐ ☐ specify site(s)
School board or community agency ☐ ☐ specify site(s)
Community within the GTA ☐ ☐ specify site(s)
International ☒ ☐ specify site(s) Bermuda
Other ☐ ☐ specify site(s)

The University of Toronto has an agreement with the Toronto Academic Health Sciences Network (TAHSN) hospitals regarding ethics review of hospital-based research where the University plays a peripheral role. Based on this agreement, certain hospital-based research may not require ethics review at the University of Toronto. If your research is based at a TAHSN hospital please consult the following document to determine whether or not your research requires review at the University of Toronto, http://www.research.utoronto.ca/ethics/eh_where_tahsn.html.

5. OTHER RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD APPROVAL(S)

(a) Does the research involve another institution or site? Yes ☐ No ☒
(b) Has any other REB approved this project? Yes ☐ No ☒
If Yes, please provide a copy of the approval letter upon submission of this application.

If No, will any other REB be asked for approval?
Yes ☐ (please specify which REB)  No ☐

Please note that REB approvals from other sites must be submitted to the ORE at U of T

6. FUNDING OF THE PROJECT

(a) Please check one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Funded ☐</th>
<th>Agency:</th>
<th>Fund #: 4 (6 digits)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agency:</td>
<td>Fund #: 4 (6 digits)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied for funding ☐</td>
<td>Agency:</td>
<td>Submission date:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfunded ☒</td>
<td>Agency:</td>
<td>Submission date:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If one protocol is to cover more than one grant, please include all fund numbers:

(b) If waiting for funding, do you wish to postdate ethics approval to the release of funds?
Yes ☐ No ☒

(c) For funded research, will more than one protocol be submitted to cover all research funded by the respective grant? Yes ☐ No ☒

Please list these protocols by title and RIS # (if known):

7. CONTRACTS

Is there a University of Toronto funding or non-funded agreement associated with the research?
Yes ☐ No ☒

If Yes, please include 3 copies of the agreement upon submission of this application.

Is there any aspect of the contract that could put any member of the research team in a potential conflict of interest? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, please elaborate under #10.

8. PROJECT START AND END DATES

Estimated start date for this project: May 1st, 2010
Estimated completion of involvement of human participants for this project: September 1st, 2010.

9. SCHOLARLY REVIEW

(Please note: for submissions to the HIV REB from community investigators, scientific review is a pre-requisite for ethics review. If your study is unfunded, please contact the OHTN to arrange a scientific review prior to completing your ethics submission.)
Please check one:

☒ The research has been approved by a thesis committee or equivalent (required for thesis research)
☐ The research has undergone scholarly review prior to this submission for ethics review
  (Specify review committee – e.g., departmental research committee, CIHR peer-review committee, OHTN scientific review, etc)
☐ The research will undergo scholarly review prior to funding
  (Specify review committee – e.g., departmental research committee, CIHR peer-review committee, OHTN scientific review, etc)
☒ The research will not undergo scholarly review

10. CONFLICTS OF INTEREST

(a) Will the researcher(s), members of the research team, and/or their partners or immediate family members:

(i) Receive any personal benefits (e.g. financial benefit such as remuneration, intellectual property rights, rights of employment, consultancies, board membership, share ownership, stock options, etc.) as a result of or in connection to this study? Yes ☐ No ☒

(ii) If Yes, please describe the benefits below. (Do not include conference and travel expense coverage, or other benefits which are standard to the conduct of research.)

(b) Describe any restrictions regarding access to or disclosure of information (during or at the end of the study) that has been placed on the investigator(s). This includes controls placed by sponsor, funding body, advisory or steering committee.

There will be no restriction regarding access to or disclosure of information during or at the end of the study. One of the goals of this research is to gather information that educators, policy makers may use in their own work. I will therefore not place any restrictions to the data collected. Research participants will be notified at the recruitment stage that the researcher will share the outcome of the study with them if they wish. (See Appendixes A, B, C, D & E letters of invitation). The participants may withdraw from the research process at any point without penalty. In addition, research participants will be given their rights to tell the researcher to exclude any information they do not want to be a part of the final report. (See Appendixes A, B, C & D). Each participant will be given their own script to review and will be requested to delete or add any information if they wish.

(c) Where relevant, please explain any pre-existing relationship between the researcher(s) and the researched (e.g. instructor-student; manager-employee; minister-congregant). Please pay special attention to relationships in which there may be a power differential.

All participants are Bermudians. There is no pre-existing relationship between myself the researcher, and the potential research participants.
Please describe the decision-making processes for collaborative research studies. If Terms of Reference exist, please attach them.

N/A

SECTION B – SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSED RESEARCH

11. RATIONALE
Describe the purpose and scholarly rationale for the proposed project, and, if relevant, the hypotheses/research questions to be examined. The rationale for doing the study must be clear.

The purpose of this research is to examine the contemporary challenges of education in Bermuda and in particular the historical barriers that have prevented the Black youth from attaining their educational goals.

In addition, this research will be examining how education contributes to identity formation. The issue of identity is important in my research, especially, how it shapes the lived experiences of Black Bermudian youth. The arguments presented in my research proposal is that the current systems of education has not been relevant for the Black youth, there has been a disconnection between what is taught in schools, their history and their lived experiences. There is a need therefore, to make education relevant for Black youth in Bermuda. This can be done by helping African Bermuda or Black youth think through the tensions, contradictions and failure of education; and the possibilities of alternative vision of schooling. I am therefore proposing to examine the ways in which African Bermudians can familiarize themselves with African history, and define their identity through an African lens. Such a lens will place their history and its values at the centre of analysis. The research will be guided by the following questions: 1) Is the current forms of education relevant to the lived realities of Bermudian youth? 2) To what extent has education in Bermuda contributed to the current Black identity that is being portrayed in Bermuda today? 3) Is there any relevant of Black youth familiarizes themselves with African history, African values and African indigenous form of education? 4) Are there historical gaps in Bermudian educational system that have contributed to the disengagement of Black youth from the educational system? 5) How do Bermudians imagine themselves, and how has this imagining inform Bermuda’s education and provided an understanding of Bermuda today?

12. METHODS
Please describe all formal and informal procedures to be used. Describe the data to be gathered, where and how they will be obtained and analyzed. If research includes intentions to publish in other than standard academic venues, please indicate.

Attach a copy of all questionnaires, interview guides or other non-standard test instruments.

I will employ different methods for collecting my data such as interviews and analyzing historical educational documents written about Bermuda, and by Bermudians. The data collected will enable me to make sense of the question of education in Bermuda and its relevance to Black youth. The data will be
collected in Bermuda. A letter will be sent to Ministry of Education, Director of Academic requesting a clearance letter to carry out my research in Bermuda that deals with students, teachers and principals (See Appendix A).

Once clearance is obtain letters of invitation will be sent out to the various Middle and High school's Principles, Educators and Students (See Appendixes B & C). The letter will provide contact information so that potential participants may contact me if they are interested or have any question(s) regarding my research. Once the data is collected, I will transcribe to identify emerging themes. The historical data will be collected from schools, Ministry of Education, libraries and museum.

Attach a copy of all questionnaires, interview guides or other non-standard test instruments.

Please include a list of appendices here for all additional materials submitted (e.g., Appendix A – Informed Consent; Appendix B – Recruitment script, etc.):

See Appendixes F, G, H & I: Interview Guides: Principals, Educators, Students and Bermudian Authors.

13. PARTICIPANTS OR DATA SUBJECTS

(a) Describe the participants to be recruited, or the subjects about whom personally identifiable information will be collected. Where recruitment is required, please describe inclusion and exclusion criteria. Where the research involves extraction or collection of personally identifiable information, please describe from whom the information will be obtained and what it will include. Strategies for recruitment are to be described in section #15.

The participants to be recruited will be a total of twenty-five African Bermudians namely: ten students, ten educators and five writers. The writers I am including are five Bermudians who have written extensively on issues of education, culture and the history of Bermuda. Many Bermudians make reference to these authors because of their level of expertise that they have provided in these areas of scholarships. My reasons therefore for interviewing these Bermudian writers is to find out their sources of information where they carried out their research for their writings and to answer any questions I may have encountered going through their books.

With respect to teachers and students I will e-mail the Director of Academics in the Ministry of Education (See Appendix A) to provide a list of Middle and High school principals I can contact via email and/or letter to assist in recruiting teachers and students to participate in interviews. After I have obtained the e-mail addresses, I will send them an invitation letter via e-mail outlining the purpose of the research and what will be done with the final report, their rights as research participants, and the significance of the research (See Appendixes B & C). With respect to students, once potential students have been identifying, a letter will be sent notifying parents through the school that their child has been chosen to be interviewed. Parent will need to provide their permission to those selected to participate by signing a consent form (See Appendix G).

Please note as stated previously under Method (12) before I carry out my research in Bermuda
that deals with students, teachers and principals, I will attain a clearance letter from the Ministry of Education, Director of Academic. This is a regular procedure for all the research that is carried out in schools in Bermuda. Also within the Ministry of Education there is a designate office that has a list of all schools, from which I will get a list of all the schools in Bermuda. From this list I will randomly select five Middle schools and two High schools for the purposes of my research. I will then contact the principals of these schools requesting them to grant an appointment to visit their schools to discuss the possibility of selecting some teachers and students to participate in my research. If for any reason some of the Principals turn me down I will re-visit the list from the Ministry of Education and again randomly select other schools. Please also note that most schools in Bermuda have a majority population of Black students, hence any school selected will meet the requirements for my research.

(b) Is there any group or individual-level vulnerability related to the research that needs to be mitigated (for example, difficulties understanding informed consent, history of exploitation by researchers, power differential between the researcher and the potential participant)?

There is no group or individual-level vulnerability related to the research that needs to be mitigated with respect to difficulties understanding informed consent, history of exploitation by researchers, power differential between the researcher and the potential participant. Once potential students have been identifying, a letter will be sent notifying parents through the school that their child has been chosen to participate in interviews. Parent will need to provide their permission by signing a consent letter (See Appendix G).

14. EXPERIENCE

(a) Please provide a brief description of (i) the principal investigator’s, (ii) the research team’s and (iii) the people who will have contact with the participants’ experience with this type of research. If there has not been previous experience, please describe how the individual/team will be prepared.

I have worked as a research assistant conducting focus groups for Dr. Njoki Wane on a SSHRC funded project “Black Canadian Feminism” in April 2009. Moreover, proper protocol will be followed such as informing participants of the research study, ensuring that each participant has a clear understanding of the research, what is expected and their right to withdraw or opt not to answer particular question(s) they deem uncomfortable. Once they have agreed they will be provided with a consent letter to sign (See Appendixes E & G).

(b) For projects that will involve community members (for example, Peer Researchers) in the collection and/or analysis of data, please describe their status within the research team (e.g. are they considered employees, volunteers or participants?) and what kind of training they will receive.
15. RECRUITMENT

Where there is recruitment, please describe how, by whom, and from where the participants will be recruited.

Where participant observation is to be used, please explain the form of insertion of the researcher into the research setting (e.g. living in a community, visiting on a bi-weekly basis, attending organized functions). Please make it explicit where it is reasonable to anticipate that all or some of the participants who will be recruited will not speak English or will speak English as a second language. Describe any translation of recruitment materials, how this will occur and whether or not those people responsible for recruitment will speak the language of the participants.

Attach a copy of all posters, advertisements, flyers, letters, e-mail text, or telephone scripts to be used for recruitment. This copy should be exactly as it will appear for recruitment.

All of the research participants will be recruited in Bermuda. This research will be using purposive sampling, as a result I will send out e-mail to the Ministry of Education, Director of Academics to assist me in recruiting educators and students. I will send them an invitation letter that will outline the purpose of the research and what will be done with the outcome of research, the right of the research participants, and the significance of the research. Please find attached a copy of the invitation letters in appendixes A, B & C. Should any of the research participants agree to be a part of the research a consent letter will be sent to him or her (See Appendixes E & G). There will be no flyers, poster, advertisement or telephone script used to recruit the participants. As previously mentioned in Methods (12) and Participants or Data Subject (13), a letter will be e-mailed to the Director of Academics in the Ministry of Education to provide a list of Middle and High school principals I can contact via e-mail and/or letter to participate and assist in recruiting teachers and students to participate in the research (See Appendix A).

With respect to recruitment of teachers and students as noted in number (13) I will be carried out by visiting various schools to talk to the principals about my research; while at the schools I will request the principals to provide me with a list of teachers and students. I will randomly select the participants for my research from the list provided. Please note that if the principals have a preference for a different method of recruiting teachers and students in his/her school then I will comply.

16. COMPENSATION

(a) Will participants receive compensation for participation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td></td>
<td>☒</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-kind</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>☒</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(b) If **Yes**, please provide details and justification for the amount or the value of the compensation offered.

( )

(c) If **No**, please explain why compensation is not possible or appropriate.

Monetary compensation will not be provided for the participants as this research is not being funded. All participants will be made aware that there is no monetary compensation prior to consenting; however, research will be conducted in a way that will take into consideration the research participant’s availability of time when scheduling interviews. In addition, consideration will be given to location(s) that are convenient for the participants.

(d) Where there is a withdrawal clause in the research procedure, if participants choose to withdraw, how will compensation be affected?

As mentioned above there is no compensation involved in this research. Research participants are allowed to withdraw at any stage of the research if they wish to discontinue. In addition, all information collected from research participants who have withdrawn will be destroyed and expunged from the final report.

**SECTION C – DESCRIPTION OF THE RISKS AND BENEFITS OF THE PROPOSED RESEARCH**

17. **POSSIBLE RISKS**

Risks to participants as individuals or as members of a community may include:

(a) Physical risks (including any bodily contact or administration of any substance)
   Yes [ ] No [x]

(b) Psychological/emotional risks (feeling uncomfortable, embarrassed, anxious or upset);  
   Yes [x] No [ ]

(c) Social risks (including possible loss of status, privacy and/or reputation); and/or
(d) Legal risks (potential of apprehension or arrest or being identified as a member of a legally-compromised group).

Yes ☐ No ☒

Please describe the risks involved in the study, and what steps will be taken to ensure that they will be managed and/or minimized.

Because of the sensibility and probability of psychological/emotional risks (e.g. discomfort, embarrassment, anxiety, etc.), the school counselor(s) will be informed about my research and will be available if students require psychological support.

18. POSSIBLE BENEFITS

Discuss any potential direct benefits to the participants from their involvement in the project. Discuss any potential direct benefits to the community, including any capacity building which is integrated into the study design. Comment on the potential benefits to the scientific/scholarly community or society that would justify involvement of participants in this study.

The potential benefits of this project are: individuals will get to know their history, it will provide answer to some of Bermuda's challenging educational question and the students will be given a chance to voice their view on identity formation and how it's informed by the educational system. It’s further hope that this research can contribute to the scarcity of literature in Bermuda, by bridging the gap between Bermuda and Africa. In addition, the information obtained can be used by scholars, researchers, educators and policy makers working with African-centered programme, be it in Bermuda, Canada or globally.

SECTION D – THE INFORMED CONSENT PROCESS

19. THE CONSENT PROCESS

Describe the process that will be used to obtain informed consent. Please note that it is the quality of the consent, not the format that is important. If the research involves extraction or collection of personally identifiable information from a research participant, please describe how consent from the individuals or authorization from the data custodian will be obtained. If there will be no written consent, please provide a rationale for oral or implied consent (e.g., discipline, cultural appropriateness, etc.) and explain how consent will be recorded.

For information about the required elements in the information letter and consent form, please refer to http://www.research.utoronto.ca/ethics/eh_best.html.
Where applicable, please attach a copy of the Information Letter/Consent Form, the content of any telephone script, screening materials, introductory letters, letters of administrative consent or authorization and/or any other material which will be used in the informed consent process. If any of the information collected in the screening process - prior to full informed consent to participate in the study - is to be retained from those who are excluded or refuse to participate in the study, please describe how those individuals will be informed of this.

The research will not involve collection of personal data from research participants. The letter of consent will include: my contact information, a sentence explaining to the research participants their rights to contact the Ethics Review Office at 416-946-3273, if they have any questions about their rights as participants, information on the purpose of the research, how data will be gathered, how data will be stored, the condition around participation, issue of confidentiality, and how the final outcome of the research will be reported. The letter will be signed by researcher with full name and university affiliation, a space will be provided for research participants to sign and print their name. In addition, the letter of consent will be on OISE letter head, each research participant will be given a copy of the consent letter for his or her reference. The research participants will also be informed that there are no foreseeable risks, harms or inconveniences in the research if they chose to participate. They will also be informed of the potential benefits albeit not direct benefits. Lastly, each research participant will be informed that she or he will have access to a summary version of the research should she or he agree to participate. (See attached Appendix B, sample of consent letter).

20. COMMUNITY AND/OR ORGANIZATIONAL CONSENT, OR CONSENT BY AN AUTHORIZED PARTY

(a) If the research is taking place within a recognized community or an organization which requires that formal consent be sought prior to the involvement of individual participants, explain whether consent from that community/organization will be sought. Describe how this consent process and attach any relevant documentation. If consent will not be sought, please provide a justification and describe any alternative forms of consultation that may take place.

N/A

(a) If any or all of the participants are children and/or are not competent to consent, describe the process by which capacity/competency will be assessed, the proposed alternate source of consent - including any permission/information letter to be provided to the person(s) providing the alternate consent – as well as the assent process for participants.

The invitation letter will be sent home with all students who are participating in this research project. The reason for sending letters to all of the parents is to let them know of the type of research that their child/children will be participating in and to also acquire their consent (See Appendix G).

21. DEBRIEFING and DISSEMINATION
(a) If deception or intentional non-disclosure will be used in the research study, please justify.

There will be no deception in the research. All information concerning the research will be provided to the participants before signing the letter of consent.

Please provide a copy of the written debriefing form, if applicable.

N/A

(b) Will participants and/or communities be given the option of withdrawing their data following the debriefing? Please explain.

Debriefing is not applicable. The participants will be given the right to withdraw at anytime.

(c) Please explain what information/feedback will be provided to participants and/or communities after their participation in the project is complete. (e.g., report, poster presentation, pamphlet, etc.)

Each participant will be given a copy of their own script to review and will be requested to delete or add any information if they wish.

22. PARTICIPANT WITHDRAWAL

(a) Where applicable, please describe how the participants will be informed of their right to withdraw from the project. Outline the procedures which will be followed to allow them to exercise this right.

The participants will be informed at the recruitment stage their rights to withdraw from the research at any time in the study. They will also be informed about their rights to decline to respond any questions they feel uncomfortable answering. This information will be repeated when the research participants are being debriefed about the research.

(b) Indicate what will be done with the participant’s data and any consequences which withdrawal may have on the participant.
All audio tapes and written documents pertaining to the interviews will be stored and locked in a safe cabinet. Any data from participants who have withdrawn from the research will be destroyed.

(c) If participants will not have the right to withdraw from the project at all, or beyond a certain point, please explain. Ensure this information is included in the consent process.

The participants will have the right to withdraw at any time.

SECTION E – CONFIDENTIALITY AND PRIVACY

23. CONFIDENTIALITY

(a) Will the data be treated as confidential? Yes ☑ No ☐

(b) Describe the procedures to be used to protect anonymity of participants or informants, where applicable, or the confidentiality of data during the conduct of research and dissemination of results.

Pseudonyms will be used in reference to each research participant. Participants will have the opportunity to ask the researcher not to record particular information or remarks. They will also be given the opportunity to ask not to include particular interactions or remarks that they have already been previously recorded when reporting the findings of the study. In both instances the participants request will be honored.

(c) Describe any limitations to protecting the confidentiality of participants whether due to the law, the methods used or other reasons (e.g., duty to report)

There will be limitation to protection; all information will be kept under lock and key only accessible to me and my supervisor.

(d) Explain how written records, video/audio recordings, artifacts and questionnaires will be secured, how long they will be retained, and provide details of their final disposal or storage. Describe the standard data security procedures for your discipline and provide a justification if you intend to store your data for an indefinite length of time. If the data may have archival value, discuss this and whether participants will be informed of this possibility during the consent process.
All written records, audiotapes and questionnaires will be secured, stored and keyed in a cabinet in my home office. The data will be kept for 10 years.

(d) If participant anonymity or confidentiality is not appropriate to this research project, please explain.

Even though this research does not require anonymity because the information gathered from the research participants will be about their lived and professional experience within the educational system, their anonymity and confidentiality will still be protected.

24. PRIVACY REGULATIONS

For research involving extraction or collection of personally identifiable information, provincial, national and/or international laws may apply. I will report any apparent mishandling of personally identifiable information to the Office of Research Ethics. My signature as Principal Investigator, in Section G of this protocol form, confirms that I am aware of, understand and will comply with all relevant laws governing the collection and use of personally identifiable information in research.

SECTION F – CONTINUING REVIEW OF ONGOING RESEARCH

RISK MATRIX: REVIEW TYPE BY GROUP VULNERABILITY AND RESEARCH RISK—check one:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group Vulnerability</th>
<th>Research Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See the Instructions for Ethics Review Protocol Submission Form for detailed information about the Risk Matrix.

Briefly explain/justify the level of risk and group vulnerability reported above:

There is no potential risk for the interviewees as they will be sharing their respective stories/views.
**Review Type**

Based on the level of risk, please submit the appropriate number of copies of the Protocol Submission Form for Review Type:

**Risk level = 1:** Delegated Review (formerly expedited)  
**Risk level = 2 or 3:** Full Board Review

For delegated review, please submit 2 (double-sided) copies with signatures in place.

For HS full board review, please submit 17 (double-sided) copies of your ethics protocol and study-related documents.

For SSH&E full board review, please submit 15 (double sided) copies of your ethics protocol and study-related documents.

For the HIV REB only (delegated or full board), please submit 2 copies for all research proposals. Electronic submissions are accepted for HIV REB submissions, as long as there are electronic signatures in place. Please submit to ethics.review@utoronto.ca

Please note that the final determination of Review Type and level of monitoring will be made by the University of Toronto REB and the Office of Research Ethics.

**SECTION G – SIGNATURES**

The faculty supervisor/sponsor and his/her respective Departmental Chair/Dean or designate must sign below:

As the Investigator on this project, my signature confirms that I will ensure that all procedures performed under the project will be conducted in accordance with all relevant University, provincial, national and international policies and regulations that govern research involving human participants. I understand that if there is any significant deviation from the project as originally approved I must submit an amendment to the Research Ethics Board for approval prior to its implementation.

For U of T student researchers, my signature confirms that I am a registered student in good standing with the University of Toronto. My project has been reviewed and approved by my advisory committee (where applicable). If my status as a student changes, I will inform the Office of Research Ethics.
For Graduate Students, the signature of the Faculty Supervisor is required. For Post-Doctoral Fellows and Visiting Professors or Researchers, the signature of the Faculty Sponsor is required. For CBR/CBPR, the signature of Executive Director/Chair of Board of Directors is required. ***

As the Faculty Supervisor of this project, my signature confirms that I have reviewed and approve the scientific merit of the research project and this ethics protocol submission. I will provide the necessary supervision to the student researcher throughout the project, to ensure that all procedures performed under the research project will be conducted in accordance with relevant University, provincial, national or international policies and regulations that govern research involving human subjects. This includes ensuring that the level of risk inherent to the project is managed by the level of research experience that the student has, combined with the extent of oversight that will be provided by the Faculty Supervisor and/or On-site Supervisor.

As the Faculty Sponsor for this project, my signature confirms that I have reviewed and approve of the research project and will assume responsibility, as the University representative, for this research project. I will ensure that all procedures performed under the project will be conducted in accordance with all relevant University, provincial, national or international policies and regulations that govern research involving human participants.

As the Departmental Chair/Dean, my signature confirms that I am aware of the proposed activity and that it has received appropriate review prior to submission. My administrative unit will follow guidelines and procedures which ensure compliance with all relevant University, provincial, national or international policies and regulations that govern research involving human subjects. My signature also reflects the willingness of the department, faculty or division to administer the research funds, if there are any, in accordance with University, regulatory agency and sponsor agency policies.

Print Name of Departmental Chair/Dean (or designate: Dr. Kari Dehli

Signature of Departmental Chair/Dean: ____________________________ Date:
(or designate)
### Appendix B

#### Participants Profile

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Grade level/taught</th>
<th>Subject taught</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>60+</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Authors (retired)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>60+</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Authors (retired)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Author &amp; Associate Professor, Howard University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Principal of Middle School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>Education Administrator –taught since 1985, administrator for 10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>African American married to Bermudian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Teacher of Islam Religion/ Currently resides in Nigeria &amp; ESL Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td></td>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>Education Officer for Social Science (left the classroom June 1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>African American Married to Bermudian</td>
<td>S1/S2</td>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>Educator - Taught for 8 yrs. in High school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td>M2</td>
<td>Social Studies/Team Leader</td>
<td>Educator - Taught for 7 yrs in Middle School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td>M2</td>
<td>Maths</td>
<td>Educator - Taught for 5 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td>M2</td>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>Educator - Taught for 7 yrs –uncertified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>Social Studies</td>
<td>M2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td>M1</td>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>Educator - Taught for 10 yrs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Student/Just finished High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td>S1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Bermudian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Student Attends Boarding school in Canada &amp; Attended Public school in Bermuda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix C

Letter of Invitation: Ministry of Education

Dear Dr. Llewellyn Simmons,

My name is Donna May Outerbridge; I am Ph. D. Candidate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at University of Toronto under the supervision of Dr. Njoki Wane. I am requesting your participation in my research, specifically suggestion on which Middle and High school principals I may contact to assist me in recruiting teachers and students for interviewing purposes.

The purpose of my research is to examine the contemporary challenges of education in Bermuda and in particular the historical barriers that have prevented Black youth from attaining their educational goals. Additionally, my research will examine how education contributes to identity formation.

The interviewing process will be conducted over a four month period and the interviews will range from 45 minutes to an hour. The interview is completely voluntary; participants have the right to refuse to answer any of the questions and may withdraw from the study at any time. In addition, participants may raise questions with my supervisor, Dr. Njoki Wane and I throughout the study. Participants can also contact the Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273 if there are any questions about their rights as participants. Individuals who choose to participate in my study will remain anonymous, pseudonym name will be used.

The written results of this study will be shared with members of my thesis committee and the final thesis will be held in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) library. In addition, the outcome of this study will be shared with the Ministry of Education and the respective participants upon request.

Field notes, audiotape interviews and transcriptions (computer diskettes and paper copiers) containing confidential information will be kept in a locked file drawer as required for confidentiality. Ten years after the study this information will be destroyed.

If you have any questions about this research I can be reached at 441-747-4749 while I am in Bermuda and 416-347-5623 in Canada.

Thank you in advance for considering this request to assist in my research project.

Yours sincerely,

Donna Outerbridge, Ph. D. Candidate
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto
Appendix D

Letter of Invitation: Principal/Educators

Dear Principals/Educators:

My name is Donna May Outerbridge; I am a Ph. D. Candidate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at University of Toronto under the supervision of Dr. Njoki Wane. I am requesting your participation in my research. I have obtained your information on the permission and suggestion from the Ministry of Education, Director of Academics.

The purpose of my research is to examine the contemporary challenges of education in Bermuda, in particular the historical barriers that have prevented Black youth from attaining their educational goals. In addition, my research will be examining how education contributes to identity formation. As such, interviews will provide a space and opportunity to share knowledge, propose ideas and to receive feedback that will sharpen my understanding and interpretation of these issues.

Some of the questions that my research hopes to answer through the various interviews are: 1) Is the current forms of education relevant to the lived realities of Bermudian youth? 2) Is there any relevant of Black youth familiarizes themselves with African history, African values and African indigenous form of education? 3.) How do Bermudians imagine themselves, and how has this imagining inform Bermuda’s education and provided an understanding of Bermuda today?

The interviewing process will be conducted over a four month period and the interviews will range from 45 minutes to an hour. The interview is completely voluntary; participants have the right to refuse to answer any of the questions and may withdraw from the study at any time. In addition, participants may raise questions with my supervisor, Dr. Njoki Wane and I throughout the study. Participants can also contact the Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273 if there are any questions about their rights as participants. Individuals who choose to participate in my study will remain anonymous, pseudonym name will be used. The interviews will be audio tapes and notes will be taken during the entire proceedings.

The written results of this study will be shared with members of my thesis committee and the final thesis will be held in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) library. In addition, the outcome of this study will be shared with the Ministry of Education and the respective participants upon request.

Field notes, audiotape interviews and transcriptions (computer diskettes and paper copiers) containing confidential information will be kept in a locked file drawer as required for confidentiality. Ten years after the study this information will be destroyed.

If you have any questions about this research I can be reached at 441-747-4749 while I am in Bermuda and 416-347-5623 in Canada.
Thank you in advance for considering this request to assist in my research project.

Yours sincerely,
Donna Outerbridge, Ph. D. Candidate
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto
Appendix E

Letter of Invitation: Students

Dear Student:

My name is Donna May Outerbridge; I am a Ph.D. candidate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at University of Toronto under the supervision of Dr. Njoki Wane. I am requesting your participation in my research. I have obtained your information on the permission and suggestion from the Ministry of Education, Director of Academics.

The purpose of my research is to examine the contemporary challenges of education in Bermuda and in particular the historical barriers that have prevented Black youth from attaining their educational goals. In addition, my research will be examining how education contributes to identity formation. I am inviting you to share your educational experience within Bermuda’s school system, and your knowledge about Bermuda’s history. Please note that your decision to participate or not in the study will have no effect on your grades.

Some of the questions that my research hopes to answer through the various interviews are: 1) to what extent has education in Bermuda contributed to the current Black identity that is being portrayed in Bermuda today? 2) Are there historical gaps in Bermuda’s educational system that may have contributed to the disengagement of Black youth from the educational system?

Through interviews we will have the opportunity to share knowledge, propose ideas and I will receive feedback that will help sharpen my understanding and interpretation of issues raised. The interviews will be audio tapes and notes will be taken during the entire proceedings.

The interviewing process will be conducted over a four month period and the interviews will range from 45 minutes to an hour. The interview is completely voluntary; participants have the right to refuse to answer any of the questions and may withdraw from the study at any time. In addition, participants may raise questions with my supervisor, Dr. Njoki Wane and I throughout the study. Participants can also contact the Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273 if there are any questions about their rights as participants. Individuals who choose to participate in my study will remain anonymous, pseudonym name will be used.

The written results of this study will be shared with members of my thesis committee and the final thesis will be held in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) library. In addition, the outcome of this study will be shared with the Ministry of Education and the respective participants upon request.

Fieldnotes, audiotape interviews and transcriptions (computer diskettes and paper copiers) containing confidential information will be kept in a locked file drawer as required for confidentiality. Ten years after the study this information will be destroyed.
If you have any questions about this research I can be reached at 441-747-4749 while I am in Bermuda and 416-347-5623 in Canada.

Thank you in advance for considering this request to assist in my research project.

Yours sincerely,

Donna Outerbridge, Ph.D. Candidate
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto
Appendix F

Letter of Invitation: Bermudian Authors

Dear Author(s):

My name is Donna May Outerbridge; I am a Ph. D. Candidate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at University of Toronto under the supervision of Dr. Njoki Wane. I am requesting your participation in my research to share your wealth of knowledge about Bermuda’s history and to discuss the relevance of local cultural knowledge for educating young learners and the Bermudian population. I have obtained your information on the permission and suggestion of the Department of Education District Leaders.

The purpose of my research is to examine the contemporary challenges of education in Bermuda, in particular the historical barriers that have prevented Black youth from attaining their educational goals. In addition, my research will be examining how education contributes to identity formation. As such, interviews will provide a space and opportunity to share knowledge, propose ideas and to receive feedback that will sharpen my understanding and interpretation of these issues.

Some of the questions that my research hopes to answer through the various interviews are: 1) Is the current forms of education relevant to the lived realities of Bermudian youth? 2) To what extent has education in Bermuda contributed to the current Black identity that is being portrayed in Bermuda today? 3) Is there any relevant of Black youth familiarizes themselves with African history, African values and African indigenous form of education? 4) Are there historical gaps in Bermudian educational system that have contributed to the disengagement of Black youth from the educational system? 5) How do Bermudians imagine themselves, and how has this imagining inform Bermuda’s education and provided an understanding of Bermuda today?

The interviewing process will be conducted over a four month period and the interviews will range from 45 minutes to an hour. The interview is completely voluntary; participants have the right to refuse to answer any of the questions and may withdraw from the study at any time. In addition, participants may raise questions with my supervisor, Dr. Njoki Wane and I throughout the study. Participants can also contact the Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or 416-946-3273 if there are any questions about their rights as participants. Individuals who choose to participate in my study will remain anonymous, pseudonym name will be used. The interviews will be audio tapes and notes will be taken during the entire proceedings.

The written results of this study will be shared with members of my thesis committee and the final thesis will be held in the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) library. In addition, the outcome of this study will be shared with the Ministry of Education and the respective participants upon request.
Fieldnotes, audiotape interviews and transcriptions (computer diskettes and paper copiers) containing confidential information will be kept in a locked file drawer as required for confidentiality. Ten years after the study this information will be destroyed. If you have any questions about this research I can be reached at 441-747-4749 while I am in Bermuda and 416-347-5623 in Canada.

Thank you in advance for considering this request to assist in my research project.

Yours sincerely,
Donna Outerbridge, Ph. D. Candidate
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto,
Appendix G

Consent Letter: Authors

Donna May Outerbridge, Ph. D. Candidate
Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education
OISE, University of Toronto
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 1V6.

Dear Donna,

RE: “Historical Consciousness: Re-claiming the Identities of African-Bermudians in a Colonial Context”

I _______________________________ (please print name) have read the attached letter describing the research project and have agreed to participate. I understand the interviews will be conducted over a four month period, ranging from 45 minutes to an hour and is completely voluntary. I also understand that I have the right to refuse to answer any of the questions and may withdraw from the study at any time. I further understand that the study will remain anonymous and pseudonym name will be used. I have been made aware that the interviews will be audio tapes and notes will be taken during the entire proceedings.

I understand that no conversation will be tape-recorded without my consent, and that I may request that the tape recorder be turned off at any time during the interview until I indicate that it may be turned on again. I also understand that the information collected during our talks will be used for the research and for publication should you decide to publish your thesis in its entirety or parts. I give informed consent to use my real name. In addition, the outcome of this study will be shared with the Ministry of Education and the respective participants upon request.

DATE ___________________ SIGNATURE ______________________

Telephone Number: ______________________
Appendix H

Consent Letter: Principals/Educators

Donna May Outerbridge, Ph. D. Candidate
Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education
OISE, University of Toronto
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 1V6.

Dear Donna,

RE: “Historical Consciousness: Re-claiming the Identities of African-Bermudians in a Colonial Context”

I ______________________________ (please print name) have read the attached letter describing the research project and have agreed to participate. I understand the interviews will be conducted over a four month period, ranging from 45 minutes to an hour and is completely voluntary. I also understand that I have the right to refuse to answer any of the questions and may withdraw from the study at any time. I further understand that the study will remain anonymous and pseudonym name will be used. I have been made aware that the interviews will be audio tapes and notes will be taken during the entire proceedings.

I understand that no conversation will be tape-recorded without my consent, and that I may request that the tape recorder be turned off at any time during the interview until I indicate that it may be turned on again. I also understand that the information collected during our talks will be used for the research and for publication should you decide to publish your thesis in its entirety or parts, with the assurance that pseudonyms will be used to protect my identity. In addition, the outcome of this study will be shared with the Ministry of Education and the respective participants upon request.

DATE                        SIGNATURE
__________________________________________________________

Telephone Number: __________________________
Appendix I

Consent Letter: Parents

Donna May Outerbridge, Ph. D. Candidate
Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education
OISE, University of Toronto
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario
M5S 1V6.

Dear Donna,

RE: “Historical Consciousness: Re-claiming the Identities of African-Bermudians in a Colonial Context”

I ____________________________ (please print name) have read the attached letter (Letter of Invitation: Student) describing the research project requesting permission to interview my child on the reclaiming the identities of African-Bermudians in a colonial context as a means of giving space to the silenced voices of resistance. I agree that my child can participate in the study.

I understand the interviews will be held at a convenient location during the week. I also understand that no conversation will be tape-recorded without my child’s consent, and that he/she can request that the tape recorder be turned off at any time during the interview until he/she indicates that it may be turned on again. I further understand that my child’s contributions will remain confidential and that their participation is voluntary, moreover, their identity will remain anonymous, and that he/she is not required to share any information that is not comfortable for him/her to volunteer. The invitation letter further states that my child’s decision to participate or not in the study will have no effect on their grades.

I understand that the information collected during the interviews will be used for the research that you are doing and for publication should you decide to publish your thesis in its entirety or parts, with the assurance that pseudonyms will be used to protect my child’s identity.

DATE

______________________________

PARENT’S SIGNATURE

______________________________

Telephone Number: __________________________
Appendix J

Interview Guide: Principals

1. How important is Bermudian history? To what extent is it a part of the curriculum?

2. Do you feel that the literature currently used addresses issues of Bermudian identity? Explain.

3. How do Bermudians image themselves and how does this imagining form Bermuda’s education? Moreover, how does this shape contemporary Bermuda?

4. Do you feel the social and political thought plays a part in shaping Bermuda in general and the educational system in particular?

5. How is the conversation of Bermuda’s social formation situated in a broader context, which is or should be inclusive of the Caribbean and Africa?

6. Are there any links made between Bermuda, the Caribbean and African history?

7. Is the current form of education relevant to the lived realities of Bermudian youth?

8. To what extent has education in Bermuda contributed to the current Black identity that is being portrayed in Bermuda today?


10. Do you feel there are historical gaps in Bermudian educational system that have contributed to the disengagement of Black youth from the educational system?
Appendix K

Interview Guide: Educators

1. To what extent is Bermudian history included in the curriculum? What texts are being used?

2. Do you feel what is taught in school helps shape the Bermudian identity?

3. Do you feel that the literature currently used addresses issues of Bermudian identity? Explain.

4. How do Bermudians image themselves and how does this imagining form Bermuda’s education? Moreover, how does this shape contemporary Bermuda?

5. Do you feel the social and political thought plays a part in shaping Bermuda in general and the educational system in particular?

6. How is the conversation of Bermuda’s social formation situated in a broader context, which is or should be inclusive of the Caribbean and Africa?

7. Are there any links made between Bermuda, the Caribbean and African history?

8. Is the current form of education relevant to the lived realities of Bermudian youth?

9. To what extent has education in Bermuda contributed to the current Black identity that is being portrayed in Bermuda today?


11. Do you feel there are historical gaps in the Bermudian educational system that have contributed to the disengagement of Black youth from the educational system?
Appendix L

Interview Guide: Students

1. What do you consider to be a Bermudian identity?
2. How would you describe your Bermudian identity?
3. How well do you know your Bermudian history?
4. How does history taught in school help you to understand who you are?
5. Explain how the education system contributed to how you see yourself?
6. Do you feel there is a connection between Bermuda, the Caribbean and Africa?
7. How does school help you to understand these connections?
8. What do you feel has caused the disengagement of Black youth from the educational system? Explain?
9. What possible solutions do you feel can assist in resolving the increase drop-out rate in Bermuda?
Appendix M

Interview Guide: Bermudian Authors

1. How have you sought to define Bermuda and address issues of Black identity through your writings?

2. Has this process of writing about Bermuda and Black identity impacted the larger historical narrative of Bermuda?

3. How do you define Bermudians identity?

4. Is there a relationship between the Bermudian identity, the Caribbean and the African Diaspora? Explain

5. Explain how the history of Bermuda impacts the contemporary social climate in Bermuda.

6. Can you describe how Bermuda’s history was taught in the past in comparison to present day teaching of history in the education system?

7. How has Bermuda’s history in the past impacted identity development in comparison to how it has impacted identity development today? Moreover, what role has the education system played in this identity formation?
Appendix N

Ethics Approval

PROTOCOL REFERENCE # 25203

May 18, 2010

Dr. Njoki Wane  Ms. Donna May Outerbridge
Dept’ of Sociology and Equity Studies in  Dept’ of Sociology and Equity Studies in
Education  Education
OISE/University of Toronto  OISE/University of Toronto
252 Bloor St. West  252 Bloor St. West
Toronto, ON M5S 1V6  Toronto, ON M5S 1V6

Dear Dr. Wane and Ms. Outerbridge:

Re: Your research protocol entitled, “Historical Consciousness: Reclaiming the Identities of African Bermudians in a Colonial Context”

ETHICS APPROVAL

Original Approval Date: May 18, 2010
Expiry Date: May 17, 2011
Continuing Review Level: 1

We are writing to advise you that a member of the Social Sciences, Humanities and Education Research Ethics Board has granted approval to the above-named research study, for a period of one year. Ongoing projects must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

All your most recently submitted documents have been approved for use in this study.

Any changes to the approved protocol or consent materials must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process prior to its implementation. Any adverse or unanticipated events should be reported to the Office of Research Ethics as soon as possible.

Please ensure that you submit an Annual Renewal Form or a Study Completion Report 15 to 30 days prior to the expiry date of your study. Note that annual renewals for studies cannot be accepted more than 30 days prior to the date of expiry, as per federal and international policies.

If your research has funding attached, please contact the relevant Research Funding Officer in Research Services to ensure that your funds are released.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your project.

Yours sincerely,

S. Lanthier
Research Ethics Coordinator
Appendix O

Annual Renewal of Ethics Approval

[Protocol Letter Content]

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Margaret Schneider, Ph.D.,
C.PsyCh

[Signature]

Dean Sharpe, Ph.D.,
REB Manager