

GET *INVOLVED*: STORIES OF THE CARIBBEAN POSTCOLONIAL BLACK MIDDLE
CLASS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY

Kim N. Williams-Pulfer

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy,
Indiana University

August 2018

Accepted by the Faculty of Indiana University, in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Doctoral Committee

Dr. John H. Stanfield II, Co-Chair

Dr. Jennifer Thorington Springer,
Co-Chair

March 7, 2018

Dr. Lehn Benjamin

Dr. Brian Steensland

Dedication

To: Marc, Olive, Joelle, and Julian

Acknowledgements

There are many people that offered inspiration, hope, and encouragement throughout my doctoral journey. First of all, I wish to thank my husband Marc and my children Olive, Joelle, and Julian. I am eternally grateful to have you all in my life. Thank you for your support and love. Thank you to my parents, Earlin and Clara Williams, for your commitment to my education and for instilling in me confidence in my abilities and talents along with a deep respect for others. Also, thank you to the rest of my family, especially my six amazing brothers. In their own individual ways, they taught me to read widely, think deeply, and to hold fast to a creative spirit. Many thanks also to my sisters-in-law, nieces, and nephews for your continued affirmations that I could run the race. I also want to thank my in-laws Gottfried and Theres Pulfer as well as the rest of my Swiss family. Thanks also to my best friends Ebony Beneby and Tamika Galanis for your continued support in everything that I do.

To the entire Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy thank you for allowing me grow as a scholar. In particular, I wish to thank my dissertation committee. To my wonderful co-chairs, Dr. John Stanfield and Dr. Jennifer Thorington Springer, you exist as two halves of a critical influence in my life. To Dr. Stanfield, thank you for teaching me the foundations of African Diaspora scholarship along with the intersection of Philanthropic Studies. This project was undeniably shaped by your guidance. To Dr. Thorington-Springer, thank you for your loving, thoughtful, and consistent mentorship. I especially appreciated our connected passion and commitment for our Caribbean home. To Dr. Lehn Benjamin, I am grateful for all of your feedback on this project, but thanks for also helping me consider my scholarly identity as well as for your support throughout the entire doctoral program. Also to Dr. Brian Steensland, thank you for listening to me carefully, asking the right questions, and for providing me with critical insights as I wrestled with my research question and focus.

Other faculty members that I wish to thank include: Dr. Dwight Burlingame - I owe my passion for Philanthropic Studies education to you. Thanks also to Dr. Emmett Carson for

providing me with the incredible opportunity to learn more about the field. Many thanks to Dr. Tyrone Freeman, Dr. Shariq Siddiqui, Dr. Patrick Rooney, Dr. Rich Steinberg, and to rest of the faculty members. Thank you also to my talented colleagues. To Barb Duffy - my dear friend. Thank you for the countless hours of conversation and laughter, close reading on a variety of critical subjects, and mostly for your support. Thanks to my cohort mates, Xiaoyun Julia Wang and Dr. Fady Qaddourra. Other valuable colleagues I want to thank include: Dr. Angela Logan, Dr. Ruth Hansen, Tiara Dungy, Meng-Han Ho, Dr. Ellie Heng Que, Jim Alexander, Richard Clark, and Dr. Elizabeth Dale. It was my pleasure learning with you all. Thanks also to the staff, especially Suzy Lutz, Avis Frieson, and Mary Westerbeck. Thank you for your insight and warmth.

Last but not least, thank you to the people of the Bahamas and the rest of the Caribbean including the scholars, civil society practitioners, government officials, and the many communities that made this project possible. Your enduring passion to “get involved” guides my intellect and imagination as well as my hope for a more inclusive and sustainable future.

Kim N. Williams-Pulfer

*GET INVOLVED: STORIES OF THE CARIBBEAN POSTCOLONIAL BLACK MIDDLE
CLASS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY*

The main research question of this project is: How do the narratives of Caribbean black middle class civil society within the bounds of the “post-postcolonial” state, explain the evolving yet current environment of local and postcolonial civil society development? Using the Bahamas as a case, this project explores the historical, political, cultural, and social conditions that supported the development of civil society within the context of a postcolonial society. Furthermore, an investigation via in-depth interviews, participation observation, archival, and contemporary document analysis contextualizes the present-day work of civil society leaders in the Bahamas.

Methodologically, the project employs narrative analysis to uncover the perspectives, voices, and practices of black middle-class Bahamian civil society offering an unfolding, dynamic, and nuanced approach for understanding the historical legacies and contemporary structure of local civil society and philanthropy. The study focuses on three primary forms of narratives. These include the narratives of the past (historical), the narratives of expressive and aesthetic cultural practices, and the narratives of lived experience.

The project locates that the development of civil society is linked to historical and cultural forces. The findings show that that the narratives of history, social, and artistic development foregrounds a hybrid model of civil society development drawn from the experience of slavery, colonialism, decolonization, as well as the emerging structures related to economic and political globalization. Furthermore, observed through resilience narratives, local civil society leaders negotiate the boundaries of hybridity in their understanding of their personal, social, and professional identities as well as the way in which they engage government, the public, as well as local and international funders.

Dr. John H. Stanfield II, Co-Chair

Dr. Jennifer Thorington Springer,
Co-Chair

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Who what am I? My answer: I am the sum total of everything that went before me, of all I have been seen done, of everything done-to-me. I am everyone everything whose being-in-the-world affected was affected by mine. I am anything that happens after I've gone which would not have happened if I had not come. Nor am I particularly exceptional in this matter; each "I," every one of the now-six-hundred-million-plus of us, contains a similar multitude. I repeat for the last time: to understand me, you'll have to swallow a world. (Midnight's Children, Salman Rushdie, 1980/2006, p. 535)

The idea of white supremacy rests simply on the fact that white men are the creators of civilization (the present civilization, which is the only one that matters; all previous civilizations are simply contributions to our own) and are therefore civilization's guardians and defenders... It is precisely this black-white experience, which may prove of indispensable value to us in the world we face today. This world is white no longer, and it will never be white again. (Stranger in the Village, Notes from a Native Son, James Baldwin, 1955/2012, pp. 176, 179)

A New Vision for Caribbean Civil Society?

In April 2015, prior to the Annual Summit of the Americas meeting in Panama, President Barack Obama made a historic visit to the country of Jamaica. There, he held a town hall meeting of young leaders on the campus of the University of the West Indies-Mona. The President's trip to Jamaica was the first visit to that county by a sitting U.S. president in more than thirty years. Obama articulated the underlying focus of the meeting:

And what gives me so much hope about your generation is that you're more interested in the hard work of waging peace than resorting to the quick impulses of conflict. You're more interested in the hard work of building prosperity through entrepreneurship, not cronyism or corruption... You care less about the world as it has been, and more about the world as it should be and can be. And unlike any other time in our history, the technology at your disposal means that you don't have to wait for the change that you're looking for; you have the freedom to create it in your own in powerful and disruptive ways... More than 100 million people in Latin America and the Caribbean are between the ages of 15 and 24. Most of the region is under 35. (The White House, Office of the Press Secretary [WH/OPS], 2015a, para. 8)

The President then went on to announce the "Young Leaders of the Americas Initiative" in which young leaders from around the region will have the opportunity to gain access to resources such as training for entrepreneurs and civil society leaders (WH/OPS, 2015a).

The President then led a meeting at the Summit of the Americas and hosted the first gathering of civil society leaders at the summit. Here, he made a call for strengthening civil society networks through resource development. He noted,

We're here for a very simple reason. We believe that strong, successful countries require strong and vibrant civil societies. We know that throughout our history, human progress has been propelled not just by famous leaders, not just by states, but by ordinary men and women, who believe that change is possible; by citizens who are willing to stand up against incredible odds and great danger not only to protect their own rights, but to extend rights to others. (WH/OPS, 2015b, para. 3)

The President also announced his "Stand with Civil Society Initiative" providing necessary tools for civil society groups throughout the Americas as a way to allow them to obtain the necessary resources they need such as protection, training, and technology (WH/OPS, 2015b).

These two key speeches by President Obama highlight a few important themes relevant to this project. First, the fact that the President selected to visit the island state of Jamaica as a historical anomaly speaks perhaps to the shifting nature of U.S.-Caribbean relations. The rate of black immigration in the United States has grown dramatically. The black immigrant population has quadrupled since the 1980s with the largest share of immigrants coming from the Caribbean. Jamaica leads the way in having the most immigrants to America with the total percentage of black immigrants from the Caribbean specifically accounts for a whopping 49% of the total number of black immigrants coming to the United States as of 2013. Other countries listed include Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, Haiti, Grenada, and the Bahamas (Anderson, 2015). These new immigrants send dollars back to their home countries. Total remittances sent by immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean totaled \$61.3 billion in 2012 (Maldonado & Hayem, 2015).

The ties between the United States and the Caribbean are increasing in importance as larger amounts of Caribbean citizens come to take up residence in the United States. Their remittances further highlight the significance of the ties between the U.S. and Caribbean regions as U.S. dollars support the economies of many Caribbean countries. These transnational identities

prove fruitful in maintaining significantly positive levels of nation building in the various countries that immigrant individuals call “home.” Ong’s (1999) reading of Blanc et al. is particularly useful for this project. These transnational individuals exemplify a “subaltern vindication both from struggling against racism in the United States and from transcending class and political barriers in their home countries” (p. 9). These transnational Caribbean citizens are able to bridge the divide between both the United States and their countries of birth. They bring not only material wealth to their home countries, but they also inform the anti-racist agenda in the United States while simultaneously supporting nation building activities back in their home countries. The role of remittances and other transnational linkages between Caribbean citizens in the United States and within their home countries are significant. These connections reveal the long-standing forms of civic and community engagement activities that have linked these citizens home and abroad for many decades.

The President also highlighted the emerging thought that the role of civil society should be strengthened within the region. Recent reports from various development organizations all suggest that issues of crime, violence, and lack of education within the Caribbean and Latin America impact its social and economic development. Furthermore, the development of civil society organizations requires continued support in securing adequate responses to key issues impacting the region. Various reports about the region all cite that there are numerous organizations (mostly international) working to engage and support citizens in strengthening their communities. Yet, it is also expressed that the work of local Non-governmental organizations [NGOs] and other Civil Society Organizations [CSOs] need to further deepen their approaches to support these communities. Between the World Bank, Inter-American Developmental Bank [IDB], and the United Nations Development Program [UNDP] numerous calls for increased strategies for combatting violence, youth unemployment, and increased educational attainment continues to be the cry of multilateral institutions (IDB, 2013; UNDP, 2012; World Bank, 2007).

Meanwhile, anecdotally, a scan of Caribbean newspaper editorials and radio talk shows all suggest that the people of the Anglophone Caribbean, including the Bahamas, are concerned about the futures of their countries. Cries of a lack of meaningful political leadership, concerns about economic and environmental security all suggest that more is needed to secure peace and safety for Caribbean citizens.

The President's proposed initiatives at both the Summit of the Americas and the Youth Town Hall meeting in Jamaica all signify a continued and increased momentum for both regional and international influencers in offering their support in enhancing the work of civil society within the Caribbean. This renewed commitment to develop civil society within the Caribbean is a call for refocused energies that may support countries in enhancing the citizen experience. It is within this frame that this project takes shape.

Civil Society for Societal Improvement: Universal and Local Claims

It is apparent that civil society continues to be a concept that is used to highlight the role of private citizens improving their distinct societies. It appears that with the rise of Salamon's "global associational revolution" civil society is promoted as the panacea to solving society's problems (Salamon, 1999). Lewis (2002) notes that as a development discourse, civil society has employed several key programmatic features that are aligned within a "good governance framework" which creates the exportation of "policy packages" from donor states to developing countries. Some of these good governance activities embodied as policy packages include monitoring elections through the work of local civil society leaders as well as "capacity building" exercises that aim to help local civil society groups improve their organizational strengths (Lewis 2002).

For the purposes of this study within the Caribbean, the increasing trend has resulted in local governments working along with bilateral and multilateral agents coalescing on a strategy of building the capacity of civil society leaders. In doing so, these agencies, along with local governments, promote capacity development as a goal that strives to improve the process of

planning. These multilateral actors note that while they laud the passion and commitment of local civil society groups, there are remaining deficits relating to operational capacity as well as problems with planning and development. Furthermore, these bilateral and multilateral agencies work to train local civil society leaders on improving levels of accountability and transparency measures (See Robinson, n.d.; IDB, n.d.a; Watson, 2015).

However, this capacity building strategy is not without criticism. The global organization, CIVICUS, a leading global civil society network, highlights some of the issues that local civil society encounters when they engage with consultations with multilateral and bilateral training schemes. They note that these civil society consultations tend to be selective and dismiss the groups that are more adversarial to the state as well as the fact that the opportunities for civil society groups to participate in such consultations are limited in terms of communication about events. Furthermore, that these consultations are often nothing more than “box-ticking” exercises as these multilateral and international groups wish to merely “deliver projects and programmes” as opposed to promoting significant policy changes that strike at the heart of social change within local communities (See CIVICUS, 2014).

At first glance, it may not be apparent how and why these international efforts to train local civil society leaders are important to understand. It appears that organizations like CIVICUS note that in many instances, these consultation activities seem like mere formalities that do not necessarily impact the local realities of civil society. However, Schuller (2007) aptly notes that “transnational forces and institutions are constitutive elements of southern civil society, and that a tripartite lens comprehending three general sets of actors (foreign powers, the state, and ‘civil society’ is required” (p. 67). Schuller’s (2007) argument here is to attend the influence of globalization on the nation state and in doing so, the focus on local civil society capacities that are also implicated in the influence of globalization and specifically, the role of multinational organizations working with and through the state.

The trend of analyzing globalization's recasting of the civil society sphere, it is often argued, focuses on the western conception of the term, which is specifically related to the notion of a liberal individualism. However, numerous scholars note the importance of broadening the view on the landscape of civil society practices. Many of these scholars argue that some of the projects related to improving local civil society efforts ignore some of the cultural values in the local context. Others suggest that an analysis of the discursive use of the term and the way in which smaller units of civil society engages with the broader usage of its definitions is valuable but often neglected. Others have noted that while international and often western led projects have focused on formal practices and procedures linking the global call for civil society enhancement, the local imperatives of improving communities also requires the study of the informal practices related to power, norms, and values that shape the local development of civil society. Other scholars note that smaller studies of civil society are deeply needed. These smaller studies could shed light on the cultural influences as well as the institutional and environmental forces that explain the role of civil society in a highly globalized era (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1999; Fernandes, 2005; Hann, 1996; Lewis, 2002; Schuller, 2012; Smith, 2001).

Research Question

The main research question of this dissertation project is: How do the narratives of Caribbean black middle class civil society identities, within the bounds of the "post-postcolonial" state, explain the evolving, yet current, environment of local and postcolonial civil society development? *Get Involved: Stories of The Postcolonial Black Middle Class and The Development of Civil Society* will interrogate the relationship between the postcolonial identity and the development of civil society (postcolonial civil society identities). As a core presupposition to this work is the context of postcolonial historical periods (1950s-1970s) that marks civil society development as an assertion of an alternative public sphere, where mostly black and poor citizens fought for equal political and social participation within the nation state while simultaneously participating in a global fight against the same problems of racism and

oppression. *Get Involved* extends this analysis of civil society into the post-postcolonial period, which now has placed yesterday's civil society leaders, in many cases, in the position of political leadership. Using the Bahamas as a case study, this project will explore the historical, political, cultural, and social conditions that supported the development of civil society within the context of a postcolonial society. Furthermore, an investigation primarily via in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document and textual analysis will contextualize the present-day work of civil society leaders in the Bahamas as a way to shape contemporary experiences of civil society and postcolonial identity. This present-day inspection of these civil society identities highlights the fact that culture and sociality are critical sites of investigation for understanding civic culture as they are often observed in everyday experiences (Gregory, 1999; Stanfield, 2011). Simply put: What is the significance of cultural identity on the formation and development of civil society? How does cultural identity explain the formation and ongoing development of civil society especially postcolonial societies?

Boundaries of the Study

This project will be bounded by a few intersecting and linked frames of analysis. Ultimately, a major theme guiding this project is that of change and continuity. An initial compelling question that the project will focus on is: What is the shape of civil society structures in the new century within the bounds of a post-postcolonial state? The analysis of the forces of change and continuity to the structure of civil society will help to deepen an understanding of the factors that have either advanced or hindered the progress of civil society development. Specifically, the project will explore the relationship between the burgeoning national cultural identities that developed at the symbolic birth of the Bahamas and the way these stories of national identity helped to shape the current environment of civil society development. Alternatively, a major inspection relates to the ways in which current civil society actors have maintained and supported a continued sense of the early postcolonial society's significance. How do previous historical periods explain the development of civil through the assertion of an

alternative public sphere, and what is now the case in a post-postcolonial state that is influenced by globalization, regionalism, and the goals and aspirations of national identity and advancement? This project will also remain attuned to the recurring and new forces of globalization, which continues to divide the world based on wealth attainment measured through economic outcomes as well as other issues such as population size, and perceived regional significance. In doing so, the force of globalization within the context of the postcolonial nation state will be explored as a way to assess the changing patterns of civil society development with some additional focus on the role of multilateral organizations and the ubiquitous specter of foreign direct investment.

The most challenging aspect of this analysis is to understand and analyze the richness of postcolonial Caribbean and correspondingly, Bahamian identity. As Stuart Hall (1990) notes it is an identity that is both based on similarity and difference. This sense of Caribbean identity will be understood along the continuum of both the historical and contemporary triumphs and challenges of civil society development. In order to do this, special attention must be made to the history, culture, and worldview of those that call themselves both Bahamians, who in many ways share a Caribbean identity but in very complex and contested ways. This focus will provide and understanding of how this Caribbean and postcolonial identity formation has come to shape the experiences and work of Caribbean (Bahamian) civil society leaders.

Also embedded within this question of identity is not only a sense of Anglo-Caribbean or Bahamian identity but also two crucial social identity roles emerging from the Caribbean postcolonial identity. In particular, this project will focus on both class identity (especially the middle class identity) as well as the notion of blackness. Class identities are a critical space for understanding the development of the nation state. Furthermore, as the literature review will trace the key arguments in the debate associated with the concept of blackness, for the purposes of analysis this project will focus primarily on what Yelvington (2001) notes is “less understood as a kind of ontology and more as a kind of cultural identity politics” (p. 250). I will argue that both of

these social identities carry considerable weight for understanding major connections between postcolonial identity and civil society leadership and development in the Caribbean.

As a contribution, this study engages a multiplicity of areas either ignored or not combined in one analytical space. What this study aims to do is to focus on a wider range of civil society activity. Some studies have focused in particular on activism within the postcolonial space or others that have focused on social welfare provisions of the Caribbean and Latin America. Other studies have focused on the political sphere and the inclusion or lack thereof of formal black participation and engagement. This study highlights the spaces in between the political-formal and the social-informal structure of the nation. The study will also move within the ranges between the civil society experiences of individuals as well as organizations. The Bahamas as a case is important in the context of developing world and postcolonial studies of civil society, and this study will focus on civil society development beyond the typical experience of other postcolonial states grappling to understand civil society experience along with the rapid growth and influence of international NGOs. In the case of the Bahamas, their prevalence within the nation state is in many ways, silent. The Bahamas is a uniquely positioned site to explore the role of postcolonial and local civil society activity without (as yet) the complication or intrusion of large-scale foreign NGO activity (Bowen 2007; Dixon 2016; Green 2014; Oslender, 2016; Schuller, 2012).

This study focuses on these spaces in addition to the challenge to a cosmopolitan and universal sense of civil society and citizenship and as a result, the nature and foundational underpinnings of philanthropic motivations and practices. It also challenges the development literature, most notably supported by multilateral institutions that focus on the instrumental aspects of civil society development and finds that civil society in postcolonial societies is lacking due to issues of a lack of some standard level of civic capacity which often is cited to include lack of formal regulatory capacities, meaningful and productive dialogue with government, and issues of funding to name a few.

While the range of resources in the case of the Caribbean and the Bahamas in particular could be described as lower than that of their first world and global north counterparts, the key issue, I argue is not just the final deduction of lower levels of civil society capacity, but rather I urge that understanding the influences that shape postcolonial civil society identities is a first and most critical step. These civil society identities are shaped through the individual and collective experience often times occurring within the context of a particular time and place. How does the development of civil society identities emerge from the local and yet is still influenced by the global? How does this development of postcolonial civil society identities inform local realities in an effort to support local needs and issues, but which are also connected and concerned with unique regional and national historical roots and contemporarily identified restraints and opportunities? Civil society capacity, I maintain, cannot be understood, assessed, or even transformed unless attention is first paid to the articulation and development of local civil society identities, which are rooted in cultural identities (See Commonwealth Foundation, n.d.a, n.d.b; IDB, n.d.b).

Significance of the Study

This study matters for a host of reasons. First, the nation state of the Bahamas is undergoing significant changes in relation to some major social issues, including the widening distances between income attainment, health outcomes, and issues of criminality and underachievement in education. Currently, the country is engaging with the processes of creating a National Development Plan (See National Development of the Bahamas, 2018), which is indicative of the interest in the country to take stock and assess the possible future of the nation. As The National Development Plan engages various sectors of society, the role and development of civil society is a key component of the plan's focus on understanding past problems to anticipate future solutions. This study in engaging both past and current developments within the national realm of civil society will highlight the gains as well as the challenges of local civil society within the context of national identity. As these types of national development projects

are continually projected across the Global South, this study seeks to use a national case that focuses on the growing significance of local civil society as a critical and necessary partner to the goals of national development. This study's investigation focuses on Sen's (2000) argument for development as "expanding the process of expanding the freedoms that people enjoy" (p. 3). Furthermore, the uniquely situated historical and contemporary context of civil society's development is welcomed to respond and redirect the perception of universalism to the concept (Lewis, 2002). Escobar (2011) also highlights that the increasing visibility of the perspectives, ideals, and experiences of indigenous people and people of African descent are increasingly needed to deepen understandings of development. These new transition discourses of development are, what Escobar (2011) goes on to note, shaped by the social movements and civil society organizations emerging from indigenous and Afro-descended locales around the globe.

This dissertation also aims to highlight and offer a wider theoretical mapping of the diverse traditions of philanthropic practices. Added as a complement to the discussion of civil society as the domain of citizen action, philanthropy is a critical vehicle enabling civil society's capacity to engage citizens as well as to engage with other sectors to create societal change. From the Greek term of "love of mankind" the modern conception of the terms has come to mean "voluntary action from the public good." Hammack (2015) notes that there are numerous ways in which the contemporary use of the term of philanthropy is used noting at least two divergent conceptions including the giving and use of wealthy gifts along with the, at times, competing idea of the development of civil society, of sacrifice, mutual aid, and even moral devotion to a cause. It is particularly useful to think of philanthropy, and the ways that it is defined and discussed, as threads that at times intersect but, in some instances, have yet to meet. In efforts to support what is considered as an emerging field of philanthropic study, this dissertation takes the conception of culture, especially within the context of postcolonial traditions and experiences, and places these distinct experiences in dialogue with the larger body of literature on philanthropic traditions and civil society development. Most complex here is to unravel the tensions that exist between what is

at once, a call for a universal acceptance of philanthropic practice and civil society development with a competing and disparate assumption that unique traditions and experiences promote varying philanthropic practices emerging from various locations around the world.

While Bernholz, Cordelli, and Reich (2016) most recently argue that philanthropic practices, occurs in a multiplicity of ways and sites, but remains under researched. They cite three distinct reasons that may potentially suggest why such a dearth of research has existed. They note that the slower development of the field of philanthropy emerges from three main and include the fact that: 1) many of the world's religious practices require anonymous giving leading to a lack of notation and acknowledgement, 2) that there are now emerging trends that blur a simple and easily identifiable sense of philanthropy, namely new concepts and practices such as social entrepreneurship and corporate social responsibility, and finally they cite the fact that 3) philanthropic giving (most notably measured in the United States) continues to be small in relation to the GDP. The reasons supplied here all point to social structures that have created the environment in which philanthropic action is guided.

This dissertation will add or complement another potential reason for the underdevelopment of study of philanthropic practice, most notable in the ways in which the role of agency, through the lens of culture, as uniquely expressed across the globe, continues to shape philanthropic practices. I define culture and cultural identity invoking Stuart Hall's (1990) articulation that cultural identity relates to people that have shared sense of history, and experience, hold, and produce a sense of belonging and connection between these people. Moreover, without a deeper analysis of culture and its near conceptual terms such as citizenship, identity, democracy, and public engagement, the vast array and careful mapping of distinctive forms of philanthropic and civil society practices will remain a nascent research feature. This is not to say that there are not some studies that link the role of culture to philanthropic practices. This is especially the case in the research on religious ideals and philanthropic traditions or even in the way in which there is an engagement with global practices of philanthropy, albeit in

emergent form. I am suggesting that in continuing the process of deepening the work of philanthropic research in its emergent state, more attempts should be focused on the analysis of cultural identity and the ways in which it produces alternate and varying forms of philanthropic and civil society global practices. In doing so, there must not only be a support for recognition of these diverse philanthropic practices but instead make space for the adaption of broader conceptions of civic capacity development and philanthropic strategic engagement.

This dissertation most notably aims to highlight issues of the postcolonial condition and its impact on philanthropic development, most significantly within the Caribbean and more narrowly, in the island state of the Bahamas. In doing so, I also argue that the postcolonial condition and experience is a broad historical and social phenomenon and the role of culture within the context of postcolonial experience along with issues of identity, citizenship, and democracy can help to illuminate the pattern of development of philanthropic and civil society practices. An analysis works not only to engage the past but also to connect past legacies to the present practices and aspirations of civil society development and philanthropic initiatives within postcolonial spaces. The ongoing work of uncovering the historical and contemporary implications of philanthropic practices research should continue as David Hammack (2015) notes is to “take up the challenges posed by a fractured civil society, by ideals of civil liberty, and by claims and aspirations of racial, gender, and other identity groups” (“Coming to Terms...”, para. 5). He goes on to argue that researchers should also accept and work within the challenge and “accept the reality that ‘philanthropy’ seeks to advance cultural and religious ideals of every sort, ideals that not infrequently conflict” (“Coming to Terms...”, para. 5). These conflicts are potentially established by differences that I will argue, can be ascribed to cultural identity.

As I will show, Hammack’s (2015) assertion is particularly useful in delineating the historical experiences that have shaped the unique philanthropic ideals such as explained by the Habermasian conception of “life worlds” of particular groups of people. These life worlds have their created life experience variations due to the role of conquest, colonization, decolonization,

and independence movements, for example. A key step then is to understand the variations of life world experiences and accept that this form of analysis requires close attention to the role of history and the subsequent disjunctures of ideals that are rooted in a sense of culture and identity that emerge from opposing or alternate experiences.

Caribbean Cultural Identity and Social Change

In focusing my case on the Caribbean, I reiterate what Hall (1995) notes is the concern of Caribbean policy makers, artists, and others who continue to unpack what is meant by a Caribbean identity. As Hall (1995) otherwise aptly notes:

The more we know and see of the struggles of the societies of the periphery to make something of the slender resources available to them, the more important we understand the questions and problems of cultural identity to be in that process. (p. 3)

This peripheral status often comes from the historical condition of subjugation and in the case of the Caribbean, most notably through the rise of slavery and/or colonization. This outsider status created oppressive structures and can be traced from the experiences of those assigned as the inhabitants of this peripheral status. Historically, the lives of these peripheral subjects (at least in the Caribbean) were assigned varying characteristics ranging from a sub-human later transitioning to second-class status. In the midst of these oppressive structures, there was a fight to assert a sense of agency and empowerment and these subjects fought to define themselves both individually and collectively through cultivating a sense of identity, an identity that calls upon cultural frames and practices. As Hall (1995) notes, these cultural frames and practices amongst those formerly enslaved oftentimes “involved a renegotiation, a rediscovery of Africa” (p. 9).

Hall (1995) then links the role of deepening economic and political development of postcolonial states through a continued appreciation of cultural identity, such as those in the Caribbean, and interestingly alludes to the critical work that is often delineated to civil society, that is the use of resources for societal improvement. Furthermore, he then links social change to cultural identities as he argues that they are useful in understanding not only the problems

inherent in such “peripheral societies” but also as key to unlocking potential solutions to these issues.

Specifically related to the topic covered in this dissertation, Severen (2016) notes that “small, informal and southern-based groups and CSOs have always faced a struggle to secure resources” (para. 4). She cites CIVICUS’ Secretary-General, Danny Sriskandarajah, who argues that “only one per cent of Official Development Assistance (ODA) goes directly to global south CSOs, while the power stays in the hands of a small number of actors, based in the global north” (para. 4). Going on to invoke the ideas of former U.S. Ambassador James Joseph to South Africa, Severen (2016) also highlights Joseph’s assertion that other forms of capital should be relied on within the periphery including social and intellectual capital. These forms of capital are uniquely situated to the context of cultural identity formation. Furthermore, I argue, as Hall (1995) has already done, is that the focus on culture and identity has enormous linkages for understanding how these little resources are used to understand, adapt to, and advocate for social changes within the Global South and the even more so in the Caribbean, often times through the work of civil society and the vehicle of philanthropic practices.

Cultural identity then stands as a centrally significant concept that helps to provide a robust understanding of the ways in which social change, especially on the part of civil society actors and organizations, provides critical insight into the development and maintenance of civil society. In keeping with this core premise of the centrality of cultural identity and its relationship to civil society, there are several epistemological assumptions that will guide this project.

Cultural Identity, Social Identity, and Civil Society Development

First, an analysis of the varying global spaces that produce distinct cultural identities requires a deeper understanding of the historical and social issues that underlie such developments of cultural identities. In the case of this project, a reckoning of the historical developments of slavery, colonialism, decolonization, and, the role of Western development strategies, and postcolonial nation state ascendancy is critical. While this project will have within

its purview the role of slavery and emancipation in the case of the Caribbean, the major focus will be on the historical impact of decolonization. This analysis will highlight the way in which formerly decolonized states worked to assert their own national agency while at the same time the introduction of development discourse sought to retain the relationship of influence between the former colonizing states and the newly independent, but once colonized territories (Escobar, 2011; Rist, 2014). As a result, this project will remain attuned to the patterns of development that created disparate rates of economic and social wealth in what is now deemed the Global North and the alternative, the Global South. These broad geographic categorizations are not only instrumental but also require the analysis of historical accounting and the determination of contemporary legacies of those historical moments that created the distinctions between North and South. The Caribbean is a fertile site to make this analysis due to the at once unified sense of a Caribbean region juxtaposed with the historical fact of numerous colonial powers implementing their versions of development and the corresponding similar reaction to such efforts either through acceptance or alternately, rejection or new culturally appropriate institutions, laws, or governance. As a result, the role of postcolonial theory situates the articulations of those formerly colonized and, instead of mapping them as outposts to the metropole, their concerns and outlook are central and are used to advocate for a sense of agency and empowerment beyond the delineation of Western proscription of norms and expectations (Young, 2003).

This study also recognizes the claim that these distinct locations are not complete and wholly separate but instead, make way for the rise of “Global North’s in the Global South and Global South’s in the Global North.” This distinction is particularly useful to this project as with the impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on both these worlds, the expressions of the lives of former slaves and those of African ancestry provide an alternative mapping of transnational black identity. This relates first to the ways in which black transnational identities have come to shape the local, regional, national, and global formation of a black cultural identity. Through these transnational linkages and furthermore linked over time, the experiences of former slaves and

now independent citizens of former colonies, shapes the intellectual, social, and cultural outlooks of those that align themselves within the black cultural identity frame.

This project also recognizes that while on the one hand, cultural identity is singular and produces what Hall (1990) notes as a “true Caribbean self.” On the other hand, cultural identity situates actors within the collective cultural milieu in relation to each other, placing some spaces on the periphery while others function in the center (Hall, 1990). At once, a shared Caribbean identity espouses a unified experience and sense of belonging but also through various practices related to issues of history and power places some actors are placed further away from the center of belonging and this peripheral group is viewed with a marginalized status.

Connell (2007) suggests a similar stance when she notes that one should “understand the dynamism of the periphery” (p. 213). In 1998, Valentine Mudimbe (as in Connell, 2007) also adds that the colonizing structure – “the domination of space, the reshaping of native minds, and the integration of local economies into international capitalism” extends through time to form the legacies of the postcolonial state (p. 215). This suggests that the analysis of space requires ongoing historical, cultural, and social analysis to understand not only static realities, but ongoing legacies that have shaped distinct worlds and provide a clear demarcation of the relationships between North and South.

Also connected to the “dynamism of the periphery” and the complexities of difference emanating within the Global South most notably the Caribbean, Khan (2001) highlights the significance of “master narratives” of the Caribbean most notably that of the plantation slave narrative and calls into question the alternate silences of experiences that this master narrative does not appreciate or call into adherence. In this project, the connections to other features of identity, most notably those associated with class and gender, are useful lenses to appreciate what is at once a unified cultural identity with a host of intersectional identities attached to it. As in the case of black middle-class identity, it was this class of black citizen within the Bahamas that notably took the rein of political and economic leadership at the onset of the postcolonial state.

These features provide critical foundation to an understanding of Caribbean cultural identity, the use of a black political identity within that space, the way in which these multiple identities link to undergird civil society and the tensions within civil society that come about due to the flexibility within ongoing identity formation and enactment.

Civil Society and the Dynamics of the Global South

Second, the dissertation, in mapping the terrain of distinction of development between North and South, underscores the patterns in which social science and humanities research has helped to support the distinctions between these “worlds.” Connell (2007) argues that the conceptual terrain of understanding the social and cultural worlds of the Global South tend to solely prescribe the theoretical and epistemological considerations from the Global North. Fieldwork is done in the Global South and data returns to the Global North for theoretical considerations. In doing so, this conceptual framework tends to close “off the possibility of social science working as a shared learning process, a dialogue, the level of theory” (p. 68).

In the case of postcolonialism, and Africa, in particular, Connell (2007) notes that in the transition to African led governance, tensions emerged between intellectuals and political leaders. At one time joined in movements of solidarity by the moment of post-independence, these intellectuals and political leaders eventually arrived at very different goals with the role of intellectuals focusing on the furtherance of liberation and government officials and political leaders concentrating on the goal of social cohesion. At this point, Mkandwire (as cited in Connell, 2007) along with others argues that this disrupted the social science and academic agenda of the global south. Connell also notes that during the Negritude movement developed between the 1920s and the 1950s, intellectuals did engage and develop some valuable foundational work that promoted an understanding of “the new African historiography, the critique of ethnography, and African independence political thought” (p. 109). Indeed this Negritude movement inspired many Caribbean activists, intellectuals, and political leaders in the period leading up to decolonization (as in Hall, 1992). Here, the link between African and

Caribbean postcolonialism is intellectual and social change mediated. What is more, Connell (2007) notes that between the 1980s and the 1990s era of structural adjustment programs (also the case within the Caribbean, see Ryan, 1993), postcolonial governments hired foreign advisors who were focused on consultancies, not basic research programs” (Connell, 2007, p. 109). This is a structural connection between African and Caribbean postcolonial states. Interestingly, this is the historical moment where Obadare (2011) notes that the rhetoric of civil society achieved cultural and social ascendancy and acceptability in the Global South.

As in postcolonial Africa, how did the postcolonial experience in the Caribbean create distance between politicians and intellectuals, who were at one point joined in a movement of solidarity against oppressive structures? How did the legacies of colonization pervade the independent nation, and how did civil society reflect or refract these contentious visions of society and citizenship? By focusing on these questions, not only does the shape of civil society development emerge but also an understanding of how civil society within the Bahamas, imbued with cultural identities, is understood as critical in building the postcolonial nation. An appreciation for the complex issues associated with the emergence of the postcolonial nation state and the way that civil society developed as a result, provides a lens for understanding the basis of complex problems and issues existing within society while also providing a lens for possible options and avenues for social change.

Connell (2007) also notes that the critical stage of theory building within the Global South was somewhat lost. This dissertation aims to consider the ways in which the lack of basic research within the Global South worked in tandem with the new popular claims for increased civil society capacity. Connell’s (2007) argued that a renewed sense of Southern theory should bring a new sense of “grounded theory” (p. 206) to the research agenda. Here, her focus is to use southern intellectual ideas and theorization as a counter strategy to what she notes is the goal of social science theory of the Global North “which theory in the social sciences is admired exactly in the degree in which it escapes specific settings and speaks to abstract universals” (p. 206). She

goes on to cite the importance of the land, and the fights for power and agency over that land as a critical key marker that fuels an appreciation of research that is grounded in a particular place or context.

What is more here, for the purposes of this project, is the way in which theories of civil society have escaped deeper engagement with a “grounded theory” that moves past the field work (Global South), theoretical and data application and analysis (Global North) and divide to engage with theory grounded to the development of the south. This project will aim to consider the theoretical implications of data analysis with an eye towards the postcolonial condition, the cultural identities that distinctly emerged from that condition, and the ways in which the “ground” unearths new possibilities for understanding, especially as it relates to civil society.

The link between the Global North and South, the role of research agendas between these two spaces, and the postcolonial condition of intellectual and political agendas is also highlighted in the work of Elias and Feagin (2016). These authors extend Connell’s (2007) assertion of the development of a “southern theory” through their specific analysis of the black intellectual tradition that has spanned time and location through the development of Pan Africanist thought. In articulating this tradition, Elias and Feagin (2016) also note that in spite of the social science denial of the visions of many black intellectuals espousing a Eurocentric dominated view of the world, black scholars continued to establish “black counter frames” through the epistemological representation of critical black theory. Ranging from such authors as early as Ida B. Wells, W.E. Dubois, James Baldwin to Ngugi wa Thiong'o among many others, these intellectuals established the black intellectual tradition that “questioned the taken-for-granted white narratives of freedom, democracy, globalization, civilization, capitalism, science, and social progress” as well as “often demonstrating a broad global perspective, they also discussed links between U.S. oppression of people of color and oppression of people of color worldwide, including the marginalization of people of color throughout the Western colonial empires” (Elias & Feagin, 2016, Kindle loc. 4168-4169).

Both Connell (2007) and Elias and Feagin (2016) highlight a central point that is central to the argument of this project. In understanding the postcolonial narratives of civil society's development within the global South, the Caribbean, and specifically, the Bahamas, a stronger appreciation for culture and cultural identity is needed as an entry point to understand the values and experiences that have come to shape attitudes and behaviors. These authors also articulate a vision of cultural difference and establish how that through an analysis of cultural difference, especially as it relates to the postcolonial condition, there are distinct expressions of identity and as I will argue, ones that shape a distinct and nuanced realm for understanding philanthropy and civil society.

The Significance of Citizenship and Democracy

Two additional terms need to be addressed here: citizenship and democracy. First is the concept of citizenship. I utilize a lens of citizenship that is uniquely aware of the postcolonial condition and as Sheller (2012) asserts that within the context of the Caribbean, an analysis of the role of citizenship relies on both the community's sense of citizenship intertwined with the (at times) contested national legal definition of citizenship. This form of citizenship guided Caribbean citizens, especially those that were on the margins of the national legal definition of citizenship and led them to articulate their desire for inclusion within the national structure as well as established their need to express their citizenship and their freedom beyond the national definition of citizenship. In doing this, these citizenship practices utilized the identities of these people through history leading up to the contemporary moment who used their cultural sensibilities and ideals to advocate for inclusion as full citizens. And as Somers (2008) highlights that civil society is "the site of citizenship" (p. 20), Thompson (2015) goes on to ask about the role of democracy within the Caribbean: "who has rights within the public sphere and public space (and) how do race and class mitigate the possibilities of social participation in postcolonial and post-civil right societies?" (p. 34).

Joined to these definitions of citizenship, democracy, the public sphere, and cultural identity, I link to the concept of “black life worlds” as espoused by Hanchard (2006). As Hanchard (2006) notes these “black life worlds”:

...are meant to convey the vast array of identities and identifications associated with black subjectivity that are not reducible to nationality, gender, race, or region. Black life worlds are constituted by experiential knowledge and the lessons learned from such knowledge acted out in daily life...when combined with national and personal affiliations, black life-worlds necessarily contain texts, debates and cultural and material forms that neither emanate from nor are reducible to those communities. (pp. 6-7)

As Hanchard (2006) asserts, black life worlds form experiences and shed light on the identities that emerge from within these life worlds. Yet, these black life worlds are created within and beyond the scope of national identities and as a result, careful analysis of their formations, diffusions, and continued significance is needed. What is more, these black life worlds shed light on the ways in which those historically contained to the periphery continued through time to assert their sense of agency and demand equal treatment as citizens within the national bounds but even more so, from a perspective of global human rights. Most urgent here in this project is unpacking the way that this assertion of agency as citizens continues within the postcolonial state.

Narrative Inquiry Methods

As this study will utilize postcolonial theoretical conceptualizations of cultural identity and its role in the formation of civil society identities, a valuable frame for the methodological approach for this study is the notion of bricolage. Bricolage “is getting down to the nuts and bolts of multidisciplinary research” (Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2011, p. 168). Here, bricolage harnesses multiple research methods to highlight the areas of disciplinary interaction. The authors state that:

Because all physical, social, cultural, psychological, and educational dynamic are connected into a larger fabric, researchers will produce different descriptions of the object of inquiry depending on what part of the fabric they have focused on-what part of the river they have seen...Bricoleurs attempt to understand this fabric and the processes that shape it in as thick as possible. (p. 170)

Within this study, the methods of bricolage, which aims to bring in several forms of disciplinary interaction, is harnessed by the work of narrative inquiry and analysis. In 1999, Denzin and Lincoln noted that bricolage can take varying forms and include theoretical, methodological, political, and narrative analytic inspections. As a result, they focus on the fact that “inquiry is a representation i.e. narrative” (as cited in Rogers, 2012). As a part of this inquiry, narrative bricoleurs conduct their analysis on discourses, ideologies, and work to avoid “univocal” research representations (Rogers, 2012, p. 7).

As a methodological form, narrative analysis focuses on the stories that shape experiences. Narrative analysis welcomes a variety of texts. Riessman (2007) also notes that the goal of the researcher engaged in narrative inquiry is to:

Interrogate intention and language— how and why incidents are storied, not simply the content to which language refers. For whom was this story constructed, and for what purpose? Why is the succession of events configured that way? What cultural resources does the story draw on, or take for granted? What storehouse of plots does it call up? What does the story accomplish? Are there gaps and inconsistencies that might suggest preferred, alternative, or counter-narratives? (pp. 349-350)

Chase (2011) goes on to note that one major practice of narrative inquiry employed by researchers is discovering and explaining “the relationship between people’s narrative practices and their local narrative environments (p. 422). This suggests that first:

Identities are narratives, stories people tell themselves and others about who are (and who they are not)...but the identity is fluid, always producing itself through combined processes of being and becoming, belonging and longing to belong. This duality is often reflected in narratives of identity. (Riessman, 2007, p. 2653)

This notion of combined individual and cultural narrative for analysis also finds that discovering this narrative “reality in any context requires substantial attention both to narrative environments” (Gubrium & Holstein as cited in Chase, 2011, p. 422).

Somers (1994) notably adds that the narrative analysis once held solely as a methodological tool within the humanities has now entered the domain of social science and as a

new approach “define narrative and narrativity as concepts of social epistemology and social ontology” (p. 606). She goes on to note that:

by focusing attention on the new ontological dimension of narrative studies rather than on the traditional rendering of narrative as limited to a method or a form of representation we have the opportunity to engage with historically and empirically based research that is at once temporal, relational, and cultural, as well as institutional, material, and macro-structural. An energetic engagement with this new ontological narrativity provides an opportunity to infuse the study of identity formation with a relational and historical approach that avoids categorical rigidities by emphasizing the embeddedness of identity in overlapping network of relations that shift over time and space. (p. 607)

Somers (1994) highlights the fact that narrative inquiry is a method used for more than the representation of life but sees narrative as a guide to understanding social relations. Furthermore, her assertion also recognizes the relational quality of narrative analysis in linking the historical and the contemporary, the relationship between personal, public, and collective identities and the ways in which these identities continue to shape over time. Narrative inquiry is a most suitable methodological approach for this project with its focus of change and continuity of civil society within the postcolonial state in the Bahamas.

There are three primary narrative inquiries that I will engage. These include the narratives of the past, the narratives of culture, and the narratives of present experience. Each narrative analytic frame will support the other in developing the broader frame for understanding the experience of civil society development and the ongoing formation of civil society identities within that environment. Reismman (2007) notes that:

To be understood, these private constructions of identity must mesh with a community of life stories, or “deep structures” about the nature of life itself in a particular culture. Connecting biography and society becomes possible through the close analysis of stories. (pp. 331-333)

In engaging the narratives of the past, historical narratives will explain the role of civil society by unearthing texts that illuminate the formation of civil society identities, which are products of civic practices over time and are rooted in key historical periods including slavery, emancipation, and most central to this study, early second-class citizenship, majority rule, and post-

independence, within the Bahamas. These historical narratives underscore the environmental concerns and conditions of civil society development, the shaping of the commons, and the waves of civic engagement activities that come to bear on the lives and experiences of black middle class civil society leaders in the Bahamas/Caribbean. As Weedon (2004) notes that:

...history, both in its academic and popular forms plays a key role in the construction of Benedict Anderson's (1991) 'imagined community....(and) analyses of the ideological underpinnings and rhetorical strategies of history writing have shown how both history and tradition are both mobilized to promote particular values. (p. 26)

Employed strategies here will include investigations of archival and secondary source materials including biographies and an analysis of Bahamian social historical scholarship. The key questions here especially as it relates to sampling strategies are: What are the historical narratives of Bahamian society in this period, and what are the glimpses, frames, and stories of Bahamian civil society leadership in this period? What do these stories and frames of Bahamian civil society leadership suggest about the local environment of civil society leadership development?

The second narrative frame that I will analyze is cultural and social narrative. Weedon (2004) notes that:

...because cultural identity is neither one thing or is static, it is key focus of cultural political struggle: it is constantly produced and reproduced in the practices of everyday life, in education, the media, the museum and heritage sectors, the arts, history, and literature. (p. 155)

These narratives will focus on the role of culture within society as it led to the formation of a Bahamian and Caribbean identity. In doing so, an analysis of those cultural forms which includes issues related to cultural and social identity formations that provide insight into the development of Bahamian society and resultantly, Bahamian civil society identities. These include primary source material artifacts such as art, documents, media as well as a rich environment of secondary cultural analysis related to Bahamian identity over time and gives insight in Bahamian expressions and interest in civil society activities, leadership, and identity. Questions related to sampling here include: What are some of the critical cultural markers (artifacts, discourses,

narratives) that shape Bahamian civil society identities? How do these cultural markers inform the way in which specific identities, especially middle class identity, gender, and race inform the practices of civic engagement?

The third frame of narrative analysis will focus on the lived experience of current middle class civil society leaders within the Bahamas. The analysis here will utilize two specific concepts/methodologies. The role of life history analysis as a methodology is useful in developing a better understanding of perspectives related to civil society identity. As a research tool, the purpose of life history analysis works to uncover through case study the way in which life experiences shape not only human experience and interaction but also aid in developing organizations (Atkinson 2002; Stanfield 2011). Schwandt (2007) suggests that the underlying assumption of this methodological approach is that “social action can be best understood from the accounts and perspectives of the people involved, and thus, the focus is on an individual subjective definition and experience of life” (pp. 21-22).

While life history is a broad overarching research tool used to uncover individual perspectives and experiences, there are numerous methodological approaches used based on specific research questions. For this study, the specific life history methodology will be used is oral history as “oral history focuses on a specific aspect of a person’s life” (Atkinson, p. 125). In doing so, this study will concentrate on the personal and public influences and stories that have shaped individual civil society leaders in the Bahamas including both personal (family, mentorship, informal, the role of identity) and public experiences (education, professional training, people and community engagement) that developed the outlook of these civil society leaders and their responses to social issues. The goal of this life history analysis is to uncover the attitudes and values that shape individual civil society leaders and that led them to create and lead organizations and become a part of the greater space of civil society.

The second approach will focus on Schuller’s (2012) concept of civic infrastructures. This study will focus on the relationships that illuminate the work of these leaders and how these

leaders then guide their civic engagement work. The current study will analyze the narratives of these civil society leaders in the process of organizational creation (that is, the organization's development including creation, formation, vision, changes, and resources) along with the public interactions (member relationships; the role of government, multilateral organizations, and public policy; interactions with society; and the private sector) that these civil society leaders encounter in advancing their civic engagement visions.

Dissertation Outline

The chapters in this dissertation will be divided into the following: chapter two will contain a literature review and case conceptualization that provides an extended synthesis of key concepts discussed briefly in this proposal as other related concepts (culture and cultural identity, citizenship, democracy, civil society, civic action and engagement, philanthropic practice, publics, the (black) public sphere/black life worlds, Caribbean identities, Bahamian identity, middle class and black identity) with a focus on the limitations of the current literature and its handling of the topic of the study. Chapter three will discuss the various methodological and theoretical approaches as well as a deepened analysis of the epistemological stances utilized in the study, especially narrative inquiry, postcolonial theory, the engagement of history with lived experiences, new approaches to archival study. Careful attention will be applied to sample selection, recruitment, collection and analysis strategies, and ethical considerations. Chapter four will focus on historical narratives that underscore the environment of civil society development in the Bahamas. Chapter five will describe and expound upon the cultural and social narratives that offer further insight into postcolonial civil society identities. Chapter six will focus on narratives of lived experience chronicling the present-day interviews, observations, and document analysis related to the narratives of current civil society leaders within the Bahamas. Chapter seven will provide a conclusion.

Connecting the Past and Future of Caribbean Civil Society

I wish to return to the beginning of this chapter, considering President Obama's speeches in Jamaica, and the connection of those speeches to the Caribbean and Latin America region concerning the role of civil society. His points ring true and incomplete at the same time. While lauding the future of civil society, President Obama in some ways recognized some long-standing traditions of civil society but alternately, signified a break with the past. At once, he commended young civil society leaders as not being encumbered by a history of corruption and cronyism or with war and easy conflict. While seemingly speaking in a universal way about previous generations of political and civil leadership, his implicit reference was to describe periods of political and civil leadership within the region. In his second speech, President Obama alternately also highlighted the long-standing tradition of ordinary citizens shaping civil society and demanding for inclusion and equality. Again, while the language seemed to lean on universals and a common human experience, his reference also applied to the Caribbean and Latin American context. Based on these quotes, it appears that President Obama holds two distinct approaches of how Caribbean and Latin American civil society leaders can successfully lead within civil society in the future. Somewhat missing from his analysis of civil society within the Caribbean context is an understanding of the waves of change that have shaped and altered civil society, the role of identity in buffering those changes, and the ongoing process of civil society's strengths as well as its weaknesses, its foibles and corresponding opportunities. These young civil society leaders that President Obama identified, in some ways, break with a past, and undoubtedly with technological advances at their disposal. Yet, they remain attached to the shape of civil society's historical and cultural roots. These roots are shaped by both structural conditions as well by the role of agency and empowerment.

Rushdie and Baldwin, as noted in the epigraph to this chapter, write from two separate locations with Rushdie writing about the symbolic postcolonial moment of an independent India and subsequent partition of India (as in the metaphorical "six hundred million I's") and Baldwin

as a lone stranger, seeking acceptance in a small Swiss village. Despite these distinct locales for the settings of their stories, both authors surmise two important and relevant themes for this project. First, an understanding of difference requires a break with monolithic descriptions of experience and identity and second, an appreciation of the diffusion of power relations around the world are crucial, and, as I will argue, provide deep insights into the corresponding traditions of civil society that have developed societies by engaging citizens.

Chapter 2. Literature and Conceptual Review

archipelago: fragments: a geological plate being crushed by the pacific's curve, cracking open yucatan; the arctic/north american monolith: hence cuba, hispaniola, puerto rico: continental outriders and the dust of the bahamas. atlantic africa pushing up beaches of our eastern seawards

the history reflects the pressure and passage of lava, storm, stone, earthquake, crack, coral: their rise and fall of landscapes: destructions, lost memories: atlantis, atahualpa, ashanti: creations: fragments

it would be better to begin with caribbean man: crouched: legitimate bastard: against space: dwarf, clenched fist of time

the unity is submarine

breathing air, the societies were successively amerindian, european, creole. the merindian several; the european various; the creole plural

subsistent plantation maroon
multilingual multi-ethnic many ancestored

fragments

the unity is submarine
breathing air, our problem is how to study the fragments/whole

(*Caribbean Man in Space and Time*, Kamau Braithwaite, 1975, p. 1)

If mapping diverse traditions of civil society requires a break with monolithic depictions of experience rooted in culture and cultural identity, what is the necessary terrain that one must cross to identify difference, culture, and its linkages with the development of civil society? What is the necessary ground one must come to understand in order to understand the relationship between culture, identity, and the formation of civil society within the Caribbean and then, the Bahamas? First, a series of questions must be addressed: What is the Caribbean? How does the Bahamas factor into the geographic, social, historic, and political space? What is unique about the shape of the Caribbean and specifically, the Bahamas? How do the historical roots of the Caribbean and the Bahamas explain its cultural and contemporary routes? Second, what is civil society and how do connected terms such as democracy, citizenship, philanthropy, and civic engagement, come to bear on the space of civil society? And how are these terms utilized in the

case of the Caribbean and specifically, in the Bahamas? Third, how have actors within the Caribbean brought meaning to both a Caribbean cultural identity and the development of civil society?

This literature and conceptual review will unpack three strands of analysis related to these key questions. First, a review of issues of location, setting, and temporality in relation to the Caribbean and The Bahamas will be addressed. Second, a consideration of social forces and structures including the role of civil society, citizenship, nationhood, philanthropy, civic engagement, and social capital/civic infrastructures, with a specific eye to the development of these concepts within the Caribbean and greater the postcolonial space. Finally, I will focus on the role of agency or what I call, imagined longings and assertions. This includes the role of agency linked to aspects of culture and identity, specifically the role of race and class and to some extent, gender within the Caribbean and Bahamian space. Ultimately, this literature and conceptual review aims to not only cite the relevant literature pertaining to the research question of this project. The goal here, in addition to citing relevant sources, is to provide a critical reading and analysis of those sources that when read together provide a richer and a more nuanced frame for considering the research question.

What is the Caribbean (Bahamas)? Early Formations

The Caribbean is noted for its diversity and hybridity based on language, ethnicity, colonial legacies, and contemporary political structures. Lowenthal (1972) describes it as having the nature of an “immense and bewildering diversity” (p. 2). While numerous African descendants call the region home, the area is shared by other cultural and ethnic traditions including people of European, Indian, and Asian descent. These other influences in the Caribbean are said to have created a creolized Caribbean identity (Hall, 1995). Despite these shared influences, issues of language with the broader Caribbean and other historical constraints, related to varying economies, have created several rifts with what can be considered a unified Caribbean

identity (Lowenthal, 1972; Premdas, 1996). Caribbean identity is also further complicated by the high rate of emigration (Cummings, 2010).

Yet, in the midst of this diversity Benitez-Rojo (2012) invokes the concept of “the repeating island.” The diversity of the Caribbean comes to form what Benitez-Rojo describes as a meta-archipelago. This meta-archipelago:

...has the virtue of having neither a boundary or a center... Thus the Caribbean flows outward past the limits of its own sea with a vengeance, and its ultima Thule may be found on the outskirts of Bombay, near the low and murmuring shores of the Gambia, in a Cantonese tavern circa 1850, at a Balinese temple, in an old British pub...it is the last of the great meta-archipelagos. (p. 4)

Benitez-Rojo’s (2012) assertion of the Caribbean’s meta-archipelagic nature underscores the numerous infusions of peoples, cultures, histories that repeat themselves across time and space. A constant and repeated immigration and emigration of peoples and ideas harnesses the concept of the seemingly bewildering diversity. This is to say that the unifying concept of the Caribbean is its sense of multiplicity and heterogeneity.

And yet, in the midst of this teeming heterogeneity the focal point of the trans-Atlantic slave trade centers the development of the contemporary Caribbean. Within this space, the subsequent subject positions of slave, indentured servant, and master emerged. This development of subject positions harnesses much of the Caribbean’s story regardless of the heterogeneous shape of colonial powers and their distinct histories within the broader event of slavery. These relationships are at the root of the Caribbean story. At once, the Caribbean served as a frontier space for colonial powers¹ that all link with the emergence of slavery. Thus, a narrative of slavery and enslavement formed but also, there was a juxtaposed narrative of freedom. Within this narrative of freedom from slavery were the subjective experiences of the slave, the master, and

¹ Thomas (2011) notes that expeditions to and in the New World for these slave traders highlights the fact that the Caribbean functioned more as a “frontier space” outside and beyond the domain of establishing and maintaining institutional structures that enhanced the society. See Thomas (2011).

then later, the indentured servant. Furthermore, these subjective experiences also include gender as well as class as a part of that dynamic. Thus, the role of slavery and freedom are key markers of the narrative of the Caribbean. A critical question emerges from these juxtaposed narratives: Who tells the story of slavery and freedom, and whose rendition is correct? These subjectivities are best understood within power structures as these power structures reveal the distinct perspectives of the narratives of freedom emerging from slavery. These narratives persist, and the legacies of power and freedom also shape the modern story of the Caribbean.

Europeans used Caribbean soil for its fertile production of wealth, most often extracted from the plantation system. Even after slavery's abolition, systems of colonization still maintained this social order with Europeans dominating governance and economic structures with the descendants of enslaved non-Europeans providing the necessary labor to support similar political and economic systems of production. Meanwhile, the enslaved and formerly enslaved (dominantly Africans) in many ways asserted their agency and opposed the system of enslavement. Emancipation resulted from a fight between the master and the slave and those that supported the end of the regime of enslavement. In the aftermath of slavery came the enactment of emancipation, purported to herald an extension to the promise of liberal democracy; however, the fulfillment of this promise remained elusive as complete inclusion and freedom was denied to these newly emancipated populations. Sheller (2001) here, notes that the expectations of emancipation from the perspective of the former masters and former slaves proved to be the subject of much disagreement. She notes, "There is no simple story of progress, moral victory, or ethical triumph; instead we find case after case of disappointment, defeat, and antidemocratic reaction" (p. 7). The political structures, defined by the colonial powers, are specifically important for understanding the ways in which democratic and emancipatory gains were eroded after emancipation.

For the most part, this project relies on the British colonial powers and as such, Britain continued with direct and indirect rule even after emancipation (Heuman, 1995; Sheller 2000). In

the midst of this retreat from democratic governance in the individual colonies, the formerly enslaved continued to advocate for their social well-being beyond the prescriptions of abolitionary aid and the dominant perspectives of the colonial powers. This was the ongoing struggle for the emancipated class and in many ways, their struggle, through many fits and starts, did not achieve a satisfactory sense of democratic inclusion and assertion until the moment of decolonization.

The Bahamas fits within this frame of slavery, freedom, and emancipation but also reacts in ways that correspond to the sense of diversity within the Caribbean experience. Geographically, the islands of the Bahamas, “occupy a position commanding the gateway to the Gulf of Mexico, the Caribbean Sea, and the entire Central American region” (Albury, 2018, para. 2). This unique position creates an identity that is influenced both by British and American foreign powers, the rest of the Anglophone Caribbean, as well as the influences of both Cuba and Haiti, former Spanish and French colonies, respectively.

The “story” of the Bahamas begins with the indigenous Lucayan Indians, known as a peaceful people. Christopher Columbus first landed in San Salvador, Bahamas on October 12, 1492 thus establishing the indentured servitude and enslavement of both indigenous Indian and imported Africans. While the record suggests that the majority of indigenous people were wiped out due to contracting diseases from the European conquerors, the lives of those people with African ancestry as well as European established Bahamian society. Prior to the American Revolution, Bahamian slaves were accorded more freedom than other slaves in other Caribbean colonies. This is due to the fact that the Bahamian soil did not prove beneficial to the creation of a plantation society and thus master and slave alike became more dependent on each other for survival. They took to the sea to locate their food sources as well as survived via subsistence farming. In far-flung and rural locations across the Bahamian archipelago, slaves also developed systems of land tenure providing some sense of familial homesteads (Bethel, 2000; Craton & Saunders, 1999).

After the American Revolution, former Loyalists took up residence in the Bahamas bringing with them the American style class and racial dichotomies associated with the plantation. The urban local white population formed a mercantile elite and formed what was known as self-representative government, unlike many other places in the Anglophone Caribbean where crown colonies formed. This self-representative government, while not practicing direct colonial rule like other crown colonies, still maintained the structure of oppression which was a social structure that divided white vs. black and for the most part, denied full democratic inclusion for the newly emancipated but formerly enslaved black and Bahamian British subjects.

The Bahamas as an archipelago itself fits amongst the larger archipelagic realm of Caribbean experience. At once, it holds repeating themes and historic, social, and cultural entry points as noted by Benitez-Rojo (1996). The Bahamas, as a member of the archipelagic union of Caribbean experience, simultaneously provides new spaces and opportunities for understanding.

Social Forces

It is important here to break with this narrative of slavery, emancipation, the denial of full freedom post-emancipation and consider the role of some broader terms and concepts. It is useful to consider how social structures explain the terrain of choices available to those with full citizenship rights as well as for those without such opportunities. These distinct perspectives highlight critical points of difference on the definitions of citizenship, democracy, civil society, philanthropy, and civic engagement. These varying definitions not only shed light on a broader perspective of claims of and for universal human rights, but they also take us back to the story of the Caribbean and the Bahamas.

As a central claim, Sievers (2010) argues that the most pressing challenges of the commons² are best understood through the lens of civil society. The commons carry several unique characteristics including the notion that within the commons, collective activity helps to

² His definition: “shared sphere of communal life where collective goods reside” (p. 2).

establish and convey values, and these collective activities improve the benefit of all (Holland & Ritvo, 2008). While there are numerous intellectual lineages, the conception of civil society was developed as a way to better understand the nature of human relations (Ehrenberg, 2011).

Scholars such as Michael Edwards (2011) value the definition employed by Walzer (1995), which notes that civil society is “the space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks—formed for the sake of family, faith, interest, and ideology” (p. 7). Sievers (2010) highlights the fact that philanthropy is the vehicle for animating the space of civil society. Payton and Moody (2008) note that philanthropy is culturally located focusing on how people “exercise their culturally shaped moral imaginations” (p. 132). They go on to add that an analysis of philanthropy, in any culture, requires an understanding “of the sources of philanthropic tradition, both ancient and modern, and how these influenced philanthropic meanings over time” (p. 132). A chief value that undergirds these types of analyses relies on the “philanthropic philosophy of ‘meliorism,’ which holds that ‘the world can be made better by rightly directed human effort’” (p. 26). This explication is particularly important and makes space to analyze activities based on the underlying principles of potential philanthropic action, even making room for other terms for similar kinds of activity. This is a helpful consideration for greater inclusion especially in noting the Greek inherited use of the word philanthropy along with an acceptance of other classic cultures and civilizations that may have used other terms with related meanings (Gade, 2011).³

The definition of philanthropy I employ here is: the voluntary use of private resources in the pursuit of societal improvement within the public domain. This use of private resources is guided by subjective understandings of morality and values and develops over time, inclusive of histories and contemporary realities. With the use of private resources, along with the focus on morality and values within distinct cultural frameworks, philanthropic practice facilitates and develops

³ Consider the development of the term “ubuntu” and its most prominent contemporary definition of “a person is a person through other persons.” (Gade, 2011, p. 487)

considerations of appropriate stances towards social change. These concerns range from individual expressions to organizational visions.

Sievers (2010) also contends that civil society is a place where humans debate, understand, and enact visions for the improvement of the commons. Within the space of civil society, he goes on to note that there are seven unique strands that offer distinct roles and yet, they all work in collaboration to fulfill visions of enhancement and improvement of the commons. Of these seven strands, he notes that four of them are structural frames (philanthropy, nonprofits and voluntary associations, the rule of law, and free expression), and three of these strands are social norms (a commitment to the common good, individual rights, and tolerance). As one of the structural frames, he notes that philanthropy is a useful vehicle that works to enhance the work of the commons. He notes Robert Payton and Moody's (2008) definition of "voluntary action for the public good" (p. 6), as a core value of civil society. In many ways, civic engagement can be added to the structural frames discussed by Sievers (2010). It is the frame that animates the knowledge and the skills needed to understand and effectively deal with social problems and public issues while philanthropic action is the moral space of determining what exactly the public good is and how one should go about improving society from the perspective of improving the public good.

Certainly, the definitions of philanthropy have shifted over time. The belief that there is a static ideal of what constitutes philanthropy for all people is misleading. As Robbins (2006) notes concerning the development of philanthropy in late medieval and early European modern times:

...changing modes of urban commercial and political interaction altered popular beliefs about charity's proper forms. Religiously inspired crises of conscience and conflicts among townspeople caused them to question older styles of benevolence. (p. 23)

This suggests that philanthropy is indeed shaped by cultural and social factors. Sievers (1995) also notes that these currents of history produce views of philanthropic action in the present and potentially for the future. He notes that in the United States for example, philanthropy:

...shares its origins with civil society in the worldview of twentieth-century liberal democracy. In the movement away from the paternalism of pre-democratic societies and toward the mores of the neutral secular state, the program of progressive social change in the early twentieth century adopted a stance promoting procedural values and outcome-oriented intervention. This had the positive effect of allowing those to whom the assistance was aimed to participate in directing their own efforts at change and to focus on specific objective outcomes. At the same time, however, it gave tacit preference to an individualist over a community-based model of values and social organization. (p. 13)

Liberal democracy and modern philanthropy, he asserts, go hand in hand. Most often chronicled through the lens of Western societal development these terms of civil society, liberal democracy, and philanthropy move together linking these ideas in a move towards increasing rights, advantages, and opportunities for citizens.

Considering the relationship between liberal democracy and philanthropy as Sievers (2010) notes also requires the consideration of liberalism's disconnect with specific groups. As Bhambra (2014) and Lowe (2015) both indicate, the development of intellectual thought related to the tenets of liberalism and liberal democracy neglected aspects of history and the lives of those that inhabit such histories. First Bhambra (2014) suggests that early sociological theorization focused on Europe and failed to assess of global developments in a configuration of theory rooted in notions of liberal democracy. Moreover, she notes that these theorizations revealed blind spots in understanding the development of capitalism and its relationship to the slavery and colonization. As a result, while the study of slavery was perceived as a topic for useful study related to the development of societies impacted by the legacy of slavery, it was not included in core presuppositions of key sociological theorization. Slavery was treated as a past pre-modern behavior with little to no influence into the development of modern societies. This is unlike, what she notes, are the theorizations of black sociologists such as W.E. B. Dubois and Oliver Cox. These scholars remained focused on citing the significant role of slavery and its central relationship to the development of capitalism and modern society.

Likewise, Lowe (2015) adds that sociology, history and philosophy suffered from the same ignorance and thus, helped to promote the idea of “liberalism’s abstract promise of human freedom, rational progress, and social equality apart from the global conditions they depended” (pp. 62-63). She further adds in addition to the neglect related to theorizations of the relationship between the slave trade and the subsequent practices of colonization, historical archives or records of the past reflect and refract this silence, and in doing so “subsumes colonial violence within narratives of modern reason and progress” (pp. 73-74). While civilization is deepened for Europeans and whites in North America, the silenced and peripheral peoples are deemed outside the scope of these advancements and are seen as wayward and unruly subjects of the project of modernity. In doing so, there is a denial of liberalism’s fruits of freedom, progress, and equality.

Returning to the notion promoted by Sievers (2010), liberal democracy helped to produce conceptions of philanthropy (with a rootedness in the Western charitable and philanthropic traditions of the Greece, Roman, early the Christian world). In thinking of the development of liberal democracy along with its connection to the development of philanthropy as an act of citizens freely moving beyond their private needs to articulate their visions of the public good within the public sphere, a few key questions develop. What aspects of giving, generosity, self-help, mutual aid, charity, and community were left expunged from the record and original formulations of philanthropic behavior and practice? Furthermore, how do the methods of social science and humanities fail to understand these alternative practices?

In the case of the Caribbean, and in all post-slave societies, is the fact that the fruits of these developments remain true for only a certain group of identities. While these groups developed within the Habermasian bourgeoisie public sphere (where citizens moved freely between private and public realms of discourse and debate to improve upon the public good) others had to historically and contemporarily assert their sense of agency and desire to be accorded the rights of full human and democratic inclusion through the realm of what Fraser (1990) calls the alternative public sphere. It is here that alternative, competing, and silenced

approaches to notions of citizenship, democracy, and resultantly, a broader perspective of civil society, philanthropy, and civic engagement emerges.

As Somers (2008) argues, citizenship refers to the “right to have rights.” Sheller (2001) echoes Somers (2008) especially in her analysis of the Caribbean alternative public sphere when she notes that: “I heed Somers in emphasizing the public practice of citizenship over the legal definition i.e. citizenship as ‘a set of institutionally embedded practices that vary locally according to regional context of activation’” (Somers, 1993, p. 12). For my analysis, the legal definition, in the case of the historical Caribbean, requires/d a public practice of citizenship on the part of those newly emancipated and stuck in the lower rungs of the Caribbean/global racial hierarchy. Sheller (2001) also notes that “democracy itself has been shaped by the powerful political projects of former slaves and their descendants...” (p. 15). And thus, the role of those publics and their practices of citizenship were central to the development of the alternative public sphere.

Most important here is to consider the shape of philanthropic impulses and practices along with the other frames posited by Sievers (2010) that came to invoke ideas about freedom and inclusion within the Caribbean. Viewed through the lens of the specific history of slavery and connected to the continued struggle for true and full emancipation, the central focus of the descendants of emancipated slaves continued to focus on the role of inclusive full citizenship rights. Thus, the realm of civil society concentrated on achieving the rights of full citizenship inclusion. Here, I define civil society as the space of engagement inclusive of the public sphere and the alternative public sphere. The public and alternative public sphere in some instances and over time develop a level of symbiosis while still morphing into distinct realms of existence and practices. This is certainly the case within the postcolonial societies and spaces.

The idea here is to consider that for the enslaved and then, emancipated within the Caribbean (and elsewhere) the space of civil society (animated by philanthropic practices) had as its primary impulse, the goals and strategies of inclusion and acceptance through public

engagement. Inclusion and acceptance through engagement is the practice of living and responding with a sense of agency and empowerment for the survival and advancement of marginalized groups. This quest for survival and advancement includes political, economic, and cultural needs and aspirations. This process highlights the function of inequitable distribution of resources and the oppressive assumptions about aspects of identity of those within the marginalized group. The strategies for such inclusion and acceptance through engagement are often mediated through the narratives of inclusion and acceptance that shape responses to the social order through strategies of engagement. These narratives are often times cultivated and supported within civil society through the considerations of philanthropic values and calls for civic engagement. I also argue that the forms and practices associated with this underlying function of striving for inclusion and acceptance through engagement are multitudinous and range in acts of mimicry, active resistance (mental and physical) to denials of inclusion, assimilation, accommodation, hybridization across practices, secrecy, subversion including, sly civility⁴. The acts of engagement could include protests, everyday resistance, communal care and support, political advocacy, and performative practices. Finally, these acts take individual and corporate forms and range from and often times move between informal actions to formal association.

Dillion (2014) cites the analytical synthesis of Paul Gilroy's (1995) assertion of an African-Atlantic counterculture of modernity, which "is antiethical to norms of Habermasian communicative reason and print publicity. Instances of the African-Atlantic counterculture Gilroy describes include music and memory-aesthetic forms that are, pointedly 'not reducible to the cognitive'" (p. 18). As the enslaved, and then formerly enslaved, were denied the opportunity for expressive and rational forms of communication, "an alternative counterculture of expression developed, characterized by its resistance to the form and content of procedural rationality" (p.

⁴ See Homi Bhabha's (2004) use of the term as a form of blatant but underhanded subversion on the part of the colonized towards the colonizer.

18). Dillion (2014) goes on to note that the system of racial domination led slaves to “evade the knowledge regime” and thus, “meaning might be profitably lodged, for the enslaved, in locations where an imperial plantocratic public sphere ended-in sites and sensations that were not precisely not self-evident to the master class” (p. 18). The points raised here by Dillion (2014) with the help of Gilroy (1995) underscore the need to understand how the formation of an African Atlantic experience rooted in a cultural identity helped to shape the development of an alternative public sphere with distinct civil society responses and counter exhortations for inclusion and acceptance within the “New World”.

It is vital to return to the assertion of Hammack (2015) who advocates for renewed commitments for approaching the fractures in understanding civil society and philanthropic practice. These practices are rooted in the debates on civil liberty and the inclusion and expansion of notions based on the experiences, “aspirations of racial, religious, gender, and other identity groups” (Coming to Terms with the Pluralism of American Civil Society section, para. 6) That said, Hammack (2015) notes that these ideals are at times, competing and can cause points of conflict. While historians have worked to include the voices of those of African, Asian, and Latin descent into the historiography of philanthropy, the inclusion of voices tends to stand at the periphery of the larger context of explanation. Tocqueville’s assertion of “Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions, constantly form associations” (Dobkin Hall, 2006, p. 40) belies the fact that Tocqueville had views that negated the humanity of Blacks and Native American based on his observations of them (Elias & Feagin, 2016). Instead, I argue that an understanding of these practices should realign our historical and contemporary understanding of notions of civil society and philanthropic practice. Without an alternative public sphere, the project of liberal democracy could not live up to its ideals. Likewise, this alternative public sphere worked to expand the idea of civil society. In terms of citizenship for those enslaved and then free, an analysis of how these people articulated community is critical.

Culture and Cultural Identity

Sheller (2012) suggests a mode of analysis for uncovering acts of community as articulations of citizenship as “etched by everyday actions, scrubbed by washerwomen’s hands, dug into small plots of land, sewn into new fashions, danced to sacred rhythms honoring ancestral spirits” (p. 23). Sheller’s (2012) articulation of uncovering redresses for inclusion within the realm of humanness and citizenship requires an observance of the everyday actions of those enslaved/emancipated slaves. The site then to unearth the acts of citizenship and redress for inclusion within the public sphere and through the vehicle of civil society requires an analysis and understanding of everyday social relations. Thomas (2013) also adds that the intellectual project of mapping Caribbean culture, through various historical eras, was often focused on vindication. This intellectual vindication stance described the actions of those formerly enslaved and their ancestors and produced arguments that highlighted the readiness of these populations for several identity constructions and citizenship practices including self-rule, inclusion into the global narrative of human rights, culturally complex, and empowered. This observance relates to my central focus on the domain of culture and cultural identity as a useful site to first inspect those everyday experiences as key observances of community identity and promotion of inclusion as full humans and citizens. These types of inspections prove fruitful in depicting aspects of community engagement and articulations within the public sphere for acceptance, understanding, and inclusion.

In this section, I explore the academic literature on culture and cultural identity with a more extensive focus on the literature of Caribbean culture and cultural identity. I begin with Aaron Kamugisha’s (2013) observance that within Caribbean cultural studies, theorists

...from the early twentieth century, unlike their peers in much of the Western academy, understood that culture cannot be seen as being shared in any simple sense among a community's members but that societies are fundamentally divided by class, race, and ethnicity" (p. 49)⁵

Interestingly, Jamaican born Orlando Patterson (2014) claims that within cultural sociology (U.S. based), researchers have shied away from discussing culture due to "oversensitivity to identity politics [and the] fear of being labeled as racist" (p. 2). As a result, the analysis of culture is a somewhat neglected theorization emerging from the Global North. Thus, I plan to broadly frame the concept of culture and cultural identity and locate literature that focuses on a full rendering of what is understood as Caribbean cultural identity.

Broadly defined, culture is a concept that is used in a multiplicity of ways. Geertz (1973) borrows from Weber when he notes that culture emerges from a semiotic space and thus "man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs." Geertz (1973) continues that an analysis of culture requires interpretive methodological tools as opposed to set laws or "experimental science." Hall (1992) describes culture as interpretive when he notes that:

To say that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways and can express themselves, their thoughts and feelings about the world, in ways which will be understood by each other. Thus culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is happening around them and 'making sense' of the world in broadly similar ways. (p. 47)

Patterson (2014) finds that culture exists through a two way but interconnected processes. The first is a stable process, defined by Patterson (2014) as "collectively made, reproduced, and unevenly shared knowledge about the world that is both informational and meaningful" (p. 5). Invoking Sahlins, (as in Patterson, 2014) concurs that this is the "culture as constituted" process. The second process is dynamic and is "grounded in pragmatic usage, ensures change and

⁵ Deborah Thomas (2013) and Aaron Kamuigusha (2013) both appear in a themed article in the journal, *small axe* to discuss the state of Caribbean Studies shedding light on the historical, epistemological, and ontological lineages and frameworks for the observance, collection, and analysis of Caribbean culture to date.

adaption to the environment” (p. 7). Geertz (1973), Hall (1990), and Patterson (2014) both agree with the fact that culture provides shared meanings and understandings of the world. Culture is not only interpretive, but it is also not confined to the individual. It is discovered through a process of shared meanings between individuals. Hall (1997) and Patterson (2014) both invoke the processes of how culture is formed between people and this includes a pattern of similar sense making that is ongoing and not static.

Some theorists of culture tend to focus on the site of individual(s) making sense of culture and shared meanings. Lamont and Small (2008) urge “instead of imputing a shared culture to groups, we study empirically how individuals make sense of their lives” (p. 79). What is key here for my analysis is the fact that culture requires an inspection of both the structural and macro conditions that create a unified sense of culture, which can include perspectives, myths, idioms, and practices that are collective. Culture also is fluid and requires individuals to contend with and about those cultural symbols that typify their experience. It is here where the language and some of the literature on identity come into play.

As is the case with reviewing studies on culture, literature from both the humanities and social sciences contribute broad in theoretical inspections of identity. In their *Handbook of Identities*, Wetherell and Mohanty (2013) trace the development of identity studies through the numerous disciplinary frames ranging from the social psychology, anthropology, postcolonial studies, to the specific formations and constructions of social identities including racial, gender and religious construction. They also observe sites of analyzing identity enactment such as social movements, indigenous, national and diasporic development, as well as globalizing conditions. For the specific purposes of my research question, I consider the development of Caribbean cultural identities with a broader mindfulness of the development of identity as a lens of theoretical development.

A sense of identity (self-identity) emerges from both a sense of self and the views of others (social identity). This sense of self is rooted in the idea of subjectivities, which highlight

how a person comes to an understanding of self. Identity also requires symbolic boundaries, where through various processes (cultural, normative prescriptions, and tastes) individuals make decisions as to the belonging of others to a shared culture groups (Lamont, Pendergrass, & Pachucki, 2015). I argue here that culture (the total system) has more to do with the formation of cultural identities, which are rooted in a sense of shared understandings between groups of people. Stuart Hall (1992) provides three epistemological and unfolding perspectives for conceptualizing identity including the: 1) enlightenment subject (centered with a capacity for reason) 2) the sociological subject (not independent but shaped by association with others) 3) the postmodern subject (gives way to fractured and multiple identities). With a focus on postmodern identities, discussions on identity, culture, and cultural identity move away from fixed and essential positions but instead are dependent on historical and cultural forces that shape cultural domains (Giddens as cited by Barker & Jane, 2016, pp. 282-283).

Stuart Hall (1990) also provides a closer analysis of Caribbean and postmodern cultural identity, which is rooted in historical and cultural experiences. He too offers a two-pronged approach for understanding Caribbean cultural identity. First, he suggests that there is “the shared culture, a sort of collective ‘true self’, hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed selves which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common” (p. 223). Hall (1990) notes that this sense of unification played a significant role in postcolonial struggles and provides an explanation of the long process in the fight for democratic inclusion and full citizenship rights within the Caribbean. Hall (1990) also notes that this shared culture was rooted in Africa, and a symbolic connection to the continent of Africa as the formative space where many black Caribbean slaves and emancipated men and women were uprooted to begin their lives in the “New World.” Here, Hall (1990) suggests that a powerful narrative of the desire for inclusion and acceptance that concluded in the postcolonial struggle maintained a focus on blackness. As Carrington (2007) expands this definition and suggests that: “In this context, then,

identity needs to be understood as a strategic intervention by marginalized communities for cultural, political, and economic *recognition*” (p. 52).

The second strand of identity is, as Hall (1990) notes, while there are many places of similar understanding there are also places of deep difference. He notes:

... cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything, which is historical they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialized past, they are subject to the continuous plot of history, culture, power. Far from being founded in a mere recovery of the past which is waiting to be found and which when found will secure our sense of ourselves into eternity, identities are the name we give to different ways we are positioned by and position ourselves within, the narratives of the past. (p. 225)

These two strands he goes on to note, come from an interaction with three presences in the Caribbean (borrowing the concept from Aime Cesaire and Leopold Sengohor) including the *présence Africaine*, *présence Européenne*, and *présence Américaine*. First, Hall (1990) describes the “Africaine” as the “site of the repressed” (p. 230). Hall (1990) situates this presence in the everyday activities of slaves and former slaves and includes religious, family, and institutional practices. Hall (1990) also acknowledged the repression of this presence was somewhat lifted by the moment of decolonization with the promotion of an Afro Caribbean identity. He specifies that this identity could not “be made directly without mediation, it could only be made through the impact of popular life of the postcolonial revolution” (p. 231). He also reminds the reader that this cultural identity is not static and requires imaginative possibilities for reconnection.

Hall (1990) also makes note that, *présence Européenne* is consistently contrasted with *présence Africaine* and specifically, worked to introduce issues of power. Here he notes the historical social forces that brought *présence Africaine* to light including the role of slavery, colonization, and racism. These social forces used practices such as visual representation and spatial segregation. This presence extends into the neocolonial period. He notes this presence represents “exclusion, imposition, and expropriation” (p. 223). He also argues that this presence existed not only within those of sole European descent and brings attention to the Fanonian concept of “black skin white masks” where black Caribbeans and others, through several

mechanisms and practices, inculcates the stance of *présence Européenne*. Hall (1990) questions the Caribbean asking, “Can we ever recognize its irreversible influence while resisting its imperializing eye?” For this, he maintains that there requires “the most complex of cultural strategies” (p. 234).

Finally, Hall (1990) describes *présence Américaine* and suggests that it exists in a suppressed state. Here, he specifically describes this presence, not in the context of the influence of North America but with the notion of the “new world”. He recognizes the silence of the first people, now frozen in time and only remembered within museums, and pivots to explore the New World as the site of beginning for diaspora. Used here, diaspora refers to a metaphorical and not a literal return to a homeland, but rather, an acceptance of hybrid diaspora identities which he says are “producing and reproducing themselves anew through transformation and difference” through cultural practices (p. 235). It is out of these three distinct presences, Hall (1990) typifies the Caribbean cultural experience.

Most critical here is to again not only recognize the non-static formation and development of Caribbean cultural identity, but to unpack its liminality and hybridity. Here Braithwaite’s (1975) seminal theorization in *Caribbean Man in Space and Time* gives rise to the concept of creolization where the “unity is submarine” (p.1). Most important here is Braithwaite’s (1975) discussion of the inner and outer plantation and the development of the studies of the Caribbean. Creolization he defines as:

...a process, resulting in subtle and multiform orientation from or towards ancestral originals. In this way, Caribbean culture can be seen in terms of a dialectic of development taking place within a seamless guise or continuum of space and time; a model which allows for blood flow, fluctuations, the half look, the look both/several ways; which allows for and contains ambiguous, and rounds the sharp edges off the dichotomy. (p. 7)

Braithwaite (1975) also provides the distinction between the Caribbean inner/ and outer plantation. Critical here first is his point that despite the use of the word plantation, the similar histories and life experiences of those Caribbean spaces that did not have the robust plantation

economies (such as the Bahamas) still fit this conceptualization due to the foundational development of slavery and distinctions of identity based on enslaved and master classes.

Braithwaite (1975) also includes Caribbean “maroon economies” (p. 3). Then he describes the inner and outer plantation making an appeal for the distinctions of the study of cultural practices flowing within both domains. For example, he places as outer plantation studies, colonial studies of war, trade, mercantilism all describing and expounding on the relationship between the plantation to the metropole. Braithwaite’s work in 1975 argued that Caribbean Studies needed a stronger focus on the inner plantation and envisages the study of:

...the institutions that support our political; commercial, and social activity; measures of adaption [if imported]; transformations due to time and circumstance; effectiveness in terms of ‘efficiency’ and in terms of how far how much the various social groups are/were able to express themselves through them. (p. 6)

Braithwaite (1975) goes on to describe specifically those inner plantation studies that at the time, required further study. These included creole institutions, which he notes are distinct from those “derived from the European or initiating segment of society [legislatures, courts, police systems, the ‘established’ Christian churches, media, banks] (p. 7). He juxtaposes these with those relegated to the inner plantation and includes: “friendly societies and co-ops that reveal themselves in susu...and the spectrum of religious organizations from Pentecostal and revival, right through to shango, vodun, and cumfa” (p. 7). He also calls for the development of creole archives, including a study of creole culture and cultural expression. Braithwaite’s (1975) concern here was to highlight the total cultural system of Caribbean experience as a way to begin the process of intellectual inquiry into the cultural perspectives and practices of Caribbean people.

Assessments of these cultural features were critical in national and regional cultural formation and served as key points of vindication (as in Thomas, 2013). These assessments provided a portrait of Caribbean lives post emancipation that was full, complex, with its own internal logics that provided inhabitants of that culture with a sense of purpose and meaning for their lives. Notably, Braithwaite (1975) highlighted distinct social institutions that demarcate

between Hall's (1990) explanation of the significance in understanding the *présence Africaine*, *présence Européenne*, and *présence Américain* as a way to trace retentions, infusions, and amalgamations. These significant institutions, along with activities in many instances, point to differences in civil society cultural practices.

Many years past Braithwaite's (1975) articulation of creolization and the call for renewed interest in Caribbean Studies from "within the plantation" and has led to new research interests. David Scott (2013) in the feature article of the *Small Axe* opened with an assessment of Caribbean Studies with a look at the future issues shaping the field. In doing so, Scott also highlighted the ongoing significance of Braithwaite's work. He notes that Braithwaite (1975), along with other key early thinkers in theorists, including M.G. Smith and Edith Clarke, were particularly concerned with the:

...problematic of sovereignty as the basic ground on which, or grid through which, to think a theory of cultural identity and cultural legitimacy. As we know, the promise of that horizon of identity and legitimacy has yet to be fulfilled, and it is perhaps no longer clear from our vantage point that it *can* be. (p. 6)

Scott (2013), along with the other authors, note that the new post-postcolonial state brings new theoretical, methodological, and empirical concerns. Some of these newer questions and emphasis include: the contemporary social imagination of the Caribbean, the role of diaspora, transnationalism, ongoing and emerging and developing forms of artistic representation, the new appreciation for spatial issues related to inequality and justice some thirty to forty years post-independence, the links between Caribbean cultural identity and other social identities, and a more global postcolonial analysis beyond the nation state. These discussions connect to Homi Bhabha's (2004) renewed interest and theoretical articulation of hybridity, which he recalls is the "interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (p. 5).

New and emerging analyses disrupt these common theoretical spaces. Khan (2001) warns that these master narratives of ideal types about the Caribbean also deny several other historical

realities. In particular, the role of other groups of people outside of the domain of the white-master and black-slave narrative, including the lived experiences of poor whites, Indians arriving as indentured servants, as well as Chinese and Arab voices. Furthermore, Stubbs (2011) notes that the importance of engendering Caribbean history to analyze the impact of gender on constructions of a cultural Caribbean identity. Boyce Davies and Jardine (2010) reflect this ongoing assessment of Caribbean cultural identity when they say:

Writing about Caribbean identity means engaging with a series of movements (and) coming to terms with the extent to which the relatively new Caribbean nation states and the Caribbean diaspora, in combination with global economic forces, have been fundamental sites for the creation of Caribbean cultural identities. (p. 437)

My intended work in this project is to trace the impact of civil society and its cultural influences from the point of decolonization. It is here that Yelvington's (2001) argument becomes valuable when he notes that black identity in this period may have had less to do with "African 'survivals', 'retentions,' and the like with new ones such as the concept of blackness understood less as a kind of ontology and more as a kind of cultural identity politics" (p. 250). As Hall (1990) notes, these reclamations of a Caribbean cultural identity required the act of imagination in remaking any connection to the suppressed and hidden forces of social organization. How do cultural politics and social imagination intersect to inform each other? How did black identity politics shape the nation state at the point of decolonization, and how then have these issues of culture and cultural identity articulations remained, shifted, altered in the post-postcolonial era? Finally, how do these shifts linked to cultural identity, the nation state, and decolonization connected to this contemporary era relate to the ongoing development and formation of civil society? How have new or renewed social forces such as increased migration, transnationalism, and globalization created new and restructured aspects of cultural identity? How have these new and renewed social forces restructured the vision of civil society, and the present and future visions of civic engagement and philanthropy?

Civil Society and Civic Engagement: Contemporary Visions

While the intellectual lineage of the concept of civil society is long and vast, there are several key avenues for exploring the concept in relation to this project. These include: 1) the broader conceptual terrain that encapsulates the numerous and contested intellectual lineages, 2) the discussion on how the intellectual tradition is debated and understood in settings that fall outside of the dominant Western space, and 3) the ways that the complexity of the views of the intellectual lineage's impact outside of the West beyond the mere conceptual and framework.

In developing a useful frame for understanding the commons, civil society, and the public sphere, the complexity respective of both global North and South formations there are several challenges. Whether one takes the intellectual traditions of Habermas, Tocqueville, Locke, Marx, or Gramsci, scholars debate if the competing constructions of civil society can be used outside of Western contexts (Obadare, 2005). Some scholars suggest that this is impossible, while others urge that using the concept of civil society outside of the dominant West must first proceed with caution and incorporate historical ramifications and, analyze its usefulness within the spaces outside of the Global North (Obadare, 2005). Moreover, multilaterals continue to use of the term of "civil society" in utilitarian fashion, defined as the citizen space that has the capacity to place the appropriate checks on governments (Edwards 2009; Lewis, 2002). As Obadare (2005) notes, that to ask the question of whether the concept of civil society can be used outside of the West are:

...the wrong question to ask...According to this outlook, the question misses the point because it ignores the manifest ways in which civil society has been used in multiple social-political and religious traditions, the concept has become indispensable to conceptualize politics in the Non-Western world. (p. 66)

In analyzing the space of both local and global interest in utilizing the concept especially within the Global South, Obadare (2005) also warns against the use of an analytical frame that is only concerned with certain types of voluntary organizations. Obadare (2005) appears to elucidate on Schuller's (2012) concept of civic infrastructures when he notes that an understanding of the role

of local flowing into global civil society activity should be understood through a lens of “ecosystem, which includes a wide variety of types of association, engagements in the public sphere, and relationships between civil and political action” (p. 191).

This broader understanding of civil society, especially in the contemporary period, requires two specific avenues of analysis. The first is the mechanism that creates citizen action known as civic or public engagement. The second is the organizational vehicle, which guides the process of citizen action, which is notably carried out through the work of nonprofits, NGOs, and other voluntary and grassroots groups. It is important to note here, the ways in which these vehicles or interests within civil society are recognized in the literature. This is keeping in mind that the concept of philanthropy or “voluntary action for the public good” is the animating spirit that drives members of civil society to morally call upon improved life experiences and conditions for all citizens (Payton & Moody, 2008, p. 6).

In contemporary theoretical conceptualizations, Smith and Gronberg (2006) tease apart several perspectives that provide the link between nonprofits and government providing categories such as demand/supply, civil society/social movements, and regime and neo-institutional perspectives. For my analysis, I extend these categories and call for an analysis that highlights the postcolonial condition that recognizes the historical and social issues that emerge with the role and legacies of slavery and the ongoing socio-political assumptions tied to the development of the Global South. In doing so, I suggest that the relationship between civil society and government take shape along other dimensions of analysis and as such, some of the categories espoused by Smith and Gronberg (2006) are recast. Thus, I take as a model the domain of civil society first, linking the historical factors that created both the public sphere as well as the alternative public sphere. Later, I will show how this alternative public sphere reorganized government relations within the period of decolonization, which is rooted in the pursuit of the idea of inclusive acceptance. Through time, this pursuit of inclusive acceptance shaped and reshaped postcolonial and Caribbean society.

Ostrander and Portney (2007) provide a definition of civic engagement “as individual and collective action to identify and address public issues and participate in public life” (p. 1). Civic engagement is also defined as central to “daily involvement where the ability to be heard and represented becomes as important as disagreeing peacefully and/or uniting for civil action” (Wint, 2003, p. 412). Synthesized, these definitions suggest that civic engagement requires actions that assist in improving society. These actions must lead to a marked change in the process of public or community life. Civic engagement may take many forms including protest, advocacy, as well as developing meaningful communication between community members. The benefits of positive civic engagement include self-improvement, positive perceptions of community, stronger democratic communities, empathetic concern for others in the community, and the opportunity for many voices to have the opportunity to have their concerns heard (Sobieraj & White, 2007). The definition that I consider here for civic engagement is a collection of processes that recognize the motives for actual engagement, produces the will to engage, and considers the capacity to engage. Civic engagement concerns the responsibilities of citizenship. Other terminology includes public engagement, public participation, and democratic participation.

Successful civic engagement helps to build social capital and vice versa. Putnam (1995) defines social capital as the “social connections and the attendant norms and trust” (p. 665). The terminology of social connections and attendant norms and trust has since evolved in the literature and is otherwise stated as “social networks” and “relationships of trust.” According to Putnam (1995), these social networks and trust relationships allow citizens to come together more effectively to solve problems (Jicha, Thompson, Fulkerson, & May, 2011; Ostrander & Portney, 2007; Putnam, 1995). In effect, social capital helps to produce community participation (Wint, 2003).

Recently, there have been some attempts to further define the extent to which civic engagement actually produces social capital. Some studies have begun to better understand how social capital can be used as a predictor of civic engagement (Jicha et al., 2011, Ostrander &

Portney, 2007). For example, Jicha et al. (2011) found that social capital helps to motivate individual actors to participate collectively.

Putnam (1995) also distinguishes between bridging and bonding capital. Bridging capital helps to produce trust relationships across social difference whereas bonding capital helps produce relationships within one's own race and class group. Putnam (1995) argues that bridging capital produces civic engagement whereas bonding capital limits civic engagement, and as a result, subsequent studies have explored ways in which to increase bridging capital (Ostrander & Portney, 2007).

Central to this discussion are two major forms of civic engagement, political and non-political activity. As civic engagement strives to improve communities through increasing levels of democratic participation, several works have concluded that both political and nonpolitical activity is useful. Yet, the debate on how to define these terms remains in dispute. Political activity can be defined as intentional changes to public policy through direct action or influencing others. Other definitions include the inclusion of activity between private relationships or those relationships that do not impact any changes to public policy (Burns, Schlozman & Verba, 2001).

Some argue that the blur between political and nonpolitical makes it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which each type influences and produces the other. Based on legal nonprofit status, some organizations are not political in nature but do engage within political contexts. Also, some nonpolitical organizations can engage members informally but meaningfully in the political process (Sobieraj & White, 2007). Therefore, political and nonpolitical activity should be viewed on a continuum rather than as two binary concepts (Sobieraj & White, 2007). In addition, several debates surround actual determinations of political activity. It is suggested that there is a distinction between formal (voting) and informal political activity (grassroots civic participation; Burns et al., 2001).

This breadth of research activity points to central arguments concerning civic engagement and social capital's decline. Robert Putnam was one of the first to assert that social

capital and thus, civic engagement is on the decline in America (Putnam, 1995). He primarily associates this decline based on lower membership numbers in voluntary organizations. Despite this prevailing sentiment, several studies have argued alternative notions related to civic engagement and social capital. Civic engagement, instead of declining, has instead changed based on societal shifts (Ostrander & Portney, 2007). Some research finds that there is more stability rather than decline in voluntary associations (Portney & Berry, 2007).

Putnam's (1995) description of social capital does little in the way of analyzing racial difference (Wu, 2007). As a result, there is a need for linking "pedagogies of race to pedagogies of civic engagement" (Wu, 2007, p. 13). Additionally, there have been few studies that explain how racial identity plays a role in student perceptions of civic engagement (Lott, 2006). Some scholars note that as it relates to communities of color or other marginalized spaces calls for increased levels of social capital minimizes issues of social inequality. Some scholars also note that the increased call for social capital within these communities implies a retreat of state welfare provisions. Social capital minimizes the significant role of networks and the role that inequality plays in the process of marginalization (Bonilla-Silva & Baiocchi, 2008).

At this point, it is valuable to consider how this literature is reflected within the Global South. Most of the literature on civic engagement highlighted here considers the American construct of civic engagement, civil society, and philanthropy. These theoretical points listed above emerge from the Tocquevillian notion of American exceptionalism through the lens of voluntary association, and do not necessarily analyze the progression amongst American communities of color as some of the critics of social capital theory note.

Baiocchi (2012) considers these frames within the global south and argues that some "theoretical stretching" is required. By this, he suggests that our understanding of these concepts "may be enriched by a wider horizon of the possible meanings that concepts might assume once our frame of reference is more global" (p. 237). He too raises the concern of liberal democracy and its relationship to the postcolonial world, and notes that, "liberal democracy in the

postcolonial world has often been part of imperial statecraft as of political rationality of projects of liberation and that the very idea of civil society has often been part of the civilizing mission itself” (p. 233). He also notes that a “cutting and pasting” approach of theories of civil society within the Global South neglects “a level of ambiguity and hybridity at the core of that culture in much of the world” (p. 238). Baiocchi (2012) suggests that three different relationships emerge within the Global South in terms of the adherence to theoretical and programmatic conceptualizations emerging from the Global North onto the Global South. These include 1) an embrace, 2) instrumental use, and 3) critical skepticism of the theorization and programmatic focus of the conceptualization of civil society emerging from the Global North. He surmises that as “liberal thought and imperial ambitions...found justification... found a project in the deficiencies of colonized people” (p. 243) and that an analysis of such literature against the backdrop of the histories of the postcolonial world must attend to the fact that:

...democracy has always been a traveling culture... democratic ideas travel in conjunction with ideas about the market, modernity, and other allegedly cultural neutral forms in the context of an unequal world. The history of association of democracy with colonial histories, and later, with powerful nations and local elites needs to be considered centrally in any cultural framework looking at the global south, as does the way that local civil societies draw on different cultural vocabularies and operate in vastly different realms than we normally imagine. (pp. 249-250)

The study of culture and its relationship to the development of civil society requires an understanding of the nuanced considerations of democracy, the role of inequality, and historical legacies which produce unique cultural perspectives.

Imagined Longings/ Assertions

Unpacking Caribbean cultural identity requires tending to the black identity politics that formed and gave rise to decolonization along with the other linked identities that have shaped the region. The Caribbean’s specific relationship with race, class, gender, and nationality have much to do with the history of the region and maintain connections with plantation slavery, the period and process of colonization, and the subsequent role of decolonization practices which include the

development of national and regional identities with the attendant symbols, discourses, and narratives. This section focuses on how some of these interconnected social identities helped to shape Caribbean cultural identities and its relationship to the development of civil society over time.

Added to the assertion of politics of identity as espoused by Yelvington (2001), Hall (1990), and Carrington (2007) is another critical juncture in the connection of black identity to the interest and desire for decolonization. Kamugisha (2013) highlights that the significance of C. L. R. James' seminal work, *The Black Jacobins* that described the events and leadership of the Haitian Revolution. For James, the resonance of the revolution and its symbolic power to bring awareness of the plight of those formerly enslaved, was used to link the revolution to the struggles and concerns of the region. Kamugisha (2013) also highlights the fact that:

Students of Caribbean thought and criticism are aware that every historical-cultural movement and political conundrum in the wider region since—neocolonialism, black consciousness, the debt burden and the cultural response to American imperialism—first announced itself there. (p. 47)

The birth of decolonization found its resonance in the Haitian revolution where black slaves chose to define themselves beyond the vision of servitude of their colonial white masters and instead, asserted a collective agency to redefine who they were along with their capacity for self-rule. In this way, the black racial consciousness is linked to the history of race in the region, which emerges first from the plantation system. That said, this black racial consciousness has caused conflict amongst other racial groups that were left out of this narrative of revolution. Furthermore, along with the racial lens, additional social identities provided useful analyses for understanding Caribbean cultural identity.

Most valuable for this study is the relationship of class and race within the Caribbean. Here, I draw on E. P. Thompson (1995/1973) who in his critical work, *The Making of the English Working Class*, defines class as a social construct based on cultural signs. He notes:

class happens when some men, as a result of common experience (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests between themselves and ...as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed) to theirs. The class experience is largely determined by the productive relations into which men are born-or enter involuntarily. Class consciousness is the way in which these experiences are handled in cultural terms: embodied in transitions, value-systems, ideas, and institutional forms. If experience appears as determined, class consciousness does not. We can see a logic in the response of similar occupational groups undergoing similar experiences, but we cannot predicate any law. Consciousness of class arises in the same way in different times and places, but never in *just* the same way. (pp. 9-10)

As Thompson (1966) reveals, class is culturally and socially mediated. In the case of the Caribbean, while racial oppression created demarcations between white and black/brown/yellow, class interests maintained that those who were racially oppressed developed unique class structures related to the varying historical opportunities accessed by particular individuals, families, and communities. James (1938), in *The Black Jacobins*, comments on the black led leaders of the Haitian Revolution:

There was a small privileged caste, the foremen of the gangs, coachmen, cooks, maids, nurses, female companions, and other house servants...The leaders of a revolution are usually those who have been able to profit by the cultural advantages of the system they are attacking... (p. 19)

Surrounded by the class ideals of their masters, this creole middle-class mimicked the cultural norms of the Europeans while simultaneously using their unique position to lead revolution.

These opportunities developed a black middle-class and continued as the creolization effects, due to the comingling of European values along with African traditions, shaped the lived experience. This is what Peter Wilson (1995/1973) in *Crab Antics: A Caribbean Case Study of the Conflict between Reputation and Respectability* highlights as a critical development in class formation and delineation within the black Caribbean society. The middle-class was distinguished by the notion of respectability (private values and order) and the lower classes, by that of reputation (chaos and play) (Wilson, 1995/1973).

For example, in the seminal work on the Caribbean identity dichotomy of reputation and respectability, Wilson (1995/1973) spends considerable time highlighting varying ethnographies

of the Caribbean employed in his research. In the specific case of the Bahamas, Wilson (1995/1973) mentions the work of Otterbien (1966) and his analysis of Bahamians on the island of Andros. Wilson noted that Otterbien (1966) observed the unique nature of middle-class respectability of the islanders of Andros. There was a high incidence of early age legal marriage with a large amount of nuclear families. Wilson (1995/1973) noted that Otterbein (1966) observed that this was unique behavior amongst other Caribbean societies. Wilson (1995/1973) also noted that Otterbein recognized that “well to do families” improved their “social standing by generosity and conspicuous consumption” (p. 210).

In another example of middle-class identity formation, Putnam’s (2013) work focuses on the role of transnationalism in shaping the black Caribbean experience and the role of civil society, the commons, and the public sphere from the period of slavery up until the 1940s. Her work also highlights the slow emergence of the distinctions between respectability and reputation that fully emerge in a later postmodern and globalized era. First, she argues that everywhere British Caribbeans went; they established their mutual aid societies, places of worship, and newspapers (e.g., the transnational organization, the United Negro Improvement Association, led by Marcus Garvey). These associations helped to build social networks, assist with the acclimation of new arrivals, and helped maintain critical connections back in their countries of origin. Their collective organizations helped to create their own public sphere, and this sphere was continually informed by international events.

However, in Putnam’s (2013) chapter on the influence of music, she notes that these sound cultures created an alternative public sphere. Putnam (2013) also noted that there were public debates about whether sound cultures advanced the race. Some argued that music and sound culture offered a place of communal acceptance for young people Others pitted literary culture against sound culture as one that was perceived as a form of respectable cultural expression that highlighted the skill and sense of an oppressed people.

The thread throughout each of these representations of a public sphere or civil society identity is the question of respectability. Respectability was seen as critical to lifting the race above the constraints of segregation and perceptions of inferiority. Putnam's (2013) chapter on artistic expression helped draw out the historical debates developed in Caribbean societies concerning acceptable notions of civic culture. Music and the arts had a significant role to play in terms of civic culture as debates surrounding music and other cultural forms focused on three distinct perspectives. Did these cultural forms either meet "appropriate" or respectable standards of acceptable civic culture that helped with notions of uplift, or did they oppose these standards, or even finally, did they create something of its own all together? Putnam (2013) argues and defends the third question of where music and cultural expression created something new. Here, Putnam (2013) argues that sound culture which was seen as "unlettered culture" allowed for meaningful connections across class divisions. She notes that these cross class connections did not necessarily erase class differences but rather, they created unique linkages.

After the period of decolonization, an expansion of middle-class opportunities created larger portions of Caribbean society that moved into the middle-class. By the current era, it is important to note that Caribbean middle-class identity holds to both a revered and yet, a tenuous position. It is at once held up as a model of social mobility and yet, it is also castigated. On the one hand, middle-class identity in the Caribbean is seen as emulating the European worldview of modernity. Simultaneously, the middle-class anxiously values those working class traditions that have nurtured the middle-class since the period of slavery (Edmonson, 2009). Some scholars have otherwise observed that working classes no longer ascribe to middle-class institutions such as membership in churches and the achievement of higher levels of education as valued modes of social mobility as in Jamaica, for example. Alternately, the role of former and current Anglophone Caribbean middle-class communities abroad, most notably in the United States and Canada, has urged a new sense of middle-class aspiration and achievement (Edmonson, 2009).

Now, new emerging forms of entrepreneurship blur the lines between reputation and respectability (risk taking, new age spiritualities, emotional expressiveness; Freeman, 2012).

Furthermore, Pattillo (2007) introduces the concept of middle-class members as “middlemen.” The middleman is different than the little man and distinct from “the man.” However, this liminal state causes the middleman to “side with the little man and confront the man” (p. 119). In terms of civic engagement, civil society, and the public sphere, the middle man’s precarious position between the man and the little man may lead him to first prove that he has strong affinity with the little man but then he must negotiate for funding and support by proving worthy to the man. As Pattillo (2007) aptly notes, “he might be a banker who volunteers at his church to give classes on saving for home ownership, avoiding predatory loans, or taking advantage of special programs for first time home buyers....the role of the middleman emphasizes balance, negotiation, and cunning” (p. 120). The “in betweenness” of the middle man and his or her approaches towards civic engagement and the development of civil society require deeper analysis to assess what aspects of authentic democratic, social, and cultural participation are extolled and which are excluded.

One major connection between the concepts of middle-class identity, civic engagement, civil society, and the Caribbean may relate to the concept of entrepreneurship. In the case of civic engagement, social entrepreneurs are interested in creating social value. The following definition of social enterprise provides some usefulness for the purposes of this study: social enterprise is “a process involving the innovative use and combination of resources to pursue opportunities to catalyze social change and/or address social needs” (Mair & Marti, 2004, p. 3). Social entrepreneurs identify social problems and create unique solutions for them. The behaviors of social entrepreneurship are seen as crucial to the development of civil society and thus, civic participation.

Entrepreneurship is a relevant lens for appreciating middle-class identity and may point out some emerging trends in understanding civic participatory responses within the Caribbean

context. The conversation on entrepreneurship is realigning the dichotomies between middle-class and working class identities related specifically to the notion of respectability and reputation. As middle-class citizens find additional entrepreneurial opportunities than in previous times, they blend reputation and respectability in a new pursuit of flexibility (Freeman, 2012). Edmondson (2009) also highlights how old associations of class identity formation have now given way to a new discourse. This new discourse she says is rooted in a sense of “American style professionalism that now characterizes the region’s black and brown Caribbean middle-class, a discourse of modernity that has been over a century in the making” (p. 15). This new formation of middle-class identity she notes begs the question:

When the companies are black owned, or when consumer culture is a local phenomenon as much as one that is reinforced by one’s relatives abroad- at what point does Commodification simply become Culture? (p. 20)

Here, she argues that more attention should be paid to fissures in the discourses of globalization narrative. These discourses are believed as occurring similarly across all cultures and are perceived as either a) clearly promoting democracy through capitalism, or b) is dehumanizing as globalization “commodifies culture and the global worker” (p. 20). She is apt to note that Fanon explained the dual character of the middle-class in the third world as both as “intermediary and imitative” (p. 20). Edmondson (2009) also adds that while there are legacies for understanding contemporary middle-class identity there are also ruptures to those legacies of identity. These ruptures are brought about by the forces of globalization and neoliberalism, which seek to shape every form of cultural action through the lens of “tourism, multinational profits, and the desire to reach an international audience” (p. 20).

The academic literature suggests that new and emerging middle-class aspirations are focused on producing new forms of flexibility in the form of entrepreneurial activity. This environment of flexible entrepreneurship is perhaps helpful in better understanding civic participation aspirations among middle-class Caribbean individuals.

Social identity focuses on the importance of sameness and recognition with one social group (Arneaud & Albada, 2013). In the case of the Caribbean, the role of slavery and then colonialism shape the way in which black populations come to understand their positions within society. Also, this ethnic identity is relevant in the development of decolonizing practices shared across the region, most notably, the fight for independence and the cross national alliances that formed to support national independence movements (Fanon, 2005; Williams, 1944).

Caribbean Civil Society and Civic Participation

I take some time here to discuss the concept of civil society and civic engagement practices within the Caribbean from the perspective of its organizational and collective aspects. I consider these practices especially in the wake of decolonization and the environment of the now post-postcolonial state. Here, we find new arrangements of not only government capacity and engagement with civil society but also with the influence of multilateral, bilateral, regional, and globalized renditions of civil society capacity. Much of the literature of civil society recounts the resurgence of the term at the close of the Cold War. Added to this is the rise of development activities within the Global South. Some scholars, like Obadare (2005) have recently suggested that the focus on organizational or NGO development is overstated as it is argued as the only way that civil society is developed. Yet, the influence of international NGOs with the local postcolonial environment is still a crucial space to understand how postcolonial and hybridized cultural identities engage and react to external mandates for civil society development in the region.

The development literature cites the importance of public participation in producing new public policy outcomes (Malik & Wagle, 2002). However, scant attention is paid to the level and/or deepness of that participation. Participation may flow on a continuum from shallow to meaningful. How do we measure these flows? One suggestion is that a closer inspection of public interest and awareness of public participation opportunities is useful. Also, individual

appreciation of civic participatory interests perhaps helps to define the scope and nature of what the public values as meaningful activity in the public sphere emerging from civil society.

Girvan (2011) articulates a call for Caribbean nation states to deepen their level of citizen participation. As elder statesman, Norman Girvan argues that the vision of CARICOM (The Caribbean Community) in establishing its “Charter of Civil Society” has yet to be realized by individual member states. Despite the establishment of the charter advocating, “further the participation of the people in the democratic process shall establish effective systems of ongoing consultations between the Government and the people,” Girvan (2011) notes that the charter did not take into account that:

The national constitutional arrangements that we have in most, if not all, CARICOM states assign no role to civil society in governance. Citizen participation in governance citizens is restricted, constitutionally, to voting in a five-yearly electoral cycle. (p. 5)

These Caribbean aspirations of a deepening of civil society remains unrealized as member Caribbean nations have not yet done the internal constitutional and policy framing of increasing the levels of civic participatory input of individual citizens.

As calls come for deepening civil society across the Anglophone Caribbean, several key ideas related to civil society organizations in the contemporary moment are useful. Bowen (2013) establishes that across the region four major types of civil society organizations currently exist. These include: social services, community development, local economic development, and sustainable development. Despite this emerging field, there appears to be little in the way of a formal structure for regional support and development namely led by CARICOM. Based on a qualitative study, Bowen (2013) found that while several of these CSOs function in and around the Anglophone Caribbean, there is little regional integration such as policy partnerships with local and regional governing bodies. Furthermore, issues such as low levels of strong leadership as well as a lack of sustainable fundraising capacities hinder a robust sector. A key question here

is: what is the sense of relative urgency for both the development of improved civil society structures within the Caribbean?

One answer lies in Obadare's (2011) analysis of African employment of civil society as concept. Here, he notes that the disillusioned dreams of African citizens towards their new governments in the wake of post-postcolonial self- rule regimes cultivated an "anti-state" ideology, allowing the readily accepted usage of the term, "civil society." This sentiment was either echoed or emboldened with the rise of multilateral organizations advocating for civil society as the realm of citizen participation. The view promoted by these organizations promoted the idea of as the partners to government. Civil society in this frame, aimed to serve as a system of checks and balances for society. Obadare (2011) not only places this within the context of development of civil society in Africa but moreover plants his analysis on anti-statist ideology within the greater sphere of postcolonial nation states.

In the way of understanding the complex relationships within the Caribbean and postcolonial context that help to cultivate civic engagement activities especially as it relates to civil society groups, Schuller (2006) defines the concept of civic infrastructure as "the set of relationships formed in grassroots organizing among individuals, grassroots groups, other civic organizations, and government" (p. 175). He goes on to note that the implicit assumption of the concept suggests that the relationships between people are "interwoven and interconnected" (pg. 175). Schuller (2012) also provides a core difference between his concept of civic infrastructures and that of social capital. He notes that the concept of social capital focuses on the fact that "individuals are studied but the 'unit of analysis' tends to be amorphous social groupings" (p. 179). Instead of placing individuals within a "single analytical frame" he notes, civic infrastructure attends to the complex interactions amongst stakeholders and furthermore, erases the distinctions between "local" and "global" influences.

The Bahamas as a Case

Craton and Saunders (1999) urge that the Bahamas is “a seemingly contradictory mixture between pride and shame for the past...between tradition and a spirit of independence” (p. 490). Bethel (2000) describes the Bahamian identity as a fluid one. Saunders (2016) in her latest critical work, *Race and Class in the Colonial Bahamas, 1880-1960*, discusses the location of Bahamian identity within the context of theorization of Caribbean identity studies. She notes the work of another Bahamian scholar Colin Hughes (2010/1981) who reconceptualizes the theories of Kamu Braithwaite, M. G. Smith, along with David Lowenthal’s theories of class hierarchy and argues that the Bahamian experience is too deviant to include into any theory related to a British Caribbean cultural identity. My argument here is that what is needed is an extension to a more expansive theoretical level. This expansive theoretical space considers Braithwaite’s (1975) concept of creolization, inclusive of his depiction of the inner plantation, along with Hall’s (1990) notion of Caribbean cultural identity as engaging with several presences (African, European, and American). At this theoretical altitude, there is the opportunity to see differences within the greater sphere of Caribbean cultural identity by placing cultures, communities, and nation states along a continuum of difference and similarity. As a result, an interrelated analysis of Caribbean and Bahamian identity is better understood and realized.

I accept and recognize the point made by Saunders (2016) where she highlights the fact that Hughes (2010/1981) uses M.G. Smith’s variable of wealth as an important distinctive marker, and explains the growth of wealth in the Bahamian economy due to the era of Prohibition. I accept this difference that the Bahamian economy, due to its proximity to the U.S., developed in different ways than the rest of the Caribbean, for example. However, I also suggest that this difference is a significant analytical marker that joins the Bahamas to a Caribbean cultural identity analytical space. I consider the broader concept and development of the inner plantation in the Caribbean. This foundational space of the inner plantation, across the Caribbean, produced an alternative public sphere. This alternative public sphere focused on inclusive

engagement beginning from the time of slavery, into the era of decolonization, and then with the moment of independence of the nation state. Through this analytical lens, the Bahamas from this perspective is conjoined with the regional imperatives of the Caribbean through the foundational lens of history. My analysis here complements ongoing theorization and research activities that support the study of the Caribbean. In particular, I heed Kamugisha's (2013) claim that "national and regional culture in the Caribbean demands a theory, implicit or explicit, of diasporic connections, and this is central to much of the most enduring work on Caribbean culture" (p. 47).

A study of the Bahamas, especially with regard to understanding civic participatory aspirations among its middle-class citizens, could potentially highlight several nuanced strands of identity and connection.

When considering the formation of a Bahamian national identity among Liberated Africans, it is important to consider the influence of the inner plantation in the development of civil society practices, cultural identity, class identities, gender constructions, and racial consciousness. At the end of slavery by the British, ships still carried would-be slaves to the Caribbean who arrived as Liberated Africans and worked as apprentices at the point of emancipation. Some of these Liberated Africans came to the Bahamas as well as to other sites in the Caribbean. This helped to develop what Saunders (2016) notes was a small black and brown middle-class that included the liberated Africans as well as newly freed slaves. These liberated Africans, according to Adderley (2006), "stood out because of their special status and the attention they received and because of their cultural difference, as African-born people, from the rest of the black population" (p. 21). Adderley (2006) goes on to note that despite this they did not necessarily develop unique economic niches in the economy.

When these liberated Africans were initially processed, they were recorded by African ethnicity and most popular were the Yoruba, Kongo groups. Despite this, Adderley (2006) suggests that while difficult to specifically trace whether these ethnic associations were completely distinct, Liberated Africans continued use of these identities as a way to work against

any erasure of their pasts. This, Adderley (2006) suggests, led to the formation of African inspired ethnic identities and should be “viewed equally as an already creolized step along the path to becoming African-Caribbean” (p. 103).

Gender also helps in highlighting the significance of cultural identity and the development of civil society formation. Recent scholarship is finally bringing to light the role of enslaved women, their ultimate subordinate status in the system of slavery, and their roles as vital resisters. Sheller (2012) describes these women as foundational to the “Afro Caribbean peasant cultures of resistance” (p. 48). Beckles (2011) indicates that enslavement was based on race and gender, relegating the role of black women to even higher levels of subordination than their male counterparts. Specifically, their necessary roles as providers and nurturers of their children, as well as for their masters, placed them in a lower position to whites as well as black men. The maintenance of the system of enslavement required the survival of women. Despite their subordination these women used their informal networks to empower themselves.

The role of women in the Bahamas continues to shape civil society activity. For example, the development of rotating credit and savings associations (ROSCA's; also called asue in the Bahamas) is a practice traced to Western Africa with women serving as asue leaders. The role of women's agency developed from the time of slavery, and includes the entrepreneurship of market women, the subsequent development of social networks, the possibilities for economic and social freedom, and the role of women in the development of their families.

Most important to this study were the communal patterns that the Liberated Africans brought with them. For example, in Grants Town where many of these Africans settled in the city of Nassau, Bahamas they established their own community programs and worked to philanthropically support their community. This was done through the work of several organizations including The Grants Town Friendly Society along with other friendly and burial societies. The goal here was to sponsor: “social, religious, and civic activities designed to strengthen the post-emancipation free black communities” (Adderley, 2006, pp. 120-121). The

critical work of these liberated Africans, in their pursuit of inclusion and acceptance through engagement, had lasting consequences for the continued formation of civil society development in the Bahamas. Subsequent chapters will reflect on the enduring legacies of the civic work of liberated Africans in the ongoing and evolving narratives of Bahamian history, culture, and contemporary lived experiences.

The Bahamas is one of those islands exhibiting these regional similarities as well as differences. Earning black majority rule in 1967, the Bahamas has remained an active member of CARICOM. Despite this sense of alliance with the community, Bahamians have sometimes detached themselves from the greater Caribbean community, and at times have portrayed an anti-immigration sentiment towards other Caribbean immigrants to the Bahamians, such as Haitians (Craton & Saunders, 1999; Strachan, 2007). This sense of Caribbean connection and simultaneous disconnection speaks to the role that hybridity plays in Caribbean identity (Hall, 1990, 1995). This sense of linked fate (Dawson, 1994) juxtaposed with isolation uniquely characterizes the Caribbean and specifically, the Bahamas.

The development of the tourism trade in the 1950s further underscored racial differences as American tourists flocked to the Bahamas to enjoy their vacations. Despite this, black citizens continued to survive based on small-scale farming - independent activities without much social and economic development of the state. While other Anglophone Caribbean nations struggled for colonial independence, the struggle in the Bahamas was focused on race equality. Black Bahamian leaders developed their ideas based on freedom struggles from the American civil rights movement and built alliances with Caribbean leaders in their struggle for anti-colonial government. After a long and arduous struggle, often described as a “quiet revolution,” the Bahamas achieved majority rule in 1967. The first black government was elected and set out to create a national identity on racialist terms. This initial black middle-class contained leaders that were some of the first to study abroad or have their own businesses (Bethel, 2000; Johnson, 1972).

This sense of Black Nationalism helped create social structures that evoked symbols of African inspired identity. Much to the chagrin of other ethnicities, the Black Nationalist stance has always caused much frustration amongst other ethnic groups that felt left out of the process of the national identity. Based on this Black Nationalist stance, leaders began to develop a sense of Bahamian identity. Central to this development was the established idea of Junkanoo as the primary cultural product and embodiment of Bahamian values. Junkanoo is named after John Conny, a merchant from 1700s Ghana. Slaves in the New World perhaps celebrated the success of this merchant and held Junkanoo festivals on the days that they were granted leave from work by their masters. They used goatskin drums in a parade like fashion and invoked spiritual themes first nestled in African spirituality and later in Christian themes. The parade, in its current form, also displays bright and large costumes, the use of other instruments including cowbells and brass instruments, dancers, and themes created by various groups that perform.

While Junakanoo was practiced in various other places in the Caribbean, the practice has primarily continued in the Bahamas. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, Junkanoo was established by the new majority elected government as a critical national symbol urging that Junkanoo produced the sound and essence of Bahamian people. As Storr (2006) notes, it is “the quintessential Bahamian cultural experience and is the essence of what it means to be a Bahamian. Indeed, it has variously been described as the heartbeat, the pulse, the spirit, and the soul of the Bahamian people” (p. 301).

Several features of Bahamian history are relevant for a discussion on middle-class civil society identities. The relative freedom of black slaves prior to the American Revolution helped create a more free space for African citizens to operate. A lack of concern by the governing class forced black citizens to create and build for themselves, resulting in an early notion of entrepreneurship. Storr (2006) argues that this concept of rabbyism as well as a spirit of capitalism characterizes this entrepreneurial spirit. Rabbyism he defines, “promotes piracy over enterprise, celebrating “the trickster (that is, the person who gets something for nothing” (p. 299),

(a dominant figure in the Caribbean oral storytelling tradition) while ridiculing the hard worker. Noted here that distinct from Storr's (2006) analysis of the trickster figure, alternate visions note that the trickster works for a sense of self-empowerment, rather than in favor of his or her own economic and social empowerment). Simultaneously, the spirit of capitalism is defined by Storr (2006) as "a definite spirit of enterprise, which I call the Bahamas Junkanoo ethic." Patrica Glington-Meicholas (1994) adds that "Bahamians have an extraordinary yen and flair for entrepreneurship and all the necessary optimism." (p. 64).

Storr (2006) calls this the "Junkanoo ethic," and suggests that the centrality of Junkanoo has taught Bahamians that "success and hard work are inextricably linked" (p. 301). This relates to the intensity of Junkanoo preparations both before and during the actual modern day parades. Furthermore, Wisdom (2002) notes that the heart of Junkanoo points to an environment of freedom. Junkanoo is an expression of the celebrative nature of Bahamian identity and should be used to underscore the core values of freedom, discipline, individuality, and teamwork. Wisdom (2002) urges that the "Junkanoo spirit" is an important space for appreciating Bahamian identity as it relates to a Bahamian sense of community and connectivity. Even further, Bethel (2002) analyzes class relations through the performance and group activity of several major Junkanoo groups. Bethel (2002) urges that that the development of the Valley Boys Junkanoo was created by established middle-class Anglican young men who symbolize a counterpart to the working class ideals of the Saxons Junkanoo group, led by a son of a Baptist preacher. This all the while, she also argues that the Bahamas has never held fast to the hard distinction between Caribbean middle-class respectability and working class reputation.

Does this sense of community and connectivity rooted in entrepreneurialism or the Junkanoo spirit, which is defined here by freedom, hard work, self-fashioning, creative expression, and communal care offer a relevant facet for understanding Bahamian civic participatory interest and fulfillment? While places such as Barbados are seemingly having new experiences with rates of entrepreneurialism, the Bahamas has always had an entrepreneurial

spirit. How does the gateway to the Caribbean (in a sense) highlight established and new forms of entrepreneurship, middle-class identity, as well as black racial identity? And further, how do these ideas relate to an understanding of civic participation, engagement, and civic identity and civil society?

Chapter 3. Methodology

We are a fragmented people. My experience as a writer coming from a culture of colonialism, a culture of Black people riven from one another, my struggle to achieve wholeness from fragmentation, while working within fragmentation, producing work which may find its strength in its depiction of fragmentation, through form as well as content, is similar to other writers whose origins are in countries defined by colonialism. (If I Could Write in This Fire, Michelle Cliff, 2008, pp. 34-36)

It is good form to introduce a work in psychology with a statement of its methodological point of view. I shall be derelict. I leave methods to the botanists and the mathematicians. There is a point at which methods devour themselves. (Black Skin, White Masks, Frantz Fanon, 2008, p. 12)

Caribbean Studies and Interdisciplinarity

To open, I first consider and assess the work of prominent scholars that have mediated and represented the lived experiences of Caribbean citizens and moreover, members of the African diaspora at large as well as other subaltern and postcolonial communities. As a critical starting point, I first consider the work of Frantz Fanon and the circuits of influence that his work still commands. While trained as a doctor, a psychiatrist in fact, the work developed in both *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952/2008) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961/2004) are included for analytical usage within several fields, including philosophy, anthropology, cultural studies, sociology, African Diaspora Studies and most critically here, Caribbean Studies. His works highlight the significance of the psychological, political, and sociological impact of racism towards formerly colonized subjects, and the fight to decolonize not just the physical spaces of the formerly colonized, but the required psychological and ethical spaces of decolonization that should be utilized for reasserting a new humanity for the world. Scholars continue to note Fanon's use of interdisciplinary methods to consider the all-encompassing effects of colonization and the broadly composed strategies for authentic decolonization.

Parris (2011) describes it as a “theoretical pastiche” in *Black Skin, White Masks*, “combining elements of psychoanalysis, dialectics, materialism and existentialism to establish a theoretical foundation that became the basis of later political writings,” linking “divergent schools

of Western thought...” (p. 6). Macey (2012) describes *Black Skin* as “bricolage...the word literally means ‘do it yourself’” (pp. 92-93) utilizing Western philosophy and psychoanalysis to “explore his own situation and experience” (p. 93). Macey (2000) argues that *Black Skin* evaded genre. Rabaka (2015) considers the possibility of any prequel to Fanon’s work and interestingly takes W.E.B. Dubois’ literary novel, *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil*, written as a potential prequel nominee citing Dubois’ uses of “literary mediums...poignant, multi-vocal, shifting back and forth between pungent politico-economic analysis and socio-cultural criticism to pure poetry and lyrical literary experimentation” (p. 90). Rabaka (2015) highlights these texts joining them to studies emerging from and about the African Diaspora that have “consistently leveled critiques of monodisciplinary interpretations, and ultimately, interdisciplinary analyses of the black experience” (p. 91). Fanon and Dubois (a sociologist writing literature but drawing on social theory), highlight the possibilities of linking texts about the black experience by using multiple methods and disciplinary domains symbolizing central intellectual texts of the black, culturally and social marginalized postcolonial experience, but they are not the only examples.

Stanfield (2008) also argues that the goal of African Diasporic sociological research and other forms of social research rely on vision, imagination, and ethical care, citing that the most critical and exciting aspect of African Diasporic Sociology reasoning is “that by its nature is multidisciplinary with much room for interdisciplinary borrowing and synthesis of epistemologies, concepts, and methods” (p. 39). The range of tools employed by scholars of and within the African diaspora is multiple at times, producing interdisciplinary representations in focusing on various disciplinary roles within specific individual works giving rise to one scholar’s body of work that is interdisciplinary. In addition to the works of Fanon and Dubois, which maintain at times interdisciplinary leanings, consider the work of Zora Neale Hurston’s forays into fiction writing and ethnography; the sociologists that wrote fiction - Orlando Patterson

along with Dubois; CLR James's cultural criticism, philosophical analysis, autobiography, and historiography, as well as the cultural theory, poetry, and historical analysis of Kamu Braithwaite.

I provide these few but seminal examples to underscore a larger point. Returning to Fanon (2008) and the quote in the epigraph, Fanon introduces his work as a "dereliction of duty" of the usage of research methods. Undoubtedly, as numerous scholars have reviewed the deep methodological insight of Fanon's work, the key question is which methods have been scrutinized by Fanon (Desai, 2013; Gordon, Sharpley-Whiting, & White 1996). Rabaka (2015) suggests that Fanon considered the Eurocentric formation of dominant research methods and instead, in his work, developed a "dialectical relationship with psychoanalysis, existential phenomenology, and Negritude, among other theories" (p. 93). Rabaka (2015) taking this point that at the heart of Fanon's work assessed the black lived experience, and was crucial to understanding the world in which black identities and experiences were placed and generally taken for granted. *Black Skin* is then a response to being in the world that regarded blackness as inferior to Eurocentric ideals. His interdisciplinary strategy helped to create the dialectical space of understanding the ways in which blackness is interpreted in the world and thus, ways in which those negative undertakings could be approached and erased. It was a strategy that worked to develop an inclusive engagement with the world set about by attacking sources of racist and oppressive thoughts, questioning the demands of liberalism with its focus on equality and justice, and created analyses that foregrounded a reconceptualization of humanity.

The interdisciplinary nature of African Diaspora, Postcolonial Studies, and Subaltern Studies considers black racial identity and other perceived depictions of perceived marginalization and otherness and recasts them. This is first done by describing the inaccurate perceptions of identity and second, taking to task ideals of equality. The interdisciplinary nature of postcolonial, African diasporic, and other subaltern studies demands and calls attention to the

process of inclusive engagement and its relationship to the construction of identities and social structures.

Also in the epigraph of this chapter, Michelle Cliff (2008) calls this lived experience “fragmented” and calls upon the work of the writer (and I suggest broadly “intellectual” also theorist, thinker, researcher) to consider the fragmented nature of being “other” in a world which is sometimes attributed to blackness but stands as not the only attribution. The process of working within that fragmentation requires an understanding of lived experiences as hybrid and creolized, and takes that understanding into a research process of bricolage and pastiche. This process reveals levels of oppression along with modes and strategies for agency and empowerment. The research process then bends and borrows epistemological and ontological framing to arrive at the core of postcolonial and the black lived experience.

This is not to say that the method of bricolage has no depth or does not provide clarity or significant meaning. Instead, the analysis of lived experience, most observed through ethnographic and textual analysis explorations (the most dominant forms of methods in these interdisciplinary domains related to the black or subaltern experience), offers an opportunity to delve deeply and authentically to chart the experience of black lives and other subaltern identities.

Kincheloe, McLaren, and Steinberg (2011) describe the bricolage process as interdisciplinary by nature. In addition, these authors also recognize that through the process of inquiry, the researcher moves “to a new conceptual terrain, such an eclectic process raises numerous issues that researchers must deal with to maintain theoretical coherence and epistemological innovation” (p. 168). Kincheloe et al. (2011) add that the responsibilities weigh heavily for the researcher as they consider:

...research as a power-driven act, the critical researcher - as - bricoleur abandons the quest for some naïve concept of realism, focusing instead on the clarification of his or her position in the web of reality and the social locations of other

researchers and the ways they shape the production and interpretation of knowledge. (p. 168)

Kincheloe et al.'s (2011) recommendations of careful and insightful research bricolage serves as a useful counterpoint to Michael Burawoy's (2014) concern that interdisciplinarity can lead to the erosion of disciplines. A useful counter is that robust interdisciplinary research does not work to erode the disciplinary force of particular disciplinary stances but instead seeks to maintain their integrity in providing a forum in which the disciplines can speak to and with each other about a central research issue or problem. This is certainly the case in African Diaspora Studies and other linked and similar interdisciplinary sites. To be sure, the field of Philanthropic Studies engages with a hope to increase levels of interdisciplinarity while working not to erode disciplines but rather, engage them at the site of analysis of philanthropy and philanthropic practices. While this project draws heavily on several disciplines, along with established interdisciplinary approaches, it is not the purpose of the research to attempt to analyze the relationship between cultural identity and civil society development in the postcolonial context with an undetermined amount of disciplinary perspectives. The function of narrative inquiry guides this process along with the established theoretical considerations of Caribbean Studies/Postcolonial/ African Diaspora Studies and Philanthropic Studies. Within these disciplinary and interdisciplinary frames, I draw on cultural studies, literary studies, sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and political science to consider my research question.

Interpretivism and Narrative Inquiry

The usage of narrative inquiry calls upon the interpretive inquiry especially as it relates to influence of culture in society, and in this case more specifically, civil society. Culture here is understood as Geertz (1973) notes is a "semiotic concept" which focuses on

interworked systems of construable signs (what, ignoring provincial usages, I would call symbols), culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context,

something within which they can be intelligibly —that is, thickly— described. (p. 14)

The process of thick description, Geertz (1973) goes on to note relies on clinical inference where a set of “presumptive signifiers” are placed within a coherent frame. The signifiers rely on theoretical reference for coherence and appropriate framing. In the case of culture, Geertz (1973) notes that the signifiers are “symbolic acts or clusters of symbolic acts...and the aim is...the analysis of social discourse” (p. 26). In the case of the project, the symbolic acts or clusters of acts are narratives of cultural identity and their relationship to the formation and maintenance of civil society.

Narrative Methods

Under this broad construction of interpretive inquiry is the specific focus on narrative inquiry and a specific set of narrative methods. Narrative inquiry spans the breadth of interdisciplinary approaches. Chase (2011) establishes that overall, narrative researchers maintain that “we can learn about anything—history and society as well as lived experience— by maintaining a focus on narrated lives” (p. 421). Most importantly narrative inquiry is used to understand the development of cultural identity and in turn, its relationship to postcolonial Caribbean civil society development. In particular, I consider Steph Lawler’s (2008) focus on the ways in which narratives “circulate socially as cultural and social resources” (p. 33).

Narratives and stories help individuals and groups to understand who they are and how they are situated in the world. A general definition of narrative used here is “a sequential account or purported record of events ordered across time into a plot. The concept of narrative refers to “the form, pattern, or structures in which stories are constructed and told” (Barker & Jane, 2016, p. 642). A story refers to an organized account of narrative events that does not rely on

chronology. And as such, “narratives constitute stories, and stories rely on narratives” (Kim, 2015, p. 9).

Despite the wide range of texts that are considered narratives, Riessman (2007) cautions that not all texts can be regarded as narratives. Exclusions to narratives include “chronicles, reports, arguments, question and answer exchanges” (p. 5). That said, the key point for understanding the concept of narrative relates to contingency. Stories require that events are linked and narrative shaping places these linked events in a coherent sense of order. However, it is important to note that with these general ideas the concept of narrative is varyingly operationalized. I take Riessman’s (2007) focus on the human sciences as she suggests that narratives function as “texts at several levels that overlap” (p. 6). In an overarching sense, narratives seen from this perspective, “offer us frameworks of understanding and rules of reference about the way the social order is constructed” (Barker & Jane, 2016, p. 40). In order to do this, narratives are considered based on social context and rely on analysis of the actual story told, the way that stories are disseminated and retold, the narrator and the audience, and the social context of what is considered an actual story (Lawler, 2008).

The core question of this project asks how the narratives of cultural identity shape the formation, development, and maintenance of postcolonial Caribbean civil society. As a foundational methodological approach, I use a concept called narrative identity, explained by Somers’ (1994). Somers (1994) notes that the consideration of identity formation aids social theoretical conceptions of agency. However, she warns that researchers and theorists should make sure that they do not fall into the trap of considering identities as essentialist or fixed. In order to avoid the essentialist trap of identity, construction analyses should destabilize the “dimensions of time, space, and relationality” (p. 606). Somers (1994) then suggests that conceptual narrativity helps to analyze the relational formation of identities. Thus, she considers narrative as not only a “mode of representation” but rather, a consideration of narratives as it relates to social epistemology and social ontology. As a result, “through narrativity that we come to know,

understand, and make sense of the social world, and it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities” (p. 606). She goes on to stress that:

...it matters not whether we are social scientists or subjects of historical research, but that all of us come to be who we are (however ephemeral, multiple, and changing) by being located or locating ourselves (usually unconsciously) in social narratives rarely of our own making. (p. 606)

Somers (1994), in the development of her narrative construction of identity, considers the way in which marginalized or once marginalized groups have also existed outside of “social theoretical accounts for why people act the way they do” (p. 608). Thus, new theories of agency and action developed from theorists that have direct engagement with the lived experiences of marginalized groups. These new theorizations have taken explanations of lived experiences from a focus on interests and norms to identities and solidarities. She also notes that these new theorizations have focused on moving past universal conceptions of identity to more particularistic ones. And as such, move towards “generating concrete notions of social being that begin from difference” (p. 610).

Somers (1994) then develops a theoretical approach that utilizes narratives of identity and focuses on moving away from universals to particularistic approaches, and also moves past essentialized depictions. Her theorization has two major configurations. First, she structures four key procedures for the analysis of narrativity. These include: 1) the relationality of parts, 2) casual emplotment, 3) selective appropriation, and 4) temporality, sequence, and place. Utilized together, these procedures of analysis reveal that narratives rely on relationships with connected parts, are related to time and space, and use casual emplotment to link those relationships. Through connectivity of parts, events become episodes and are structured through the process of emplotment. Emplotment provides meaning to independent events and is the component that transforms events into episodes. Causal emplotment, Somers (1994) notes, works to test what she calls “plot hypotheses” against specific events, and this shapes the analysis of how those events interact with the hypothesized plot. Emplotment allows for the analysis of a network of

relationships. Narrativity, she also notes, has evaluative criteria. This refers to the “selective appropriation” of the construction of narratives. In doing this, plots are always “thematic” (p. 617).

Somers (1994) also suggest that the researcher, while using narrative analytic procedures, should understand four dimensions of narrativity. These include: ontological, public, conceptual, and metanarratives. Ontological narratives are “the stories that social actors use to make sense of- indeed, to act- in their lives” (p. 618). These ontological narratives shape identity through self-awareness and understanding, which then relates to knowing what to do. Ontological narratives are “social and interpersonal” (p. 618). Public narratives are those narratives that are connected to cultural and institutional formations, which are larger than self-awareness. Examples here are the narratives of national identity or the stories of family or the work of organizations. Metanarratives are “the ‘masternarratives’ in which we are embedded as contemporary actors” (p. 619). These metanarratives are observed at the site of theoretical construction such as the relationships between macro sociological ideas (e.g. individual vs. society) or teleological constructions (e.g. the flow of decolonizing practices). Conceptual narrativity refers to the narrative work of researchers. Somers (1994) surmises that:

...because social action not institution building is solely produced through ontological and public narratives, out concepts and explanations must include factors we call social forces...the challenge of conceptual narrativity is to devise a vocabulary that we can use to reconstruct and plot over time and space the ontological narratives and relationships of historical actors, the public and cultural narratives that inform their lives, and the crucial intersection of these narratives with other relevant social forces. (p. 620)

Ultimately, the practice of uncovering narrative identity (related to cultural identity in the case of this project) requires an analysis of the contexts of social practices along with history. Specific analyses of narratives include several approaches. Riessman (2007) highlights thematic, structural, dialogic/performance, and visual analysis. I use the approach of taking specific texts

and individual stories, and choosing to take the relevant analytical approach that suits the specific text in mind.

The Role of Relational Analysis

In melding the varied categorical types of narratives that I employ for my project's specific analysis (historical, cultural, and contemporary lived experiences) it is valuable to consider the role of relationality. In particular, I use Emirbayer's (1997) considerations of relational approaches to social theory and research. Emirbayer (1997) underscores the point that relational social analysis "takes as its unit of analysis a gamelike, unfolding, dynamic process, one developing within cultural, social structural and social psychological matrices" (p. 296). Emirbayer (1997) highlights the work of Somers (1994) by comparing the relational approach with variable-based analysis, noting that while the variable approach "detaches elements from their spacio-temporal contexts" the relational (or transactional) approach embeds the actor within relationships and stories that shift over time and space and thus precludes categorical stability in action (p. 288). In the case of this project, I consider this relational practice and have as an underlying feature of my project, the gamelike and dynamic unfolding of culture, history, and lived experiences approached through the lens of narrative inquiry. Emirbayer (1997) also focuses on the role of cultural analysis from a relational approach. Here, he concentrates on Peircean semiotics, which highlights the relationship between the "sign," "object," and "interpretant." Emirbayer (1997) also makes mention of Bakhtinian dialogism where Mikhail Bakhtin focused on the point of the utterance, which refers to an understanding of words and symbols from the specific location of concrete utterances and occurs with "dialogic overtones" (p. 301). Taken together, this relational social theoretical approach to culture focuses on the meanings gathered from selected texts and with a consideration of the signs and cultural ideas emerging from these texts. What is crucial here is to consider the varying ways that these narratives are interpreted. Here, it is important to highlight that while there are many ways that narratives are interpreted, the amount of interpretations are limited. The limits here have to do

with the contextual situation in which the narratives find themselves, and the ways in which the researcher considers these narratives⁶ and how these narratives relate to social theory (Barker & Jane, 2016; Lawler, 2008). Most significant to this project, is to read texts “against the grain” (Lawler 2008; Stoler 2010). Here, the researcher takes dominant texts and considers their context, engages these texts from a critical perspective, and questions the intent of the author in light of other textual narratives.

Narrative Analytical Contexts

Three important ideas emerge here. First, the concept of narrative identity focuses on the ongoing categories of narratives linked through casual emplotment. Second, within relational analysis, the researcher considers the fluidity of these narratives, their linked constructions, the relationships to disparate parts, as well as their variations over time. Third, the role of context offers insight into how these narratives are read. In particular, the postcolonial Caribbean condition and in particular, the role of racial identity formation as a site of political and social empowerment requires an interpretive reading that assesses texts that develop from different perspectives and experiences. These differences link to Braithwaite’s (1975) notion of the inner and outer plantation, in the case of the Caribbean, accounting for the historical and contemporary social boundaries that shape the differences and similarities in perspectives. Also in the case of the Caribbean, these perspectives connect to Hall’s (1990) recognition of the varying presences within the Caribbean (European, African, and American) that shed light on formations that create both unity and division within the space of Caribbean cultural identity.

In assessing the three interrelated, but distinct types of narratives, I consider the role of each narrative structure in the formation of civil society. My methodological process then considers the evolving nature of cultural identity and the ways in which this evolving structure changes and connects to past legacies. As Hall (1990) notes, identities are grounded and subject

⁶ (as in Somers (1994) public, ontological, and meta narratives and the analysis through conceptual narratives)

“to the continuous play of history, culture, power” (p. 435). Restated, the three primary categories of narratives (i.e., historical, cultural, and lived experiences) are used to inspect the use of cultural identity in the formation of civil society perspectives and practices. All three levels of narratives will draw upon postcolonial theories of Caribbean cultural identity, civic engagement, civil society, and Philanthropic Studies.

Historical narratives will rely on the analytical power of both historical analysis and historical sociology. Considering the central role of history to the discipline of sociology as expressed by Abrams (1982), I consider both the tools of historical and historical sociological research. Abrams (1982) suggests that historians in their methodology are “simply taking the first, essential step to an exercise that is the exercise of sociological explanation: they are constructing explainable objects of explanation” (p. 196). This is to say that historical methodology focuses on the explanation of historical events (p. 196). The link between historical methodology and historical sociological methodology is the role of casual analysis and theoretical meaning making. Skocpol (1984) provides four critical aspects of the historical sociological approach. These include the researcher: 1) questioning the social process or structure as they form within time and space, 2) considering how these processes shape over time, 3) focusing on the interaction of action and context as a way to make sense of the outcomes (intended or not) in the lives of individuals and in groups, and 4) highlighting the varying and particular features of specific kinds structure of patterns of change. Historical analysis in this project will rely on traditional archival resources located in but not only, the Bahamas Department of Archives (which include documents, artifacts, newspaper and magazine articles, oral histories, speeches, and national promotional materials), other historical secondary sources directly tied to the Bahamas as well as the Caribbean, and other locations of historical research as it relates to methodology and theoretical analysis.

In terms of cultural narratives, I consider the role of aesthetic cultural development and its role on the development of cultural identity and the formation of civil society. In the case of

the Caribbean, in considering cultural narratives, I consider the strong, vibrant, and robust influence of the arts and artistic engagement within the Caribbean. Scholar Rex Nettleford (2007) further expounds on the centrality of the arts to a Caribbean and postcolonial identity. He notes:

It is no surprise, then that we in this part of the world arguably have more artists per square inch than is probably good for us...all of these speak to the heritage (tangible and intangible) that has been bequeathed to the region by the forebears who found solace, resilience, and renewal in masking, metaphor and myth. They all provided a route to redemption and certitude in coping with the obscenities of slavery, indentureship, and the humiliation and dehumanization which those socio-economic systems imposed in hundreds and thousands severed from ancestral hearths- most of them involuntarily-to plough the field and scatter what others were to regard as “good seeds” on the land. (p. 1)

Paul Gilroy (1993) also adds that:

...In the critical thought of blacks in the West, social self-creation through labor is not the center piece of emancipatory hopes...Artistic expression, expanded beyond recognition from the grudging gifts offered by the masters as a token substitute for freedom from bondage, therefore becomes the means towards both individual self-fashioning and communal liberation. (p. 40)

Both Gilroy (1994) and Nettleford (2007) express the postcolonial perspective that artistic expression within former slave communities of the African Diaspora utilized the arts as a form of expression resistance, and community building. In sum, the arts within the Caribbean are a form of engagement emerging from a site of inclusion and acceptance. The arts in turn have produced a catalog of rich artistic articulation that offered a mode for these slaves and their descendants promoting a sense of agency and a cultural identity. In the case of the Caribbean, this plethora of artistic production has helped to produce a unique Caribbean identity.

Specific forms of cultural artistic expression that are typically Caribbean in development include poetry, visual art, fiction, nonfiction, plays, oral storytelling, as well as wide variety of musical forms and performative traditions. Analysis of these forms has long served as a way to understand Caribbean cultural identity along with civic practices. For example, in terms of literary culture Wilson-Tagoe (1998) notes that: “no subject has engrossed the West Indian writer as consistently and as painfully as the subject of history” (p. ix). The role of literature has long served as a determinant in the Caribbean providing both a record of history as well as offers a

form of psychic sustenance for former slaves and other oppressed groups. In my analysis of cultural narratives, I consider texts and artifacts based on their narrative category (as in Somers 1994) and then, I consider research conceptual narratives through responding and reintroducing theoretical offerings. Many of the analytic techniques of cultural narratives borrow from the “close reading practices” of literary analysis. Riessman (2007) identifies that the use of literary methods and the study of narratology have often provided a model of narrative analysis (2007) also notes that the close reading practices of literary analysis focus not only on the development of plot, but also consider issues of tone, ambiguity, and paradox elicited in texts.

In terms of specific visual analysis, it is important to note the development of visual culture analysis that is rooted in interdisciplinary spaces such as anthropology, (art) history, and literary studies with the overarching concern that visual texts are “always embedded in social relationships and practices” (p.131). These considerations of the embeddedness of visual texts include assessing the reception of images in their local contexts, the use of written texts in conjunction with visual representations, and close readings of these visual texts.

Understood together, cultural narratives uncover both narratives as a representation of reality as well as the ontological character of narratives. This structure utilizes the strengths of literary and visual analysis, which in turn, lends to what Riessman (2007), suggests supports a broader frame for narrative inquiry within the human sciences. In this way, the project considers another form interdisciplinary unfolding. This time it is narrative analysis between humanities and social science research domains.

Finally, I will focus on the narratives of contemporary lived experiences of twenty-five civil society leaders in the Bahamas. Further details about sampling process and specific case selection based on Bahamian civil society development will be covered in the chapter. It is useful to think about how the relational construction of narrative analysis will guide each substantive chapter with historical and cultural frameworks coming first and then contemporary lived experiences last. These first two frameworks will guide the conversation on issues of case

selection and sampling process. I conducted individual interviews (each lasted between 2.5-3.5 hours each on average with follow ups of some leaders lasting on average of 1.5- 2 hours). The analysis also includes site visits to their organizations as well as a few follow up visits. These interviews were recorded and then transcribed in addition to the extensive analytical memos (both narrative and visual mapping) that I created after each interview and as an ongoing process of case reflection between and amongst all interviews. I also have specific documents from some of these civil society leaders and their organizations as additional case material.

As mentioned in the introduction, my interviews and interactions with each of these leaders concentrated on two specific issues. The first is the life history analysis, which considers the life experiences that shape subjective perspectives that explain the role of culture in the formation of civil society involvement. This life history analysis used within the interviews corresponds to Somers' (1994) categorization of ontological narratives, which include 1) personal-family, mentorship, informal, the role of identity, and 2) public experiences - education, professional training, people and community engagement.

The second issue observed and focused on in the interviews was the role of civic infrastructures. In this case, attention is given to the civil society practices that these leaders engage within their organizations. Specific issues considered in this portion of the interviews include: 1) the process of organizational creation (that is the organization's development including creation, formation, vision, changes, and resources); 2) the public interactions (member relationships; the role of government, multilateral organizations, and public policy; interactions with society; and the private sector) that these civil society leaders encounter in advancing their civic engagement visions.

What is critical here in the analysis of civic infrastructures is to consider the ways in which these leaders guide their work based on issues of cultural identity that shape the planning of their civic engagement work, including interactions with external stakeholders that illuminate the postcolonial context in which these leaders work. Considerations are also given to other

postcolonial issues, such as spatial and social identity issues (race, class, gender) that highlight the post- postcolonial conditions that impact their work. This analysis of civic infrastructures correspond with Somers' (1994) public- and meta-narratives as they provide insight into the narratives associated with cultural or institutional corporate formations as well as the theoretical concepts such as marco sociological issues or other social theoretical considerations.

Lawler (2008) makes a distinction concerning the production of narratives that include “found narratives,” which are located by the researcher after the completion of the narrative and “research setting narratives,” in which the researcher is a co-producer of the narrative along with the participant. In these distinct cases while the researcher is involved with the assessment of the narrative in the case of “research setting narratives”, the researcher is guiding the process in a more directed way. As such, considerations of the general analysis should attend to these differences in narratives. In the case of this project, the historical and cultural narratives are “found narratives” while the contemporary lived experience narratives are co-produced in the research setting. My analysis of these unfolding narrative categories will contemplate and assess the role of each type of narrative production.

What connects the two types of narratives (found and research setting derived) in my analysis is the role conceptual narrativity. In conceptual narrativity, the researcher creates a vocabulary (derived from considerations of theory, analytic memos, and corresponding data points) to assess the linkages that emerge across narrative categories.

Within the narrative analytical category of lived experiences, data were coded for analysis using interview transcriptions, and categorization of other data points related to each civil society leader. In the case of this project, my coding and analysis reflects considerations of narrative coding where the researcher takes larger chunks of data and the analysis of participant stories and narrative relies on the researcher relying on the thoughtful interpretation of transcripts

and interview memos (Saldana 1998). This process relates to Clandinin and Connelly's (as in Saldana, 1998) notion of fluid inquiry, which moves beyond methods and theories.

I agree with the general notion of fluid inquiry in that fluidity allows for relational analysis between narrative analytical contextually derived data that relate to the definitions used for narrative and story. However, I revise the definition to suggest that my analysis will consider theory to a large degree in tandem with the interviews, the corresponding narrative analytical contexts (historical and cultural), and in particular, the narrative categories supplied by Somers (1994; ontological, public, metanarrative, and conceptual). In fact, first round coding strategies focused on the situating text within the coding categories of Somers (1994) and within the second cycle,⁷ an iterative process of linking corresponding analytical narrative contexts.

A Final Note on the Role of Causality

I end this methodological overview with a few considerations of causality in social science research. Geertz (1973) mentions that "culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes, can be casually attributed; it is a context" (p. 14). Culture and analysis of culture requires "thick description" and to focus instead on the role of "clinical inference." Ellen Trimberger (1984) writes about the seminal work of E. P. Thompson from 1963, in *The Making of the British Working Class* and suggests that Thompson's historical analysis maintained "an interpretive argument that is not causal but brilliantly illuminates the meanings of history in other ways" (p. 225). She goes on to note that the focus of Thompson's work was not an attempt to predict a specific event or outcome. Instead of casually predicting events, Thompson's work focused on the role of concepts, which provided meaning based on emerging and evolving patterns "and to present a moving picture of a whole class, group, or society over a period of time" (p. 225). Trimberger (1984) also echoes the point made by Habermas that this kind of interpretive analysis (historical sociological in the case of Thompson)

⁷ First and second coding cycles as described by Saldana

is similar to other forms of critical theories that are “not aimed at helping social scientists in their attempts for greater social control. Rather, it seeks to foster self-consciousness that will make human into more conscious subject who can actively affect the future” (p. 227).

Patterson (2014) in his latest analysis of cultural sociology describes the way that Geertz (1973) suggests that an analysis of culture is not interested in causality and calls Geertz’s approach, a “dogmatic rejection of causal explanations” (p.2). I agree with Patterson (2014) that Geertz (1973) describes the use of interpretivism and through the denial of casual accounts of culture is dogmatic in the sense that it appears that Geertz suggests that it is the *only* way to analyze culture. My argument and usage is that it is one possible way. Habermas (1976) argues this interpretive approach of culture of research, is useful in providing humans with a greater sense of themselves, others, and the worlds in which they inhabit. This aligns with Ragin’s (1994) analysis of the multiple goals of social research, where the first and most critical step is to develop a research strategy that emerges from a research objective and a specific research method.

Furthermore, as Reiss (2009) suggests, one single definition of causation is no longer the research imperative. In fact, he notes that numerous scholars have created pluralistic notions of causality. So, what “we talk about when we talk about” causality relies on varying methodological contexts. Tavory and Timmermans (2013) echo the call for pluralistic conception of causality as argued by Reiss (2009), and argue in turn that ethnographers, for example, employ various methodological traditions when considering causality. The chief goal as it relates to these considerations, they say, is the shared central and common issue of “how to move from the messiness and abundance of empirical observations to a simplified causal explanation and how to demonstrate the influence of indirect, temporally, and spatially removed, processes” (Tavory & Timmermans, p. 683). They provide examples of those trained in grounded theory or analytical induction that “base causal claims on evidence of observed sequences of interactions in the field”

(p. 683). They also note the more structural methodologies, such as the extended case method, where researchers consider how general external forces shape action in the field.

Tavory and Timmermans (2013) then go on to suggest that researchers with ethnographic evidence should understand causality based on: 1) meaning making structures, 2) considerations of variation within the field experiences, and also, 3) considerations of how these causal accounts fit within a field and are connected to related scholarship. In the case of my overall study and the linkages between and within narrative analytical contexts, I broadly borrowed from the analytical suggestions of Tavory and Timmermans (2013). In this way, I considered meaning making structures as the basis of understanding any causal claims. These meaning making structures employ Weber's view (Coser, 2003/1977) on causality as mainly probabilistic as it relates to human nature, and the difficulties the researcher has in making completely causal claims. Thus, causality can be observed through a close analysis of meaning making structures. This is an interpretive and relational analysis attempt at understanding any causality amongst the narrative analytical contexts that I propose. The meaning making structures that I used relate to Somers' (1994) note on causal employment and the role of the unfolding process or relational analysis between narrative analytical contexts and narrative categories provided. These meaning making structures are also supplied through close reading practices, which can at times, include reading against the grain of established and not so established texts. I considered the role of variation across narrative analytical contexts and within them. Finally, my analysis of cultural identity and its role in the formation, development, and maintenance of civil society, also connects to postcolonial theory and the research interests of Caribbean Studies.

In restating my points made at the opening of this chapter, my goals for explaining my methodological approaches are crucial to approaching the fragmented nature of Caribbean postcolonial cultural identity. Through an explanation of my methodological approach, I too, practiced a dereliction of methodological duties through incisive and careful poaching and

dialectical reasoning of interdisciplinary approaches, guided by narrative inquiry of cultural identity, and the observations of its central role in the formation of postcolonial civil society.

Chapter 4. “And the People Are Outside”: Historical Narratives of Bahamian Civil Society

Bull frog dress up in soldier’s clothes
went to the river to catch some crows,
crows smell fire and they all fly away. -
Bull frogs get vex and he cry all day.
(Burma Road, Ronnie Butler, 1997)⁸

The impatient idealist says: 'Give me a place to stand and I shall move the earth.'
But such a place does not exist.
We all have to stand on the earth itself and go with her at her pace.
(No Longer at Ease, Chinua Achebe, 1960, p. 190)

Between Burma Road and The Red Cross

The soirees of the season flanked the pages of *The Nassau Magazine* in their February/March 1942 issue. The article entitled, “...So Life Goes On” highlighted several black-tie fundraising events. See Figures 1-3. One event, hosted by both local British and Americans, in an effort “to aid one of the greatest benefits to suffering mankind in war time: The Red Cross,” (p. 16) was held at the Prince George Hotel. Other events included youth banquets held at the Nassau Yacht Club, as well as ongoing piano concerts held as fundraisers for the British Red Cross at the British Colonial Hotel.

Each of these events showcased a “who’s who” of the upper crust of Bahamian white society. In attendance were Sir Lady Oakes, wife of Canadian business magnate, Sir Harry Oakes, local Bahamian businessmen including: Kenneth Solomon, Roland Symonette, and Newell Kelly among many others. The scenes depicted on the pages of *Nassau Magazine* showcased a vibrant social scene, couples dancing, friends posing for pictures, crowded dancefloors-images of prosperity, enjoyment, and philanthropic endeavor in the midst of a world at war. For the *Nassau Magazine*, life was a beautifully imaged grand affair.

⁸ Ronnie Butler’s Song, “Burma Road” invokes the lyrics of the Negro spirituals in the verse of the epigraph. The lyrics signify the common theme of weaker animals outsmarting smarter animals. This coded language represented the viewpoint of the slaves and the way they worked around their masters. For more information, see Brown (n.d.) or Dorsett (2017).



Figure 1. So Life Goes On, Red Cross Ball, 1942



Figure 2. Lady Oakes, pictured left, 1942

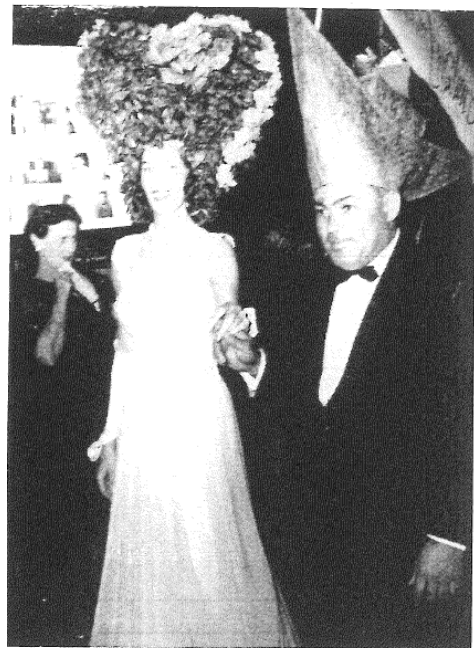


Figure 3. R.T. Symonette, "Commodore of the Nassau Yacht Club," pictured right, 1942

To be sure, *The Nassau Magazine*, since its inception, depicted life in the Bahamas as one of peace, beauty, and tranquility. Sponsored by the Bahamas Development Board as way to promote tourism, the magazine satisfied the goal of the promotional board in using images to do the work of selling, "The Bahamas to would be visitors" (Thompson, 2006, p. 133). The

Development Board systematized the island's image-making machinery expressing confidence in the fact "that pictures will sell Nassau more effectively than anything else" (Thompson, 2006, p. 133). Despite its goal it is important to note that the lives of the black Bahamians were rarely photographed. As Thompson (2006) notes, "with the exception of waiters, and policemen, blacks rarely graced the pages of the magazine" (p. 133). Beyond the depiction of these service roles, the only other times when black people were imaged included lithographic sketches of rural life. A coronation number issue (1953) depicted a sketch page entitled, "The Happy Folk!" See Figure 4. Here, black Bahamians are sketched as if in "their daily life." Market women in a "quiet interlude in the usually busy Public Market," boys diving off the wharf: "a constant delight to visitors, show off their untiring energy," young women walking with baskets on their head, a "quiet" market scene. In a 1936 issue, a visitor to the Bahamas chronicled their journey to the island of Andros with one photographic image of a black family in Andros sitting in a fishing boat, depicted as "happy." See Figure 5. A 1947 issue had a photograph of a silhouette of a young boy with a bucket on his head standing next to his donkey on the island of Inagua, captioned as "a peaceful scene." See Figure 6. Other issues show sketches of black singers, photos of participants engaged in the well-documented fire dance, an unnamed nurse caring for a (named) baby in her charge, and black jockeys ready to race at the Hobby Hall Horse Race Track. See Figures 7-9. Taken together, these peaceful images show black Bahamians working and carrying out their livelihoods, with a sense of happiness, order, and tranquility.



Left, a quiet interlude in the usually busy Public Market. Above, diving boys, a constant delight to visitors, show off their untiring energy.

THE HAPPY FOLK!



Figure 4. The Happy Folk!, Nassau Magazine, Coronation Number, 1953



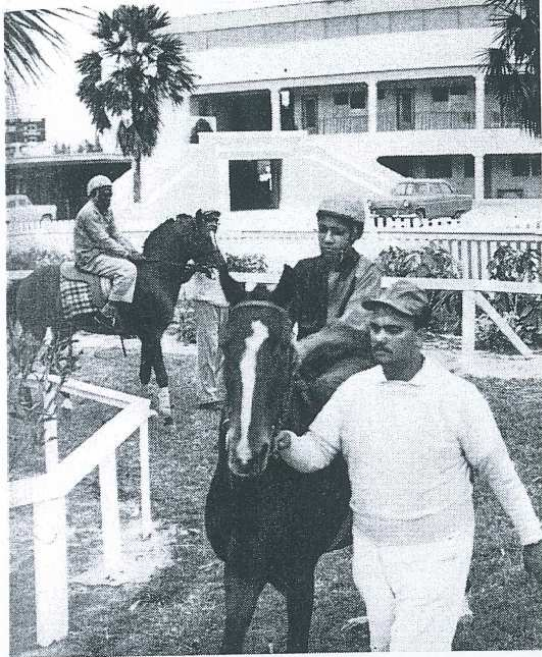
Mathew Town is considered one of the best-laid out settlements in the Bahamas. In the background of this peaceful scene is St. Philip's Church.

Figure 5. Silhouette of young boy in peaceful scene, 1947



The people of Andros engage chiefly in sponging, and happy families from the island, such as the one pictured above, may often be seen at the Sponge Wharf in Nassau, to which they have come from the sponging grounds of Andros with a cargo for sale. For weeks on end the family will live aboard this little ship

Figure 6. Happy Andros Family, 1936



—Roland Rose
HANDLERS WALK some of the 200 horses registered for this season's racing at Hobby Horse Hall. Some 130 owners have about 40 jockeys under contract.

Figure 7. Jockeys and trainers at the Hobby Horse Hall race track, 1947



Rachael Dowling, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Dowling with her Nassau nurse.

Figure 8. Unnamed nurse cares for Rachael Dowling, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Dowling with her Nassau nurse, 1947

A Harbour Island serenader



Figure 9. Local singer, 1936

As Thompson (2006) also mentioned, one of the main service roles heavily depicted and held by black Bahamians was that of policemen. In articles and gracing the covers of the magazine, they are seemingly ever present at official government events. Police officers also show up in advertisements in the magazine. Two ads in particular in a 1964 issue, both for The First National City Bank, show one photo of police officer directing a well-dressed white couple, assisting them in finding “an old friend in Nassau.” See Figures 10 and 11. The old friend here is the U.S incorporated bank’s branch in Nassau. In a second advertisement, there is a drawing that shows a couple and a businessman simultaneously entering and exiting the bank branch with a somewhat faceless police officer walking behind them. In addition to the images of black Bahamians working in relative peace, there were also images of black policemen supporting visitors during their safe usage of important business services, such as banking. The First National City Bank’s advertisements portrayed doing business in the Bahamas as relatively easy and unencumbered, mirroring the experiences of visitors particularly from the United States. Black Bahamians throughout the magazine, especially up until the mid-1960s, portrayed black Bahamians as ready to work, acclimated to the structure of society, and maintained by a well-serviced police force. See Figure 12.

The stories and images in *Nassau Magazine* represent one version of Bahamian life. Even more so, the article on the Red Cross fundraisers in 1942 portray not only a climate of peace and wealth but a place connected to the war effort supporting its aims, and raising funds on behalf of it. These philanthropic visions portrayed interconnectedness to the larger world (namely Britain, The United States, and Canada); in particular, a sociality of giving that connected similar forms of war effort fundraising methods, as well as promoting a sense of security and relative ease of life. This representation of a type of sociality of giving placed the Bahamas within a wider experience of the world, notably for those with access to wealth in a transnational context⁹.

⁹ I take this idea of sociality and giving from Amit et al. (2015) and Andreoni & Payne (2013).

FIRST NATIONAL CITY

**NATURALLY
-IN NASSAU**

... you'll find First National City. The Bank that's first in worldwide banking was—naturally—the first United States bank to open an overseas branch in The Bahamas. And when you're browsing along Bay Street—whether on pleasure or business level—you'll know that for fast, friendly handling of any business or personal banking needs, you can rely on your old friend First National City Bank.

Naturally, First National City brings you, in Nassau, all the familiar services and facilities that people the world over have learned to rely on. You can get convenient Citibank help with any banking need—plus knowledgeable information and advice about local business conditions and the increasing economic expansion of The Bahamas.

So whether you're living in Nassau or visiting, you'll want to make your first choice First National City Bank—naturally.

FIRST NATIONAL CITY BANK
NEW YORK

Member Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

Figure 10. Naturally in Nassau, 1962

HOW TO FIND AN OLD FRIEND—IN NASSAU

Whether you're in Nassau for business or pleasure (or both!) it's reassuring to know that an old friend—First National City—is there to help make your visit enjoyable and successful. Any bobby (policeman, if you prefer) will happily point out the new Citibank branch on picturesque Bay Street. △ Here, at the first overseas branch to be opened by a United States bank in the Bahamas, you'll find all the familiar services and facilities that have made First National City a dependable friend of American travelers in major cities the world over. You can count on our new Nassau branch for informed advice on local business conditions . . . for a clear picture of the general economic expansion in the Bahamas . . . for the point of view of experienced bankers who make these sun-drenched islands their home. And, of course, there's always convenient Citibank help with your banking requirements, business or personal. It's good to know it's right there on Bay Street. △ You are cordially invited to drop in and say hello . . . or ask a question. We know you'll like Nassau; the climate is grand—for business or pleasure!

**The FIRST
NATIONAL CITY BANK**
of New York

Member Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

Figure 11. How to find an old friend, 1962

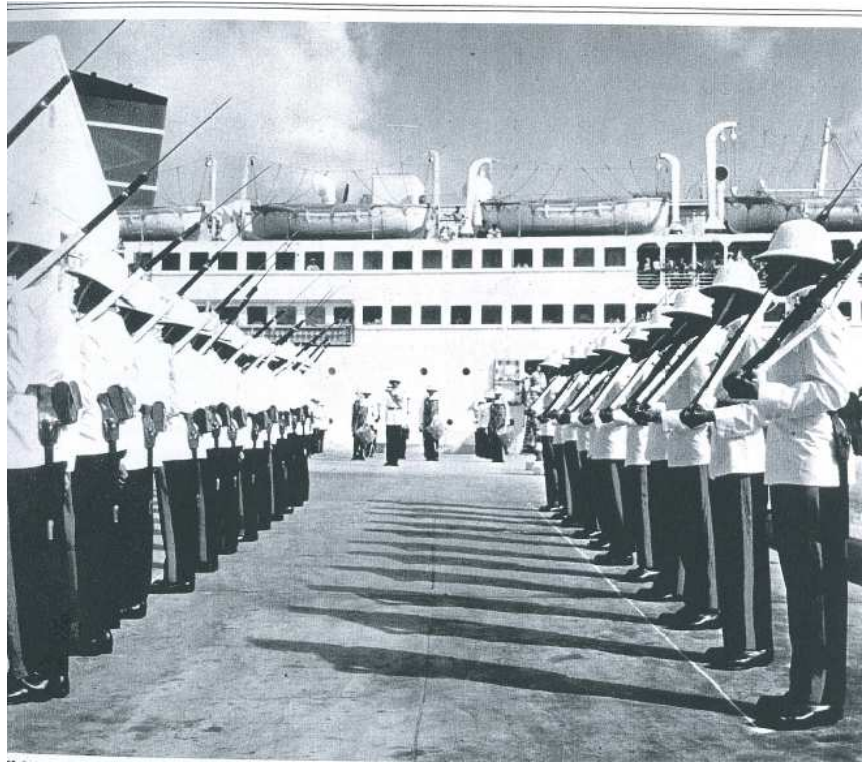


Figure 12. Police band and guard of honour, 1962

However, in 1942, black Bahamians living on the other side of town and country, experienced a forceful awakening to their own separate and marginalized conditions, providing the opportunity to break free from oppressive bonds. 1942 was a year of reckoning for the people portrayed as quiet, docile, and peaceful in the *Nassau Magazine*. Known as the Burma Road Riots, this event created for the first-time real fear amongst the local white ruling class that threatened to disrupt their relative prosperity and peace. The key questions of this chapter will address not only the importance of the Burma Road riots in the Bahamas but also will interrogate how this event connects to other similar and related events within the alternative public sphere in the Bahamas. The key questions for this chapter are: What are the historical narratives of Bahamian society in this period, and what are the glimpses, frames, and stories of Bahamian civil society leadership in this period, in particular for black Bahamians and even more so, for the black middle-class? What do these stories and frames of Bahamian civil society leadership suggest about the local environment of civil society development?

At this point in the war, the tourist industry was in decline, increasing unemployment. However, the location of the Bahamas to the United States and the Atlantic Ocean provided fruitful opportunities for economic stability. One such opportunity came with the proposal between American and British governments to build several sites, including a naval air base as well as a landing field known as Oakes Field (or Main Field) and another one called Satellite Field in the western end of the island. Workers named the road between the two sites, Burma Road. The management of the construction was done by the United States army as well as an American company, The Pleasantville Company. The field was to be located near some of the black settlements including Grants Town and Bain Town. Known by Bahamians as “The Project” this construction plan provided a new opportunity in depressed times for Bahamians in Nassau as well as those willing to migrate from the Family Islands. However, the well-intended plan met several barriers. The first critical issue came with the selection of a foreman. The Bahamian government, including the then Governor, the Duke of Windsor, believed that a black man should

not be chosen as a foreman. The second issue was the fact that a secret agreement between the U.S. and Britain guaranteed that locals would be paid local rates while American workers were paid U.S. rates. Prior to the knowledge of this secret deal, Bahamian workers saw the project as a welcome economic intervention as they knew the differences in pay due to the numerous years prior of out migration to the United States, and in particular, South Florida (Saunders, 2016).

At this point in history, there was no legislation guaranteeing the rights of workers in the Bahamas. Despite this, there were two worker organizations. One was formed in 1936 by Percy Christie, and was comprised by both skilled and unskilled workers. The other, the Federation of Labor (which was formed later in 1942) was formed specifically for skilled laborers. Before long, the Federation of Labor had over 800 members and was led by mixed race merchant in Grants Town, Charles Rhodriquez (Saunders, 2016). The union was a much-needed organization as the cost of living had almost doubled between 1938 and 1942. This was in addition to the Minimum Wage Act of 1936 that offered wages at only 4 shillings a day (Martin & Storr, 2007, p. 8).

Once the project started, demands for higher wages came from labor leaders as well as from other black middle-class leaders, but these requests were met with a slow response from government. On May 31st, 1942 the first group of disgruntled workers met at one of the work sites demanding increased wages. While some of the men were convinced to return to work, one man, Leonard Green, refused. Green was questioned by the contractors and this led in turn led to another group of men gathering in support of Green. Eventually, the police were called to the scene, and the crowd became concerned that Green may have been injured during the course of questioning. The laborers attacked the cars of a group of American foremen. Police Captain Sears fired his revolver and the crowd dispersed (Saunders, 2016, p. 188). By June 1st, black middle-class leaders including the attorney A. F. Adderley, Dr. C. R. Walker, and labor leader Charles Rhodriquez spoke to the men on site hoping to provide some form of reassurance that calm should be restored. The crowd remained unconvinced (Russell, McKinney, & Brown, 1942, p. 145).

By late the next morning, a crowd of 2,000 men and women assembled with weapons singing songs of protest. Despite continued efforts by labor leaders, these workers persisted in their demands. American foremen attempted to address the concerns of the workers, but their efforts proved fruitless. The workers traveled from the work site to Bay Street (the downtown area) where many of the businesses of the white ruling class (many known as the Bay Street Boys) were located. The crowd proceeded to smash windows of the stores on Bay Street. Rioters sang songs such as “We’ll never Let the Old Flag Fail” as well as the somewhat mythical verse “Burma Road Declare War on the Conchie Joe...Don’t you lick Nobody” (Saunders, 2016, p. 189). Leonard Green, while claiming that he was not the leader, was again arrested by Captain Sears. Other rioters burned the Royal Family in effigy and burnt the Union Jack. Napoleon McPhee, the man cited as burning the Union Jack, was quoted saying, “I willing to fight under the flag, I willing even to die under the flag, but I ain’t gwine starve under the flag” (Fawkes, 1979/2003, p. 25). By midday, Bay Street was in complete disarray. The police force was finally able to push the crowd back from Bay Street to return to the Over Hill area, where many of the black settlements were located. Notably, and for the most part, well-known black owned businesses remained untouched by the rioters. The police read the Riot Act to the crowd in Grants Town but they were attacked by bottles and other flying objects. Three people died and many were wounded by the end of the day. Curfew was instituted. Rioting continued the next day and few more white-owned businesses were targeted and destroyed.

The Duke of Windsor, while out of town during the riot, returned and met with some of the black middle-class leaders, including Dr. C. R. Walker. In a conversation with the Duke he was able to address some of the issues that the black Bahamian workers faced, including low wages, poor living conditions, a lack of education, and residential segregation. Dr. Walker called upon the Duke of Windsor’s reputation as a humanitarian, adding the point of the excitement that black Bahamians felt when they learned that the would-be King of England was to become the Governor of the Bahamas. C. R. Walker then challenged the Duke’s reputation linking his

silence, absence, and lack of ability to convince the local white ruling elite to make critical changes for all subjects of the colony (Fawkes, 1979/2003, p. 71). In the aftermath, the Duke quickly arranged for a one shilling increase of pay. The Duke also established a commission of inquiry (The Russell Commission) to investigate the underlying conditions that led to the riot. Most important to note here was that the local white elite chose to establish their own investigative commission highlighting the tension existing between local elite leadership and the crown. This separate Select Committee included members Percy Christie (the only shop owner on Bay Street whose store front was not destroyed) and black attorney, T. A Toote. Saunders (2016) notes that the men selected for the Select Committee were perceived as “token liberals” (p. 192). While the Duke appointed outside members to his committee, the Select Committee was established and ran by some of the Bay Street ruling elite, Asa Pritchard, Roland Symonette, and Stafford Sands as they chose to control the findings of the committee. The House of Assembly immediately chose to compensate the stores that received damages that day. Both of these special committees did not believe that racial tension due to discrimination was a cause of the riot despite the testimony of Dr. C. R Walker to the contrary noting that, “the colored man makes all of the concessions...The coloured man is discriminated against in the churches, in the theatres, and in private schools... and that harmony (between white and black) existed the expense of the coloured population” (Saunders, 2016, p. 191).

Many whites were oblivious to the stresses experienced by many working class blacks in the colony and envisioned their experiences as pleasant and harmonious. Mrs. Norton Turtle, a shop owner on Bay, and whose husband was a contactor at the Satellite Field Street testified in the Russell Commission. She first noted that once she received word that some kind of riot had started, and that her husband:

picked me up at our Village Road Home and we went to our water front home and he was advised over telephone by friends, ‘Why not go off in your schooner until these people are more settled.’ I forced him to follow this advice and he went along the Cays and returned Thursday evening. (Russell Commission, 1942, p. 97)

While her husband hid out in a cay, Mrs. Turtle remained safe in Nassau at a friend's house protected by the nearby American consul. In the morning, Mrs. Turtle sent her butler to check in on her store, and he reported that almost everything in the store was destroyed, including the loss of over six hundred cashmere sweaters. In her final summation of the cause of the riot, Mrs. Turtle finally noted that "there was no particular reason why my husband should have been apprehensive of the workmen. For years, he employed hundreds of workmen and he was of the opinion that they were fond of him in fact" (p. 98). Mrs. Turtle's understanding of the causes of the riot remained hidden until the actual moment when her husband feared for his safety and her shop was destroyed. Like the pages of *The Nassau Magazine*, her experience within the colony was one of wealth and prosperity. Beyond conveying narratives of peace and prosperity to the outside world, Mrs. Turtle's testimony suggests that for many white Bahamians, they believed this to be the experience of everyone in the colony. C.R. Walker's pronouncement that the burden of proof of any contention within the colony rested squarely in the experience of black British subjects appeared correct.

Identity, Citizenship, and Civil Society

The Burma Road Riot of 1942 also highlights other distinctions within Bahamian society at the time, including issues of class. Clearly race was an underlying feature as the cause of the riot but the connections to class were undoubtedly brought to focus as the issue of economic discrimination came squarely into focus. Also, the relationship between civil society and middle-class identity is revealed in the reactions to the riot as well as the way in which the riot served as a critical catalyst for social change in the Bahamas. As middle-class black and mixed-race leaders such as Charles Rhodriguez, A. F. Adderley, and C. R. Walker made claims for increased equality related to economics and race, the riot, a primarily working-class event, provided the impetus for these middle-class leaders to make increased claims for rights within a highly discriminatory society (Russell Commission, 1942, pp. 93, 145, 475). These middle-class leaders were respected within the black community as those black subjects that had the opportunity to

achieve a modicum of success, attain education often times abroad, own and operate successful businesses, as well as have the platform to challenge inequitable structures through political avenues. However, the ground swell from below allowed them to increase the intensity of their claims (Saunders, 2016).

Prior to the riot, as soon as grievances were made by the workers, these middle-class leaders were actively engaged by elite political leaders to address the workers. These middle-class black leaders then met with the workers at the Main Field, spoke to them, and assured them that their grievances would be addressed. In the testimony of Charles Rhodriguez to the Russell Commission, he, Walker, and Adderley met with the workers with the sole aim of getting them to return to work. He noted, "I was not expecting any trouble" (Russell Commission, 1942, p. 93). It was not until the aftermath of the riot, that these leaders recognized the severity of frustration felt by the black working class. Indeed, C. R. Walker's claims to the Duke of Windsor and his subsequent testimony to the Russell Commission led to a more forceful turn where he used the riot as a platform to advocate for increased rights. This fact does not negate that these leaders were not engaged through various activities supporting the needs of the larger black community or that they were not working to increase the rights and opportunities for black Bahamians, rather these actions highlighted how the action "from below" was later conveyed by middle-class leaders to the greater power structures. Functioning as "middle men" the leaders used the riot as a way to harness deeper demands for rights. These actions coming from the "alternative public sphere" created the demands for inclusive engagement through acceptance, highlighting an alternate concept of philanthropic activity or civic action.

In terms of cultural identity, the claims of inclusive acceptance through engagement emerge through the accessible avenues of equitable citizenship. The rioters, with their simultaneous claims of acceptance as British subjects and their corresponding contempt for the royal family, highlight their peripheral status and their corresponding claims for greater inclusion within the British Empire. These claims support their case for belonging in that they advocated

for the equal treatment of all British subjects. As time progresses, these claims for citizenship inclusion evolve based on the possible avenues of citizenship. The songs and claims of the riot, as well as the movements of the protestors throughout the city of Nassau underscore the relationship between space and culture. The places of refuge, like the black neighborhoods and settlements, represented places of freedom. These places of refuge juxtaposed with the locations that received the greatest assault on Bay Street were recognizable landmarks of oppression.

Furthermore, the work of civil society, inclusive of the public sphere and alternative sphere, is evident with the Burma Road riots. In his Russell Commission testimony, Charles Rhodriguez opened by introducing his work in the establishment of the Bahamas Federation of Labour. Rhodriguez explained that the Federation was not “incorporated under any law, as I do not think that we have any labour legislation in the Bahamas. It is a voluntary association.... The Federation was formed in May of this year and before we could get our arrangements fixed up, these disturbances arose” (Russell Commission, 1942, p. 90). He also noted that the funds of the organization were held in the Royal Bank of Canada. Here, Rhodriguez establishes the fact that despite legislation, over one thousand members came together in the pursuit of addressing their grievances. However, the lack of legislation made any specific redress on labor issues difficult despite the fact that the organization functioned in a transparent way with its funds deposited in a local (albeit a segregated bank). His official testimony here highlights the issues of labor, discrimination, and legislation made known in the public sphere indicating the marginality of the alternative public sphere in having their needs addressed.

Conceptual Narratives

As Somers (1994) notes, conceptual narratives relate to the work of researchers as they aim to make sense of events and other narratives. The renditions of events by scholars have framed much of the public and metanarratives of the struggle for national and cultural identity, and full equity and inclusion especially in the case of the Burma Road riots. The conceptual narratives of Bahamian scholars related to the significance of the Burma Road Riots also

highlight the way in which narratives, especially those utilized by scholars, also shape cultural identity, and in particular, its relationship to an understanding of civil society. Saunders (2016) aptly surmises the ways in which several scholars analyze the significance of the riots. While some scholars such as Colin Hughes (1981/2010) and Gail Saunders (1988, 1991) suggested that the riots were mere emotional outbursts without any significant legacies or precursors, political and other social leaders like Doris Johnson (1972), Randol Fawkes (2003), H. H. Brown and then later, scholars, Nona Martin and Virgil Storr (2007) suggest that the Burma Road Riots were a significant movement in Bahamian modern history when, for the first time, the Bay Street ruling bloc recognized that its power was not eternal and that the majority of citizens wanted real and tangible social change.

These thinkers also suggest that looking at events prior to the riot, such as earlier labor disturbances is important for recognizing evolving claims for freedom and inclusion that led to the climactic moment of Burma Road. Taken together, the work of disciplinary scholarship provides important guideposts that provide some perspectives on these differentiated claims on the significance and meaning of the riots. While Hughes (2010/1981) and Saunders (2016), as historians, provided useful insight into the actual event, Johnson (1991a), Fawkes (2003/1979), Martin, and Storr (2007) offer analyses that focus on issues of identity formation rooted in cultural studies, labor, as well as social movement organization and processes. Their starting points are different and their points of analyses are varying. What is also critical here is to recognize how these conceptual narratives that describe, expound upon, and attempt to explain the causes, significance and legacy of the riot, provide a rich picture of the Burma Road Riots. Instead of seeing the events of Burma Road as a mere outburst, these conceptual narratives offered by scholars offer a frame for understanding the event's significance. Taken together, these conceptual narratives provide an example for what Santos de Souza (2016) calls the division of thinking along the "abyssal line" where "universalisms have been based on the realities of this side of the line, the other side has remained invisible" (p. 20). Here, he suggests that capturing the

realities on the other side of the abyssal line (typically represented as the Global South) requires a recognition of a sociology of absences as well as a sociology of emergences highlighting not only hidden realities but also suggesting that these hidden realities bring new claims about human agency.

The Burma Road Riots: Claims for Rights and Movement Dynamics

The case of the Burma Road Riots was an act that conjoined both the public sphere and the alternative public sphere. Here, the issues of fair wage labor as well as demands for racial equality was heard by elite political leaders within the public sphere. Subsequently, debates ensued about the best methods to achieve equality in this specific case and fair pay for black workers. These claims made for wage equality, highlighted by the riot, offer insight into the idea of inclusive acceptance through engagement. These types of claims made by Bahamian workers solidify the idea of cultural identity as useful in providing a sense of belonging to a particular group of people. In this case, it was the experiences of marginalized black Bahamian populations as they made redress for rights and utilized the space of civil society to make their claims heard. That said, these assertions of belonging forged a sense of unity. However, this sense of cultural identity also highlights the significance of varying social identities (such as class) that created varying responses and approaches to redressing claims. However, the movement towards more unified claims required one group of people and their approach to convince another group. In this case, it was the middle-class leaders sharpening the levels of their claims based on working class demands. These claims also highlight specific formations and perspectives of citizenship based on available models and paths as black Bahamians advocated for equal rights as British subjects.

As a seminal event, the Burma Road Riots provides a central historical public narrative of the alternative public sphere advocating for inclusive acceptance through engagement. The centrality does not discount movements in times prior to 1942, neither does it preclude other forms of activity or the pursuit of similar aims. However, as scholars have debated its significance as a central event bridging both a new day for equality in the Bahamas, they link the

event to prior and later movements for social and political equality. As Martin and Storr (2007) argue while “we can never be certain when a movement starts, perhaps we can be confident about when it is clearly underway” (p. 79). Here I consider Edwards’ (2009) definition of a social movement as a culmination of “civil society networks join(ing) forces on a scale and over a time-span significant enough to force through more fundamental change” (p. 31). Here, Edwards (2009) first suggests that a social movement results in a culmination of networks at a specific time. His point about civil society networks is critical and highlights the ongoing activities prior to the culminating moment of a social movement. Martin and Storr (2007) go on to note that

...although the political awareness and willingness that Bahamian blacks demonstrated during the riot to take on Bay Street oligarchs would be increasingly evident in subsequent years, they were rarely exhibited before the riot. The 1937 riot in Matthew Town, Inagua and the 1935 labor disturbance... are two possible exceptions. (p. 79)

It is here, where I offer an alternative argument. While Burma Road may have offered the rising action to the story of freedom in the Bahamas, in the case of an alternative public sphere, the quest for equality and the pursuit of inclusive engagement through acceptance occurred over time. These activities of the alternative public sphere highlight numerous organizational formations and across varying time periods. The activities of the alternative public sphere and the civil society networks located within it are best observed through a lens of recognizing patterns of persistence and evolution. In the case of the Bahamas, several key formations of the alternative public sphere in the pursuit of inclusive acceptance through engagement are observed.

Tracing Formations and Evolution

These key organizational formations support an understanding of the relationship of cultural identity and civil society development. This occurs through the processes of organizational activity created, designed, implemented, and sustained as acts supporting movements that attempt to realize inclusive acceptance through engagement. I trace these formations with attention to historical time to as a way to provide a narrative sense of progression linking the past to the present. Table 1 previews the organizational formations discussed.

Table 1. Organizational Formations That Support Cultural Identity and Civil Society Development

<u>Organizational Form/Practice</u>	<u>Themes</u>
1) Friendly societies, mutual aid, and burial associations	Community agency and collective support.
2) Riots, spontaneous protests, uprisings, and revolts actions	Cognitive and emotional liberation as well as collective redress for perceived wrongs.
3) Social and cultural uplift organizations	Cultural identity and self and community empowerment.
4) Social welfare associations	Mental, social, and physical care and support.
5) Economic empowerment organizations	Empowerment, community reciprocity, and thrift
6) Religious orders and groups	Empowerment and liberation in both spiritual and material terms
7) The performative commons	Arts as social practice
8) Social movements	Advocacy, labor movements, and the formation of political parties
9) The press of the alternative public sphere	Giving a written record, providing a voice to the struggle, and offering strategies for empowerment.

1) Friendly societies, mutual aid, and burial associations

Themes: Community agency and collective support.

Johnson (1991b) highlights the significant formation of friendly (or benefit) societies that shaped much of the Bahamian civil society landscape, especially between the period of 1834 and 1910. The most dominant of such societies was founded on Emancipation Day in 1834. The Bahamas Friendly Society, while the first, was certainly not the only one. In the following years other similar organizations emerged including the Grants Town Friendly Society in 1825. Johnson (1991b) goes on to note that while the Bahamas Friendly Society was a creolized organization, meaning that the newly emancipated slaves founded the group, the Grants Town Friendly Society was founded by Liberated Africans. The key aims of these kinds of groups included material assistance for members related to such life events as sickness, funerals, and old age. These friendly societies took some organizational cues from British friendly societies. As the colony saw that this type of organization was beneficial for newly emancipated and liberated blacks, they provided information about British models and supported these groups through legislation. However, Johnson (1991b) goes on to note that these groups also created organizational structures based on similar type organizations that they remembered from Africa. In particular, he describes the “title associations and secret societies of the Efik and Igbo of West

Africa” (Johnson, 1991b, p. 184). Furthermore, the foundational organizing platform was to provide for “matters of vital importance to the black community” (Johnson, 1991b, p. 187).

In addition to caring for their members through mutual aid, these groups engaged in important advocacy on behalf of their communities. Often times, several friendly societies would collaborate on making claims to governmental powers about community needs and demands. They used published petitions in newspapers calling for increased equitable treatment, meetings to discuss strategies, and made specific claims about fairness associated to employment and legal treatment. In 1886, several of these organizations made a petition to the Secretary of the State for the Colonies at the time. Their main concerns were that despite viable candidates for governing committees, they were rarely selecting from within their communities, and opportunities for civil service jobs were never extended. By 1887, Adderley (2006) notes, the Afro-African League was formed as an umbrella group for several friendly societies and the specific focus of this umbrella group was to function as the advocacy arm. Friendly Societies collectively used symbolic moments in the British Empire to solidify their connection as loyal British subjects. This is evidenced through their statement of well wishes to Queen on her birthday, for example. Johnson (1991b) also notes that the leadership structure always came from middle-class blacks while the dominant membership comprised of working class community participants. Johnson (1991b) also notes that the “Bahamas Friendly Society can be seen as an incipient political party” (p. 189).

Furthermore, amongst members, there were differing perspectives about the kinds of strategies that would help them to achieve their aims. Johnson (1991b) also notes that these claims often moved between more radical and gradual approaches. By 1880, declining memberships of friendly societies occurred due to the increasing financial obligations of the groups to support their members. In time, the clear demarcation of groups along African ethnic lines also diminished as new creolized identities formed. Also, as community members learned about other types of organizations such as lodges that offered increased benefits, membership also declined. Knowledge of such organizations originated in Britain and the United States, especially

as community member moved back and forth between the U.S. and the Bahamas. Despite the slow demise of the Friendly Societies, their significance and persistence occurred despite their evolution into other organizational forms. Olga Jenkins (2000) in her collection of oral histories of Bahamians born in the early part of the 20th century remarked that she was “impressed that Friendly Societies and Lodges continued throughout the twentieth century....” (p. 84). In one of Jenkins’ interviews, Enid Sawyer recounts in her oral history that:

Friendly Societies started long before I was born, so that the poor people of a settlement would get some financial support during periods of sickness, old age, and for respectable funerals. Then they were changed to Lodges and Burial Societies...Friendly Societies provide members with funerals, plan various social activities, and work to protect the interests of the people they serve. (p. 84)

2) Riots, spontaneous protests, uprisings, and revolts actions

Themes: Cognitive and emotional liberation as well as collective redress for perceived wrongs.

Here I define riots, uprisings, and revolts as sudden and, often times, impromptu organizational efforts to claim certain rights based on specific material circumstances. Unlike social movements, these impromptu organizational activities have a more spontaneous character than the development of clearly defined goals, strategies, and tactics of social movements. In the Bahamas, these organizational forms were numerous and plentiful. One of the most historically famous beyond the Burma Road Riots was Pompey’s Rebellion. Led by the slave Pompey and along with several other slaves (a total of 44), they stole a boat in an attempt to make their way from the island of Exuma to the capital of Nassau to dispute a claim over their forced and sudden removal from their plantation. Craton (1983) highlights those colonies such as the Bahamas, with limited and smaller plantation economies, provided more absentee land owners and thus, more freedom for slaves on their plantations. On the famous Rolle plantation, slaves worked on farming and created systems of self and mutual aid. While in transit, Pompey along with the others, were intercepted, brought to the capital, and flogged. Women were amongst this group and when the then Governor of the colony heard of their punishment, he had the group returned to

their plantation in Exuma. Craton (1983) goes on to note that upon their return, the rest of the slaves refused to work and one overseer reported that he sensed that an uprising was imminent as the slaves across the plantations were armed with muskets. Their main claim in refusal to work was they wanted to continue to work for themselves. Despite the governor's ban on whipping female slaves, slave refusals and uprisings continued. Lord John Rolle, the plantation owner, even before emancipation, wished to have his slaves freed. The slaves of Rolle plantation were freed on 1838 and all of the slaves took the last name of Rolle. Interestingly, Craton (1983) goes on to note the mythical story that Lord Rolle provided an official deed to the land. As no such deed exists, Craton (1983) goes on to suggest that the imagined legend of the "philanthropy of Lord John Rolle" served as a "convenient fiction, invented by the first generation of black peasant farmers" (p. 30). This imagined deed speaks not only to the fact that these emancipated slaves made a claim of belonging to a physical location but to their rights to that land and their belief that the right made them productive and self-sufficient members of society.

Subsequent actions included a riot in Grants Town in 1893 where several people destroyed the Grants Town police station, rescuing a prisoner. When other police offices were sent to the area, the rioters continued. For several days, Grants Town was in turmoil. The concerns of the Grant Town crowd were first asserted by people living in neighboring Bain Town (Saunders, 2016). These types of upheavals, small or large, continued and included the Inagua riot in 1937 (Saunders, 1988) as well as subsequent outbursts after Burma Road.

Another significant analytic avenue for the exploration of civil society within the Caribbean or the Bahamas (and other specific formations of riots, uprisings, and the like) is considering the broader regional terrain in which Bahamians worked and lived. As Connolly (2014) suggests, the relationship of Miami and South Florida in the United States offers a wider space for the analysis of black Bahamian life as they migrated back and forth between the Bahamas and South Florida in the search of new opportunities of employment. These connections offer a glimpse into the key linkages that Bahamians held across national borders bringing into

focus their paths of knowledge, influence, and particularly, their civil society formations in the pursuit of belonging.

As Connolly (2014) notes, linking South Florida to the larger regional space “Jim Crow in South Florida binds the history of the U.S. metropolis to the history of resource extraction in the formerly colonized and postcolonial world” (p. 6). Stories of experiences “abroad” and “back home” brought significant and similar kinds of activities. The significance of riots, uprisings and other forms of impromptu collective activities within the South Florida area sharpens the picture of a wider range of proposed reprisals to perceived unjust actions against Bahamians. For example, Connolly (2014) recounts that in 1920, over four hundred Bahamians threatened to riot after a black Bahamian, Herbert Brooks, was arrested and subsequently died while in police custody. While law enforcement claimed that he died falling to his death on a train, Bahamians in Miami were convinced that he was lynched. Rioters planned on destroying shops and bars but the plan was thwarted when a group of African Americans tipped off the authorities and the National Guard was called in. In 1926, after a devastating hurricane, *The New York Times* published a story that there was a race riot in Miami (Shell-Weis, 2009). This led police officers to raid homes in black neighborhoods like Overtown and Coconut Grove (neighborhoods with numerous Caribbean residents), rounding up black men as likely suspects (Shell-Weiss, 2009, pp. 101-102). Even in the modern era, during the 1968 Republican National Convention held in Miami Beach, a planned peaceful protest in Liberty City turned into a riot. Again, Shell-Wiess (2009) writes with regard to the cause of the riot, saying it “stemmed directly from local frustrations. Loss of jobs, forced displacements, and the “accumulation of grievances’ against [the] police were cited repeatedly” (p. 205).

In response to a rapid announcement of forced removal, or the news of brutality against members of the community, riots occurred across both time and borders. These outbursts and the threat of such outbursts provided a frame that helps to shape a broader and larger pattern of these kinds of activities. With the waves of migration, black Bahamians carried stories about events

across these spaces. As one Bahamian man recalled upon his arrival in Miami that “Colored Miami certainly was not the Miami of which I heard. It was the filthy backyard to Magic City” (Connolly, 2014, p. 102). From the backyard of “the Magic City” to the shores back home, riots and spontaneous protests were a source of reprieve and provided an outlet for Bahamians, amongst others, to dissent and make claims for increased rights and representation.

3) Social and cultural uplift organizations

Themes: Cultural identity and self and community empowerment

While lodges were the antecedents of friendly and burial societies, a significant formation had as its nexus the work of the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), headed by Jamaican born, Marcus Garvey (Saunders, 2016). Influenced by Robert Love, a Bahamian born civil activist and intellectual, Garvey created an organization that focused on alleviating the suffering of black people across the globe from the pain of white supremacy (Rollinson, 2007). Of his most notable activities was the founding of a shipping company, The Black Star Line, which he opened ownership up to all black people. By 1920, membership swelled into numbers of tens of thousands and his view of racial uplift also known as “Garveyism” became notable. In addition, the UNIA formed local branches across the United States, England, and the Caribbean (Ewing, 2014). A group of Americans and Bahamians founded a local chapter in Miami in 1920. Bahamian Frederick Toote, brother of Bahamian based lawyer, T. A. Toote, founded a branch in Philadelphia. By 1921, a report noted that over 95 percent of the membership of the local Miami UNIA branch was Bahamian or other foreign-born black (Saunders, 2016). There was a large, local branch in the Bahamas as well, with many members of the middle-class in leadership positions who were firm admirers of Garveyism. Saunders (2016) also notes that there were several “spin-off” groups. Some of the groups included the Rejuvenation League and the Union Mercantile Association. Some of the organizations shared similar, tangible goals. For example, the main goal of the Union Mercantile Association was to purchase a motorboat to transport blacks traveling between Miami and Nassau.

The UNIA, with its focus on uplift and improvement, sponsored scholarships to such places such as Tuskegee or the Hampton Institute. Garvey visited Nassau in 1928 with a crowd estimated at 1,000 people in attendance (Saunders, 2016). While the organization, and others like it, worked on supporting the needs of its members, the underlying focus was to inculcate a sense of cultural identity amongst black people. Again, while the leadership often retained a middle-class membership, the larger body of its members was working class. In the Miami branch, Bahamian women played a significant role and eventually used their leadership skills to found other organizations and to participate politically within their communities.

4) Social welfare associations

Themes: Mental, social, and physical care and support

Among the Bahamian women (from the Miami branch of the UNIA) that formed other organizations after the demise of the UNIA, was Frances “Mother” Butler. After living in Miami for several years, she along with Lettie Tinker founded the “Mother’s Club” in 1929 in Nassau. In 1937, Mother Butler changed the title of her organization to The Young Women’s Christian Association of the YWCA. By 1938, Mother Butler was persuaded (by a Jamaican YWCA member) to become a member of the larger international body of the YWCA (Fawkes Family, n.d.). The early activity of this group provided social welfare support to the black community. It became known as a “predominately black and over-the-hill institution” (Saunders, 2003, p. 36). They, along with other similar groups, provided social services such as collecting funds for hurricane recovery, aiding the war effort, and offering health and other social service for women and children. The Bahamian YWCA increased in prominence in the Bahamas. Groups like these served as important gap fillers offering necessary and critical services in the midst of a lack of such services provided by the government.

Dominated by women, gender is a primary construct for understanding the way in which social welfare associations were created and maintained. Trulliot (1992) explains that the relationship between the public and private sphere for women in the Caribbean confounds

western standards of gender and the private sphere. After emancipation, black women worked selling their goods in markets, utilizing their own form of marketing their wares to customers, and interacting with the public. Saunders (2003) also notes that these women used their own system of measurement, publicity, and advocacy in their work. These experiences also allowed women to join together, learning and supporting one another (e.g., through asues).

Saunders (2016) also alludes to the fact that these market women, despite their low wages, used their meager resources to support their children's education abroad, which in turn slowly but surely helped develop the black middle-class. With events such as Prohibition and both World Wars, women were given additional opportunities to find new forms of work. Several black middle-class women (such as Clarita Toote and Ethel Adderly), seemingly to keep up with wealthier white women, formed their own charitable associations, including the Ladies Committee and the Christmas Cheer Committee. However, these women used these methods of charity to support their inclusion as British subjects capable of defining the scope of their work and offering needed services to their communities. Over time, the needs of Bahamian society changed as new issues or problems emerged. Historical examples include the drug trade in the 1980s, rises in illegal immigration, and increased awareness of domestic and sexual violence. Contemporary issues, such as those related to organized crime, immigration, rights of disenfranchised social identities and groups, and rising inequality shape the social welfare agenda.

5) Economic empowerment organizations

Themes: Empowerment, community reciprocity, and thrift

Two critical bookends related to formations of organizations and collectives aligned for the purposes of economic empowerment are the asue system (also known as rotating savings and credit) and other plans for locally derived banking systems. With limited access to economic capital, black Bahamians used these economic empowerment mechanisms and organizations to provide collective and reciprocal systems of capital formation. Also known as "susu" or "giving

hand” this practice of financial collectives aimed at created a community pot of capital, most often cash, disbursed to members at selected intervals. As an institution with African origins in particular Yoruba, these types of social organizations had core goals such as “cooperation, communality, and reciprocity” (Stoffle, Stoffle, Minnis, & Vlack, 2014, p. 51). Many managers of these asues even to this day are women.

Another organization with close thematic and structural connections are community banks established by black Bahamians. With the additional theme of thrift, community banks were established to create more formal organizational structures of banking, providing larger streams of capital as well as more formal employment opportunities for black Bahamians. One of the off-shoot groups of the UNIA, The Citizen Union was established in 1926 and at its outset established capital of 10,000 pounds in an effort to begin a community bank (Saunders, 1991, 2016). With limited success, it was not until the establishment of the People’s Penny Savings Bank that black Bahamians had an established community bank. Founded by several middle-class leaders including Sir Randol Fawkes, an up and coming labor and political leader, the Bank’s strategic location near the Southern Recreation Ground, where large public meetings often took place, was a significant source of economic empowerment. The public was invited to purchase shares. Founders considered the bank as a “school of thrift.” The People’s Penny Savings Bank remained in operation, with its apex in 1970s and its final expiration in 1992 as it “became a part of the Government’s national savings institutions” (Fawkes, 2003/1979, p. 84). These modes of economic empowerment served as a response to the economic marginalization and lack of access to capital faced by Black Bahamians.

6) Religious orders and groups

Themes: Empowerment and liberation in both spiritual and material terms

In traveling to the “New World” under duress, religion was a central creolized feature of the first the emancipated slaves and Liberated Africans. As missionary zeal often explained slavery as an opportunity for Africans to learn about the Gospel, the black Bahamian tradition is

permeated with religious organizations. Indeed, Adderley (2006) notes that across the English speaking and Protestant Caribbean, Christianity amongst the black population took on an African-inspired focus. Additionally, Africans also brought their own religious and spiritual practices with them and in a creolized form, “obeah”, as it is commonly called in the Bahamas. That said, along with increased Christian evangelism, obeah practices were presented as negative and immoral. Thus, over time these practices were either silenced or hidden in secret or the embodiment was carried over in to Christian practices. Indeed Adderley (2006) argues that:

the strongest legacy of the Yoruba in the Bahamas lies not in any African derived religion but rather in the well-known claim that a group of free Yorubas founded and dominated the largest and most prominent Methodist chapel to serve the African – descended community in and about the city of Nassau. (p. 159)

In addition to Wesley Methodist Church in Grants Town, a proliferation of black churches by the late 1800s, supported the black community through not only the spreading of Christian messages but also through the care and support of community members. These institutions, across denominations, include the Bethel Baptist Church, St. John’s Native Baptist Church, and St. Agnes Anglican Church, all still in existence today. A branch of St. Agnes Church was later founded in Miami so that “colored Anglicans could worship” (Hanna, 2013, p. 19). Church life for members met with a combination of care for spiritual, emotional, and material needs. In conjoining these needs, several churches and certain church leaders promoted strong rebukes against injustices. For example, by the 1950s, many black denominations were in full support of the black led political parties.

Also, notable here were persistent forms of minority religions, most notably Rastafari, developed in the 1960s as an alternate vision of religious expression and community engagement. Drawing upon and connecting to the vision of Marcus Garvey, and the themes of African identity, and communal support, Rastafari, while sometimes castigated as promoting illegality is also noted for healthy lifestyles and anti-consumerism. With origins in Jamaica, the rise of Rastafari

stretched across the rest of the Caribbean, including the Bahamas, and even to the rest of the world (Price, 2009).

7) **The performative commons**

Themes: Arts as social practice

The ongoing, what Katherine Dillion (2014) calls “the performative commons.” This form of civic performance most notably in the Bahamas is called, Junkanoo. Dillion (2014) describes these “performative commons” as the space for marginalized (or, in this case) slaves and Liberated Africans within the New World to express themselves within spaces of confinement and dehumanization. This form of self and communal expression, exhibited in its performance modes of secrecy for the purposes of self and group protection as well as public critique that was only, or more often than not, recognized as doing so only within the marginalized community. Junkanoo, in the Bahamas, is a performance parade first held by the slaves celebrating a day off from work and symbolizes the pursuit of liberation. In earlier days, it was used critique to dominant power structures. Bethel and Bethel (1991) in their seminal work on Junkanoo in the Bahamas, traces the multiplicity of origins of Junkanoo along with its continued significance and use within the Bahamas. While celebrated in other places such as Jamaica, Belize, and North Carolina, the most robust celebration, easily argued, occurs in the Bahamas. Bethel and Bethel (1991) make the case that the festival as a public practice was:

... evidence of their rebellion, however secret, against slavery itself. As slaves, nothing was theirs; nothing save their very ‘Africaness’. As Africans, the slaves could create a complex system of self-affirmation, providing for themselves a language, a culture, and an oral literature apart from those forced upon them by their masters and the ‘John Canoe’ festival was an integral part of this system. For not only did it afford the slaves a chance to express themselves in a way no European could; it also allowed them a chance to laugh...[it] was a symbol of their shared roots. (p. 15)

Beyond the actual music and performance dances, participants used “junk” to creatively design elaborate costumes, sometimes in public protest, sometimes amongst and with each other; other costumes served as representations of the community. Over time, Junkanoo was often allowed or

prohibited based on when the mercantile class could portray it as “The Darkies are Fond of Processions” (Bethel & Bethel, 1991, Chap. 3). This expressive form of inclusive engagement through acceptance blended both the private and public sphere as participants carried subtle and secret messages along with very public and vocal protests and assertions. As Africans, brought together, Junkanoo is a representation of Braithwaite’s (1975) “inner plantation” and functions as a creative and creolized collective formation which supports themes of freedom, celebration, and discontent of their lived experiences. The tradition still persists to this day.

8) Social movements

Themes: Advocacy, labor movements, and the formation of political parties

In the period immediately before majority rule and independence, the most complex and sophisticated organizational formations occurred with an array of groups, personalities, and interactions that all gave birth to the modern story of Bahamas, and the moment of the achievement of full citizenship rights for all Bahamians. While the white mercantile elite (centered on Bay Street business and the commercial district) dominated positions of political leadership, the formation of the Progressive Liberal Party (PLP) in 1953, even before it became the first “majority rule” party of the Bahamas, offered new organizational innovation that promoted inclusion and equity. First founded by Henry Taylor, Cyril Stevenson, and Williams Cartwright (Saunders, 2016; White, n.d.a) as a multiracial and multiclass organization, the party, due to lack of support from whites and even many in the black middle-classes, captivated the imagination of the black working classes. Through the creative strategy of organizational development, the PLP recruited members traveling to the rural “Out Islands/Family Islands” to spread their message. This was a significant strategy as the ruling elites used the archipelagic space of the Bahamas and the underdevelopment of the out islands to control the electoral process.

This message turned from multiracial to black racial empowerment, especially with the rising leadership of the young Lynden Pindling. Pindling, like some of his middle-class peers, had

the opportunity to study law in England. It was there that he met and befriended other eventual leaders of the Caribbean and Africa who exposed him to radical ideas of Pan African identity and black empowerment. It was then that he recognized his new vocational aspiration as to

...reach forward out of the realm of pure law and delve into the life of this [Bahamian] community... and unravel the mysteries of unrest and dissension and assist in the promotion of a good life for his fellow citizens. (Saunders, 2007, p. 53).

Despite the fact that the tourist industry saw increases in the economic wealth of the colony, black Bahamians encountered stagnation in material and social wealth in comparison to the ruling elites.

Several important internal organizational tactics and responses coupled with external political opportunities, attacks, and competitors all served the PLP well in rising to power by 1967. In addition to the fact that the early leaders created a membership strategy to not only draw people to their cause but also develop new representative leaders around the country, they also used the power of the pen to express their specific criticisms of the government. Through the work of the *Herald* newspaper, the PLP created a voice within the written press as a defensive act against the majority run daily paper, *The Nassau Guardian*. In addition, the *Herald* served as a useful complement to the *Nassau Tribune*, with its mixed-race editor, Etienne Dupuch. While Dupuch was a strong critic of the current structure of government and spoke out about racism, he also tried to dissuade the PLP criticizing it as a premature organization (Saunders, 2016, p. 231).

Other notable groups formed at this time with somewhat similar goals within the domain of alternative inclusion through acceptance. Groups like The Citizen's Committee organized as an advocacy and social group. Led by Dr. Cleveland Eneas (1990), the Citizens Committee's greatest achievements included a public campaign against the banning of three important black films. However, they too saw the PLP as problematic, attacking its multiracial theme of inclusion as a ruse to wrest power from one privileged group to the next. There was also the Bahamas Democratic League (BDL), another political party comprised of middle-class blacks with *Nassau*

Tribune editor, mixed race Dupuch, as its leader (Saunders, 2016). In addition, the PLP also received an onslaught of criticism of misrepresentation by the ruling elites through the “power of the purse” in media, law, and social pressure. It was near impossible for whites to remain connected to the PLP through the pressure of Bay Street.

Despite the attacks and criticisms, through building a strong organization with sound leadership and principles, the PLP was able to continue to increase membership and gain momentum and recognition as a viable political choice. Even when events worked outside of their influence or control, they were able to use their collective momentum to continue to grow in popularity. Dupuch beat the PLP to the punch and raised a resolution for antidiscrimination in the House of Assembly in 1956. Yet, while Dupuch debated, the PLP organized their members to join him at the House of Assembly. When the Speaker of the House threatened Dupuch with removal for his disobedience when asked to sit, the crowd moved quickly and ferociously booed the speaker and the most powerful man on Bay Street, Stafford Sands. While Dupuch made the claim, the PLP claimed the momentum. By 1956, the PLP’s membership grew to 5,000 with 39 branches throughout the entire Bahamas. At this point, the white elites were afraid by the 1956 elections. However, the PLP made only modest gains winning only six of twenty-seven seats. When Henry Taylor lost his seat, the younger Lynden Pindling won his, solidifying his steady ascension to the leadership of the party (Saunders, 2007).

In addition, in 1958, the Taxi Cab Union Strike was a culmination of several groups that joined forces in a coordinated strike (Saunders, 2007, 2016). Key leaders of this strike included Lynden Pindling, Randol Fawkes, and Clifford Darling. Pindling served as the lawyer of the Taxicab Union and worked with the new leader of the Bahamas Federation of Labour (BFL), Randol Fawkes. Clifford Darling was the Taxicab Union leader, Clifford Darling. The goal of this strike was an act of protest against the decision of the ruling elite to favor white tour owned companies over taxi cab drivers in airport-hotel fares. Between January 12-29th the general strike forced the closing of all hotels, airport, garbage collection and some public works departments.

Along with the leadership of the PLP and the support of Caribbean and other international leaders, the strike was a success. Again, while Fawkes was popular, by the end of the strike, Pindling with his deft speaking skills moved the crowds more than Fawkes. In time, Pindling continued to recruit new leaders such as Orville Turnquest, Clement Maynard, and Warren Levarity. These men would go on to have active social and political careers in the Bahamas. At this point, the Bay Street monopoly, in fear of losing appeal, formed a political party, the United Bahamian Party (UBP) in 1958 (Saunders, 2016).

While support was gaining, the 1962 elections were seen as failure for the PLP in that they only won eight of thirty-eight seats. A more radical group within the PLP led by Arthur Foulkes called the National Committee for Positive Action (NCPA) believed that the defeat in 1962 highlighted that their biggest fight was not with the UBP, but with the minds of the people (Saunders, 2016; Smith, 2006). The NCPA, through the development of their own newspaper, *The Bahamian Times*, used a Pan African cultural identity, African history, and global politics and economics to educate Bahamians about the creolized and African derived identity and their need for empowerment. The PLP moved from a multiracial coalition to one that had black racial identity as its epicenter. With this education, they focused their agenda on inclusive engagement through acceptance by arguing for increased internal government, constitutional reform, full adult suffrage, electoral boundary reform, exposure to corruption in the government, and economic equality. Most notable here was the work of the women suffragettes that aligned with PLP. Led by Doris Johnson, these women spoke for increased rights for all Bahamian women beginning with suffrage (Bethel, 2012; Williams-Pulfer, 2015). Notably, the women in the PLP were some its most consistent fundraisers (Bethel & Govan, 2012).

Pindling again solidified his leadership on February 1965 on what is known as “Black Tuesday.” When he disagreed with the discussions about constitutional reform, he took the mace, the symbol in the House of Assembly for government, and threw it outside stating that the mace was “supposed to belong to the people of the country” and “the people are outside.” The PLP

leader, Milo Butler, followed by throwing two-hour glasses used to time speeches. The PLP, through a carefully coordinated plan, had members of the party ready outside and cheered loudly once all of the PLP members left the House. Continued efforts included the support of American congressman and pastor, Adam Clayton Powell, visiting to speak to PLP members as well as Pindling attending the United Nations committee on Colonialism in New York in 1965. Despite challenges by outside groups, splinter groups, and those in the opposition to the aims of the PLP, their popularity persisted. With the *Wall Street Journal* (1966) report of mobster connections to the development of the casino in Freeport and charges of corruption by the PLP, the newly designated Premier, Sir Roland Symonette, called elections hastily on January 10, 1967. Many of the black churches came out in staunch support of the PLP. With a tie between the PLP and the UBP, Randol Fawkes and former UBP member A. R. Braynen gave the PLP the majority (Saunders, 2007).

In the midst of the PLP's increasing popularity, the UBP tried to speed up the rate of social and political advancements. Not only did they structure a more coherent and transparent political system, they also implemented some social reforms, including tearing down the infamous Collins Wall that was built in the 1930s to serve as a discriminatory physical and spatial barrier between whites and black communities (Saunders, 2016, p. 281). They also tried to gain increased confidence through nominating black middle-class Bahamians. These black UBP members met with little electoral success. The formations of political parties focused on the needs and interests of the majority of Bahamians, was a critical juncture in ushering in a new era of political, social, and economic equality. That said, these political party formations take their cues from earlier organizational formations like friendly societies described as a "proto-typical political organization." Even more so, these political parties took the claims for full citizenship from the multiple other organizational formations within the Bahamian alternative public sphere with their distinct practices of civil society.

9) The press of the alternative public sphere

Themes: Giving a written record, providing a voice to the struggle, and offering strategies for empowerment.

While newspaper publications, like *The Herald* and the *Bahamian Times*, were used as black run and liberation propaganda arms of the PLP, the first and most significant newspaper was the *Freeman* (Adderley, 2006, p. 299) established by James Carmichael Smyth in 1887. The paper, established as a publication for redress of the core issues of the Anglo African League, the umbrella group, and other friendly societies that advocated for change. The paper was used as an advocacy publication. Smyth, in a speech to friendly societies, said:

Let us Endeavour to become more and more united, let the children of Africa through the Western Hemisphere remember FATHERLAND or MOTHERLAND, let them remember AFRICA which is sometimes called the Dark Continent, but which to us in the West [is] the land of the Rising Sun. (Saunders, 2016, p. 75)

Drawing on a connection to Africa, Smith's called for unity amongst black Bahamians to collectively advocate for improved living conditions, fair treatment, and the abolishment of oppressive practices, such as the truck system (Saunders, 2003). Newspapers like *The Freeman* gave voice to these collective concerns and cultivated a sense of belonging and identity amongst Black Bahamians.

Foundations and Networks of Inclusive Acceptance through Engagement

There are several strands of thought that are useful when assessing the organizational formations and evolution of civil society activities for black Bahamians. These include: the impact of transnationalism, networks of association, citizenship and belonging, the public/private-formal/informal-spontaneous/planned-performance, social identity and cultural identity, engagement beyond Black lifeworlds, and philanthropy, civic participation, and civil society.

The Impact of Transnationalism

First, the range of ideas for the development of civil society crossed national boundaries. As discussed, the flow of ideas about appropriate mechanisms for social change occurred within

the Bahamas but also was cultivated with Bahamian migration to Florida, for example. There, not only did Bahamians engage with Jim Crow but also with other groups and national identities within the African diaspora, including African Americans and other Caribbean subjects. As time progressed, the social movements within the rest of the Caribbean as well as the broader transnational space of what Gilroy (1995) concept of the “The Black Atlantic” brought black Bahamians through university education, the press, and elsewhere stories of empowerment and ideas about freedom. This transnational space set the tone about and for Pan Africanism, civil and human rights as well as decolonization and provided fertile ground for black Bahamian leaders to learn, share, innovate, and create their own organizational formations based on their immediate and local experiences. Transnational ideas suggest a permeability of borders giving rise to ideas, constructs, and framing of issues.

Networks of Association

Second, the interchange between organizational forms created a network of activities that includes groups, individuals, specific issues and that creates legacies and borrowings across time and people. Friendly societies were the progenitors of lodges, social welfare work, and political social movements. Leaders, like those previously discussed, worked across their migratory experiences like Mother Frances Butler, within multiple groups like James Carmichael Smith and his work with the *Freeman* and the Anglo-African League, Dr. C.R Walker in his multiple leadership positions, and the women of the Suffrage movement like Doris Johnson (amongst others) who conjoined the movement for equality to political rights specifically, within the PLP.

The close ties between people, groups, and time periods suggest an ongoing momentum towards a common goal of inclusive acceptance through engagement. That said, these individuals, groups, and time periods were, at times, in contention with one another. Newer organizations or time periods could occasionally see more success. While some groups worked on gradual change, others remained radical. Some groups, like the Citizen’s Committee, were at times portrayed as radical (e.g., during their protest of the banning of racial uplift films) while at

other times, were portrayed as conservative (e.g., while advocating for black conservative ideas about self and communal improvement such as temperance; Eneas, 1950)¹⁰. These alternative public sphere and civil society organizational formations provide a multiplicity of attitudes and responses to social problems. However, these formations take a common perspective of a unified cultural identity of belonging for black Bahamians, while at times, asserting opposing approaches.

Citizenship and Belonging

Third, this array of activities and organizational formations for inclusive acceptance through engagement focuses on multiple forms of belonging, including claims of citizenship. These formations of citizenship are available through legal and material pathways based on specific time periods (for example, claims for inclusion as full British subjects). Other claims were based on material human rights, as well as transcendent forms of belonging that extended beyond the bounds of the temporal and spatial as is represented as exemplified through the preservation and performance of Junkanoo, or the focus on spiritual or religious activity). Here, I join to Castor's (2017) view of spiritual citizenship as "the rights and responsibilities of belonging to a community, informed by spiritual epistemologies, that is not limited to the national but also inclusive of the diasporic, global, and transnational" (p. 6). These organizational formations bolstered through specific practices of cultural identity, at times, recognized the transcendental highlighting numerous but intersecting claims for inclusion, belonging, and citizenship.

Castor (2017) goes on to note that these cultural and spiritual practices, "which at first glance are seemingly separate and discrete, fold back onto themselves to become self-referential. That is, they move away from the neat linearity largely privileged in the Western narratives" (pp.

¹⁰ The Constitution of the Citizen's Committee Handwritten Letter by Dr. Cleveland Eneas (article for publication in the Citizen's Torch) Both located in National Archives of the Bahamas.

8-9). Here the reference to transformative, coalescing, and fluid notions of citizenship, cultural identity, and claims for rights creates a collective foundation of multiplicity and interconnection.

The Public/Private-Formal/Informal-Spontaneous/Planned-Performance

These interconnections of belonging and citizenship also shed light on the interwoven nature of the public and private. These include such actions as the work of women mediating the public and private spheres of care for home and community, the practices of organizational secrecy such as friendly societies, lodge practices, as well as social movement organizing. In their segregation and oppression within the public sphere, black Bahamians created a separate private space to plan, organize, understand, strategize, and even perform within the public with internal and hidden meanings.

This also raises the issue of the relationship between the informal and formal, that which is deemed private like friendships, the family, spontaneous emotional expression and contrasting formal organizational activities. For example, Pindling in his climb to the top of the ladder of the PLP cleared his path for successful leadership by recruiting other key party leaders through the cultivation of friendships. These trusted allies were willing to stand by his side and support his initiatives while simultaneously creating a solid and robust organizational structure.

Emotions including anger, frustration, pride, and joy were used for a wide variety of civil society activities, including those which are more spontaneous (e.g., riots and uprisings) and those which are more planned (such as a social movement activity). In fact, anger and frustration was often used as a counter to the fear mongering of the white mercantile elite, and served as bulwark against misrepresentations of movement goals or leadership credibility.

Social Identity and Cultural Identity

In thinking of the multiple unfolding and fluid intersections, issues of social identity shape the general and broader domain of cultural identity. The most salient social identities, especially at the time of independence, included race, gender, and class. While these identities, created by social structures evolved over time in the Bahamas, with more fluid ideas specifically

about race, class, and gender roles. By the 1940s, the rise in dependence on tourism as an industry aligned the racial hierarchy with that of the United States. This resulted in increased economic oppression along the lines of race, with black Bahamians living in lower economic standards.

That said, the black middle-class, over time, evolved through a variety of means most notably for those black Bahamians that were able to find adequate funds to study abroad and those families that made earnings through various boom cycles such as Prohibition and the deepening of the tourist industry. These middle-class black Bahamians also used their increased social mobility to lead within civil society. Black Bahamians saw these middle-class leaders as models of success and valued and respected their achievements in education and business. The process of their leadership formation had much to do with their exposure to new ideas about freedom while abroad, made more aware of the economic injustices experienced by lower class black Bahamians due to their civil society leadership, business, and political experience. This is not to negate that many of the claims for increased rights came from what Sheller (2012) describes as, “from below” but rather, the “middle men and women” functioned as spokespeople and intermediaries. In fact, the tensions between the lower class and the middle-class often led to moments of contention or negotiation related to demands for inclusive engagement. In turn, middle-class black leaders adjusted or restructured claims on behalf of the rest of the black community based on these contentions and negotiations. Mostly black women, during bust and boom cycles, like during the world wars where men traveled to work in the United States on what is known as the contract (Saunders, 2016), increased their public and social leadership roles within society. Also, black middle-class women took cues from upper and middle-class white women in their pursuit of charitable aims, and in turn used some of the methods to support their own communities.

In the development of a Bahamian cultural identity, black Bahamians used common discourses, frames, and unified worldviews, creating a Black and/or Bahamian cultural identity. In turn, black civil society harnessed these practices as organizing tools creating frames for

messages increasing levels of memberships within organizations, and gaining traction for their appeals.

Engagement Beyond Black Lifeworlds

While this project considers the work of civil society (especially in this chapter) and how it functioned for black Bahamians both immediately before and after the moment of independence and decolonization, the larger society also provides critical points for the development of civil society. In particular, I focus on the interaction with whites within the Bahamas. The narrative of white mercantile elites is a story that consistently misrepresents black civil society leaders in an effort to their derail their causes. Often times, this was done through the diminishment of claims made by black Bahamians or even complete erasure of their experiences through silencing of counter narratives.

These practices of denying rights were embedded in larger narrative claims of justifying colonial rule and social Darwinist justifications by the white elite leadership. For example, in an article appearing in the *Nassau Magazine*, in Nassau by the mastermind and the most powerful man on Bay Street by the time of the PLP's rise, Stafford Sands (1969) narrates a story of the Bahamas as one filled with history, but one missing the story of the slaves and their descendants. Instead, in a speech to the Bahamas Chamber of Commerce on the anniversary of Nassau's Centenary, he cited the influences of Captain William Sayle, King Charles the First, and Woodes Rodgers. Captain William Sayle was the Governor of Bermuda who first named the city of Nassau, "Providence." Nassau was first called Charles Town in recognition of King Charles the First. Woodes Rodgers was the governor of the Bahamas who outlawed piracy, and Loyalists (Sands, 1969). In fact, he painted a picture of the origins of Nassau, as he noted, "I like to daydream about the beginning of this our city. Whenever I look at our harbor, I like to imagine how it must have looked to the first Europeans entering it" (Sands, 1969, p. 29). Nassau was a city with a long tradition rooted in the European discovery of it. In fact, Sands also highlights the economic wealth of the colony during those times as built by the fortunes of piracy, wrecking,

and blockade running. Sands even rationalized that these ingenious methods of survival, in spite of the lack of attention by the British Empire in comparison to strong plantation economies, was an act of compassion “for our fellow man, [we] soon channeled the efforts of Nassau’s business community into an attempt to assuage the thirst of our American friends” (Sands, 1969, p. 28). Here, Sands is speaking of the blockade running during the American era of Prohibition. In his speech to the civic and business community, Sands offered an explanation of the wealth and providence experienced in the Bahamas.

To be sure, Black Bahamians were not a part of this general narrative, were not the greater recipients of compassion, and did not receive the bulk of the benefits of such providence. As a result, elites did not only erase and marginalize claims for inclusion; they also ridiculed, misrepresented, and downplayed those claims. This resulted in numerous years in which the majority of black Bahamians languished within a system of inequities related to education, housing, and health, despite their claims for greater inclusion. However, these acts of erasure and misrepresentation also, and in time, served the alternative public sphere well. In the right political opportunistic moments, civil society groups were able to exert pressure on elites using their ridicule, misrepresentation, and silencing as a way to deepen their engagement with the larger black Bahamian population.

On the other hand, it is important to recognize that while many of the white political elites engaged in positions and activities that generally were not invested in status and material improvements or greater democratic inclusion for most Bahamians, this does not preclude the work of other whites that heard and assisted in promoting the claims of the disenfranchised, or agreed with movements for clear multi-race and cross-class coalitions (Bethel & Govan, 2012). For example, the work of several charitable groups over time offered support to the black community by offering needed aid in dire circumstances (Johnson, 1991a). Across borders, political and labor groups received support from similar types of organizations within England and the United States (Bethel & Govan, 2012; Fawkes, 1979/2003; Williams-Pulfer, 2015). It is

important to recognize Percy Christie's work in developing labor unions for and with black Bahamians.

Also, it is important to mention the positive and negative interactions between blacks and whites that occurred in the more mundane acts of life as (e.g., blacks were employed in some capacity by whites). Stoler (2001) calls these interactions, the "tense of tender ties of the human dimension of the colonial encounter" (p. 83). She goes on to note that these intimate spaces of interaction between groups typically and legally segregated offers insight into "the fixity and fluidity of racial taxonomies...that formed and refigured the distinctions between the ruler and the ruled" (p. 833). In the small island colony of the Bahamas, all Bahamians at certain points undoubtedly relied on each other for survival. Unlike the more fixed categories of living that existed in larger and more regulated plantation economies, the Bahamas offered opportunities for different types of tender and terse ties. These varying ties on the one hand, maintained even more aggressive and unregulated forms of discrimination even as new reforms were being made in post plantation societies in the rest of the Caribbean. Alternately, there were also new forms of intimate shared spaces that provided different types of freedom. Within both of these spaces, the alternate public sphere had the opportunity to learn of new types of organizational strategies or provide key insights about issues of inequity and denials of freedom, receive critical information that would alert the rest of the community, or develop unique bonds beyond the public and official structures of racism and segregation that may have aided in the successful execution of plans of black civil society.

Finally, at the moment of independence and decolonization, a radical societal shift occurred transferring what was once off limits to the black majority and instead, they gained entry to new creolized forms of inclusion. These new creolized forms undoubtedly impacted the development of civil society. For example, black Bahamians created and developed organizations, appeals, and goals based on their segregated experiences, drawing on cultural frames that were preserved over time. In time, certain public spaces, civil society organizations,

and the greater public sphere were no longer off limits to most Bahamians. So, while some of the traditions and organizational formations of the alternate public sphere persisted, new types of organizations were open and available for membership and eventually leadership. These changes also created new relationships within the public and alternative public sphere. The postcolonial era ushered in a radical shift where a large area of black civil society became a part of government. The boundaries of sectors shifted, and the relationships between the sectors or spheres changed. Majority rule heralded new relationships between the sectors. Pindling was no longer a minority representative of the “people outside” but instead became a public government representative for all Bahamians.

Philanthropy, Civic Participation, and Civil Society

If the patterns of philanthropic activity, participation, and civil society organization changes over time then certainly, the case of the civil society networks that led to social movements that then led to dramatic changes within Bahamian, Caribbean, and postcolonial society serves as a critical example. As philanthropy “animates the space of civil society,” context matters in determining not only what the shape of philanthropy was at a given time and for a particular group of people but also supports the idea that cultural frames embodied in discourses and narratives that exist within the formations of a cultural identity produce approaches of “voluntary action for the public good” (Sievers, 1995).

For example, as scientific philanthropy was aimed at “curing evils at their source,” the use of new knowledge sources aimed to meet the challenges of industrialization such as increasing levels of poverty as well as lack of access to housing and education. Social Darwinism and the social gospel, some of the most contested and dominant ideas of the time, produced cultural frames that helped shape the practices of philanthropy and guided the path of civil society (Sealand, 2002)¹¹. This view of the cultural frames that influenced philanthropy provide a

¹¹ Sealand argues that the ideas of the social gospel influenced philanthropy and contested ideas of Social Darwinism

foundational framework for enlarging the meaning of philanthropy and its influence on the development of civil society. At the same time that philanthropists with large sums of wealth were developing ideas about scientific philanthropy (such as Rosenwald, Rockefeller, & Carnegie) as they engaged in promoting their new ideas through civic discourse and social action, Garveyism was at its apex across the African Diaspora. Bahamians, as Garveyites, brought the ideas of the transnational movement back to the Bahamas with them and implemented ideas of the public good for their community (Vought, 2000). The men and women who were members of the local chapter of the UNIA used the underlying messages of Pan African connection, uplift, empowerment, and provided scholarships to HBCU's in the United States, proposed plans for new and community focused economic systems, and created offshoot organizations that offered programs and services based on such themes espoused through Garveyism in a Minute Paper from 1921 (Saunders, 2016, p. 86).

The demise of Garveyism and the UNIA also provides an important perspective on the alternative public sphere. Marginalized within society and the broader public sphere, new ideas coming from within the alternative public sphere were often met with scorn and rejection. In fact, the success of such civil society networks that aimed to produce meaningful change was predicated on the available political opportunities as well as successful internal organization momentum. The demise of the UNIA was predicated on both of these factors. In observing the case of the alternative public sphere and the pursuit of inclusive acceptance through engagement over time, it is clearer that, rather than focusing on discrete and separate organizations or historical moments, the roots of Garveyism persisted and evolved, bringing new organizations and new, realigned strategies that learned from the past but still strived to achieve similar basic aims. A focus on the alternative public sphere also begs questions about measurements of success, questions about notions of time, and the boundaries of organizational activity.

The Postcolonial: Narratives of Black Middle-Class Leaders

As the newly elected Premier, Lynden Pindling, the leader of the PLP, rose to victory in 1967, and welcomed the majority of Bahamians into a new era of the nation and indeed, the world (Saunders, 2007). Commenting specifically on the unprecedented victory in Bahamian history, she notes that “The crowd was Pindling’s- the Red Sea had been crossed, cementing the ‘Quiet Revolution’” (Saunders, 2007, p. 65). Invoking Biblical imagery so often used to describe the struggles and victory over oppression across the black world, Pindling was cast as Moses and the Bahamian people as the Israelites coming out of Egypt. The assertion of victory asserted by Saunders (2007) also recognizes the shift of the alternative public sphere with a large portion of its civil society leaders becoming the government of the Bahamas. Additionally, Saunders (2007) highlights the “quiet revolution”¹² as the most significant moniker that emerged in this period to describe the fight for equality in the Bahamas. This title described the Bahamas, in its moment of decolonization, as one nation state that achieved radical social change with a relative peaceful transition of power, especially in comparison with other “bloody revolutions” happening across the Caribbean and other postcolonial nation states. This shift to a new postcolonial era signified an epochal era for the Bahamas as one of the many nations around the world that offered not only radical changes to and for the electorate, but also proposed stunning social, economic, and political reforms. Several terms are useful here. The first, the postcolonial represents a:

...dialectical concept that marks the broad historical facts of decolonization and the determined achievement of sovereignty- but also the realities of nations and peoples emerging into a new imperialistic context of economic and sometimes political domination. The experience of that new sovereignty typically encouraged the development of a postcolonial culture which radically revised the ethos and ideologies of the colonial state and, at the same time, reoriented the goals of independence movement towards the very different conditions of autonomy. The postcolonial also specifies a transformed historical situation, and the cultural formations that have arisen in response to changed political circumstances in the former colonial power. (Young, 2001, p. 57)

¹² Invokes the term coined most prominently by Doris Johnson in the title and main conceptual focus of her book: Johnson, D. (1972). *The quiet revolution in the Bahamas*. Washington, DC: Family Island Press.

The postcolonial here refers to a time period at a certain historical moment with then a longstanding pattern even into the present that explains the process of social restructuring on ideological and material. Young (2001) also defines postcoloniality as putting “an emphasis on the economic, material, and cultural conditions that determine the global system in which the postcolonial is required to operate” (p. 57). This environment includes an awareness of the policy stances of the global North towards the new postcolonial states and the continued process of agency and resistance of those postcolonial states (individually or collectively) in response to those policy stances. Young (2001) also signals the use of the concept of the Third World, which he notes is a term no longer used, but attempts to define the geographic spaces from which the idea of the postcolonial was “enunciated” (p. 4). The term is no longer as it was critiqued as maintaining the “hierarchal relation to first and second and gradually became associated with poverty, debt, famine and conflict” (p. 4).

Added to this is the concept of the postcolony asserted by Mmembe (2001) as an enclosure of “multiple durées made up of discontinuities, reversals, inertias, and swings that overlay one another, interpenetrate one another, and envelope one another: an entanglement...[a] displacement... (pp. 14-15). Here, Mmembe (2001) moves past the tangible, political, and spatial realities of the postcolonial, especially in its relations with the greater world, and instead focuses on the internal experiences (reason, habits, perspectives, practices) of people living within the postcolonial moment, experiencing and enacting moments of postcoloniality. These concepts highlight not only the moment of decolonization and independence, but also new engagements with the rest of the world, including some that were met with conflict and resistance. This also included new perspective about the “self”, experienced by new postcolonial citizens, regarding their lives and individual, as well as collective visions for the national futures. Lastly, Santos de Souza (2016) defines a new term for this environment of postcolonial relationship as the Global South. The Global South he says is:

...not a geographical concept, even though the great majority of its populations live in countries of the Southern hemisphere. The South is rather a metaphor for the human suffering caused by capitalism and colonialism on the global level, as well as for the resistance to overcoming or minimizing such suffering. (de Souza, 2016, p. 18)

In the Bahamian postcolonial context, I focus on three narratives of black middle-class civil society and public service leaders. These three leaders from within the postcolony are representative of the moment of decolonization and provide context to the new structure of the postcolonial state and the way Bahamians come to understand their cultural identity. I hope to give shape to the emerging patterns of the postcolonial state, the new and more public assertions of a cultural identity, and some of the problems or dilemmas encountered in the development of the nation state of the Bahamas. In doing so, I also hope to provide a sense of the evolving sensibilities and formations of local civil society. These three leaders include Paul Adderley, Doris Johnson, and Lynden Pindling.

Paul Adderley: The Past as Narrative Trajectory for the Future

Born in 1928, Paul Adderley was the son of noted Bahamian lawyer and one-time member of the House of Assembly, Alfred Adderley (Bahamian Educators, n.d.). His mother, Ethel Adderley was a charitable group leader. Also, notable is the fact that Adderley comes from a long line of Bahamian politicians, including his grandfather, Wilfred Parliament Adderley and his great grand-uncle, William Campbell Adderley.

By profession a lawyer, Adderley, who was also served as a member of the PLP (with a brief stint as leader of his own party, The National Democratic Party in 1965), member of Parliament, and was the Minister in charge of several government ministries. Adderley was also the longest serving Attorney General of the Bahamas (over 17 years; Tribune 242, 2012). While in government, his most notable governmental reforms including the restructuring the Police and Defense Forces, implementing the national secondary school exam system (the BGCSE) improving the system of drug interdiction during the height of the drug trade in the 1980s, and serving as one of the chief architects of Bahamian foreign policy (Tribune 242, 2012). Adderley

also continued his participation within civil society as a member and one-time leader of the Bahamas Bar Association, the co-chairman of the first Constitution Commission (a committee organized by the government to analyze specific changes of the Bahamian Constitution prior to the Bahamian 40th anniversary of independence), a member of the board of governors of two prominent high schools, St. John's College and Government High School, and was an officer of the Bahamas Amateur Athletic Association (Bahamas Information Services, 2012; Bahamas National, 2012). He died in 2012.

In 2001, Paul Adderley was the keynote speaker for the inaugural Sir Lynden Pindling Memorial Lecture. His lecture was entitled, "From Pompey to Pindling." (Adderley, 2001). His speech provides an interwoven narrative of the role of the alternative public sphere in securing full equality for all Bahamians. With a focus on political history, Adderley crosses time, highlighting the journey of Bahamians through debates on and about race, ethnicity, and culture as a way to create a Bahamian identity. He traces the work of civil society for black Bahamians with the work of slaves and liberated Africans. Notably, he mentions the few black men elected to political leadership position in the House of Assembly as early as 1833. Men such as Stephen Dillet, Samuel Minnis, and Joseph Dean, over time, provided some level of political representation for black Bahamians. While in each subsequent period, their representation was small, Adderley's view is that this ongoing political movement allowed the slow consensus that the political system needed to change. Adderley also cites the periods of 1850-1920 as the "golden era of Black Nationalism." Here, he links to black internationalism mentioning such figures as Frederick Douglas and Booker T. Washington. Back at home, specific African ethnic groups within the Bahamas including the Congos, Igbos, Mandingos, and Fulani worked together to create a "complex creolized reflection and imagination of cultural identity linking African epistemologies" (Adderley, 2001).

Adderley also mentions some of these significant organizational formations such as friendly societies and lodges and other forms that were members of the larger ecosystem of civil

society practices that promoted inclusive acceptance through engagement. In addition, he provides a genealogy of current civil society leaders and their ancestral linkages to leadership position in some of these formative types of organizations.

Adderley then discusses the efforts of elites to diminish or extinguish black civil society activity. He provides as an example James Carmichael Smyth, editor of the *Freeman* and head of the Anglo African Leagues. Smyth was accused of kidnapping the daughter of black politician, Stephen Dillet. While the Bahamian Executive Council found him guilty, Smyth took his case to the British Privy Council and was exonerated on all charges. Smyth had worked as the postmaster general and asked to be reinstated after the guilty verdict was overturned but he was refused. Smyth eventually left the Bahamas, becoming the Postmaster General in Sierra Leone, and later died in London by 1919. Adderley adds to this story of Smyth that several other black leaders were forced out of their positions either through unfair charges or death. For example, he notes that following his grandfather's (William Adderley) election to the House of Assembly in 1899, he subsequently died under what his family folklore suggests "was under suspicious circumstances."

Despite the truth of such claims, Adderley attempts to represent the stories of black civil society, their struggles, and the strengths of their leadership, even as it relates to family genealogy revealing the persistent forms of leadership passion and ability. Past this golden age, Adderley concludes by describing efforts to reinstate the spirit of black civic participation, engagement, and civil society practice. The most critical issue by the 1940s was the issue of political and economic equality. Adderley implies that this silenced golden age still cultivated a civil society space that, when posed with the right opportunities returned to the public sphere, sharpening the strategies and tactics of the alternative sphere while still drawing on a shared cultural identity rooted in the legacies of African epistemologies and traditions with a similar awareness of their new structural positions within the Bahamas. While Adderley suggest that his lecture was one based on political history, it is valuable to note that these political historical acts were inextricably tied to civil

society development. Furthermore, by linking family histories in his lecture, Adderley signified the importance of familial ties and the informal in shaping these cultural frames that prompted civil society activity not just in the past but also for in within the contemporary.

Doris Johnson: Narratives of the Present Awakening of Bahamians

Born in 1921, Dr. Doris Johnson's early career as a teacher led her to continue her education abroad earning a M.A from McGill University and pursuing doctoral studies at New York University. Due to her leadership and oratorical skills, the other members of the women's suffrage movement invited her home to lead the movement. By 1962, the movement was successful and for the first time, women were able to vote. She was appointed by Prime Minister Lynden Pindling as the first woman appointed to the Senate, and was also the leader of business in the Senate. Dr. Johnson also was appointed to the Cabinet and served as the Minister of Transport. Her seminal work, *The Quiet Revolution in the Bahamas*, published in 1972 was the first historical account of the story of majority rule. Outside of politics, Dr. Johnson served as the founder of the Bahamas Folklore Group, was the president of the National Women's Housing Association, and was the coordinator of both the Bahamas Missionary and Educational Convention's Women's Auxiliary (University of the Bahamas, 2017). She died in 1983.

In *The Quiet Revolution*, Johnson (1972) frames the story of majority rule as a slow and steady awakening amongst an oppressed people. She characterizes the profiles of civil society groups as the space where black Bahamians "sought spiritual hope and human dignity through..." (p. 94) the numerous organizational creations they made in pursuit of communal support and care. Through these practices, Johnson goes on to note that "the character of a forebearing people was gradually being realized." Here, Johnson's assertion of a quiet revolution is made through these quiet and almost "imperceptible movements" that over time that had as its roots, inclusive engagement through acceptance. Johnson also recognizes the failures of varying groups and leaders, but that in the process of learning, these leaders and groups continued to strive towards a

goal of equality. By the time Etienne Dupuch made his plea for an anti-discrimination bill, the black masses were ready to confront their oppressors.

This process of learning and advancing was not met without its challenges. With their hands held firmly on the economic strings of the Bahamas, ruling elites tried to create difficult choices for many black Bahamians. Johnson cites such efforts like their campaign slogans: “UBP for ’63 or PLP poor in ’64. So, vote UBP for J-O-B or: “Vote UBP and keep the tourists coming” (Johnson, 1972, p. 40). In an anonymous editorial to the newspaper, an unnamed “black carpenter” appealed to black Bahamians that with the election of the PLP, these black leaders would only care about their families (Johnson, 1972, p. 41). These threats and statements of fear mongering to black Bahamians from the UBP were aimed at not only trying to convince black Bahamians that black people were not capable of ruling but also that, the economic structures were so controlled by the white elite, that their very economic security was at stake if they chose to vote against the UBP.

Johnson also conjoined movements of the past with the movements that helped cement majority rule including political parties and social movements, labor unions, and the work of the women’s movement for full adult suffrage. These movements helped strengthen the mindset of black Bahamians despite threats to the contrary. For Johnson, the quiet revolution without a “single drop of blood,” without any violence against former white elites was a sign of the readiness of the Bahamian population for full political and social rights and also supported their capacity to lead fully in all avenues of society. Johnson also highlights the tensions between movement success and economic structures of domination. In the opening pages of the book, there is a picture of Prime Minister Pindling outside at a podium, smartly dressed and elevated above members of the Royal Bahamas Police Force marching by symbolizing the changing of the guard and a new era for the Bahamas (Johnson, 1972).

As the leader of Suffrage Movement, Johnson also provided new prescriptions of the role of women within Bahamian society. In her speech entitled, “Women as Responsible Citizens with

Particular Reference to Participation in Politics” held at the Commonwealth Regional Seminar on the Role of Women in the Seventies (Johnson, 1975), Johnson lays out a vision of the core gender policy initiatives not only for the Bahamas but for the rest of the Caribbean. First, she called for greater collaboration between Caribbean governments for support in relation to policies affecting women. She spoke out against sexism and advocated for Caribbean women to learn to “either as we say in the Bahamas fish or cut bait. All must participate if the ship of the state which we have taken into the treacherous sea of independence is to survive” (Johnson, 1975, p. 2). She urged the other Caribbean nations in attendance to attend to their full inclusion in the process of nation building. She also urged that women hold men responsible for their duties in nation building, advocating for new organizational forms like father’s clubs to support the demands of fatherhood. Johnson also asserted the possible path for women’s inclusion in full nation building could draw on the past but called attention to new organizational forms that women could spearhead and lead including advocacy for housing, childcare centers, homes of elderly citizens, and the development of cooperatives. Johnson highlighted both the cultural and social traditions of advocacy, service provision, and economics that Caribbean women had always provided within society. She also offered key linkages that demanded their not political inclusion but also focused on their significant contributions to the work of women within civil society within newly independent nations.

Lynden Pindling: Narratives of the Postcolonial Condition

Lynden Pindling was the first Black Premier and later first Prime Minister of the Bahamas. Referred to by many as “Black Moses” and the “Father of the Nation.” Emerging as the leader of the PLP, Pindling led his party in six consecutive election victories. Pindling led the nation on the path to independence and then led the by providing numerous opportunities and supports for education, health, employment, housing. Pindling continued to fight against injustices abroad. As a part his tenure as Chairman of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, Pindling lobbied to host the event in the Bahamas. Pindling played a pivotal part of

those efforts at that meeting in convincing the majority of the leaders of the Commonwealth nations to support the position for economic sanctions against South Africa for their system of apartheid. Known as the Nassau Accord, the document was signed in 1985 (Maycock, 2013; The Commonwealth of Nations, 1985; The Islands of the Bahamas, n.d.).

Johnson (1972), at the end of *The Quiet Revolution*, provided clear and specific ideas of social policy reforms that the PLP planned on undertaking as the new majority elected government of the Bahamas. Her list is long and included: increased social development policies (including enhanced teacher education, safe low-cost housing, healthcare, and increased the development of the Family Islands), the greater diversification of the economy, improvements to sanitation, electricity, telecommunications, property taxes, road construction projects, parks, post offices, immigration policy, and guaranteeing stronger employment opportunities and hiring practices for all Bahamians. Under Pindling's leadership, the PLP government implemented many of these reforms. Education funding during 1965-1966 placed education as the fourth most important government priority. By 1967, the PLP increased this by 20% (Spandoni, 1977). These budget increases funded new schools and improved facilities (including the College of the Bahamas), greater opportunities for scholarships, improved teacher education, and new approaches to Bahamian identity in education were implemented. The policy of Bahamianization made provisions for Bahamians to get the first choice on jobs if they were qualified. The Industrial Relations Act of 1979 (International Labour Organization, 2014) guaranteed the rights of workers to join unions of their choice. Guarantees against discrimination housing, employment, and membership in public, private, and civic spaces was implemented. The successful proposal changed the Bahamas from a colony to an independent nation.

As a nation, the Bahamas also joined the IMF, U.N., the Commonwealth of Nations, and CARICOM. The Central Bank of the Bahamas was established. The government established ministries such as Education, Culture, Sports, Community Affairs and Development, Finance, Youth, and Social Services among others. These developments led to increased educational,

employment, social, economic, and cultural opportunities for all Bahamians. The newly elected PLP, once active members of civil society as core members of the alternative public sphere, became the public sector or the government. Their first initial policy goal was to implement the concerns of this alternative public sphere.

In order to shift the tide of standards and expectations of the previously dominant pattern of governance and inclusion, Prime Minister Pindling, in his famous “Bend or Break” speech in Freeport, Grand Bahamas in 1979 charted a new course (The Government of the Bahamas (n.d.). The speech outlined the new aims of the PLP policy agenda and the implications that it would have for all of society, especially private businesses. In his speech, Pindling addressed current and potential investors and advised them that some of the current practices of neglect of local Bahamian communities (mostly Black) would not be allowed to continue. He mentioned discrimination in housing by certain landlords, discrimination in employment, as well as issues related to environmental and urban planning. His most intense critique was that while “Freeport had indeed been a miracle of development... what it lacks is humanity: what it needs is a social conscience, what it must have, before too long, is a soul” (Pindling, 1971, p. 16). His core accusations were that the urban planning of the city was so well planned that it seemed like “it was intended to plan the Bahamian right out of it” (Pindling, 1971, p. 16). Ushering a new policy era, Pindling (1971) then asserted:

In this city where, regrettably anything goes, where, promisingly some economic opportunities have come to Bahamians, Bahamians are nevertheless still victims of an unbending social order, which, if it now refuses to bend, must now be broken. (p. 16)

He commended the companies that were adjusting to the new social order by working with the government as partners to support the government’s new plan for development, which included sponsoring scholarships for Bahamian students. Pindling (1971) also indicated that contracts with discriminatory clauses were no longer acceptable in the Bahamas, and that as a policy frame that the:

...development objectives are directed towards opening up greater economic and social opportunities for the Bahamian citizen...In order to achieve these objectives, the development programme must be shaped to fit the economy in which it is operating. The character and the soul of this community must be Bahamian. (pp. 16-17)

Pindling's assertions here urged social reform in all sectors of society. As he exposed the corrupt ways in which some companies were operating in the country at the time, he also suggested that this past policy was not only no longer going to be the case, but that it was a corrupt policy. The new government aimed to redesign a new society of equality and inclusion. Bend or break was the realization of the aspirations of the alternative public sphere.

While laudable, the approaches of the new government did not come without its complexities. Most notably there was the fact that the Bahamas were already part of an economic paradigm beyond its borders, and entry into a new decolonial era would find it difficult to entangle itself (Connolly, 2014). The "Good Neighbor" policy structure of Pan Americanism aimed at unifying the Western Hemisphere in a spirit of connection and cooperation, as well as to maintain the dominance of the United States as opposed to other global powers at the time like Germany. During World War II, American military bases were strategically located all over the Caribbean and Latin America, including in the Bahamas. The United States extended its vision of world security through examples like the U.S. occupation of Haiti. New spending on the policy advancement favored Southern states including Florida, and particularly, Miami. Due to its close proximity to the Atlantic, the city of Miami became known as "The Gateway to the Americas." Resultantly, Miami became a tourist destination for many coming from Europe and Latin America. Connolly (2014) mentions that these economic advancements during the 1940s and on also shifted black thought, in particular, "an emergent black internationalism that was procapitalist, prosperous..." (p. 110). This excitement about investment and capitalism among those espousing a black internationalism was inspired by the strategies of the city of Miami to support large business investments from the Caribbean and Latin America.

What resulted was a booming economy with important industries like tourism and banking, as was the case in the Bahamas (Connolly, 2014). As the 1950s came around, in the United States, the civil rights movement was in full swing, and some of the more violent racial incidents were taking place also in the south in Birmingham, Alabama. Meanwhile, during the mid-1940s labor unrest was a dominant feature of many Caribbean colonies (Connolly, 2014).

In Miami, the civil rights movement took a more “conference approach” to civil rights in that there was a prevailing fear that Birmingham in Miami would frighten tourists thus limiting tourism, a vital economic factor in South Florida (Connolly, 2014). This conference table approach to civil rights was dubbed as “The Quiet Revolution” by Elaine Sammet (1965), a professor of political science at the University of Miami and an active member of these civil rights conference approaches. Her main assertion was that the tourist industry was actually responsible for “keeping Miami’s racial revolution from erupting into violence, and in ensuring its continued success” (p. 34). Samet (1965) then described the “Quiet Revolution” approach as one that “emphasizes the use of conciliation, persuasion, cooperation, and voluntary action as tools in the fields of school integration, public accommodation, public and private employment, and housing.” (p. 35). She also offered that “racial peace is vital to increased tourism and industrial development” (p. 35). This relationship between economic prosperity, the tourist industry, civil rights, and racial violence coalesced as a policy known as “The Quiet Revolution” in Miami. Added to this were the waves of independence movements across the Caribbean forcing social change sometimes through bloody transitions.

The UBP Bahamian government too, by the late 1950s and the 1960, had developed industries like tourism and banking (Fraser, 2001). Their approach was to dub the Bahamas, “The Switzerland of the West” and capitalized on the fact that “travelers making their first journey to Nassau are literally astonished by the number of Banks, Trust companies and other financial institutions doing business in the City” (Hammond, 1964, pp. 41-42). This focus on tourism and banking increased economic prosperity albeit at this time, only for wealthy white elites.

The PLP, under Pindling's leadership, worked quickly to assuage the fears of any investors, that a new black majority rule government would maintain the same ability to provide the infrastructure needed for investment, including local white elites and investors. In a speech in 1967, Pindling noted that:

The Progressive Liberal Party is for everyone. I hope the white population have realized this and have no fears. In the event of there being British or American investors who may be uncertain I should like to allay any fears that they may have. (Pindling, 1967a, "Victory: 1967" section)

In another speech in 1967, Pindling made assurances to the United States government indicating:

These islands will continue to play a role in the defense pattern of the western world... We are determined to be a good neighbor and a good partner. The investor doesn't mind who is in power. We intend to create a climate for safety for capital in the country. (Pindling, 1967b, "Have Faith in Us" section)

With successful and attempted coups within the Caribbean within the coming decades, the PLP embarked on economic and foreign policies that balanced support of investors, the promotion of their own defined and asserted "Quiet Revolution," and aimed at using that prosperity in increasing the inclusive rights, economic, and social opportunities for all Bahamians. The results were dramatic increases in inclusion efforts and the development of a strong middle-class.

In the midst of the peaceful and quiet revolution outlined above, the PLP also worked to deepen a national identity. In its early years, the PLP government worked to create cultural connections to Africa and blackness as a part of its cultural identity policy. In a speech in 1971 to Bahamian youth, Pindling described the recent development of Goombay Summer, a program to connect tourists to Bahamian culture. Goombay Summer also served as a policy goal that with hopes to "turn into a cultural Renaissance." The outcome of this policy was aimed "to fill a deep psychological void and satisfy centuries old-yearning" (Government of the Bahamas, n.d., p. 18). Pindling then drew on connecting the Junkanoo and Goombay practices as deeply tied to African music. He cites an explanation by Caribbean theorists Edward Braithwaite and his explanation of the use of musical instruments as originating from the word "Goombay" as "a word from the Ivory Coast." Pindling also made linkages to the Bahamian practices of bush medicine and

Obeah, and made the arts connection to the Bahamian artist, Tony McKay (also known as Exuma The Obeah Man). He described the significance of asue credit practices. Pindling (1971) used these examples to not only draw on the African connections to Bahamian cultural identity but to also recognize its worthiness of study, its ability to enhance one's sense of self and community. In the example of asues he noted,

Is there any real wonder, therefore, why waitresses, maids, straw vendors and yes, key-punch operators and secretaries too are buying cars, purchasing land and homes and educating their children largely aided by this co-operative banking system. (p. 18)

Here, he draws on the significant role of asue traditions, the central importance of women in organizing those traditions, and then went on to use those traditions to support their families and in turn their communities. Notably, he draws on varying types of professions when he describes these women (the more traditional pre- majority rule occupations such as maids, and straw vending) along with the new occupations made available to black Bahamians (like administrative staff) as paramount to inclusion in the new, upwardly mobile, black middle-class. Finally, as a part of his vision of cultural renaissance he calls on young people to be active citizens involved in supporting the aims of a new vision for the future. He goes on:

You are already the symbol of our future... You are the reason why foreparents fought to live and learnt how to survive the burden of oppression. You are the reason we construct buildings and develop land and why we build schools for our children... But the question is: Will our youth continue this progressive spirit of development of spirit and mind with the same steadfastness as did their foreparents? This is a question which only you can answer... (Pindling, 1971, "1st Annual Convention..." section)

Like Paul Adderley and Doris Johnson, Pindling drew not only material concerns of social advancement but also drew on themes of psychological and cognitive liberation (Kebede, Shriver, & Knottnerus, 2000). This form of liberation was tied to a development of a Bahamian national cultural identity. This identity drew on themes of connections to a larger African diaspora rooted in traditions. These traditions became central pieces of Bahamian cultural identity. In conjoining this diasporic identity to a sense of social mobility and citizen participation he drew on themes

from the alternative public sphere and civil society. While now a part of the government, the PLP and Pindling provided narratives that linked private business, civil society, and government with a Bahamian cultural identity rooted in African Diasporic consciousness.

Postcoloniality and Independence

In terms of postcoloniality, the early economic policy of the Bahamas that continued the practice of appealing to foreign investment with tourism and banking provided complex choices that the PLP faced in leading the country. With independence movements came the realization of new nation states that new forms of economic dependence emerged and those in transitions to power, “the ruling class constitutes an elite that operates in complicity with the needs of international capital for its own benefit” (Young, 2001, p. 45). To be sure Fanon (1961/2004) warned that the decolonization led by middle-class elites was embedded in the systems of neocolonization ushering in a new era of capitalistic power. While Fanon’s (1961/2004) warnings also suggests that middle-class elites concerned themselves with mostly Western values, Pindling and the PLP’s development of a cultural identity rooted in an Africanist heritage is juxtaposed with a desire to remain competitive in the system of capitalism and foreign investment. As Young (2001) adds, these neocolonial concerns offer insight into the postcolonial condition but at times fail to account for “the diversity and range of real contemporary conditions and the political and economic situations which have produced them” (p. 48). Fanon’s vision is one that contends with the broader condition of postcoloniality and urges a concern with the processes of the decolonial moment. It is impossible for his claims to speak for all conditions of postcoloniality and instead, he provides a vision for a progressive future for decolonization practices not to become imbued with the mere requirements and demands of the Global North. What Fanon is incapable of adjusting for in his anticipatory vision are the moments of resistance, future internal protest, new alternative public spheres, the ambitions and aspiration from within the postcolony, the stances that move back and forth between acquiescence and sovereignty, the difficult choices, and the mistakes and correction.

In many ways, the PLP brought a continuation of older economic policies, but their vision in maintaining those policies of greater inclusion prompted wider spread prosperity. These changes provided monumental societal changes. In the Bahamas, civil society was supported in many ways. Several forms of organizational types continued to grow; former elite white led organizations like the Red Cross become integrated with black Bahamians serving in the highest leadership capacities. The development of a national consciousness through a Bahamian cultural identity led to the proliferation of other types of associations and organizations, including: the continued significance of asues, lodges, labor unions, political parties (Stoffle et al., 2014; Thompson, n.d.; White, n.d.b); the size and number of churches with new programs to support members and newer and evolved forms of associations; cooperative unions (The Government of the Bahamas Department of Cooperative Development. 2011); Family Island Homegoing and Development Associations (Great Inagua Development Association, 1994, 1996; Over the Hill Reunion Group, n.d.); arts and cultural organizations; sporting clubs; local branches of foreign based membership clubs including the Rotary and Kiwanis (Eneas, 1990; Salvation Army, n.d.).

That said, several threats and challenges, both internal and external, created new forms of inequality, new forms of contentious politics, and problematic engagements with the Global North. At home, white elites continued to accumulate wealth and influence politics. The PLP would lead the country until 1992; however, their leadership was often time tested from within. Numerous individuals and groups contested their ability to government. The first was the move of “The Free PLP” members (led by Cecil Wallace Whitfield), disgruntled with Pindling’s leadership (Bahamianology, n.d.). This Free PLP eventually led to the formation of the Free National Movement (FNM), a mixed group of former PLPs’s, UBP, and other as newer players to the political scene. Other notable political groups also include the rise of the Vanguard Party, the first Socialist party in the Bahamas. Inspired by the black power movement in the U.S., the Black Panther Party, and the growing consciousness of black power ideologies across the Caribbean, the

Vanguard party charged the PLP with neocolonial policies that supported “imperial interests” (Vanguard Nationalist and Socialist Party of the Bahamas, 1980).

For many years, many of the political challenges were unsuccessful. However, these important and contentious politics provided opportunities for newer alternative public spheres to educate, warn, or critique the newer dominant government and its policies. By 1992, Pindling and the PLP were voted out for the first time. The new emerging leader, Prime Minister Hubert Ingraham, once a young member and protégée to Pindling, led the FNM to victory (Huggins, Knowles, & Smith, 1992; Sun Sentinel, 1992). Ingraham was dismissed from the PLP for his seemingly strident accusation of corruption within the PLP.

One of the most dominant, damaging, and unanticipated external threats was the growth of the drug trade and the implications that it had for the Bahamas with its close geographic proximity to the Bahamas. Pindling and members of his Cabinet were accused of taking bribes from international drug dealers that used remote airstrips on a few of the Family Islands to conduct their drug business. These attacks implicated the Bahamas in deep foreign policy conflicts with the U.S. State Department (Craton & Saunders, 2000; Prendergast, 1987).

More importantly, the impact of crack cocaine on the lives on many young Bahamians and their families devastated communities with violence and the deep levels of addiction faced by many Bahamians. The flow of drugs provided a devastating blow to the new middle-class including their newly founded and acquired neighborhoods (Craton & Saunders, 2000). The consequences of the drug trade created new inequalities. As with these complex threats, while challenging, the government continued to cope and manage these critical societal changes (Major, 1987). While Pindling was never found guilty of any wrong doing, a few Cabinet ministers were dismissed from their duties. The government implemented new policies that assisted in global interdiction efforts in the drug wars of the 1980s and 1990s. The government also worked with public health officials and civil society groups such as social welfare

organizations in providing support to the scourge of drug addiction (Consultative Committee on National Youth Development. (1995).

As former members of former civil society and the alternative sphere, the PLP evolved into a wholly different sector of society. The implications of this change within the entire Caribbean provide important revelations for the development of local civil society (Dominguez, 1993) and assert that Caribbean nation states struck a “statist bargain” in the early moments of decolonization. The statist bargain here relates to Caribbean government’s recognition that their uncompetitive economies gave way to the policy position that “their strategic location would generate the protection from friendly major powers to spare them the costs of defense as well as generate the funds to pay their welfare state” (p. 12). This welfare-state supported political party patronage, which allowed the poor, through offers of employment gained, to increase their opportunities for social mobility.

Party patronage kept parties in power and simultaneously created new levels of social welfare provision by the government. The expectation here was that government would care for the large swathes of social issues. This was certainly the case in the Bahamas and created enormous implications for the structure of Bahamian society. In the Bahamas, these policy changes included the growth of the public sector through employment. One drawback is that party patronage also led to actual and real charges of favoritism called “victimization” on the party of the governing party. Also, as was the case in the Bahamas and as Dominguez (1993) notes, the “party-union complex was firmly established in terms of electoral effectiveness and as one pillar of the democratic order” (p. 17). Businesses also flourished without much competition in the Bahamas, including some of the former white elites. The era of decolonization and independence in the Bahamas created the “statist bargain,” and saw the introduction of newer multilateral policies of austerity and neoliberalism, in addition to the rise in larger and newer social issues affecting the Bahamians. This balance of issues lies at the crux of the post-post colonial period and bring enormous implications for civil society especially as it relates to the

linkages between it and the national cultural identity embedded in government, society, and the public sphere.

Requiem Narratives for a Quiet Revolution?

In June 2015, on a sweltering weekday evening, I had the opportunity to attend The Critical Caribbean Symposium Series held at the Bahamas Historical Society Museum. The panel discussion was entitled: "Radicals, Revolutions & Riots - The Legacy of Burma Road."¹³ Panelists discussed at length the significance of the 1942 Burma Road Riots, whether it was a precursor to the formation of the PLP, the concerns with the naming of the "Quiet Revolution" as an act of keeping the masses "docile." Most prominently for me was the Q/A period where after a few exchanges, a diminutive older white man received his turn at the microphone. He introduced himself as one of the few people in the room that evening in 2015 that were actually alive during the 1942 riots. At the time, he was only 12 years old. The crowd gathered, soon learned that this was the son of Percy Christie, the white labor leader and Bay Street shoe store owner. Percy Christie's store is reported as the only store that rioters did not destroy during the riots. The crowd was completely silent as the slow realization of the speaker's legacy in relation to the riots became more evident. He described the riots as strictly nonpolitical and as a quest for fair wages. His conclusion was that the PLP did not form based on the riots. His tone became more agitated, with his fingers clasped around the microphone he shook even more ferociously, as he then argued that despite historical research, there were no women on Bay Street and the implication that there were no women participants in the monumental riot. A history professor quickly corrected him and they engaged in a brief intense exchange about the presence of women at the riots. Very quickly, the professor recognized both the fruitlessness of arguing and perhaps with respect for the son of Percy Christie, the professor ended the argument.

¹³ Video of the event is posted on YouTube but the exchange between the professor and Percy Christie were edited out. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Q7BbUk5s_E

This story provides an idea of the continued significance of the Burma Road Riots, the challenges borne from the label of the Quiet Revolution, and the way forward for new revolutionary acts to change some of the more challenging social problems within Bahamian society. The memory stuck with me as I continued to work on this project. The disagreements between the various panelists included the interpretations of both possibilities for the future as well as considerations of the past. This highlights the fact that the narrative analytical contexts (as Somers (1994) proposes those ontological, public, and conceptual) are often times in contention and flux. Who was right about women's participation during Burma Road riots? Was it the man, recollecting childhood memories or the historian gathering documents and evidence beyond his own personal experience? In the condition of the postcolonial, these questions remain especially relevant in the moment of decolonization which offered new opportunities to create a new imagined community. Ironically, the event was held at The Bahamas Historical Society which is housed in a building donated by the Imperial Daughters of Empire, a segregated and whites only civil society organization (The Bahamian Historical Society, 2008). In the postcolony, the past still haunts the present and the present continues to demand answers of the past.

That said, the development of civil society, the alternative public sphere, and the pursuit of inclusive acceptance through engagement are critical aspects of the development of a postcolonial cultural identity. The challenges of postcoloniality and its connection to cultural identity continue to shape postcolonial nation states through multiple mechanisms. As Steensland (2008) notes, critical attention should be paid to tracing cultural processes that influence the shape of policy as well as the greater development of society. Through the assessment of narratives, the development of cultural identity, in the Bahamas, over time, shaped policy development but also guided the formation and subsequent iterations of civil society made evident through the responses of civil society. These formations and iterations are revealed through narratives that highlight the modes and forms of participation, the choices available for

that participation especially as it relates to available resources, and the frames and discourses used in assessing and addressing old and emerging social issues.

Chapter 5. The Arts as Engagement and Identity: Narratives of Aesthetic and Expressive

Cultural Practices

this is the song of my islands...

my sacred and, sacrilegious place
of being,
of self
and self de-selftion...

my I-lands,
place of the pink sand
and dead smugglers
place of picky heads
and fat Bay Street bosses...

a quest for names
we like more...

God's blue eye
seeing us
struggle

seeing us
trying
to
remake
ourselves

again.
(National Anthem, Ian Strachan, 2006)

Poetic knowledge is born in the great silence of scientific knowledge.
(Poetry and Knowledge, Aime Cesaire, 1990, p. 17)

“There Are Ways to Get Involved”

Sometime around 2014 or 2015, this dissertation project was born. It was during the holiday season, either on Boxing Day (The day after Christmas) or New Year's Eve morning. Junkanoo's cacophony, its dazzle, and intensity made evident its significance for Bahamians in the way it sheds light on the civic, the participatory, the collective, and the aspirations of a people. It could have occurred to me at any moment of the long stretch of the Junkanoo parade. It was either around midnight in the crisp night air or right before the dawn. A larger group (known as an A group), I cannot remember who, was at the height of their performance. A banner with

theme had passed and then some costumes. It was now the moment of the music. The goatskin, cowbell, and horn melded together so that it was impossible to think of anything else. Your heart races and pounds, you feel out of breath, you are in full amazement and anticipation. Your eyes are fixed on the many performers. The musicians played the melody and as in a call and response, the spectators and supporters, sang back. It is the game of the music. They play, you repeat either in words, utterances, or in dance. It took some time but the crowd eventually recognized the song at the chorus: “Get involved, get involved...There are other ways to get involved.”

“Get Involved” was recorded in 1982 by Tyrone Fitzgerald otherwise known as Dr. Offfff. The song blends both the Junkanoo drum rhythm with funk. In the background of the music, party goers are heard reveling with a similar mood to Marvin Gaye’s, “Gotta Give It Up.” Unlike Gaye’s singular theme of the call of the dancefloor, “Get Involved” combined not only the Junkanoo and the funk but also the idea of the kind of society in which everyone locates their sense of self within the idea of service to the improvement of the collective. The quick verses:

Take that mess from off the wall
Give the baby back its ball
Leave other people’s things alone
There’s other ways to get involved

Don’t be no fool stay in school
Let you mind become a tool
Jails were made for fools to be
Locked away from society, society, society
(Fitzgerald, 1982)

Here, Dr. Offfff described one vision of the good society: multiple forms of engagement, inclusive community, education for advancement, and safety. The Junkanoo crowd in 2014/2015 of which I was a member, comprised of young and old. For the purposes of the call and response of the song, the composition of the audience did not matter; the song was recognized amongst everyone. In that moment, I recognized Junkanoo as a cultural practice that brought people together, not only in the present moment of the parade, but joined them together (both the Junkanoo performers and the audience) in a moment of nostalgia with a collective call for

engagement. Perhaps this is what the late Bahamian artist and civic leader, Jackson Burnside III meant when he said:

Junkanoo is a celebration. Junkanoo represents the spirit of the Bahamian culture, and it is this spirit, once celebrated with the intensity of the parades in all other aspects of our culture, that will provide the leadership for our society in the future. (Creative Nassau, 2009, The inspiration for collaboration amongst other art forms, para. 2)

The purpose of this chapter is to take this assertion of Jackson Burnside and use it as a catalyst to examine the ways in which Bahamian culture, especially aesthetic and expressive practices, provides a space for leadership, most notably within civil society. To do this, the chapter provides an analysis of those cultural forms that provide insight into the development of Bahamian society and resultantly, Bahamian civil society. I will interrogate these claims through narrative analysis focusing on the expressive and aesthetic cultural stances and practices that shape Bahamian civil society. Furthermore, I focus on identifying how these cultural practices developed within civil society engage with identity, especially class, race, and gender.

By the time Dr. Offfff released “Get Involved” in 1982, the Bahamas was approaching its 10-year independence anniversary. From majority rule in 1967, the transformation of Bahamian society was evident and the aesthetic and expressive cultural practices reflected this. The earlier formations of inclusive acceptance through engagement moved beyond the alternative public sphere and became a call for a renewed commitment to Bahamian cultural identity. This identity took on multiple aspects including a national, Pan African, Caribbean, and cosmopolitan cultural identity. While the aims of Pan America shifted to politics and economics, cultural practices were shaped by an African Diasporic consciousness and a Caribbean identity. These cultural flows within and beyond the nation state of the Bahamas were not without tensions. Bahamians, for a variety of reasons have always felt a sense of ambivalence about their ties to the Caribbean or the United States despite their potential positive influences. Some of these reasons reflected the rationales of geographic proximity or an economic strategy as embodied in the notion of the symbol of majority rule in the Bahamas as the “quiet revolution.” However, aesthetic and

expressive cultural practices suspend some of these judgements and instead, these practices take on the larger regional and diasporic social themes. As these practices imbued the movements of the time especially in and after decolonization and majority rule, social identities again prove fruitful in understanding their thematic and conceptual convergences.

Dr. Offfff's music while representation of a new era of awakening that captured the moment of independence and highlighted those themes of cultural identity like belonging and responsibility, useful comparisons are still evident. The music of the period recognized the jet-set, cosmopolitan, upwardly mobile, and optimism as a representation of independence and diasporic consciousness. Priscilla Rollins crooned "Independence Morning is like a baby borning," a ballad for the independence celebrations recognizing the local and global significance of independence both its local and global significance. In 1971, the group Beginning of the End, comprised of the Munnings brothers, released the international hit "Funky Nassau" with the lyrics:

Nassau's gone funky
Nassau's gone soul
We've got a dog on beat now
We gonna call our very own
Nassau rock and Nassau roll
Nassau's got a whole lotta soul...
Mini skirt
Maxi skirts
And afro-headed dudes
People doin' their own thing...
New York you know
has got a lot of soul
And London Town
is too dog on cold, too cold, hey
Nassau's got sunshine
and this you all know
But we all go funky
We got some soul...
(Munnings & Fitzgerald, 1971)

"Funky Nassau" exuded the spirit of the time. It recognized a renewed black identity, gender liberation, a moment centered on the pursuit of upward mobility and freedom as well as an aspiration for global recognition and inclusion. In addition to the new identities created through equality and opportunity, musical forms acknowledged issues of past oppression. While Dr.

Offfff's "Get Involved" was an anthem for personal and collective responsibility, Rommen (2012) juxtaposes his song with Tony "Exuma the Obeah Man" McKay's "Pay Me What You Owe Me." Dr. Offfff "chose to draw on the rhetoric of social uplift and national solidarity, "Pay Me what You Owe Me" highlighted Exuma The Obeah Man's decision to focus on "explicitly linking himself to the sharp edge of civil rights and black power" (p. 199). Exuma the Obeah Man's work also celebrated the spiritual practice of Obeah, taking it out of the shadows of Christianity's scorn and moving it into the celebratory space of African diasporic religious practices. As a result, Rommen (2012) also notes that Dr. Offfff's work was appreciated and utilized by the Bahamian government at the time as a way to market tourism and to give meaning and specific direction for citizenship practices in the wake of the quiet revolution. Rommen (2012) is right when he adds that Offfff's messages were more palatable because of the need for:

...subsuming Junkanoo within a Christian context had already enjoyed a long history within Bahamian society. Dr. Offfff's musical and artistic project was, and as such considerably less threatening to the vision of a modern, cosmopolitan Bahamas than was Exuma's. (p. 199)

I provide these musical examples to first show how artistic expression helped define Bahamian cultural identity. These songs were used to define aspects of cultural identity drawing on either themes of the past or providing visions for the future. Many of these aspects were useful for identifying a newly independent Bahamian cultural identity. To do this, it drew on the past with its calls for inclusive acceptance through engagement resting upon themes that either called attention to new opportunities or conceptualized new visions of civic responsibility and engagement. That said these expressive art practices while all celebrating the moment of decolonization, majority rule, and independence provided contested themes. Some of these themes were used by newly elected governments thereby creating another kind of divide concerning the appropriate vision for society. Furthermore, in asserting a new sense of collective belonging predicated on the past, these expressive cultural practices highlighted some important

emerging assertions about the role of civil society within not only the Bahamas, but the Caribbean.

Making the Case for Caribbean Art and Civil Society Formation

I wish to address the issue of using the arts to think about civil society formation within a postcolonial nation state. While there are multiple ways in which civil society is contested, with some urging that the heart of civil society formation occurs within the work of NGOs and nonprofits, there are other perspectives (Morin 2012). Obadare (2011) considers the work of civil society as inclusive of nonprofit and NGO organizational formation but draws on the wider range of citizen engagement and activity. He also adds that debating the usefulness of the concept within the Global South as useless because it is the term, for a variety of reasons that is commonly used. I argue that the multiple intellectual conceptualizations of civil society become a part of a broader conception of the term. Baicchio (2012) suggests that “theoretical stretching” is useful in understanding civil society in its Global South manifestations. I argue that in order to do this theoretical stretching that Baicchio (2012) recommends looking at the wider range of activity including cross-fertilization of activities and practices. As Walzer (1995) defines civil society as “...the space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks-formed for the sake of family, faith, interest, and ideology” (p. 7). I add here that the space of civil society requires analysis that focuses not only on organizational formations but also individuals within society, individuals as part of organizations, as well as the expressive qualities (existing within both individuals as well as organizational formations) that produce narratives, discourses, rhetoric and metaphors that influence the process of human association. Here I place Anheier’s (2014) assertion that as civil society as a concept, while complex, it is “necessary to examine concepts from different perspectives and orientation” (p. 84). He also adds that one of those perspectives includes research that sometimes “adopt(s) an abstract, systemic view and see(s) civil society as a macro-sociological attribute of societies...others take a more individualistic orientation emphasize the notion of individual agency, citizenship, values, and participation” (p. 84).

Added to this I consider the idea of the expressive quality of civil society. Salamon, Solokowski, and List (2003) urge that:

beyond political and policy concerns, the civil society sector also performs a broader *expressive function*, providing the vehicles through which an enormous variety of other sentiments and impulses—artistic, religious, cultural, ethnic, social, recreational—also find expression. (p. 20)

Frumkin (2002) adds that participation in the nonprofit and voluntary sector provides an opportunity for people to find a place to focus on the:

...broad causes that are close to the heart or by giving to an effort that speaks directly to the needs of the community, nonprofit and voluntary action answers a powerful expressive urge. (p. 23)

For Salamon and Solokowski (2003) this expressive function is “sentimental” and typically manifests itself within the civil society sector through certain kinds of nonprofit organizations. The authors here also distinguish between this expressive function from the concerns of politics or policy. Frumkin (2002) cites expressiveness as something “close to the heart,” as a feeling which gives rise to voluntary action. Both authors concentrate on the way in which nonprofits and voluntary action provide a space to act on those sentiments, often times through collective action. I would like to argue, that while linked to emotion, the expressive quality is connected to identity formation, in particular cultural identity formation. While useful to think of its manifestations within nonprofits, this form of expression originates from within society and is guided by historical, social, and political structures. It works within individuals and organizations and permeates through the entire space of the civil society, even linking to the public sphere. As Fischlin, Heble, and Lipsitz (2013) aptly note:

...politics is an embodied activity, an affective emotional endeavor, a sphere of life that evolves around desires for collective association and reciprocal recognition, as well as for rights and resources. Political thinkers outside of the academy who have been immersed in popular struggles have long understood the importance of culture to democratic and egalitarian social change. (Introduction, p. xxx)

In the case of the postcolonial, the expressive shaped the formation of cultural identity which included new formations and understandings of the self and nation. The work of a civil

society and the alternative public sphere viewed through the lens of inclusive acceptance through engagement concentrated on liberation from second class status citizenship in the Caribbean and in the rest of the postcolonial world. This prompted the renewed process of cultural identity and solidified its direct linkage to aesthetic and expressive cultural formations. Mark Raymond (2013a) offers the processual formations noting that in the Caribbean:

The political imperatives of sovereignty and citizenship were amply reflected in the collective enthusiasm with which political, sociocultural institutions, and practices were redefined...Cultural expression took on critical importance and absorbed the energies of a wide range of cultural practices as practitioners in all disciplines aligned their work with the political and social aspirations of the time...Having cleared the way to political independence, cultural assimilation raised questions revolving around identity, a focus that continues to characterize the thematic orientation of much cultural production. (para. 2)

This collective enthusiasm was undoubtedly fomented as the independence movements ushered in governments that focused on full inclusion. Many nations offered scholarships for an even wider range of citizens to travel abroad for education in the United States, Europe, and other parts of the Caribbean. These transnational experiences, at previously unprecedented rates, afforded Caribbean nations an opportunity to bring new ideas of development, renewed questions of cultural identity, and other visions for new postcolonial societies. It is in this moment and beyond, that I consider Crichlow's (2009) definition of creolization moving from Braithwaite's inner and outer plantation typing to a more "creolization in the world" which instead focuses on the multitude of cultural exchanges that occurred across time and space that create Caribbean identities.

I also want to frame this linkage between cultural identity, aesthetic and expressive cultural practices, and civil society within the imperative of development and development practices. New theories and perspectives on the nature of development extended these considerations beyond economics and asks: "what kind of humans do we want to be, and in what kind of society do we want to live?" (Clammer, 2015, p. 3). Cultural identity provides a group of people conjoined together a lens in which they can consider interconnected dimensions of ethos

and practices of living. I add to this UNESCO's (2005) Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression declaration of protection of cultural diversity linking the significance of cultural identity and cultural expression as critical in enhancing the development needs of societies. In late 2017, UNESCO will deliver the findings of the global report linking locating tis significance to the 2030 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals highlighting the work of amongst others, civil society in "advancing creativity for development" (UNESCO, 2017).

With these recent trends solidifying the connection of cultural identity to development imperatives, it is important to situate the Caribbean's pursuit of this knowledge formation well before these reports. The focus on cultural identity, creativity and art linked to notions of citizenship, and community engagement has a long legacy within the Caribbean. As Caribbean scholar Rex Nettleford (2007) notes:

It is no surprise, then that we in this part of the world arguably have more artists per square inch than is probably good for us...all of these speak to the heritage (tangible and intangible) that has been bequeathed to the region by the forebears who found solace, resilience, and renewal in masking, metaphor, and myth. They all provided a route to redemption and certitude in coping with the obscenities of slavery, indentureship, and the humiliation and dehumanization which those socio-economic systems imposed in hundreds and thousands severed from ancestral hearths- most of them involuntarily-to plough the field and scatter what others were to regard as "good seeds" on the land. (p. 1)

Nettleford (2007) recognizes how Caribbean arts produced a catalog of rich artistry that focused on the earlier legacies of slavery and second class belonging in the new postcolonial era, used art to reflect cultural identity as belonging, inclusion, and to provide possible avenues for community engagement. This is not to suggest that all art representations are linked as emerging or functioning within civil society. However, I hope to engage with those artists, and art movements that have functioned within the broader capacity of civil society. Many of the Caribbean artists, especially those that developed in the independence era, were focused on creating and thinking through issues of national and regional cultural identity. I focus on those occurrences and use them to think through the formation of civil society.

Postcolonial Arts Politics, the Public Sphere, and Civil Society Development

In the dawn of the independence era, Caribbean and Bahamian artist worked alongside government to think through the process of nationhood, utilizing the space of civil society. For example, the Caribbean Arts Movement led by Kamu Braithwaite amongst others from 1966-1972. With transnational links between London and the rest of the Caribbean, these artists created a “public space, through opening meetings and conferences, to debate the role of arts in the context of a postcolonial identity” (Courtman, 2008, p. 234). The group produced the journal *Savacou*¹⁴ which offered literary criticism as a way to think about the new Caribbean identity and to consider ideas of citizenship and belonging. Braithwaite published his seminal article on the process of Creolization in *Savacou*.

Some artists worked within civil society as well as government to create new symbols of national identity. For example, the Bahamian artists, the work of Hervis Bain, worked to train new and up and coming visual and Junknaoo artists and leaders like Percy “Vola” Francis, the leader of one of the largest Junkanoo groups, the Saxons. As a simultaneous and interconnected vocational endeavor, Hervis Bain also worked with the government in producing key national symbols including the flag and the coat of arms (The Bahamas Weekly, 2015).

Civil Society, the Arts, and Postcolonial Government

This relationship between government and civil society especially as it exists within the domain of aesthetic and expressive art, proved a mixed relationship with numerous collaborations but alternate contentions. One case that provides insight into the relationship between civil society and government as it relates to art is the Jumbey Arts Village, created by Edmund Moxey (The Nassau Guardian, 2014). Moxey served as a member of parliament for Coconut Grove in Nassau. The village began as a spin off from the popular Jumbey Festivals and takes its names from a typical Bahamian tree. The founder saw the cultural arts center as critical in providing a

¹⁴ Braithwaite published his seminal article on the process of Creolization in *Savacou* in 1975.

place for cultural arts development just as the tree “was a symbol of the Bahamian people growing together from strength-to-strength root, branches” (Rommen, 2012, p. 171). The idea and potential funding models were first proposed at a meeting at the Jaycees Club of Nassau (Justilien, 2004). After several years of successful festivals, which began in 1967, Moxey envisioned a festival at one site. Moxey collaborated with local schools on designing the arts center and the teachers all agreed to donate “a half day’s pay and every school would have a function” (p. 178). Moxey said that he was able to raise \$90,000 in seed money from private donations.

Moxey also solicited support from the government. Supported by some of his friends who were also ministers in the government, like Carlton E. Francis, the then Minister for Education and Culture, and Dr. Doris Johnson, then minister of Transportation, he received public funding. By 1973, Moxey proposed that the Jumbey Village serve as the centerpiece for “a program in social, cultural, and economic development of the country as a commitment to independence” (Rommen, p. 171). The program was in the area known as “Over the Hill” in a neighborhood where mostly Bahamians lived and not often visited by tourists. The goal here was to create a center made by and for Bahamians, in particular, working class Bahamians.

The Village hosted Bahamian artists, gift shops, and a “bush” medicine garden. The successful run of Jumbey Village ended after the Progressive Liberal Party (PLP) government ended its funding. The end of public funding began the slow demise of Jumbey Village. Numerous contentions about the reasons for its closure are still debated. The first is that Edmund Moxey, as a member of the PLP criticized some of the more central members of the PLP, especially as it related to their slow disconnect to the people in the “Over the Hill” areas. Moxey felt that he lost his funding when he lost his favor and position within the PLP government. The other reason that is often noted was the proposal by the then Minister of Tourism, Clement Maynard, to create a new festival called “Goombay Summer” (The Bahamas Public Services Union, n.d.). This festival proposed to bring in revenue as well as connect visitors to the Bahamas

to the people and culture. Eventually, the government chose to fund Goombay Summer. The debate over the centrality of Jumbey Village, what it could have achieved in terms of developing a deeper understanding of Bahamian cultural identity, and its potential to serve as a place for the economic development of working class Bahamians remains a critical touchstone.

Jumbey Villiage serves as a key example of the centrality of arts and its relationship to development. Furthermore, it provides important questions as to the relationship of postcolonial governments and their policies about revenue generation, especially as it relates to economic inclusion. It seems that if the village was so popular and utilized in its stint, why did Edmund Moxey not continue to raise funds privately to maintain if not all, some parts of the Village? Once the government ended its funding, the site slowly fell out of use. In 1978, The Ministry of Education and Culture and its division, of the then Archives Office, later Department of Archives held an archived exhibition to preserve the Junkanoo exhibit at Jumbey Village. The exhibit provided the historical and contemporary development of the festival Junkanoo with images and replicas of costumes from the past (the earliest image from 1935). The literal end of Jumbey Village most dramatically occurred in 1986, when it was destroyed by dynamite to prepare for the building of the National Insurance Building.

Pat Rahming (2015), poet, architect, and singer was commissioned by the government to create plans for the new National Insurance¹⁵ building (The National Insurance Board, n.d.). Ironically, Rahming, though he participated in the demise of Jumbey Village, he was also one of the artists who performed during the heyday of the Village. In a letter to the editor in the Nassau Guardian in 2012, Rahming offered his assessment of the end of Jumbey Village and provides a

¹⁵ From the National Insurance website with building image: “established on December 12, 1972 with the signing into law of the National Insurance Act, 1972. The National Insurance Board (NIB), the organization charged with administering the social security programme, opened its doors officially on October 7, 1974. Its primary mission was and is to provide income-replacement in respect of sickness, invalidity, maternity, retirement, death, industrial injury/disease, and involuntary loss of income.” (NIB, n.d., para. 1)

powerful statement about the arts, government, and civil society. He first described the legacy of Jumbey Village and the narrative of the “lost opportunity” as its most frequent description. He first suggested that:

There are, however, several lessons to be learned from the saga, but I am afraid many of them may be lost in the competitive and acrimonious conversations about political sabotage and broken dreams that we have been seduced into. There are lessons about the way we govern ourselves, about our efforts to redevelop our communities and about the business of culture that so far have been left out of the public conversation, lessons crucial to our future development. (Rahming, 2012, para. 2)

Rahming (2012) focused on the dominant narrative about the destruction of Jumbey Village. Instead of agreeing with such narratives of political infighting, he focused on the issue of beliefs of community organization and governance and its relationship to culture. He critiqued what he called the “truncated system of government” with its tightly centralized bureaucratic structure narrowing opportunities for local communities to plan and create beyond a program’s inclusion of the government budget. Second, he also took to task the discussions of many who criticized a study commissioned by the then UBP in 1967 to provide a plan for urban development in Nassau. The UBP government selected Columbia University’s architecture school in New York to provide a vision for redevelopment. While many lamented the fact that the PLP government failed to use the plan, (as another failure to be added to the PLP alongside Jumbey Village), Rahming (2012) offers one important caveat that:

... it was not a study that included the input of the people for whom the study was supposedly done. It would therefore most likely have been disastrous for it to have been implemented. This is not to suggest that there is anything wrong with having foreigners carry out studies, but their relevance is determined by the extent to which the “brief” is determined locally. (para. 6-7)

This design of the “built environment,” Rahming (2012) argues is one that should be determined by local communities also offering his assessments of some local Bahamian communities. In 2012, the post-independence middle-class subdivision of Seabreeze, he argues, had less of a “community experience” to the more “over the Hill community of Mason’s Addition. Instead of

falling into line with the dominant narrative of Jumbey Village as a cultural, economic, and social loss for the country he also argued that:

One of the most obvious successes in the Jumbey Village story was that Ed Moxey showed the Cordeaux Avenue community how to take responsibility for themselves. If there was one major failure, it was that he allowed them to believe they needed outside sanction to continue doing so. (para. 9)

Here, Rahming (2012) underscored the relationship between civil society and government in the postcolonial context in the Bahamas. The failure of Jumbey Village came not from the competition of Goombay Summer or the political infighting of the PLP but rather, the belief that support of a cultural and economic proposed engine such as Jumbey Village had to come from the government and not from a collective vision for community revitalization.

Rahming (2012) ended his letter by focusing on the relationship between development, culture, civil society, and policy, noting that commercial viability was never considered in the organization of Jumbey Village. Rahming (2012) helps underscore the Caribbean statist bargain when he notes the “environment that encourages the belief that ‘jobs’ can be guaranteed by law and it is no mystery that the cultural offerings of The Bahamas are uncompetitive.” He connects this point to his perspective on the failure of Jumbey Village adding that:

Jumbey Village had the opportunity – and the responsibility – to become a first-class retail attraction, built on the experience of our lifestyle. But for that someone would have had to develop the business model (that is, understand who the customer was, what the product was and how to offer the product to the target customer for a profit), which clearly was not its focus at the time. It was focused on its social objectives, but it was its commercial failure that made government support so necessary. While there has been much discussion about the extent to which the country failed Ed Moxey, I believe we have missed the opportunity to focus on the potential role of Jumbey Villages in the development of the economy, and therefore on the real empowerment of the so-called “small man”. (para. 12)

While Rahming (2012) is but one voice, I think his Letter to the Editor provides insight into a few important issues. First, the story of Jumbey Village offers a prime example of expressive and aesthetic culture and its connection to not only cultural identity formation but also civil society development. The continued retelling of the end of Jumbey Village and its lost

opportunity highlights the significance and centrality of cultural arts to both cultural identity formation and the development of such formation within civil society. Edmund Moxey as leader drew numerous citizens together to think about the significance of such place, advocated for working class needs, developed momentum that led to the site initial creation, and raised both private and public funds for its creation. That said, the end of public funding secured the village's demise. The case of Jumbey Village, through the experience of Edmund Moxey, also signals the similar repertoire of the black middle-class middleman negotiating for the black working class based on their needs but on their behalf. This time, the middleman had to contend with a new government, they themselves also at one point served within civil society as middlemen.

I think it is important to consider the centrality of government in particular, the government that had recently led the Bahamas to both majority rule and independence from Britain. As the political organization with its savvy social movement tactics, the PLP in its earlier days, developed followers and were ultimately successful in becoming the government of the Bahamas. This transformation of a key site of civil society formation into the public sector led many to believe that it was the government's duty to preserve and protect projects such as Jumbey Village for the improvement of the "Over the Hill" communities especially as these same communities had secured the victory of the PLP. This relationship of civil society offers another way of looking at the "blurring of the sectors" especially in a postcolonial context. The expectations of the citizenry for government funding and services are retold in the narrative of Jumbey Village's lost opportunity. This relationship highlights the significance of the statist bargain and Pat Rahming's criticisms of such beliefs also recognized the postcolonial governance dilemma of the lack of a private and collective initiative even after the government withdrew its funding.

Seen in another light, the demise of Jumbey Village also advances the postcolonial condition of the Bahamas with its reliance (some may argue overreliance) on tourism. The government's choice to fund the Goombay Summer "people to people" project aimed to educate

visitors about the culture and lives of Bahamians. It was also aimed at revenue creation. The focus on tourism was economic but also geopolitical. As a policy, the government at that time, with its rhetoric of the quiet revolution, wanted to provide a friendly image of the Bahamas, one that stood in stark contrast to the rest of the Caribbean with some of its representations of body and violent revolutions. Goombay Summer remained economically viable for many years and it was a centerpiece in the Ministry of Tourism's planning model.

The case of Jumbey Village is also important in considering the voice of civil society especially when taking the point made by Moxey and one of the common reasons cited for the demise of Jumbey Village had much to do with his criticisms of the PLP government. That said, the criticisms of Jumbey's Villages closure as cited as a failure of the PLP government to ensure the social development of the people especially those from the "Over the Hill" communities go beyond the scope of this project but certainly the specific programs, their impact require a thorough assessment. With much discussion about the PLP's implicit policy of "victimization" there is perhaps truth to Moxey's account. That said, the confluence of issues perhaps led to the end of Jumbey Village including: the lack of a business plan for revenue creation beyond the end of public funding, the issues of democratic free speech, the central relationship of tourism and its impact on government funding, and the expectations and limits of government funding.

Caribbean Arts Practice, Identity, and The Public Sphere

In this section, I want to focus on aesthetic and expressive cultural practices in particular artistic genres that shed light not only on cultural identity but also enhance its connection to the development of civil society. First, I will concentrate on multiple artistic genres (not exhaustive) that offer insights into the meaning of art within community and the conceptions of art to positively transform and promote social change. Second, these artistic practices also call attention to specific social issues and themes including old and new dimensions of social identity that impacts the Caribbean offering critiques of social problems and thereby highlighting structural

issues that require collection action and attention. Third, I will focus on artistic practices and their individual and collective work on social issues through service, advocacy, and performance.

Genre Approaches

Architecture

The postcolonial moment ushered in new considerations about architecture and the lived and built environment. The work of Caribbean architects worked to solidify the significance of Bahamian influences beyond just colonial architecture. Connolly (2006) writes about the “shotgun” house during the 1940s in Miami’s predominantly black, Overtown area. The shotgun house nicknamed as such was:

...an elongated, single-story dwelling made of wood with a door at either end of a central hall- way. The term “shotgun” referred not to the actual shape of the house but to the belief that one could shoot a shotgun through the front door and have the bullets exit the backdoor without them ever hitting a wall. (p. 17)

Connolly (2006) connects the shotgun house to African Diasporic practices and structural similarities of Bahamian and West African dwelling places and architecture. Connolly (2006) focuses on the fact of predominantly black (Caribbean/Bahamian) lived in close proximity to one another because it made it “very hard not to get along and have a good relationship with the person you lived close to” (p. 19). While Connolly’s (2006) larger point that good living connected residents to a sense of community belonging but architectural diasporic practices placed black people in the horrible living conditions in the first place. Both points are useful for considering architecture’s role in the postcolonial civil society.

Fraught not only with the issue of redefining what it meant to be black, Caribbean or Bahamian in the postcolonial era, artists contemplated the work of art as the process of redefinition. Raymond (2013a) addressed this in focusing on the consideration of dwelling spaces as simultaneously lacking in “high modern amenity” it still provided a “reassuring appeal and possess and aesthetic quality that resonates of what is understood or read to be authentic or local or belonging to us” (para. 5.) The work of architects locates the dwelling space as not only a

representation of economic struggle but as recognition of how that struggle created living spaces that became a part of the culture.

Bahamian, Jackson Burnside typified this idea in his work as an architect harnessing not only in his actual designs but promoting the idea of cultural identity through the lived environment. His focus, Ginton-Meicholas (2012) suggests was a central factor in Burnside's legacy centered on thinking about Bahamian design practices as a legacy of "forbearers" who "demonstrated a profound understanding of the concept of sustainability and exercised 'green wisdom' before the term was conjured in the 20th century" (p. 31). By this he referred to the building patterns as representing a sustainable living model that connected to the physical space including awareness of archipelagic winds, temperature averages, winds and hurricane protection. For Burnside, the "shotgun" house was virtuous because "it did not require expensive artificial cooling systems and could withstand the onslaught of centuries of powerful storms" (p. 31-32). This ethos of cultural identity as embodied in Bahamian building practices became Burnside's civil society work. He not only led the charge through his own architectural plans that reflected these characteristics but he also mentored countless students of architecture as well as other artists—as a visual artist and Junkanoo leader.

The use and development of architecture to define cultural identity in the postcolonial era also carries some emerging tensions surrounding the nature of creolization as well as past and future ideas of belonging. Raymond (2013a) explores the tensions around postcoloniality and the lived and built environment. Specifically, he cites the tension that exist within ideas of using architecture, especially with its focus on postcolonial cultural belonging of colonial "revindication", harnessing the struggles of predominately black people to live in the midst of oppressive structures. The contentions though were to provide for this while moving towards a future in which the lived and built environments participate within the realm of modernization and exudes the "scientific, technical, and political rationality, something which very often requires the pure and simple abandon a whole cultural past" (Raymond, 2012a, para. 12).

Raymond also draws attention to the work of architecture as part of civil society and its relationship to the state and other governance structures. Here, he recognizes the burdens of postcolonial government to comply with outside multilateral systems in the pursuit of resource allocation. This he notes, led the neglect of important nation building projects that led to poor urban planning and the “deterioration in the equality of the physical landscape.” With these tensions in mind, he then makes a call for renewed commitments from within civil society recognizing the need for “stronger advocacy and representation of the potential of design in this context and the promotion of the idea of design as acritical functional and aesthetic component of society” (Raymond, 2012a, para. 16).

Visual Arts and Culture

The development of visual arts functions within civil society offering not only spaces for those interested in developing their artistic practices in a cultural context but also provides multiple forums to discuss Caribbean pasts, presents, and futures linked to ideas of understanding, engagement, and empowerment. While artists like Winston Homer (Griffin, 2006) depicted images of Bahamians in his catalog of work as early as early as 1885, in the postcolonial era, the main concern considers the significance of visual art as a representation of the Bahamian experience giving context to the perspective of Bahamians by Bahamians. Throughout the Caribbean and the rest of the African Diaspora, these concerns about visual art helped create a new appreciation for the visual artist and their work in shaping cultural identity. These concerns and new directions often took place and continue to do so within the broader context of civil society. Kempadoo (2013) cites three core institutional spaces in which Caribbean visual culture developed. These three-institutional formations providing support for artists:

...created through the support of officially state-endorsed programs or events, such as the Caribbean regional festival Carifesta; through private/corporate sponsorship, such as the *trinidad+tobago film festival* (ttff); or created as an artist-led initiative, such as the Alice Yard project in Port of Spain. (p. 144)

These core spaces not only provide forum for artists to discuss and develop their work both individually and collaboratively but also offer funding and other forms of support for artists individually and collectively to develop their voice and their greater engagement in depicting perspectives on cultural identity. In the Bahamas, by the late 1980s, Jackson Burnside (1989) called this visual movement an important feature in a new cultural arts renaissance. The main purpose of this renaissance was not only to solidify through expression what it meant to be Bahamian but also to provide a place of the arts in society beyond what he called art as a marker of “social prestige” (p. 248). Burnside (1989) also recognized the support of numerous civic organizations that had begun to support the development of art and in particular, the visual arts.

A variety of themes related to cultural identity are invoked and developed by visual artists and scholars of visual art. For visual art scholars, one of the most important tasks was to learn from earlier (in the colonial period) archives the ways in which people were depicted in relation to each other and also why photographers and other visual artists chose to depict the people as they did. Krista Thompson’s (2006) work on the development of tourism where colonial officials and local elites in “the Bahamas embarked on campaigns to refashion the islands as picturesque “tropical paradises,” (p. 4). Thompson’s work underscored the value of understanding the development of tourist industry, the centrality of visual art in that development, and questioned the assumptions of the visual art and the development of tourism and its relationship to Bahamian cultural identity. Her most pressing questions for the period of decolonization and its consideration of postcoloniality in relation to what she describes as the tropicalization narratives of the Bahamas and the Caribbean. She asks:

How have postcolonial governments’ resuscitation of images of picturesque tropicality— tied as they were (and are) to colonial, imperial, touristic, and racist visions of the islands— been reconciled with the stated objectives of decolonization and nation building in the postindependence era? Given the long-standing connection between the aesthetics of tourism and the politics of the colonial state, how have the continued stakes in maintaining the islands’ tropical yet civilized image informed social discipline and physical space in the postcolony? Can contemporary independent governments strategically reemploy

and reinvent tropical tropes in their efforts to attain political sovereignty and economic autonomy? (p. 299)

These questions raised by Thompson (2006) point out the significant issue of cultural identity and its relationship to the state and nation building. The theme of nation building extends beyond state practices and this process of nation building included the work of civil society. The link with civil society is underscored through her discussion of state practices and policies and their implied impact on society. The questions she poses do not only involved government but also imply considerations of society and thus, civil society as the space of debate about these issues.

In linking both state and civil society within the idea of nation building, considerations of tourism as the main economic driver are also considered. Thompson (2006), taking these earlier visual representations of colonial officials and white elites, also reveals the continued usage of visual representations in the policies of postcolonial governments. She raises this connection between the colonial and the postcolonial as way to think about the purposes and meaning of independence and its role in social transformation. In doing this, she offers a critique of the reuse of colonial tropical narratives juxtaposed with the promises and policy assertions of sovereignty, economic inclusion, and self-sufficiency in the postcolonial era and asked how the reintroduction of the tropical tourist discourse brings back issues related to social discipline and the use of space in the new nation state. Visual art not only provides a representation of the past but links to representations of the future. The set of questions she provides through her analysis of visual cultures not only reflect back to the state but also provide substantive conversations within society, indeed civil society, about the nature of postcolonial citizenship and cultural belonging.

In doing so Thompson (2006) adds that through her work her hope is that:

I have provided a backdrop through which such urgent questions can be historically considered and reevaluated. By shedding light on the confining wall of these representations and their political reverberations, I aim to add my voice to the long-standing local critiques of these representations and their implications on race, social space, and visual imaginary, perspectives increasingly silenced in the pan-Caribbean siren calls to tourism. (p. 299)

The local long-standing critiques emerge from beyond government policy and exist within the space of civil society. That said, with the development of tourism along with the policy of greater social and political inclusion for all, the improvement in economic opportunity certainly impacted the arts, especially the visual arts in particular with the development of artists and arts projects through corporate, private, and government sponsorships. This kind of critique balanced with a recognition for funding to continue to develop what Jackson Burnside considered a cultural renaissance certainly provides questions and debates about the nature of arts funding. In particular, the relationship between arts funding to tourism policy, along with the continued critique of colonial tourist narratives, shapes the discourses of the themes and issues experienced and debated within the realm of visual scholars and artists.

Literary Arts

Undoubtedly, the work of literary artists has made its mark not only on the Caribbean and the world. Literary artists have always functioned at the vanguard of developing an understanding of specific Caribbean national identities, as well as deepening the work of developing a Pan Caribbean and African Diasporic identity.

Literary arts have contemplated the legacies of slavery and colonization, Empire, as well as the triumph and ironies of independence and decolonization. A major contribution of Caribbean literature is its use of the stories and lives of people not typically captured in the traditional and often times colonial archives. Literature is a form that “gives voice” to the stories of people not typically depicted in formal historical accounts. Indeed, some scholars note the significance of Caribbean writers and their pursuit of depicting the historical in literature. Wilson-Tagoe (1998) notes that: “no subject has engrossed the West Indian writer as consistently and as painfully as the subject of history” (p. ix).

Literary Practices and the Public Sphere

Several scholars have provided a robust analysis of how this literary historical depiction, along with an assertion of cultural agency, has shaped perspectives on the cultivation of

community, civic responsibility, and participation. Dalleo (2011) places artistic practices a through the use of historic periodization, explores the social and cultural changes that impacted the way in which literary writers used their work to engage in the public sphere. These writers expressed alternative visions of community while simultaneously representing the role of community as a part of the development of the nation state (or the region) within the Caribbean. Dalleo (2011) also notes that these representations, in the contemporary period, should also be understood within the context of globalization where the Caribbean interacts and is influenced by international and foreign actors such as colonial powers, the United States, and other multilateral actors such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Dalleo (2011) also notes that across historical periods, Caribbean literary figures also interacted “with discourses about race, class, and gender, which frequently make complex demands on writing: the supposed incompatibility of blackness and reason, or the anxiety about literature as private and therefore feminized activity” (pp. 349-350). Dalleo (2011) also highlights that contemporary literary activity has blended the literary with the popular as writers have written about and represented in their work the importance of popular culture specifically embodied in music.

In her work, Edmondson (2009) focuses on the artifacts of culture (such as literature) and inspects how they inform the notion of middle-class culture. She positions her work with the borrowed explication of Richard Burton who urges that the Caribbean public sphere has functioned with a mix of revolutionary and respectable attitudes towards social advancement. Edmondson (2009) urges that “we should view Caribbean societies as blend of respectability and oppositional cultures, rather than a binary” (p. 13).

Edmondson (2009) also makes it clear that these middle-class cultural artifacts are useful in understanding the compression of class with middle-class appropriation of working class cultural symbols and vice versa. On the one hand, middle-class identity is interested with the perspective of advancement, which is typically expressed with a value for modernity. At the same time, middle-class identity is also concerned with a focus on supporting those indigenous

traditions, which she says are “writ black (or now in the case of Trinidad in particular Indian)” (p. 14). Here, middle-class citizens use cultural artifacts to represent both middle-class and working-class sensibilities.

Putnam (2013) focuses on transnational Caribbean communities in the periods between the end of slavery up until the 1940s. Her work inspects intraregional movement with British Caribbeans migrating back and forth throughout the Americas. Everywhere they went, Putnam (2013) asserts, Caribbeans established their mutual aid societies, places of worship, newspapers and representations of culture including, literature.

Deallo (2011), Edmondson (2009), and Putnam (2013) support similar themes across unique time periods and from specific lenses. All three scholars point to the development of literary cultures as significant in building a sense of community within Caribbean contexts. Furthermore, these literary cultures promoted cultural identity through associational formation as well as offering critiques of social structures.

Other scholars describe the role of literature in the Caribbean as one that supports notions of agency and empowerment. For example, Nixon (2015) argues that several contemporary artists, including writers, use their work to critique tourism as a “resistance to paradise” as the paradise discourse silences issues of history and cultural identity. Nixon (2015) uncovers these artists who wish to subvert the narrative of paradise discourse in their work and suggests that their work, taken together, represents locally derived ethical models of development. She also notes that writers have always been at the forefront of these local efforts to define Caribbean cultural identity responding to racist or oppressive paradigms, most notably as a part of national independence projects. Her work focuses on contemporary writers and cultural workers who continue with this legacy of cultural assertion and depiction. She is sure to note that critiques of the paradise discourse (especially in the case of the Bahamas) tend to occur more amongst those cultural workers that rely less on income from the tourist sector. This is important as it highlights the importance of understanding how class shapes perceptions of civic responsibility. Nixon’s

(2015) work then highlights the way in which middle-class Caribbean civic responsibility functions as a form of resistance against untruthful and damaging discourses about the Caribbean and its people. These writers and authors strive to represent the truth of Caribbean spaces and depict the people in their full humanity. In this way, these writers and cultural workers civically engage through providing an accurate representation of history and make a call to preserve cultural identity.

Murray-Roman (2016) notes the importance of depictions of performance in Caribbean literary texts as a site where a sense of identity and collective consciousness is created and recreated outside of the struggles of daily life of postcolonial realities. He calls these descriptions of performance in literary texts “ekphrases” where the text breaks to describe such performances with vivid narration. Murray-Roman (2016) suggests that as writers depict these musical performances, they are engaging in both representing and telling the history of the people while also working to redefine what it means to be a part of that history. Thus, writers use these depictions of musical performance to lift the ceiling on the possibilities of “political imagination.”

Both Nixon (2015) and Murray-Roman (2016) highlight that writers in their expressions of civic responsibility utilize their work as a way to assert both the authentic identities of Caribbean people but use communal performances as way to argue for newer political possibilities. It is in this place that literary writers not only represent Caribbean history and contemporary realities but point to meaningful Caribbean futures in which the local and authentic Caribbean experience are preserved and valued. As Nixon (2015) suggests that the efforts of writers to preserve Caribbean culture are disruptive practices that are also influenced by external forces shaping the region. Thus, the work of these writers is to give voice, critique, and inspire the movement of Caribbean people while paying attention to global shifts and influences.

All of these texts highlight the unique position that Caribbean authors themselves play in shaping notions of community and highlight the distinct views of these writers related to civic responsibility that inform how their writing is used as a form of civic engagement. The identities

of Caribbean writers have occupied a middle-class space in society and as a result, literary culture is a lens on middle-class aspirations and perceptions. In suggesting this, it is important to understand that literature in the Caribbean is valuable in not only assessing the historical record but also to assess those forces that hinder the advancement of the Caribbean as understood from the purview of middle-class citizens. Even more so, this middle-class literary culture is always interested in advocating strategies for preservation of cultural identity and calls for change to existing structures related to inequitable conditions.

Caribbean writers have not only promoted such issues as cultural and historical preservation and have explored ideas of agency and empowerment in their writing but the texts that they write offer a rich source of analysis of key themes that highlight several ideas. These include the nature of middle-class identity, shifting views on the role of civic involvement, approaches to civic responsibility, social critique, story and truth telling.

Literary Texts-Writing Back: Critiquing Dominant Narratives of Help and Progress

Several literary texts have functioned in the capacity of “writing back” to the empire. In particular several authors have written about the work of civil society, philanthropy, and aid from the Global North offering criticism of approaches of such mechanisms while underscoring the need to connect with experiences and stories of the people of the Caribbean.

In her critically acclaimed work, Jamaica Kincaid (1988), *A Small Place* offers a view of this imperialist-colonial economy in the era of tourism along and its impact on the Caribbean. In particular, Kincaid describes modes of help and philanthropy from the Global North. She notes:

And there was another place, called the Mill Reef Club. It was built by some people from North America who wanted to live in Antigua and spend their of the holidays in Antigua, but who seemed not to like Antiguan (black people) at all, for the Mill Reef Club declared itself completely private, and the only Antiguan (black people) allowed to go there were servants... There they were, stranger in someone else's home, and then refused to talk to their hosts or have anything human, anything intimate, to do with them. I believe they gave scholarships to one or two bright people each year so that they could go overseas and study; I believe they gave money to children's charities; these things must have made them seem to themselves very big and good, but to us they were pigs living in that sty (The Mill Reef Club). (p. 27-28)

According to Kincaid, the owners of The Mill Reef Club used their wealth and status to separate themselves from the lived experiences of the black citizens of Antigua. Ironically, they donated money for the “public good” of Antiguan, but this gift for many Antiguan did not contribute to their perceived well-being. The use of Antigua as a vacation home for the Mill Reef club was a use of the Caribbean for its natural resources as well as its black labor. These charitable efforts were all done without having to really know the actual people served much less treat them as equals. Kincaid (1988) suggests that this form of giving provided some form of the “warm glow” that the owners of the resort experienced based on their giving. This scenario lends itself to the notion of the tourist as a kind of invasive citizen. This tourist citizen sees the local and makes some judgments. Strachan (2002) continues, “as the ruled’s supposed laziness was seen to justify their forced labor, so the native Caribbean’s’ presumed inability to conduct their own affairs for them ...” (p. 79). Strachan (2002) says that despite these perceptions of the “invasive tourist,” that this “imperialist-colonial economy” gives way to an “anti-imperialist counter economy, one that concerns itself with self-worth” (p. 4).

In *The Chosen Place and the Timeless People*, written by Paule Marshall (1969), the fictional island of Bourneville is the setting for the discussion on the relationship between development or philanthropic foundation aid and help, middle-class identity, and the practices of community engagement. The story takes place with the educated middle-class running the government, separating from the working-class people of Bourneville. These government officials negotiate with an American development agency/foundation in an effort to improve the poverty in Bourneville. Unlike some of her middle-class colleagues who now serve in the government, the protagonist Merle, a return home from her education in England and chooses to live amongst working class people in Bourneville. She teaches at the local high school and shares with her students the legend of Ned Cuffie, a slave revolt leader. Merle is an outspoken presence in the community concerning Black liberation. The middle-class and wealthy foreigners living in Bourne Island scoff at the residents of Bourneville, especially their carnival celebrations where

Ned Cuffie's rebellion and triumph is reenacted. The turning point in the novel occurs when the character Saul, a lead American anthropological researcher, recognizes that in the foundation/development's pursuit of social improvement they have missed a critical point of understanding. When he first arrived in Bourneville, Saul's goal was to cure the people of their social sickness, their backwardness, and their poverty. Saul realizes that for the people of Bourneville, the problem that brought him to the community had little to do with inadequacies within the community. Rather, Saul finally concludes that:

People like himself would could come seeking to shake it from its centuries-old sleep and it might yield a little, but deep down, at a depth to which only a few would be permitted to penetrate, it would remain fixed and rooted in that other time, serving in this way as a lasting testimony to all that had gone on then: those scenes hanging on the walls, and as a reminder- a painful but necessary- that is was not yet over, only the forms had changed, and the real work was still to be done..." (Marshall, p. 402)

After spending time with them, especially through the development of his relationship with Merle, he recognized the way in which the patterns of exclusion, in this case the role of the poor in the world system is a repeating structure occurring from the time of slavery to the moment of decolonization and beyond. It becomes clear that instead of viewing the people of Bourneville with pity, Saul came to value their sense of survival in the midst of this external oppression and recognized that their lack of change was a form of resistance from continued intrusion into their way of life. This was symbolized in their reverence for Ned Cuffie and the preservation of the carnival where they would reenact his resistance.

Kincaid's *A Small Place* and Marshall's *The Chosen Place, The Timeless People* offer visions of not only community ideals of belonging and progress but also create distinctions within the postcolonial state between class identities contrasting perspectives of help, agency, philanthropic action, and community involvement and participation. Kincaid concentrates solely on the issues of racism and neocolonialism and its impact on relationships especially in the encounter between local Antiguan residents and American business owners/philanthropists. In another vein, Marshall engages with the possibilities for engagement between the Global South

and The Global North in the process of development work and civil society. Marshall (1969) also raises the issues of complexity that exists between postcolonial governments and community, as well as recognizing not just the tensions between middle-class and working-class identities but also, the varying perspectives of citizen action and engagement within black middle-class identity.

Junkanoo and Cultural Festivals

There are two strands of thought I want to analyze in relation to the Junkanoo and similar festivals in the Caribbean: spirit and politics. The first harkens back to Jackson Burnside's earlier point made in this chapter on the significance of leadership within Junkanoo, its creative formations that indeed provide a roadmap for understanding the possibilities of leadership within Bahamian society, in particular, in civil society. The second point focuses on Junkanoo and cultural industries within the context of development strategies and the deepened work of civil society.

The Junkanoo Spirit

First, Junkanoo with its long-standing traditions and evolutions provides not only a representation of a rich cultural activity but also key insights into the development of leadership, organizational innovation, and social engagement. The evolution of Junkanoo highlights numerous issues related to cultural identity, the public sphere, and civil society that have developed via the celebration. First, historically there were different periods of time that the practice of Junkanoo were either banned and reinstated as a tourist attraction. The relationship to the parade, connected or not to Christianity is also central in the development of cultural identity and symbolizes the effort to suppress African identity and in particular native religious ideas. In the height of the parade's popularity, Junkanoos paraded down Bay Street, the home base of the majority of political elites who owned stores and controlled the economics of the colony. Bay Street, the same site of the most damaging of the Burma Road Riots, signifies Junkanoos not only as

celebratory qualities but also as transgressive and alternative sphere complexities (Bethel & Bethel, 1991; College of the Bahamas, 2003; Saunders, 2016; Thompson, 2015).

Added to these factors, Junkanoo, especially in its modern phase, is an organizational activity. There are separate groups ranging in sizes. These groups have organizational structures, are headquartered in certain neighborhoods, and have institutional histories. In the organizational formation, the preparation for the parades recognizes a long practice of creative ideation and execution for costumes. In the early days, the costumes were created from whatever participants could find. This as a creative labor practice for slaves who used their day off to create what artist, John Beadle describes as “junk-anew” (Thompson, 2015, p. 34).

In its modern formation, the process of organizational development and creative evolution persists. In Dr. Emmanuel Francis’s (2013) work, *The History of the Saxons: Stories of a Forgotten Culture*, he traces the origins of one of the most popular Junkanoo groups, the Saxons. Headquartered in the neighborhood of Mason’s Addition, the initial founders worked to improve the image of Junkanoos in their neighborhood. They utilized the neighborhood and its people to develop ideas, collaborations, and friendships from within the neighborhood to become leaders of Junkanoo. For example, Dr. Francis described his close friendship with a childhood friend, Phil. In one story, he described Phil’s avid kite flying skills and Phil’s willingness to teach him how to fly a kite. In the recollection of Dr. Francis, his lack of skill caused him to be taken off the ground by the kite. Phil saved him. From this story, Dr. Francis made a critical connection to his friendship, the neighborhood, and the development of his involvement with Junkanoo:

I will never forget that lesson in culture: Phil was brave enough to venture beyond the status quo, humble enough to share the experience of his achievement, and caring enough to save my life. As a result, I became a passionate kite maker and eventually a die-hard junkanoo. (p. 45)

Dr. Francis relates friendship, neighborhood, creativity, and skill development in the story and ties it to his passion for Junkanoo. He describes the neighborhood of Mason’s Addition as “the ideal birthing place for the Saxons because it was an area rich in culture of the Bahamian people.

It was a place where intellectuals shared their knowledge, artists their skill, preachers their love...and indeed, Junkanoos their craft” (p. 56).

Once the group was established, The Saxons harnessed that neighborhood’s rich creativity to produce costumes and organize a once rogue Junkanoos into a seat of one of the largest and most influential groups in Junkanoo. Groups prepare months in advance requiring thematic focus, effective time management, and communication strategies. Dr. Francis, for example used the skills of costume construction that he learned in the preparation for the parade (known as the shack) and later distilled those skills into a book for young people. Skill development and intergenerational transfer are some of the other critical talents developed with Junkanoo.

These examples of Junkanoo’s expressive qualities highlight the significance of developing of such abilities within an organizational structure. These expressive dimensions were used to identify, cultivate, and maintain a sense of cultural identity. This cultural identity served as critical psychic support and a way to resist, critique, or provide news visions for and about society.

Junkanoo and Cultural Festivals- Development, Social Engagement, and Politics as Cultural Industries

In the Caribbean, artistic expression, such as festivals like Junkanoo, has given way to a new articulation of a need for deeper coordination of regional cultural industries. Here, cultural industries refer to “aesthetic, identity, and copyrightable goods, services, and intellectual property. It embodies a wide array of activities that make and circulate sounds, words, and images or a combination of the above” (p. 4). This promotion of cultural industries serves as a vital professed avenue for promoting stronger economic returns through regional integration that engages with a policy that supports those cultural industries. Policy experts boast the fact that, “The cultural and/or creative industries are an area of the global economy in which the Caribbean

region enjoys some comparative, if not competitive, advantage in production” (Nurse, 2007, p. 12).

Recent policy proposals circulating within CARICOM (Nurse, 2007) argue for a development of stronger cultural industries that will provide many benefits to the Caribbean region including enhanced identity and national development, increased confidence in the region, and the potential promotion of a strong economic returns which could potentially include employment, diversification of mono-economies, and increased exports producing a “more competitive development platform” (p. 11). These cultural industry policy proposals are currently producing research that has been presented to the regional body of CARICOM and seeks to promote cultural industries as providing “a critical strategic resource in the move towards creating sustainable development options” (p. 11). Even though the recent development goals aim to extend beyond economic goals to include issues such as cultural identity, new trends in policy development aim to link aesthetic and expressive cultural practices to economic development for small island states. This approach of linking economics and the arts is an approach that typifies the arts as social enterprise approach. This approach recognizes the significance of cultivating indigenous cultural industries, relying on the strength of aesthetic and expressive practices within a region to promote not only economic returns but to enhance community engagement by offering new avenues for citizen engagement and empowerment.

In a recent study, Bethel (2014) analyzes the economic returns of Junkanoo. While her findings suggest that the expenditures outweigh the revenues, as a part of the Bahamian cultural industry, it provides new employment opportunities as well as supports the business sector through offering new revenue streams for specific types of businesses like design and fabric stores, media, and other vendors. Bethel (2014) finds that though expenses outweigh revenues, Junkanoo was either “very important or “essential to Bahamian national identity” (p. 24). Bethel (2014) concludes that despite the expenses, the personal investment the “economic potential remains untapped” (p. 24).

In terms of the broader funding streams available for Junkanoo and other cultural festivals within the Bahamas, Junkanoo still remains the jewel in the Bahamian government's crown. Since independence the government has featured Junkanoo as its cultural centerpiece and allocates the bulk of its cultural dollars towards Junkanoo. As a result, many artists have had to find other ways to fund their projects. Often times, these projects have deepened the practice of civil society through the creation of new organizations that work outside of the scope of government funding. As Glinton-Meicholas (2012) notes, the success of Jackson Burnside's creative vocational journey was not only a creative practice but an organizational and collaborative creation. When Jackson returned with his wife to the Bahamas from studying abroad immediately after independence they met a country:

...grappling with issues of defining Bahamian culture and fixing a national identity, It was pervasive, lively, inspiring and sometimes ludicrous drama that engaged a variety of actors- among them politicians, historians musicians, journalists, prose writers, poets, playwrights, educators and the denizens of the markets, pool hall and bars, To achieve the much-desired objective, the more thoughtful among them sought to plait together strands of history, geography politics, and heritage, while others were satisfied with single-word equivalencies. This simplification of human socio-economic complex gave rise to a monotheistic cult of identity, with junkanoo deified, the chief priest of the new religion was the prime minister of the day, Lynden Pindling (later Sir Lynden), who subsumed all aspects of Bahamian culture under that heading. (p. 27)

Here the arts and postcolonial politics and policy, while creating a space for junkanoo, neglected other art forms. Glinton-Meicholas (2012) describes the desire for full inclusion of all artistic forms for artists and intellectuals. However, the political agenda selected junkanoo as the main cultural pulse that symbolized the Bahamian experience. It is important to understand this postcolonial critique from within civil society about government cultural policy. Beyond the early years of independence, the policy remained intact and as a result, other arts groups have created new organizational sites within civil society to continue with their practices and deepen their appreciation of cultural identity.

For example, Bethel (2012) recounts the government decision to forego the initial plan to host the CARIFESTA cultural festival. CARIFESTA, a cultural arts event sponsored by

CARICOM- an interregional government of mostly Anglophone Caribbean nation states, hosts an event bringing cultural practices from across the region together. When the Bahamian government opted to no longer host the event, the disappointment from artists was palpable but unlike the frustration of Edmund Moxey and Jumbey Village, these artists went on to create new organizations and events that helped achieve their artistic missions. Their goal was to “bypass government.” Through several online and in-person forums these groups met “beyond the gaze of bureaucrats and politicians, almost out of sight” (Bethel, p. 6). In turn, several new organizations with unique goals were formed. These included:

1. The formation of Bahamas Arts Collective (BAC), an NGO committed to drafting legislation, formulating policy, and moving culture to the centre of national discussion;
2. Establishment of CariFringe, a multidisciplinary constellation of smaller festivals designed to evoke the energy of CARIFESTA, but run by artists and managed as a business, held in 2010;
3. Establishment of Creative Nassau, an NGO committed to having the city of Nassau included in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network;
4. Establishment of *tongues of the ocean*, an online literary journal with a focus on Bahamian, Caribbean, and diaspora literature;
5. Establishment of the Shakespeare in Paradise Theatre Festival, an international festival designed to celebrate theatre of The Bahamas, the Caribbean and the diaspora literature;
6. Establishment of the Bahamas Writers Summer Institute, an annual series of literary workshops for Bahamians, designed to help position Bahamian writing in the literature of the wider Caribbean;
7. In addition, at least two preexisting initiatives refined and expanded their activities.
 - a) Popop Studios, a residential art community, expanded its activities to the international arena, and
 - b) Transforming Spaces, an annual tour of urban art galleries, expanded its offerings as well. (pp. 6-7)

These “counter politics” were a new moment within civil society especially for and led by cultural workers and artists. No longer willing to wait for their cultural work to receive public funding, the artists instead, created collaboratively. They developed a rich network of artistic organizations across genres to support their cultural work. In doing so, they deepened the power of arts to identity core issues of Bahamian cultural identity.

Postcolonial Arts and Civil Society Formations and Evolution

As the artists and organizations developed in the post-postcolonial era, the late 2000s, the arts and civil society environment in the Bahamas signaled several thematic evolutions from its earlier independence era formations. Most prominently, the emergence of new groups and organizations no longer willing to wait on approval of government sanction or patronage worked collectively to create a new landscape of aesthetic and expressive cultural work. This included works of art, but also an environment to discuss issues of cultural identity and belonging. These new groups cited by Bethel (2012) offer glimpses into new alternative public spheres that critique the promises of the independence era.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter for me to discuss all artistic and cultural activities that expound upon this idea of community engagement and social change. These forms focus on the act of artistic creation itself as well as the conversations and dialogues, and organizational formations about these artistic practices that connect to key themes that reflect renewed and new social issues. There are also additional unexplored issues and themes in the new century that have created responses within aesthetic and expressive cultures. For example, the rise in Haitian immigration, deemed illegal and legal, has created new forms of xenophobia. Also, new perspectives on social identities that offer ideas about the treatment of certain populations. These perspectives highlight shifting terrain in the nature of class identities, combining old formations of respectability and reputation, extending ideas about gender freedoms, and rising debates about sexuality. The arts are at the forefront of addressing these issues and provide avenues for assessing visions for inclusion amongst rising social practices of exclusion. For example, Thorington Springer's (2007) focus on renewed themes of female empowerment, embodiment, and the genre arts practice of dance provides a site for radical social transformation. Thorington Springer (2007) critically engages the recent popularity of calypso female artists such as Alison Hinds who through her music, both her dance practices and lyrics, offers new visions of black female empowerment linked to the performance of erotic freedom. Strachan (2007) chronicles his

work in developing the Track Road Theater in his attempt to engage in community theater, taking themes of xenophobia and a call for renewed commitment to the political process. His plays “No Seeds in Babylon” and “Diary of Souls” as well as his work to create a space for community theater, chronicles the artistic practices, the thematic issues, and the context of using the public sphere through civil society work to highlight new prejudices and injustices through expressive art.

That said the early formations of art practices at the moment of independence and its themes still persist. For example, the release of the “Becoming Bahamians” calendar series in 2016 represents the amalgamation of corporate sponsorship, socially engaged art, and the narratives of Bahamian cultural identity. Typically, insurance agencies provide free calendars and in my recollection, Bahamian artists are showcased--typically for their photos of flora and fauna of the Bahamas. The 2016 calendar printed and sponsored by Colina Insurance used instead, a curated series of photos chronicling the major milestones in Bahamian history. Colina Insurance collaborated with artist Scharad Lightbourne and professor and historian Dr. Christopher Curry to showcase the cultural identity visual and historical timeline of the Bahamas. With a tagline of: “Our unique history has molded us into a country of proud, independent people with much to be thankful for.”

The calendar showcases history as early as Arawak Indians and slavery but also concentrates on the key social movements of Burma Road, Black Tuesday, The Quiet Revolution, and Women’s suffrage. It also illustrates the social reforms of the postcolonial era including increased education and the idea of independence as a transformative moment in the nation’s consciousness. The calendar provides a window into the experiences of a wider diversity of Bahamians recognizing Greek, Chinese, and other European immigrants. The calendar provides not only a recent example of the importance of cultural identity but also the importance of civil society to that cultural identity. The calendar represents the work of visual and expressive artists to give voice to the Bahamian story which strongly features the development of civil society.

From independence onward, aesthetic and expressive cultural arts practices offer a window into social and cultural identity and offer an interrelated path for understanding civil society's evolution and persistence over time.

Chapter 6. Narratives of the Lived Experience: Mapping Landscapes, Cultural Identity,

Resilience, and the Postcolonial

Displaced from the main narratives of modernity, the shores that Columbus first stumbled upon now appear only in tourist brochures, or in occasional disaster tales involving hurricanes, boat people, drug barons, dictators, or revolutions. Despite its invaluable narrative position as the origin of the plot of Western modernity, history has been eviscerated and the Caribbean left on the cutting-room floor. Having washed its hands of history, the North can present itself as a hero in the piece, graciously donating democratic tutelage, economic aid, foreign investment, military advisors, and police support to the Caribbean region. (Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies, Mimi Sheller, 2003, p. 1)

Mired in the demands of what is immediately useful, enclosed in the narrow horizon of “good governance” and the neo-liberal catechism about the market economy, torn by the current fads for “civil society,” “conflict resolution,” and alleged “transitions to democracy,” the discussion, as habitually engaged, is primarily concerned, not with comprehending the political in Africa or with producing knowledge in general, but with social engineering. The criteria that African agents accept as valid, the reasons they exchange within their own instituted rationalities, are, to many, of no value. What African agents accept as reasons for acting, what their claim to act in the light of reason implies (as a general claim to be right, *avoir raison*), what makes their action intelligible to themselves: all this is of virtually no account in the eyes of analysts. (On the Postcolony, Achille Mbembe, 2001, p. 7)

I begin with the assertions offered by Achille Mbembe in his work, *On the Postcolony*.

Mbembe’s (2001) critical stance considers the perspective of what he calls “African agents.”

Here, he contends with the idea that more often than not, academic knowledge (often developed within the Global North) is used to understand the relations, processes, and interactions at work within Africa. He highlights the academic discourse of knowledge and judges it as hastily prescribed, yet highly utilized and disseminated. He also highlights the more dominant concepts that emerge from the Global North concerning the development of Africa, including the development of civil society, the market economy, and democratic transition. In contrast, he also argues that these assertions neglect the perspective of the African agent.

Mbembe (2001) here conceptualizes the African as an agent that moves with rational thoughts that shape experiences and offer an understanding of action. This, he says, is of no significance to the analyst that has as its demand, an immediate and rapid understanding of the

condition of Africa with the goal to socially engineer Africa. Undoubtedly, Mbembe (2001) connects this idea of social engineering to the work of modernization theory, especially as it relates to the disciplines of economics and development. This assertion is highly debatable, provocative, perhaps very useful, and even extends to other disciplines and academic fields.

I am particularly interested in his distinction between the analyst and the agent. The analyst is described here as producing an understanding of the conditions of the agent with little concern for the agent's reasoning and their subsequent resulting actions. Most striking here is that Mbembe (2001) lists the concepts and ideas that analysts find most important for understanding Africa. Ironically, these very same concepts do in fact pertain to the lived experience of these agents: the development and maintenance of civil society, processes of conflict resolution, the aims and structures of inclusive democratization. What is missing is a greater sense of understanding between the analyst and the agent. Again, Mbembe (2001) argues:

It should be noted, as far as fieldwork is concerned, that there is less and less... One consequence of this blindness is that African politics and economics have been condemned to appear in social theory only as the sign of a lack, while the discourse of political science and development economics has become that of a quest for the causes of that lack... Ethnographic description, distinguishing between causes and effects, asking the subjective meaning of action is, determining the genesis of practices and their interconnections all this is abandoned for instant judgment... The upshot is that while we now feel we know nearly everything that African states, societies, and economies are not, we still know absolutely nothing about what they actually are. (pp. 7-9)

I wish to consider Mbembe's (2001) point of the African agent and extend his analytic frame to the Global South agent. Added to this, I consider the issue of the global history of blackness and consider Stuart Hall's assertion of Presence Africaine in the Caribbean. Even more, so, I consider Mbembe's (2001) claims within a larger global history, one that makes connections to the broader experience of the development of the Global South. I address these claims and additionally, the one made by Mimi Sheller (2003), in particular the way in which she argues that the neglect of Caribbean narratives of modernity denies the agency of actors outside of the dominant scripts of the Global North. In linking both Mbembe (2001) and Sheller (2003), in this

chapter, I consider the lived experiences of Bahamian civil society leaders that live within the postcolonial or even post-postcolonial moment. In doing so, the findings here link historical legacies and the contemporary moment, the fluidity of cultural identity and its ongoing development to the formation of civil society within society.

Mapping the Terrain

The twenty-seven civil society leaders bring with them a variety of experiences that highlight the nuanced and broad constructions of the boundaries of local civil society activity. While many of the leaders lead community, nonprofit, or nongovernmental organizations, their leadership activities extend beyond their specific organizations. For example, for many leaders, common practices include writing letters to the editor and other forms of local advocacy, such as participating in and leading public and community lectures or other similar types of events, participation in other media activities, hosting broader social events, capacity development within the larger sub-sector of their organizational activities, membership and other leadership duties within related organizations, contributions to nationally, regionally, and multilaterally led planning activities, and other forms of activities beyond leadership within their organizations. All of the civil society activities however, conjoin under a sense of national, regional identity, or African diasporic identity. Such diverse activities by these civil society leaders reveal a rich ecosystem of civil society activity.

All of the leaders interviewed in the current study, in many ways, embody the promises of majority rule for the deepening of the middle-class in particular, the black Bahamian middle-class. Amongst all interviewees, they exhibited the goals and aspirations of the moment of decolonization including: the ability to study at the tertiary level including financial opportunities to travel and study abroad, gaining access to funding sources accessed through their transnational experiences as well as the ability to continue to travel abroad to without encumbrance to support their civil society activities, the opportunity to create employment as entrepreneurs within their civil society activity or to maintain other forms of well-paying employment that allow them the

necessary time to pursue their near full time civil society activity, residing in predominately middle or some formerly racially restricted upper class neighborhoods beyond the “over the hill” areas.

In terms of social identities, the participants of the current study ranged along what I call the “decolonization spectrum”, with participants born both before and after independence. This spectrum certainly impacted the civil society variation, especially as it related to perspectives on social issues and civil society leadership practices. Fifty-two percent of participants were men, 48% were women. Racially, the majority of participants identified as black (78%) mixed race (7%), and (19%) as white. While the majority of the participants were Bahamian citizens (67%), 18.5% were mixed nationality (Bahamian and another nationality) and 18.5% had foreign citizenship. The diversity amongst participants brought useful exchanges and insights about issues of race, class, gender, and national identity (Caribbean or otherwise). Despite these demographical differences among the respondents, they all participated within civil society in the Bahamas through locally created and led organizations with a focus on issues within the Bahamas. In thinking through the theme that solidified a sense of a Bahamian cultural identity, as one white foreign born respondent noted to me, “I’ve lived a very Bahamian life.”

In terms of actual nonprofit subsector categories represented in the interviewees, employing the International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations (INCPO), the overwhelming majority of categories were represented by the interviewees. The only exceptions here include the categories of religion, international, unions, and political parties. International nonprofit organizations were not observed for the obvious reason that local leaders and their local organizations were the primary focus of this project.

The absence of religious groups on the other hand, is more likely a result of the sampling method. In using a snowball sampling method, many religious groups were never introduced. Additionally, many religious organizations did not respond to requests for interviews and participation observation. The lack of religious groups here should not suggest their absence

within Caribbean communities; in fact, they likely deserve their own specific study. That said, many of the leaders interviewed and observed employ religious or spiritual practices in their work and spoke freely of these activities as related to their work. Furthermore, one particular organization that employed what Castor (2017) describes as spiritual citizenship was observed. The role of religion remains a paramount feature of Bahamian society and the recognition of the absence of specific organizations with religious missions is important to note, but also highlights the other ways in which religion and spirituality is embedded in practices within non-religious organizations or organizations that have a looser relationship with spiritual practices (embodying such practices in their philosophical assumptions about the world rather than clearly providing formally religiously defined mission statements and activities).

Two other pertinent types of organizations were not a part of this project. These include unions and political parties. While one independent political candidate was interviewed, the dominance of political organizations, along with unions (in particular trade unions), like religious organizations deserve their own study due to their deep and entrenched status within Bahamian society. Furthermore, the INCPO category of “business and professional associations, unions” was missing from this project.

Three important legal structures help define the nonprofit and civil society landscape in the Bahamas. The first is the recent Nonprofit Regulations Act (Office of the Attorney General & Ministry of Legal Affairs [OAG & MLA], 2018) implemented on August 6, 2014, which is statutorily situated under the Bahamas Companies Act (OAG & MLA, 2018). This act requires persons owning or directing nonprofit organizations in the Bahamas (incorporated or unincorporated) to register their organizations. Based on the Nonprofit Regulations Act and Bahamas Companies Act, with registration organizations must provide:

1. The memorandum of articles of association submitted for approval for the Minister responsible for the Companies section,
2. The nonprofit name, address, contact details in the Bahamas, and the purpose, objectives, and activities of the nonprofit,
3. The identity of the persons that own or direct the organization as well as the senior officers and trustees,
4. Dates of prior registration and deregistration,
5. Financial statements of transactions within and outside the Bahamas showing that funds are used in consistence with the mission of the organization,
6. Gross annual income of the nonprofit organization.

The publication of registered nonprofits on July 23, 2017 by the Registrar General published in the *Nassau Guardian* compelled unregistered nonprofits to comply with laws within 14 days of the notice or face revocation of nonprofit status or a fine of up to \$10,000. To date of the newspaper publication, there were 1,091 nonprofits registered.

The second legal structure relates to the specific work of unions, as central organizations are regulated under the Industrial Relations Act (OAG & MLA, 2018). Third, political parties are not regulated through any legal structures and are resultantly, self-regulated. Finally, several civil society activities such as activism, social movements, and certain types of advocacy projects are not regulated under any of these legal structures. That said, the interviewees of this project can be listed under a majority of the categories of the INCPO (except religion, international, business associations, and unions) while also representing types of civil society beyond the INCPO or other forms of regulation (such as the Industrial Relations Act). It is also important to note that many if not all of the categories that are provided in the historical narratives chapter find contemporary organizations or civil society activities that aim to fulfill similar goals within Bahamian society. Some of the categories include riots, more informal social movement and advocacy activity, and some activities of the performative commons.

The point here is that understanding civil society requires attention to not only the legal regimes that support and regulate civil society activity, but also observing those activities and collective formations that move beyond such kinds of external regulation. For example, Alvarez, Rubin, Thayer, Baiocchi, and Láo-Montes (2017) recognize the juxtaposition of both civil and

uncivil society within Latin America. Here, the authors first provide the category for the typically defined civil society activity that is recognized as a part of a globalized civil society agenda. They then contrast these activities with what they describe as “unruly political action by ‘uncivil society’” that is perceived as problematic in that it “inherently threatens democracy, while ‘civic’ civil society participation in governmental and intergovernmental institutions always enhances or expands it” (p. 3). Instead of these distinctions of good civil society and bad uncivil society, the authors find that these alternate forms of uncivil activity can at times, help to deepen democracy, whilst civil society activity at times supports the status quo, resisting positive and meaningful social change. The Bahamian landscape of civil society supports both aspects of civil and uncivil activity. With the historical legacies of an alternative public sphere, the civil society terrain makes it possible to view a landscape that blends and is representative of both types of activities.

Cultural Identity and the Development of Postcolonial Society

During the course of my fieldwork, driving around town and flying to one of the Family Islands, the new pulse of the nation was all around me. The discourse of the political, social, and cultural challenges flowed everywhere. Throughout the week, one could tune in to frequent and regularly scheduled radio talk shows and news reports that all provided a near 24-hour platform for ongoing debates on the key issues of the day. Using free, online messaging services, such as the application, WhatsApp, written and voice messages are regularly disseminated throughout the day regarding a variety of topics, such as crime reports, political and economic headlines, and hotly debated controversies.

Since the time of independence, the city of Nassau remained a city of simultaneous change and tradition with new and renovated mega hotels dotting the horizon along the Oceanside, in the bustling downtown, or in Paradise Island (connected by bridge to Nassau). At the time of my fieldwork, one of these newly constructed mega hotels, Bahamar, was yet to be opened due to financial controversies steeped in the economic system of transnational corporations and globalized capital. Larger cruise ships docked into the Nassau Harbor with

throng of tourists walking and shopping in the downtown area. The “inner cities”, while changing for better or worse through modernization and increasing crime, still carried the sense of the old: wooden and colorfully painted sturdy houses, children busily walking to and from school and playing in and about the streets, vendors trying to make a living selling their wares along the roadside. The upper and middle-class neighborhoods still teemed with an air of modernizing success through the construction of newer and even more intricately designed gated communities with lush gardens, and newer and fancier cars within two car garages. In contrast to Nassau, I had the opportunity to visit one of the Family Islands, a rural contrast to the busy city. There, the island seemed to appear as idyllic as in my childhood memories and from the stories that I recall of days long gone. Yet, the mood was rife with a sense of urgency for Family Islanders to engage within a new 21st century economy and society. All the while, it was striking to see the multiple private jets parked on the landing strip of one of the island’s small airports.

I met with civil society leaders in coffee shops, restaurants, and at their organizational sites. The duration of interviews varied anywhere from a few hours to stretching throughout full day tours with follow up conversations on later days. Around town, I would often bump into an old acquaintance or even a family member. In conversations of what I was up to and why I was in town, people always had an opinion of who I should talk to or focused on connecting their experience with my research topic. The Bahamas, like any other country in the postcolonial Global South was embracing technological and social change, placed within new landscapes of freedom and optimism, while struggling with persisting and new social inequalities and problems.

It is here where civil society leaders come to understand themselves and their work. Across the interviews, their narratives provide texture for understanding the relationship between cultural identity and the development of postcolonial civil society. See Figure 13. Specifically, the leaders address four primary concerns or relationships:

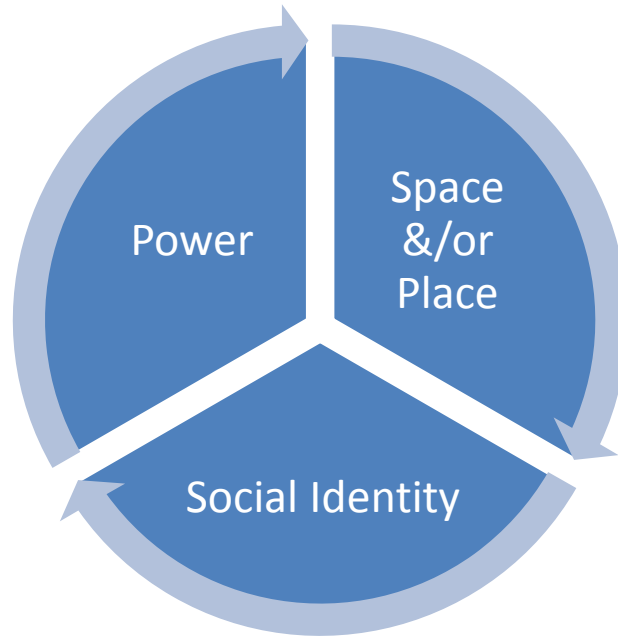


Figure 13. Cultural Identity and the Development of Postcolonial Society: Interlocking associations between Space/Place, Power, & Social Identity

1. space and/or place, 2. power, 3. social identities, 4. and the interlocking associations between the three. Thus, in observing postcolonial civil society one should take note of: 1) the space (history, culture, and constructions of space and place), →2) the construction and maintenance of power embedded within social relations, → 3) social identities and the interplay that are rooted in history and contemporary factors.

1. *Space and Place*: How does the space and place help us to define what we mean by community and community enhancement?

Across the interviewees, the importance of the local, regional, and global space and place was a key avenue for understanding civil society development. Most interviewees in their narratives highlighted the importance of knowing both the social issues that have taken place over time that created the need for civil society and the type of current environment in which these civil society activities take place. Many of the interviewees' narratives describe the archipelagic space of the Bahamas, which includes the development of the capital, Nassau, with that of the

Family Islands. Others note the specific locations that help explain class development including the “Over the Hill” communities, the gated communities, the middle-class suburbs, the Family Islands etc. These varying places help to shape not only the structure of Bahamian society but guide an understanding of social issues along with the formation of the goals and strategies of civil society. Specific nonprofits or civil society organizations sometimes emerge out of a specific place or focus on improving spaces within the Bahamas. Furthermore, the focus on place and space also speaks to patterns of exclusion and inclusion. Who is a Bahamian? Who should receive social benefits? Who gets a disproportionate amount of social benefits? Who is considered a beneficiary of their work? Where are they located?

Here, I draw on Oslender’s (2016) and Perry’s (2017) approaches for considering issues of space and place. First, Oslender (2016) distills three activities related to the more abstract concept of the two, space. These include 1) spatial practices (the ways in which people use or perceive of a particular space), 2) representations of space (how space is represented through particular logic such as technical and rational knowledge), and 3) representational space (the site of lived experiences where informal and local forms of knowing are created over time). Regarding these three approaches to space, Oslender (2016) suggests that they are not only interdependent, but link “the perceived, the conceived, and the lived” (p. 31). Perry (2017) defines place as the more concrete concept. Place exists inclusive of 1) geographic location, 2) material form, and 3) investment of meaning (she describes this as culture). Tuan (1977) succinctly surmises that “place is security and space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other” (p. 3). Added to this is Small’s (2004) notion that the cultural frames utilized by residents of a given community impact the level of civic participation.

In the case of the Bahamian civil society leaders, their knowledge of the city, settlements, and the country as a whole inform their practices. In fact, these considerations of space and place guide their work and intentions. The leaders themselves identify as “middle-class”, and recognize the varying class spaces within the Bahamas and use this knowledge to guide their work within

their organizations. In doing so, they also use their knowledge of space and place to call a return to the “Family Island,” “Over the Hill,” and “rural and poor” communities. Prior to majority rule, these communities were the sole place that housed black Bahamian life. Furthermore, their connection to place, suffused by notions of national and regional cultural identity, informs their perspectives on leadership and society, and creates the environment and frames for their civil society work.

As one interviewee (an artist/civic leader) commented:

I would love to have sufficient funding, and the reason why I’m gonna use this model because this is the model that most people understand...I would love to have sufficient capital to create, to build, a community from scratch or to revitalize a community. I’d love to be given responsibility say for maybe 4 square blocks right over the hill, and just give it to me and let me take that area and create a model community, neighborhood in that part of town, a neighborhood that people must visit when they come.

Within this narrative of community are the themes of leave and return. It highlights the rise of the middle-class and their subsequent move out the inner city, also known as “over the hill.” Themes of leave and return are simultaneously practical and aspirational, physical and metaphorical. The proposed project of one civil society leader is one that envisions a few contending possibilities.

First, it focuses on preservation of a space that is one that is recognized as having a great source of meaning but also one that is somehow lost or in need of support. In developing a site of community revitalization in an “over the hill” area, the leader is aiming to preserve a sense of Bahamianess. Interestingly, the proposed site also aims to provide an opportunity for visitors (perhaps tourists and those no longer living in these kinds of neighborhoods) to come and visit with the purpose of gaining some kind of experiential knowledge. What is also clear in this proposed over the hill revitalization project is that the civil society leader recognizes their relationship to “over the hill” as one where he is part insider and outsider to the space. He finds his roots in the over the hill neighborhood, and thus identified as an insider; however, as a middle-class Bahamian (at least in terms of actual and current residence) he is in many ways a relative outsider as well. His proposed project aims to reconnect his past experience especially as

it relates to a sense of rootedness, a space that developed his sense of collective identity, but his organizational vision also highlights his interest in supporting those communities perceived to be left behind by standards of social advancement and upward mobility.

This juxtaposition of a lost and beloved past, one that shaped a sense of community, engagement, and identity is met with a move away from that community in pursuit of new forms of material success. Other interviewees shared similar concerns and interests. While lamenting the loss of close community connections in times and spaces of their past, they also wished to support those communities through their civil society work, aiming to provide these “left behind” residents with tools for perceived success and community improvement. The pull and push related to the themes of leave and return undoubtedly shape the postcolonial experience. For example, Karen Fog Olwig (2005) recognizes what she calls “narratives of home” where “ongoing redefinitions of home...” offer more than an “abstract site of identification in the Caribbean, but a concrete locus of moral obligations and expectations” (p. 11). In the Bahamas, “the over the hill” communities represent some sense of home or origins for the black middle-class. Their civil society activity produces a sense of obligation and duty for that sense of home.

Strachan (2014) suggests that the look back at what he calls “da’ island or over da hill” highlights the significant questions of Bahamian national and cultural identity: “What type of people are we to be; how are we to proceed as a nation; what is community?” (p. 60). In the case of civil society, the connections to traditions most commonly developed in the space of black life, particularly before majority rule, and remain a site of both reverence and concern. The quest to support these spaces, through the work of civil society, helps mitigate some of the nostalgic feeling of times past that Strachan (2014) jests was not “exactly an era where the lions and the lambs played together in flowering fields” (p. 59). On the other hand, black middle-class perspectives, especially as they relate to civil society activity, also has the potential to obscure the actual perspectives and needs of over the hill community residents. That said, the significance of space and place is framed by postcolonial cultural identity, and is critical for civil society work.

While majority rule ushered in the opportunity for social mobility and a move away from over the hill, these spaces also signify a space of home, belonging, and rootedness that continue to prompt visions of support and care. The implication here is that civil society work carried out by these types of local civil society leaders and organizations is rooted in these connections. As such, the way in which they think of the beneficiaries of their services and programs is connected to narratives of belonging. The larger aims of civil society organizations consider the historical legacies of space and place, especially with regard to the over the hill areas, the ruptures in community identity, experiences resulting from the majority rule, and the awareness that the promises and goals of the majority rule's plan for full inclusion remain an elusive for many in society.

2. Power Relations: What to make of the civil society when it is the perspective that the people do not hold the power?

Across the interviewees, civil society leaders in their work focus on power relations in the Bahamas. These power relations conjoin both history and contemporary factors linking persisting patterns of inequality, stasis, and are connected to local and globalized patterns and realities. Civil society leaders recognize the economic and social conditions of Bahamian society as having either a two or three-tiered economic paradigm, or one in which the social class differences are deepening. The rising levels of unemployment, wealth inequality, climate change, crime, and government inaction was ever present in the minds of these leaders that were interviewed.

These issues of power, whether they may be related to economic and political globalization, based on the inaction or action of governmental support of civil society, or within civil society's capacity to self-empower highlight the thinking raised by Alvarez et al. (2017). Here, the authors reckon with the complexities of interpreting civil society especially, as it relates to issues power. The authors here contrast their perspective with other stand-alone perspectives, such as civil society as: 1) the central mode for societal repair, 2) the co-optation of civil society

by market, neoliberal, and other depoliticizing forces, or 3) the space for the wealthy and privileged to enact their visions of the good society (Alvarez et al., (2017). Instead, they advocate for a fourth perspective, which highlights issues of ambiguity. Specifically, that, “civil society represents and misrepresents, politicizes questions and depoliticizes them, that power runs through and not against, civil society organizations” (p. 468). Determinations of civil society’s power rests on assessing which “political rationalities and historical projects are at stake” (p. 480). I argue here, that these political rationalities and historical projects are highlighted through the analysis of culture and the development of cultural identity, which is inclusive of history, power relations over time, and lived experiences.

One way in which power is observed is through civil society’s relationship to government. In interviews, many of the civil society leaders believed that the government does not facilitate the growth and engagement of civil society. Therefore, the shape of civil society relates to the opportunities and the converse disappointments of civil society, especially in its relationship with government. Some of these issues relate to a lack of funding, a difficult registration process for nonprofits, and the belief that the government sees the service delivery options of civil society as a threat to the civil service.

Interviewees had much to say about the role of government. They highlighted the inherent strengths and weaknesses not only in relation to the work of government but also the ways in which government action or inaction facilitates social change or precipitates social problems. Even more so, they recognized how the government also interacted positively and negatively with their civil society activities. As mentioned at the outset of the chapter, new legal regulations have created more stringent rules for nonprofit registration. While nonprofits have faced increasing requirements, unions and cooperatives have their own regulatory regimes, and political party functions outside of any mandated public requirements (Central Bank of the

Bahamas, 2015)¹⁶. The irony here is coupled with the fact that even though these increased requirements for nonprofits appear rigorous, civil society leaders interviewed were willing to comply with the new legal requirements despite the fact that the registration process proved difficult, if not at times, impossible. One leader noted:

It took us well over a year to get registered, and then when we finally got the papers back which was some time in like April, the Attorney General had like signed off on them in like December! So, it took them four months to even tell us and God forbid that piece of paper got lost somewhere, right?

Another leader also mentioned that in registering their organization, they went through several struggles:

A year and a half for a nonprofit organization to get paper and they talk about the ease of doing business in the Bahamas?...We had lawyers calling them on a regular basis. We went there to pick it up, it's not ready... [Then], I wrote a letter to the editor and strangely enough, I am told that "your application has been ready since April." I said, "that's strange, because [I send] a messenger every two weeks and every time he comes, he will say it's not ready."

So, as the new commitment with the aim of regulating nonprofits strives to bring greater transparency for civil society, the process for local civil society organizations proved strenuous and difficult. Critical here is to also consider the ways in which civil society leaders understand their relationship to government and the way in which the registrar's office provided roadblocks to their work. Leaders recognized these power differentials but were able to work around them through the use of advocacy. Examples include pursuing legal remedies, using negative press, constantly checking the status with the Registrar, and always being on the forefront of getting the application process completed.

Barriers such as those with the Registrar's office often hindered organization's capacity to provide services. The second interviewee also indicated that nonprofit registration was in order

¹⁶ Additional points about regulatory and legal constraints for civil society inclusive of political parties: Cooperatives also have their own regulation under Bahamas Co-Operative Credit Unions Regulations. Members of Parliament must file their assets under the Public Disclosures Act. Political parties can be sued under the Companies Act as an entity. Individual Members of Parliament can also be individually sued or charged with corruption charges.

to be eligible to receive funds that their organization had already secured. While the civil society organization had fulfilled all other requirements to secure the funding, their inability to successfully register in the appropriate time frame (through no fault of their own) resulted in the loss of funds (at least for that year's cycle).

In its nascent stages, new regulatory procedures may prove challenging, and in time these flaws within the system may indeed improve. Civil society leaders used this flawed process as yet another example of governmental inefficiency, and believe these difficulties to be the result of governmental management itself. These leaders believe they can shape the experiences of civil society through the day to day management practices of their individual organizations. Despite these challenges, civil society leaders recognized the importance of working with government, and yearned to develop a better relationship with government. Most leaders could identify a singular challenge that exists between elected officials and hired civil service employees. One leader commented:

We have a civil service mentality here, that the civil service ought to be running the country, and whether its government affairs or private sector affairs, the civil service believe they should be in charge of all of that. If you're a private sector person and you go to talk to a civil servant, the civil servant believes that you are inferior to them and that your ideas have no merit. Because all you're interested in is making a profit and the civil servant is interested in the whole country, which is fallacy. So, we have a situation where we have politicians who in my opinion, many of them could not earn a living in a private sector and so as a result their vocation has become politics because they know that's the only thing they can do. And so, they do whatever they need to do to retain their positions in the political arena and their leadership. That's the first issue.

The second issue is that as political leaders rather than being policy makers, they believe they should be not only be policy makers but implementers of their policy. So, in a large country where you would see the head civil servant making statements, here, it's the government minister making the statements because it's his policy, he's implementing it and he doesn't take advice, he just gives direction. As a result, we have a public service, where the upper echelons of the public service, they really don't do much of anything except go to an office, sit down and mark time because they're so used to just having to take instructions because they have been stripped of any authority that they have. It creates a lot of frustration.

On top of that, we have a situation where we have a government public service where the leadership is 1% of the service where in a typical government the leadership is like 5%. So, we don't have sufficient leaders, we don't even have good quality leaders; so, the number of quality leaders is even less. What we have is a lot of people are on a government payroll taking instructions from the politicians who are making decisions without any research, without any empirical data, it's just that this makes sense politically; it's going to help me for the next five years, so I'm going to do it. And that's just primarily what causes us to be in this spiral that we are in because a lot of the decisions we make are bad decisions.

Another interviewee also commented:

In the midst of having to struggle for my own survival I have to struggle for just running the organization, just basic salaries. Of course, I have to pay my staff before I pay me. So, I go home with nothing while they're paid and then these are the challenges that the civil service does not understand. We have some nice social service ministers, nice people but they were not warriors for social service, okay. They happened to be appointed to this position, and they did a fairly decent job. Well, it wasn't really the call, we really want, you know. It's just like what the government continued, what governments continued or have continued to do and I'm looking for that to change, that's the change.

Every time leaders in the government come up with a good social idea, they create a new department ignoring the civil society organization on the ground floor that are doing the work, that needs just a little encouragement, funding, and empowerment and they will do a far better job than the people that they appoint to do these jobs because they're just doing their job.

Okay, the civil service, not just.... let me talk about government. In government, we generally think of the politicians. But there are some politicians at one level, there is one level of insensitivity and then there is another you know, powerful level of insensitivity of civil service. Because if we had a sensitive civil service they could influence the politicians. But they really don't want them influenced with politicians because they see us not as their support team but as the competition for the piece of the pie, for their piece of the pie.

The singular challenge of government, especially as it relates to the work of civil society, are issues related to government management and the lack of political will to improve the process of that management. These concerns of civil society leaders relate to the "statist bargain" where, in the process of democratic efficacy, politicians wield substantial power through forms of patronage, clientelism, and other forms of authority making acts; but even this power lends itself to the management of state resources which impact social issues. This level of authority, D'Augustino notes is a legacy of colonialism and plantation slavery in which "it is difficult to

overcome deeply ingrained authoritarian legacies in order to promote and consolidate democracy” (as in Grenade, 2010, p. 36). If it is true that elected politicians within a given government are able to restrict the influence of opposing political parties and the civil servants that are employed or appointed to work within government ministries, then certainly the work of civil society actors is constrained by this structure. The comments made by the Bahamian civil society leaders demonstrate that they understood this reality very well, and while they were able to provide numerous examples of the ways in which this structure delimited their influence within their organizations, these leaders were also able to recognize those limitations and use their knowledge of the process to anticipate those challenges as a part of their management and leadership process.

Finally, as new alternative public spheres emerge, these social movement activities including protests, marches, and extended visions of political participation (such as independent candidacy) surface, the government often aims to constrain social movement activities (e.g., protests, or opposing political party campaign events) sometimes with surprising tactics and outcomes. With the advent of new alternative public sphere demanding new areas of inclusive acceptance through engagement, the government that once fulfilled a vision of full democratic inclusion in turn becomes a part of the state apparatus that seeks to delimit dissenting and newly formed alternative voices. Many of these voices were marginalized or silenced. Some due to the larger and louder quests for inclusion and justice, others lacked the necessary momentum of collective action within a given time period. With interviewees, this proved certainly true and the tactics of such state acts, while varying in the types of attacks, still carried the same underlying focus on discrediting new alternative spheres. One interviewee highlighted a case in which they were alluded to in a tabloid publication questioning their motives for participation, as well as hinting at their sexual orientation. Another interviewee described how the government critiqued the nationalities of the majority of protestors, questioning the authenticity of the group’s protest

activities. These acts highlight what Holston (2009) argues as a foundational aspect of democratization. He notes:

The equalities of democratic citizenship always produce new inequalities, vulnerabilities, and destabilizations as well as the means to contest them. Thus, the equal rights of citizens to associate generate organizations of unequal capacities and powers. As citizens advance their interests, these groups are set against each other in the arena of citizenship. In this way, citizen equality becomes the foundation on which new inequality is built and challenged. (p. 273)

The paradox of democratic citizenship in producing inequality is shaped through the process of what Holston (2008) also argues are the inconsistencies and distinctions that are “universally inclusive in membership and massively inegalitarian in distribution” (p. 197). This process described by Holston (2009) is illustrated in the current case of the Bahamas and the interviewees’ descriptions of newly formed alternative spheres. As in the period prior to decolonization, claims of inclusive acceptance through engagement emerge through the accessible avenues for advocating for citizenship. In this way, the alternative public spheres of the past give rise to emerging contestations of inclusion.

Some of these new movements mentioned by interviewees and include new activities recognizing social issues such as gender equality, environmental injustice and its links to globalized capital, as well as the work of class and worker struggles for full economic and political inclusion. In the case of interviewees, the government worked to suppress the positions and acts of such groups through a variety of methods. The issues of power between government and civil society highlight the tensions between these two spheres. Amongst the strange tactics used by the government is the invitation to join the government (which can come from those that are currently in power or from an opposing political party). This highlights the nuanced way in which power runs in, against, and through civil society especially in its relationship to government.

These frustrations related to power were not only related to government but also were described as coming from within civil society itself. Some civil society leaders expressed their

desire to see the civil society sector advance, collectively describing it through a few narrative descriptions, including: “anemic”, “underwhelming”, “a sleeping giant.” Many interviewees described that on the one hand, they feel constrained by the choices of government. On the other hand, they also offered narratives that described their desire to have civil society move in new ways to make transformative changes in society. One interviewee amongst many noted:

...I can get into the fact that I felt there should be more discipline, a greater accountability, more responsibility (within government). I can get into that. But you know the fact of the matter is, why go there? Let’s try to figure out where we are at, look around us and this is the space we have, these are the resources we have, let’s see what we can do...

This belief in and promotion of civic responsibility and its relationship within civil society was noted amongst many of the interviewees. Leaders were compelled to situate their work within the frame of civic responsibility as tied to national identity. One interviewee mentioned, “I think Bahamians should step up more and solve their own problems and not be... don’t be part-time, it’s a fulltime job.” The act of independent civic responsibility carries many possibilities related to enacting citizenship practices beyond waiting for government policy or advocating for change (regardless of election cycle).

Despite the motivations to increase levels of civic responsibility and its relationship to national identity, many interviewees feel that they are competing for limited resources. For many, this related to the difficulty in locating sources of funding especially as it relates to government funding and to some extent funding from a variety of private resources. Leaders described the consequences of the perception of a lack of resources and its impact on the civil society. For many, the pursuit of resources takes up most of their activities and indeed, many cited issues of competition from within civil society going after the same funding resources.

Another related issue was the fact that leaders recognized patterns within civil society that often times took away from collaborative opportunities. The reality of limited resources added to this lack of collaborative or holistic approach within civil society. One leader described efforts to collaborate with another civil society group:

They wanted us to do their work for them but they didn't want us to focus on our mission. Yes, we met with them, they came to us into our space. It was very apparent they were desperate to enlist us and take our energy and utilized us for their own purposes. So, it really wasn't necessarily like how can we collaborate together. Right, and that is something of course we have come up against in many instances. And not just them but we're constantly trying to understand and negotiate how to manage that more efficiently. And also, to demonstrate the potential of it but also send the message that in order for us all to move forward successfully on a national basis, that we need a platform and we need an international MOU if you want to say.

We need an entity that is going to perhaps, what's the word, when you have different sectors but you need someone who's going to moderate. We need a moderator, someone with experience to help us create the platform. When I say us, it doesn't have to be (our organization), we need a not-for-profit organization that has the capacity to be able to develop the model. That takes money, takes staff, it takes vision, and it takes integrity.

I see very much the necessity for it particularly at a time like this when no government can fix the problems of this country on their own and there isn't an NGO that can fix the problems on their own. There isn't a philanthropist that can fix the problems on their own. I see so, it's a critical component and civil society should be that we need an entity that is going to perhaps, what's the word, when you have different sectors but you need someone who's going to moderate. We need a moderator, someone with experience to help us create the platform. When I say us, it doesn't have to be (our organization), we need a not-for-profit organization that has the capacity to be able to develop the model. That takes money, takes staff, it takes vision, and it takes integrity.

But I have never seen them step forward to be able to do that. So, when they left the room and they left the meeting and off they went, we sat and we shared our gut instinct. And our gut instinct told us we needed to stay as far away as possible from a collaboration. And interesting enough, they must have also done their own assessment and realized at that point that maybe from our body language, because we were very civil.

The leader here recognized issues with collaboration as tied to access to resources. They also recognized the problems in working out arrangements with the potential collaborative organization recognizing the issues of equal contributions in the collaborative arrangement. Here, the leader recognizes an underlying issue of resource allocation, specifically as it relates to the ways in which organizations can fairly work together for a collective purpose without taking away from another organization's visions and resources, contributing equally to the collaboration. Implicit here is also the view that potential collaborations and even the formation of an umbrella organization is welcomed and perceived as desperately needed.

Another interviewee cited the multiple ways of viewing social issues based on organizational mission that has much to do with how social issues were addressed by civil society. Here, they challenged the notion of a more unified approach for civil society formation and collaboration. In talking about the case of drugs and HIV, he noted:

So, how many have died from HIV/AIDS as a result of their primary disease of drug addiction? The primary disease is drug addiction but they died from AIDS and we are not even quantifying that, you're not even looking at the connection, you haven't even made the connection it's not important, okay. These are the things that we are missing in this society and let me talk about solving. We have to look deeper at the root causes the connections.

We don't make connections and that's one of the problems in civil society in this country, we don't make the connection, we don't realize that everything is interconnected, everything affects something else so, I have my little area in the civil service, I have my little area and that's all I focus on. Someone in civil society told me at a meeting the other day that, listen, I can't think of all of that what you're talking about. I have my little area that I'm just focusing on. I said, with your area is being impacted by this area and your area is impacting that area. So, when you give up all those areas it is going to positively impact your area. So, it's in your best interest to look at the big picture and not be so closed, okay and that's coming back to civil society. We are, to see us leaders in civil society ourselves are part of the problem and a bigger part of the problem is the lack of vision of the government...we are in this together, we got to fight this battle together. The battle is not about, the battle is about the impact, because it's going to be on our children's lives and I don't care how wealthy you are. You're going to interact with a polished child, the child will interact with them at some point when they come across each other. That child is going to influence your child and probably have more influence on your child than you.

So, you need to help that child, you know, I heard a story about this guy in New York, years ago I heard that story and it affected me so deeply. He said, he grew up, he brought his son up in a real tough part of Harlem and took good care of him and the boy went into university. Two years in the university when he came home for summer, he was shot and killed by a young man 5 houses down. When they asked him, how do you feel knowing his son was killed in the neighborhood by them? He said, he felt sorry that they didn't know his neighbor's son, because he was only focusing on his son, you see. If he had opened up a little bit wider and brought those kids in that need your help and you know, give them just a little bit of time to them your son got to make it too. That's how we have to reckon this, your son, your child is my child.

Most prominent here is the significance of collaborative efforts and the way in which these linkages signify perspectives on civil society capacity as well as vision. The second leader's comment focuses on the interrelationship of issues and the lack of awareness of some civil

society leaders to connect or at least understand the larger and broader frame in which separate social issues take shape. Here, the distinction of a collective and unified civil society focus represents a conception of civil society that not only works on disparate issues but also recognizes the significance of collaborative networks. Here, civil society leaders interviewed were attuned to the ecosystem of issues and the ability of civil society to address these issues. However, the greater challenge with approaching or addressing this ecosystem has much to do with the perception of limited resources, especially those related to financial and human capital. In the case of assessing power relations within civil society by civil society actors, the emphasis is on building and cultivating a sense of empowerment, one that is either a renewed force or provides new possibilities for change.

Overall, the current sentiment of many within civil society is that now is a critical moment to create strategies to either regain the “past glory”¹⁷ of civil society or strengthen civil society organizations once and for all. Interestingly, there were some civil society leaders who see improvements related to social problems through their work, are very open to critiquing power relations, or are beginning the work on enhancing this perceived “underwhelming” space of civil society development. Civil society leaders are beginning to feel emboldened and encouraged to continue their work due to heightened social issues and emerging potential opportunities. Some of the interviewees describe the opportunity to deepen the role of advocacy within civil society and have plans to increase civil society advocacy within their organizations or within the sector itself.

Finally, the concerns of power for civil society leaders occur not just within internal entities of the nation (government or civil society itself) but are bolstered by external acts, organizations, and processes. Most evident of these are those rife with the implications of globalization in particular, the current space of development initiatives by multilaterals, as well as those connections related to the Bahamas’s geographic strategic position within the flow of global

¹⁷ As discussed in Chapter 4.

capital, particularly observed in its reliance on foreign direct investment (FDI). For example, for of the interviewees, they raised substantial concerns of the current governmental policy or stance related to foreign direct investment (FDI. This policy related to FDI provides numerous concessions to foreign companies with little taxation, and the perceived outcome of such a policy that increases class inequality across society. Leaders in the interviews also felt the lack of a policy regarding concessions for foreign direct investment ignores other strategic possibilities that would enhance the funding capabilities of civil society who can provide needed services for populations in need.

Additionally, these leaders also recognize the increasing potential for funding and other forms of partnerships with multilateral organizations. Some interviewees were concerned with the role and motives of multilaterals, as well as their ignorance of cultural traditions and legacies, especially as they relate to inequality and power relations. This highlights some of the anxieties civil society has regarding changes to their traditions, work, vision, and practices by external forces such as multilaterals.

One interviewee cited the problematics of working with such multilateral organizations. The interviewee recognized both the opportunity especially as it relates to funding but also the challenges of allowing such kinds of multilaterals to “partner” with civil society especially as it relates to the inherent problems related to cultural ignorance or misunderstanding. In terms of opportunity they noted:

...whether their solution is getting loans, paying back major loans with interest to them... whether that's the solution I don't know. But certainly, we need capital to do these things and we need to get that capital from somewhere and if that's the most convenient way to do it... [It] isn't necessarily the best way to do it but it is a way to do it, and I don't look to our government to come up with any innovations and kind of I don't know transforming it's revenue or moving the budget around enough to do these things, so maybe loans are the only feasible way to go. They lack local context however I think they more or less get it now.

When I asked the leader about their mention of a specific multilateral missing out on local context in an attempt to pinpoint exactly what the interviewee meant, they used an example of a new pilot

program for citizen security and one of the initiatives of providing bail for offenders. They specifically described the tensions like:

For example, navigating the culture...navigating not just the culture but the values of the people... navigating the local politics...Those kind of things...well, it takes time to become familiar enough to know how to navigate those things, and so they struggle with a bit even as simple as parole there's no PR and from a PR perspective there needs to be PR because what you're doing is you're cutting sentences in half and we have a lot of murder victims. We have a lot of armed robbery victims, we have a lot of rape victims...We have a lot of victims in this society as well as a lot of criminals, and I think you have to really given than we haven't had this before you have to justify to the people... Hey, this is why we need parole.

The interviewee then added that in time, the specific multilateral, seemed to slowly understand the problems associated with their proposed initiative for citizen security. This was a result of the multilateral slowly listening to local input of civil society. It is critical to mention here that civil society leaders, in their relationship with these types of multilaterals, were attuned to the specific employees/representatives that were assigned to work with Bahamian leaders. In these descriptions, leaders noted the significance of the assigned country contact. One of current country contacts had roots within the Caribbean and were invested in the work of civil society, recognizing the importance of civil society in providing for social change. Interviewees noted that in the past, country contacts were either not as interested in their work or did not fully understand some of the cultural issues that influenced local specificity.

That said though, the civil society leader continued with their concern of the “outside” influence of such kinds of multilateral organizations especially as it related to lack of local knowledge, the strings tied to funding arrangements, and the power relations implicit on their dependence on such funding.

3. Social Identities: Who are “we” within the Bahamas and Bahamian civil society?

Drawing on Pattillo's (2007) work of the “middlemen,” these civil society leaders indeed are moving across not only between local class and racial identities, but transnational ones as well as they enact their visions for civil society. With the deepening of class divides within the

country, racial identities continue to play a role. Furthermore, these leaders use social identities such as gender, class, and race to inform their leadership and their understanding of social issues. Beyond these social identity formations, the role of informal networks and associations as well as new identities of civil society actors and action intersects with dominant social identities.

Race, Gender, and Class

The social identities of race, gender, and class provide an important lens for the work of civil society. First, these identities are linked, functioning as ever present in the minds of civil society leaders, guiding not only their self-knowledge and its relationship to their work but also their understanding of issues within society.

In interviews, the complexities of racial identity, even after majority rule, remain salient. While equality for black Bahamians increased from decolonization into the post-postcolonial period, many black Bahamians continue to be left behind. All respondents highlight issues of race as important to their work, including white, foreign born, and mixed-race interviewees. One white leader talked about the historical legacies of race from a personal perspective:

Obviously, the history is like really painful and uncomfortable. It is uncomfortable for you to talk about, I don't know what my great grandparents did, but they must have been implicit in the slave trades. Because my grandmother had a shop at Bay Street. She was interested in allowing black women to come in and try on the clothes.

In another instance, the interviewee described the silencing of white Bahamian identity, tying it to the period of majority rule, noting:

I understand during the 70s you know Black Power, and it had to be racial. It had to be because it was racial. The British ruling were, you know, totally again it was racial, so it had to be racial to get independence. Then post-independence, how do we now acknowledge we're multiracial, and how do we roll it together? That's a really big challenge because a lot of white Bahamians either feel, and I have a friend and he is a lawyer and he said the reason everyone understands you are Bahamian is because you point it out, and you are so vocal about it, and you will participate and go to the stadium, and do your things, and go over the hill, and you insist.

Despite this feeling of exclusion, they recognized the challenges associated with white privilege:

Like I said, of course there's white privilege, obviously I mean white privilege also not only means I went to college, not simply because my family just got the money to send me to college. But the fact that for 200 years my family had that like leg up right, so people like us have reached another level because we've had 200 years...

For civil society leaders, race continues to play a factor in society and the distinctions between racial identities are not only rooted in a historical context, but they strike at the heart of the divisions in society.

Added to this is an intersectional approach that combines race to class and also, gender.

As one interviewee clearly stated:

Okay I don't think we can talk about class without talking about race. Especially in the Bahamas you have the intersection of class and race that is almost indistinguishable.

For interviewees race and class factored into some of the divisions in society, which, despite the inclusion efforts of decolonization, left many of black Bahamians behind. Intersectional social identities indeed shape the work of civil society leaders. One interviewee cited the linkages in their own experience and the transnational ties that first heightened his sense of racial identity but also provided a significant lens for understanding social issues and his management approach within his organization adding:

I think the kind of social considerations are the main motivational factors to why I do what I do. I went to a historically black college university. I think at the time the president's motto was to build renaissance men with a social conscience. So, a lot of times, we would just spend days and days debating social issues and they tended not always but trend towards issues affecting the African diaspora... and especially African Americans. So, especially being a black male and having that outlook on the world and the world looking upon me and such, that definitely informed my work. It definitely inspires me gets me to keep pushing on when I feel like giving up because I do think that, well, when you look at the numbers I think COB (College of the Bahamas) graduates, the ratio of female to male is like 6:1 or something. I do think that we are missing something socially when it comes to engaging young black men.

For this leader, transnational linkages added a new dimension for discovering and attending to a sense of his personal racial identity and the connection of his identity to what he observed as a challenge within Bahamian society. The intersectional issues of gender and race continue to be

significant as other interviewees also described the situation for black women. On the one hand, Bahamian society was a place where Black women could achieve much in terms of their professional status. However, unlike white women, they still had to conform to some traditional gender roles, such as those related to family caregiving.

These intersectional issues of race, class, and gender coalesce in civil society, along with the distribution of wealth. Again, black middle-class identity was a specific concern for civil society leaders. The narratives of interviewees demonstrated concerns about persisting gender gaps. The perspectives of civil society highlight several complex and paradoxical social issues that bring the significance of racial, class, and gender identity into a new and contemporary era.

There is a need to recognize some major social issues that have occurred since independence. These include: the devastating drug trade, which brought on the one hand increased prosperity but also violence and addiction, the impact of AIDS, and the rise in illegal immigration. For example, the plight of the Haitian people brought new issues of social inclusion, public health and community crises, as well as the problems associated with gender formation within the Bahamas that have social, political, and legal roots and implications. A major consequence related to these new issues is the fact that there remains an increasing amount of black Bahamians that are unable to move up to the middle-class while there are others, that through increased educational opportunities, family ties, or perhaps luck, are able to move away from the places of their origins-the neighborhoods and communities that were the sole source of black life. Due to increased illegal immigration there are ever increasing levels of xenophobia, which not only impacts social issues but the lives of civil society leaders themselves. For example, one mixed race non-Bahamian civil society leader interviewed discussed the heightened strain for non-Bahamians them in living within Bahamian society despite their black linkages and Caribbean nationality. These ironies within society that are linked to social identities (such as those related to race, class, and gender) are attuning forces for civil society leaders who consider

these linkages, legacies, and shifts in social identity formation and use them to assess their leadership and organizational tasks.

Stuart Hall categorizes such contemporary collective issues as “conjunctural moments” where “different social, political, economic and ideological contradictions are at work in society [and] come together to give it a specific and distinctive shape” (Hall & Massey, 2010, p. 57). Hall (2017) recognized that these conjunctural moments linked to new patterns associated with globalization, and its work in “simultaneously uprooting and emboldening concepts of racial, ethnic, and nationalist difference” (Hall, 2017, p. xv). Hall (2017) also highlights how these moments of conjuncture are precipitated by moments of crises, and that these varying crises provide “moments of potential change, but the nature of their resolution is not a given” (p. 57). For the Bahamas, one critical moment of conjuncture occurs at its transition to and its development as a newly independent nation state. The rise of these activities related to the “drug wars”, rising illegal immigration, and a host of other negative and interrelated issues, had a great impact on Bahamian society. Juxtaposed with these challenges were the newly created freedoms of state, social, political, and civic participation, all coalescing into the contemporary era for Bahamians with its attendant challenges and new, connected spaces for civil society to consider their work.

Finally, leaders also recognized the social identities of race and class in their work with elites in society. For example, several leaders recognized the difference between local white and black elites and their relationship to philanthropic giving, especially with funding. Indeed, several leaders wanted to learn more of those differences in giving among elite racial identities and harness their understanding of such differences in their appeals to elite publics in the Bahamas. The analysis of the social identities of race, class, and gender within Bahamian society (inclusive of the experiences of leaders themselves provides a critical space for them to consider their civil society work and truly portrays these leaders as “middlemen” and women in postcolonial Bahamian society.

Informal – Formal Networks

Another important finding related to the social relations of civil society development, is the pattern of informal civil society associations that often times led into more formal civil society practices. In their narratives and across all interviewees, individual life experiences of inspiration helped drive their work as civil society leaders. Also, notable here is the work of informal friendships. Many of these leaders could describe in length the informal associations and, in particular, bonds of friendship that helped create more formal civil society organizations. Numerous friends worked together and developed partnerships over time. This informal practice provides a rich site for understanding the relationship between informal practices that helped with the formation of formal civil society practices. In fact, the significance of these informal networks provides a deeper understanding how civil society leaders understand their leadership roles, manage their organizations, and engage with specific stakeholders. This suggests the critical importance of understanding the networks of interaction amongst civil society leaders, and especially the relationship between informal bonds and formal organizational patterns and processes. These networks highlight what McLean (2016) describes as the emergent nature of culture, going on to note that: “Networks are places in which emergent properties of culture are incubated, and cultures may develop in divergent ways depending on these different network pathways and structures” (p. 58). The networks of informal relationships and their connection to formal civil society sites and practices may help to reveal key aspects of cultural identity formation within the space of civil society.

Civil Society Identities

In terms of variation amongst civil society leaders, most striking is that, across the interviews, it appears that two sub-civil society middle-class identities are emerging. I consider these two poles on a continuum of civil society practices. The first of these civil society identities includes that of the “technocrat entrepreneur.” The technocrat entrepreneur leader views development as a way of taking the community into a “globalized” future. While the technocrat

entrepreneur is aware of racial, gender, and class issues, and finds that these issues have some importance in understanding social problems, they do not necessarily think that changes to the community should wholly focus on them. These technocrat entrepreneurs produce narratives of looking forward. In looking forward, technocrat entrepreneurs focus on addressing the changes brought about by globalization in pragmatic terms, and promoting issues of global and regional competitiveness.

This pursuit of global competitiveness is realized through activities that promote increased educational and training opportunities as well as the production of new infrastructures that help to increase the capacity of private enterprise. For technocrat entrepreneurs, the commitment to new strategies for global competitiveness is the place for their concerns of inequality, especially in their recognition with racial, class, and gender identity. Their engagement with multilaterals is very hopeful as they believe that these forms of partnerships will help secure greater funding. Also, but to a somewhat greater extent, the technocrat entrepreneur is more interested in issues of organizational transparency, accountability, and the unification of a mission of advancement, innovation, and professionalism within civil society. The key question for them is: How do I advance all of Bahamian society (positioning them) for greater prosperity through my work?

The second middle-class identity within civil society is that of the “cultural and social progressive.” These cultural and social progressives seek deep social change and social justice, with a desire to transform social structures through a mediation on the forces that shaped communal experiences (e.g., through the African inspired or creolized identities of Bahamian society, a return to more the communalism of times past highlighting the cultural markers that helped define Bahamian uniqueness, and deeply connecting and engaging with the people that are being forgotten to receive a chance at a better quality of life). These progressives strongly lament the move of middle-class citizens out of the “Over the Hill” communities and through their civil society work, are trying to reconnect with these “forgotten” communities. Cultural and social

progressives produce narratives of looking back. This narrative of returning to communities “over the hill” highlights the significance of space and place dynamics in postcolonial Bahamas and also recognizes the connections between the historical past and the future of Bahamian society. The core question for them relates to: Through my work, how do I utilize my understanding of social identities and create potential solutions to eradicate inequity through the promotion of anticolonial thought/practices as well as social justice in the new century?

In observing both of these civil society identities amongst the interviewees and across other methods of observation of other civil society (such as document analysis of a wider range of civil society activity during my period of fieldwork), there are several implications that these kinds of identities produce. These include interrelated issues such as incentives for collaboration, access to funding, framing of mission and vision for the improvement of society, accountability measures, and the general management of their organizations. Anheier (2014) describes the significance of perspectives in nonprofit or civil society organizational management arguing that “different stakeholders and constituencies associated with specific bottom-lines are likely to favor, even push for their way of the organization” (p. 330). He then describes an analytic-normative model of nonprofit organizations that guides an understanding of organizational performance that maintains objectives, tasks that are based on environmental and organizational culture, and structure that relates to ways in which hierarchy and relationships are defined. Within this model, Anheier (2014) describes one key dimension of this analytic normative model with the two competing dimensions of nonprofit organizational environments as based on either a technocratic or a social culture. Technocratic nonprofit culture focuses more on “functional performance criteria, task achievement, and set procedures, and operate under the assumption that organizations are problem-solving machines” (p. 332). In social culture led organizations, the focus is on more “normative elements such as religious or political conviction” (p. 332). In contrast, Anheier (2014) goes on to describe the social cultures functioning more like families than machines and while:

...techno-cultures are frequently characterized by management models like operations research, ...socio-cultures come close to the human relations approach in organizational theory, emphasizing the importance of informal relations and holistic concepts (p. 332)

Taking Anheier's (2014) competing nonprofit organizational environments and considering these dimensions along with the observed continuum of qualities amongst civil society leaders in the Bahamas, the shape of civil society's structure carries a multiplicity of viewpoints. These multiple views relate not only in the way that organizations are managed but link the management of nonprofit organization specifically to leaders and/or founders of such organizations recognizing the ways in which their specific worldviews and viewpoints on society, community, civic responsibility and engagement shape organizational missions. Even more so, these varying perspectives also highlight the significance of recognizing the fluid dimensions of cultural identity recognizing what Stuart Hall (2017) would describe as diaspora in the post-postcolonial moment as:

...intertwined with modernity. It also signified belonging to a culture, a tradition, a heritage— a historical arc that bound us together without closing the door to further transformations or other kinships. It was less about origins than trajectories (xvi).

Resilience Narratives

Observing the perspectives and practices of contemporary civil society leaders in the Bahamas provides some critical avenues for exploration and understanding of their conditions and aspirations. Additionally, their work also highlights the changing landscape of Bahamian society post-independence, revealing not only the ongoing shape of civil society but its connection to cultural identity. The narratives of civil society leaders, in the case of the Bahamas, collectively offer narratives of resilience related to their work and process, marking their determination to engage within society for meaningful social change. These narratives of resilience conjoin what Somers (1994) describes as ontological narratives of the self along with the public narratives that are connected to cultural and institutional formations. The relationship between these ontological and public narratives help shape meta narratives (master narratives of

our collective and conjoined experience). In the case of civil society, they offer meta narratives of resilience. Civil society leaders as agents within society work to meet the challenges of the post-postcolonial era and in the range of their perspectives and practices which include their biographies, inspirations, informal networks, strategies for stakeholder interaction, and visions for societal improvement move in ways that challenge the status quo in their pursuit of removing structural barriers for Bahamians. In sharing their perspectives and practices, civil society leaders provide insight into the shape of cultural identity and its relationship to civil society formation namely through the lenses of space and place, social identity formation, and power relations. A framework for assessing these narratives of resilience includes some of the following insights:

Civil society leaders:

- Maintain a deep knowledge of the political process based on multiple experiences and use this knowledge to craft strategies that are useful in recognizing the centrality of the state and government to enhance their organizational capacities, amongst other relationships within the public sphere,
- Exhibit an abiding care of neglected communities which highlight how narratives of belonging are tied to national and regional identity prompting action,
- Engage in a relentless pursuit of options and avenues for success. This relentless energy that shapes their approaches to accessing training, seeking out new funding streams, regulatory procedural adherence, stakeholder engagement, continued advocacy about social issues, and the development of informal ties for formal organizational formation. In this way, civil society actors in the Bahamas, exude the entrepreneurial spirit of Bahamians as theorized by Storr (2006), seeing opportunity where others do not and use that insight for the purpose of crafting their organizational visions,
- Provide critical insight on the significance of civic responsibility along with their awareness of social identities such as class, gender, and race. This focus on social

identities and civic responsibility allows them to trace the importance of social identity as it relates to their own identities along with the way in which social identities relate to structures of inequality.

Here, I think it is important to consider a few ideas related to the idea of using resilience in describing actors within the Global South. I take the idea of a persisting Haitian exceptionalism drawn from the work of Michel Rolph Truilliot (1992). Truilliot's (1992) exposure of this trope seeks to destabilize the idea of Haiti and the Haitian people as exceptional. This exceptionalism Truilliot (1992) says casts the Haitian people as solely resilient in the face of difficult living conditions (in superhuman terms), describing the space of Haiti as too unique to compare to other places or conditions, and the view of Haiti as both repulsive and unique. Truilliot (1992) says that these exceptional narratives of Haiti tend to erase the historical and contemporary process that place Haiti in a larger world system. He specifically adds that: "The more Haiti appears weird, the easier it is to forget that it represents the longest neocolonial experiment in the history of the West" (Truilliot, 1995, p. 72). Truilliot's (1990) analysis while speaking of Haiti, I would like to think of Global South actors and situate this idea of exceptionalism linking Truilliot (1992) to Sheller's (2003) broader analytic frame (in the introduction), the problem of the Caribbean viewed as exceptional in the way that it is removed from the historical and contemporary processes of the West. In thinking of the narratives of resilience of contemporary Bahamian civil society leaders, while observing their resilient perspectives and practices as actors engaging with a multitude of stakeholders and publics, they too engage with the historical and contemporary processes of their national, regional, and indeed globalized structures. The development of cultural identity emerges and is shaped from beyond the boundaries of the nation state and is inclusive of both internal and external actors that emerge from historical patterns and legacies.

In an effort to move beyond an exceptional frame of civil society resilience narratives, I also want to consider the challenges that civil society leaders face. On the one hand, civil society leaders exude levels of adaptability in their public and civic engagement, deep knowledge about

social structures and the relationship between social identities and inequity, and symbolic, affective, and strategic passion that are exhibited through their management choices. On the other hand, a frame of resilience also points to spaces of fragility or rupture that provide challenges for civil society leaders. In many instances, where there is a positive resilience skill developed, spaces of fragility or rupture also exist. As civil society leaders develop skills in managing or working around their relationship with government, for example, the challenges of government inefficiency or even the way in which the political sphere provides some strenuous barriers for civil society create moments of destabilization for civil society leaders and their organizations. For example, civil society organizations face roadblocks when in the course of the electoral political process. Newly elected political parties bring new governance measures and policy positions. As one civil society leader described, their organization was at one time deeply supported by one government. The government had implemented a new policy to enable the civil society organization to receive funding to work within urban communities. The subsequent government (a new political party) changed directions on policy and the funding for the CSO eventually ceased. Beyond the loss of organizational funding was also the fact that the organization lost what they would describe as critical inroads within the communities that they worked. Other points of fragility and rupture occur due to a lack of funding and over reliance on funding streams, avenues, and sources that some civil society leaders would describe as overburdened or difficult to access. Another issue relates to the perception of limited resources and its relationship to issues of collaboration and trust amongst the wider ecosystem of civil society leaders and their civil society work. How do these realities and perceptions hinder greater civil society connection and collaboration?

Narratives of resilience are rooted in cultural identity and shape the space of civil society. In a new era, beyond the early moments of decolonization, these civil society leaders bring new insight into the idea of inclusive acceptance through engagement as they encounter persisting and new social structures that bring increased levels of inequity. Civil society leaders also recognize

that their work is relevant in the way it prompts collective action and civic responsibility. In tracing the path of these leaders and the work they perform in and out of organizations, it is critical to consider the broader ways in which civil society organizations form and thrive. As Benjamin and Campbell (2014) argue, the programmatic features of any nonprofit organization are essential for organizational success. Yet, beyond the programming offered by a given organization, they go on to add there is a richer ecosystem of “frontline” practices that organizations utilize. Located beyond programmatic features, these practices work to engage communities, exist in a fluid and flexible space that are attuned to environmental or cultural shifts, and rely on a greater set of collaborative networks for civil society actors to draw upon. Through their resilience narratives, Bahamian civil society leaders, highlight the significance of this interconnected system as a necessary tool for the work of civil society. It is especially important to attend to a larger sense of cultural identity formations that shape national, regional, or even larger African diasporic identities in recognition that these frames are necessary tools for the work of civil society. While resilient, these narratives of civil society also offer key insights into paths of fragility or sites of rupture that challenge the work of civil society. Beyond the mere assessment that civil society in the Global South needs more training as it relates to operational capacity there exists the potential for assessing both the resilience of local civil society actors. It is also critical to address or focus on those sites of fragility and rupture and address problems that may derive from sources beyond internal civil society constraints such as internal organizational planning. . These stress points of fragility and rupture emerge from greater challenges within social structures. To be sure, contemporary civil society leaders continue to carry on the work of earlier times, pursuing opportunities where none previously existed. The aspirations, hope, and diligence of these actors remain high. One activist leader exudes this level of hope in remarking: “I feel like we are getting somewhere...slowly, deliberately, systematically, deliberately building this activist spirit, this public awareness and education that we seek to build on a national scale.”

Chapter 7: Conjunctural Moments and Entangled Time: The Future of Civil Society and Cultural Identity

Most of us are unconscious that we inhabit stories.
Or, that stories inhabit us.
Because we can't see stories,
we don't know that we can change them.
(What Is Not Yet, Can Be Born, Helen Klonaris, 2015, p. 14)

I returned home in December of 2017. This time I visited family during the holiday season. Beyond the regular sounds of the main event of Boxing Day and New Year's Junkanoo parades and other holiday celebratory acts, red posters still dotted the landscape (typically on lamp posts) perhaps once pristine and regal with the simple phrase: "It's the People's Time!" This was the campaign slogan of the newly elected Free National Movement (FNM) in May of 2017. The FNM's win was an astounding defeat of the then in power Progressive Liberal Party (PLP).

While not the first time that the FNM had won or the PLP had lost, the FNM's electoral victory garnered the majority of seats in the House of Assembly leaving the PLP, left with limited representation, a seeming shell of its former glory days of political power. Once I viewed the FNM political posters in the aftermath of the stunning defeat, I was first reminded of the popular axiom that I heard from many Bahamians about the then upcoming election: "You know, in the Bahamas, we don't vote people in-we vote them out."

The second point that struck me when I saw the words, "The People's Time" on the signature red FNM promotional material was the fact that the FNM in this election, claimed that it was finally the time for the people. The other point was what I observed was the slogan's uncanny resemblance to political movements of the past. In particular, I was reminded of Black Tuesday, that symbolic day in 1967 when leader of the PLP, Lynden Pindling, in the House of Assembly went to an open window where protestors stood outside and he threw the ceremonial mace out the window declaring that the "mace belongs to the people, and the people are outside." As the story goes, immediately after Pindling's statement, Milo Butler, another important historical figure, followed by throwing out the hourglass that kept time in the House of Assembly.

How strange it appeared to me that the opposing party of the FNM all the way in 2017, would take on such rhetoric borrowing the phrase from the opposing party that they decimated in recent elections.

This use of a similar theme suggests a resonance with the Bahamian people, a recognition that the people's time has not fully arrived, and a hope that political parties would bring the measures and strategies that would indeed make the hope for the people's time for all. Whether or not the FNM will fulfill that promise or satisfy the hopes of the Bahamian people are yet to be realized. The next five years will surely provide an answer.

The point of the posters describing the people's time is best summed up by Achille Mbembe (2001). In the postcolony, time's assessment moves beyond mere linear assessment. Rather, "time is not a series but an interlocking of presents, pasts, and futures that retain their depths of other presents, pasts, and futures, each age bearing, altering, and maintaining the previous ones" (p. 16). This idea of time supports the idea of entanglement. An entanglement with the past shapes future directions and provides an understanding of the present. If it is the people's time that is so desired in the post postcolonial space of the Bahamas, then what to make of civil society's role for the future?

A Framework for Mapping Cultural Identity to Civil Society

This dissertation project aimed to uncover the relationship between cultural identity and the development and maintenance of civil society. In three substantive chapters, I conjoined both methodological and epistemological concerns to locate the significance of understanding cultural identity, core definitions of philanthropy and civic engagement, and considerations of how these ideas have arranged themselves within the Global South often times against the grain of dominant Global North theoretical and ontological paradigms. Methodologically, I concentrated on the significance of narrative inquiry as a way to think through the ways in which stories and experiences from within the Global South, the Bahamas, in particular, provide key linkages that support the relationship between cultural identity and civil society formation. Defined as three

core narrative inspections, this project concentrated on an evolving and at times, interconnected lenses for realizing cultural identity's influence in shaping the boundaries, issues, practices, rationales and reasoning for civil society activity. In chapter 4, historical narratives focused on early formations of civil society activity and forms of leadership. Chapter 5 explored artistic narratives and inspected these developments during the period of decolonization leading into the contemporary period. These artistic narratives assessed the significance of artistic culture and its relationship to the development of a postcolonial cultural identity as well as the conjoined role that these developments played in the further development of civil society. Finally, in chapter 6, the narratives of the lived experience focused on the current moment of civil society leaders. These narratives highlighted the ways in which current leaders and their organizations structured their work based on the legacies of cultural identity with an awareness of earlier formations of civil society activity. In doing so, these leaders recognized their work as existing within the paradigm of postcolonial society with its attendant constraints and opportunities for the deepening of civil society activity.

As a result, the findings of these narrative inspections reveal key developments. In concentrating on the case of the nation state of the Bahamas, an analysis of its postcolonial contemporary dimensions invariably demands an assessment of not only its relationship to issues and legacies of slavery, colonization, decolonization, nation making, but also themes of democracy and citizenship. Observed through the lens of the black middle-class several significant patterns emerge.

In the case of the Bahamas, civil society's relationship to cultural identity has a long history. First, slavery and its immediate aftermath during the period of early emancipation created a segregated Bahamian society. While relegated to the lower rungs of society, both former slaves and Liberated Africans had limited possibilities for civic participation and inclusion within the public sphere. Despite these limited opportunities, newly emancipated slaves and Liberated Africans cultivated their own patterns of philanthropic practice and civic participatory acts.

Thematically, these myriad forms of acts collectively focused on the broader goal of inclusive acceptance through engagement. These collective activities ranged in specific practices and organizational patterns, ranged between both informal and formal action, worked to achieve inclusion within the larger public sphere or produced new articulations of belonging and community beyond the norms and aspirations of dominant society. Together, these formations produced an alternative public sphere of civic activity and philanthropic practice that cultivated a sense of identity for black Bahamians. In many of these instances, black middle-class individuals served as useful leaders as well as interlocutors representing grievances, as well as founding and developing organizations. Black middle-class leaders, over time, were afforded increasing opportunities for social mobility and utilized increased social opportunities including the pursuit of higher education and through greater involvement within politics and business. Despite these ongoing opportunities for social advancement, the persisting challenges of inequality and segregation simultaneously curtailed successful civil society activity while also providing new successful movements, goals, organizations, and claims.

By 1942, the Burma Road Riots as described by numerous scholars, signified a critical shift for the black alternative public sphere in the Bahamas. In this period, the black alternative public sphere gained new momentum that led to the solidification of political, social, and economic goals for movement success. The geographic location Bahamas influenced these goals. Nestled between the United States with a strong influence of the southern United States, in particular, South Florida along with the greater Caribbean region offered movement leaders new transnational networks of social movement practices, repertoires for addressing claims, and larger spatial opportunities for middle-class leaders to connect their work to an extended African Diasporic identity. Amongst these myriad formations within civil society emerged the organizational formations of political parties and labor unions. These types of organizations typified civil society activity during this period.

By 1967, the rise of a black led political party assured the “Quiet Revolution” that led the achievement of both majority rule and independence. During this period of decolonization, many of the main actors within the alternative public sphere and civil society became the new leaders of the Bahamian nation state ushering in a new era of social reforms. That said, these new social reforms, especially related to policies of social inclusion, was also met with the reinstatement of older economic practices that aimed to maintain the economic attractiveness of the Bahamas to would be foreign investors and for the continued development of the tourist industry. The period of decolonization also began the process of a greater solidification of a Bahamian cultural and national identity and drew strongly on the themes of “presence Africaine” through developing connections to African diasporic and regional history, symbolic representations, and the development of a spiritual consciousness. While achieving a major victory, the newly elected government still faced a wide range of challenges especially those related to the impact of the drug trade especially during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s.

In moving beyond its earlier formations, civil society increased leadership opportunities. These included new inclusionary opportunities for service in once segregated organizations along with the continued persistence of earlier civic and philanthropic organizational forms. Civil society also deepened its work by attending to new social realities and inequalities especially those related to rising crime, drug addiction, family and domestic issues. All along, civil society remained committed to the process of thinking through issues of national, regional, African diasporic, Third World and corresponding Global South identities. Thus, the period also saw the increased influence of multilateral organizations and the promotion of a global civil society agenda that offered global development goals and strategies for societal improvement.

From a national and regional perspective, many of these discussions of cultural identity relied on civil society to provide avid discussions on cultural belonging and collective purpose. This was often realized through an understanding of cultural identity and its relationship to aesthetic and expressive artistic forms. Artistic development utilized numerous genres and

focused on cultivating a sense of cultural identity that was related to a silenced but recoverable past rooted in the influences of Africa. The arts also provided insights about new creolized formations of cultural identity. The relationship between cultural identity, civil society, and the arts within the postcolonial period focused on debates, articulations, and expressions related to such questions like: “who are we?” and “What kind of society do we wish to become?” Civil society through its work and conversations on aesthetic and expressive art offered a significant space for discussions, activities, and insights concerning questions of national and cultural identity.

Within the post-postcolonial period, civil society leaders continued to infuse an understanding of their work based on the legacies of the past. They did this by focusing on the expressive domain of cultural identity while also attending to old and new patterns of inequality set about by both the legacies of colonization, in particular, claims of neocolonialism and its corresponding connections to an ever-increasing influence of globalized capital. Political parties as elected governments all received local public critiques of their work. In particular, these critiques related to a lack of attention to rising local inequalities due to the ravages of the drug trade as well as rising illegal immigration. Furthermore, local critiques disputed governmental higher attention to foreign investor interests rather than attending to local citizen needs and interests.

In the 21st century, civil society leaders bring with them inherited repertoires of civic and philanthropic practices as well as a continued understanding of Bahamian cultural identity. They draw upon postcolonial realizations of social space and place, older and newly understood social identities, as well as the challenges and constraints brought upon by power relations that emerge from their relationship with government, multilateral groups, and other stakeholders including new and contrasting impulses of giving amongst wealthy Bahamians from various racial backgrounds. Most significantly, this awareness of power relations, space and place, and social identities are related to the inner workings of civil society itself. Nested within these themes,

leaders working within their organizations and along with other leaders and groups, offer distinct perspectives on the current state and future possibilities for civil society while recognizing the challenges that may hinder continued or increased success. Observed together, civil society in the contemporary moment, like their predecessors, inhabits narratives of resilience. These narratives recognize the challenges faced by civil society but simultaneously focus on the relevant avenues for creativity, strategy, opportunities for partnerships while exposing moments of fragility and rupture. These narratives of resilience highlight not only the constraints of working within the postcolonial Bahamian society but also offer critical insights about the positive strategies and relative successes that these leaders realize in their work.

Observed in this contemporary moment the point raised by Deitrich, Garigga-Lopez, and Gariga-Lopez (2017) written in response to aftermath to the devastating hurricane is useful. They suggest that:

A more realistic and humane policy approach to the circum- Caribbean region is needed; one that accounts for the unique challenges posed by the region's history of political, economic, social, and environmental exploitation. Researchers must help craft solutions that build on community strengths and experiences of survival in the face of crisis. (Deitrich et al., 2017, para. 13)

While the call for a more realistic and human policy approach was written for audiences in the Global North, the reality on the ground is that local civil society is engaged in living out the development of realistic and human policy approaches for social change in the Caribbean. While under resourced, both financially and in many other ways that delimit their organizational and collective capacities, the narratives of resilience do more than just provide points of tutelage for these local actors. Instead, these narratives offer deeper insight about the significance of cultural identity, its role in the development of civil society, and indeed should be recognized as useful site to recognize the aspirations of a people.

Philanthropy, Civil Society, and Civic Participation for the Global South

Tracing cultural identity formation and its role in the development of civil society prompts attention to distinct and varying related to concepts of philanthropy, civil society, and

civic engagement. Philanthropy is defined broadly as “voluntary action for the public good” and includes not only activities related to giving but also includes voluntarist activities that also recognize more political, civic, and activist stances. As Sievers (2010) notes, philanthropy is an important vehicle that equips the work of civil society. So, while civil society is more understood as a space for activity, philanthropic engagement shapes values and creates practices for human engagement within society for the purpose of creating change. Most critical is the perspective of the significance of philanthropy and civil society for the development of democracy. While significant for the maintenance of democratic societies, the case of the Global South offers insight into the variation of impulses based on a particular group’s relationship to the ideals of democracy, their historical levels of inclusion, and their ability to act with agency to achieve their own sense of the philanthropic imagination. The tracing of cultural identity is significant because as observed in the case of the postcolonial Bahamas, it is apparent that the development and realization of civil society and the philanthropic imagination for historically marginalized groups was often met with oppressive constraints.

As a result, these groups have drawn upon repertoires that are rooted in their cultural identities. In doing so they bring the legacies and practices related to those identities, ones that were historically treated as backward by mainstream and dominant society, and utilized these cultural identity formations for engaging in acts of survival and for greater claims of inclusion. Tracing these formations of these marginalized groups requires a broadening of our understanding of philanthropy and civil society especially as it relates to assessing the experiences of groups along the abyssal line of democratic inclusion as well as an understanding of how these groups experienced the development of capitalism. These experiences beg questions about the unrealized concepts, assumptions, and realities of philanthropic care within civil society and can offer a rich space for development within Philanthropic, Civil Society Studies, and other interrelated studies of community engagement and action. Conjoined to these types of studies, these considerations also offer distinct but also perhaps interrelated inspections for other

interdisciplinary and disciplinary fields including Ethnic, African Diaspora, and Global South Studies.

Several key perspectives emerge from the data and also offer a window for the greater consideration for future and related research opportunities. Some of these include:

1. In postcolonial spaces, recognition of the significance of the political sphere, its greater connection to and blurring with and between non-political civil society and philanthropic activities requires continued observance.
2. The critical importance of understanding social movements for independence, the subsequent victories and inherent challenges faced by the formerly colonized as they continue to be locked within the world system with persisting relationships, sometimes chosen and other times, inescapable especially related to the force of globalization.
3. The persisting significance of inclusive acceptance through engagement within the post-postcolonial space that brings awareness about the range of social identities especially those related to marginality and dispossession.
4. The value in understanding the nature of postcolonial governments: How does their relationship to previous independence movements, their subsequent transition from core civil society members to a new space within the “mainstream” public sphere influence their newly identified roles as central public sector actors?
5. What are the challenges faced by current civil society actors in negotiating with these governments especially in thinking through the fact of their recent historical relationship as members of civil society?
6. The role of civil society resilience: Continued assessment is needed of some of the persisting caricatures and misconceptions especially as it relates to perspectives about the Caribbean and the greater Global South. How to make sense of and disentangle these perceptions from critical realities? How do these misconceptions and realities shape agenda setting for civil society in the Caribbean and/or the Global South?

7. What is the continued significance of social identities such as race, gender, and class? How do these identities guide an understanding of philanthropic impulses, as well as offer an understanding of persisting issues? In particular, how does an analysis of the black middle-class on the one hand, highlight the significant contributions of their work and position as interlocutors? Yet on the other hand, how do their leadership preferences diminish the approaches, stances, or aspirations of other social classes/identities and their disparate meanings for social change? Furthermore, how do the broader types of black middle-class civil society actors (the technocrat entrepreneur and the social and cultural progressive) specifically work across class and racial lines to enact their visions for civil society? Added to this, what are the moments of connection that these two kinds of civil society actors experience with each other and what is the impact of such cross collaborative pursuits?
8. What is the significance of transnational activity especially in the contemporary moment? How do the similar but yet varying historical patterns bring a more nuanced appreciation for how civil society formed within the region? What are the current methods that contemporary civil society regional leaders employ? How do they frame their work based on both historical legacies of transnational interaction and development along with varying regional contemporary conditions? For example, how do the stories of migration and other forms of transnational activity deepen our understanding of the development of a larger and broader space to assess the work of regional civil society? How do stories of migration shape an understanding of ethnic, gender, and class based variations of philanthropic practice and civic participation, and specifically, the ways in which these concerns have shifted over time?
9. What is the value in considering the analytic theme of inclusive acceptance through engagement that conjoins diverse philanthropic and civic activities? Correspondingly, how do these varying acts provide moments of contention within older as well as

newly formed alternative public spheres? How do these variations shape the current work of civil society nationally, regionally, and within the global south?

10. How does an understanding of artistic and expressive activity within the Caribbean bring new insights about the expressive dimension of civil society and philanthropic activity?

The Future of Research

This project has also aimed at highlighting the scholarly work from the other side of the “abyssal line” and the ways in which it can provide critical insight about the development of a given society. These scholars use their deep knowledge of a place to guide an understanding of important processes that shape society. More work should and can be done to recognize individual scholars and also to improve the interconnectivity between these scholars not only across the abyssal line but within it as well. Some of the critical research practices that are needed and that are often best utilized through the work of local scholars are archival practices both old and new that aim to uncover the silences of official records and offer critical reinterpretations of established archives such as the colonial archive. These archival practices seek to do as Vincent Brown (2016) urges is the path for understanding the lives of “history’s most vexing subjects.” As Raewyn Connell (2007) demands, we need to “understand the dynamism of the periphery...” (p. 213). Engaging in renewed research practices that connect scholars with varying epistemological and ontological perspectives across the abyssal line brings a greater awareness of global patterns and conditions. Furthermore, the process of interdisciplinary thinking brings refocused commitments to approaching research from the perspective of pressing social problems harnessing not only unique research traditions between the Global North and Global South but also offer a space for conversation between the hard lines of disciplinary concerns.

The Future of Postcolonial Civil Society

There are several issues that shape the future of postcolonial society. First an assessment that considers the relationship between such concepts such as the postcolonial, the global south,

and added to these, join new and emerging perspectives and concepts. For example, the ideas and conversations related to the fragility of small island states which are now also coupled with the conceptual framing of the Anthropocene. A deeper analysis would help to guide the development imperatives associated with each locating their connections.

In the case of the Bahamas, the singular focus of a black middle-class and its relationship to civil society is no longer the only or central source of observing civil society within the Caribbean. Today there are, an abundance of choices for development and includes the work of ever increasingly engaged multilateral organizations, international NGOs, as well as other funding actors. The findings provided hopefully support that view that a broader conception of civil society and philanthropic practice is needed and should be welcomed in assessing local aspirations, needs, and interests.

That said narrative engagements are key to understanding these ongoing civic organizational formations and the ways that they are influenced by cultural. Furthermore, these narrative engagements can support a greater dialectic of translation. The case here hopefully provides a reckoning of the view that the global south is not merely in need of education on governance especially in the shape of basic forms of training and other foundational capacity building exercises, but rather this reckoning should recognize new cross currents of understanding and assessment that can guide more satisfying policy approaches. As Fischer and Gotweiss (2012) argue, "...we need to discover how competing policy actors construct contending narratives in order to make sense of and deal with such uncertain, messy challenges" (p. 7). These policy interventions should make sense of both the way in which local actors provide narratives of resilience that recognizes fragile and ruptured spaces of civil society activity that highlight issues of inequity.

Finally, in thinking through some of the societal challenges caused by inequity within postcolonial society requires continued observance of the ever-evolving theoretical space of political economy and its relationship to both cultural identity as well as the perspectives and

practices of civil society. In the case of the Bahamas, an understanding of political economy stretches across time highlighting earlier Pan American perspectives, the interrelated economic models developed by local elites and before the period of decolonization, trends and patterns of globalization, along with the new commitments to locate “the people’s time” in new economic proposals. Ultimately, these assessments of “time on the move” offers some insight into the problematics of nation state perspectives especially those that guided the process of decolonization and independence movement in the 20th Century, throughout the postcolonial world. Conjunctural moments as Stuart Hall so thoughtfully described shake the very foundations of these independence movements and draw attention to new ways to think about development, inclusion, citizenship, belonging, and social change.

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Curriculum Vitae

Kim N. Williams-Pulfer

Education

Ph.D. Indiana University (2018)

Major: Philanthropic Studies

Minor: Caribbean Studies

Dissertation: “*Get Involved: Stories of The Caribbean Postcolonial Black Middle Class and the Development of Civil Society*”

Committee: John Stanfield (Co-Chair), Jennifer Thorington Springer (Co-Chair), Lehn Benjamin, Brian Steensland

Graduate Certificate, Indiana University (2013)

Major: Nonprofit Management

M.A., Butler University (2008)

Major: English

Thesis: “*Many Rivers to Cross: A Transnational Analysis of Marginalization in the Films, The Harder They Come and City of God*”

Committee: Lee Garver (Chair), Ageeth Sluis

B.A., Taylor University (2002)

Major: Psychology

Minor: English Literature

Practicum Project: “Mental Health in the Bahamas”

Peer Reviewed Publications

Williams-Pulfer, K. (2015). “When Bain Town woman catch a fire, even the devil run.” The Bahamian Suffrage Movement as national and cultural development. *Voluntas*, 27 (3), 1472-1493.

Book Reviews

Williams-Pulfer, K. (2016). “The politics of volunteering by Nina Eliasoph.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector*, 45(3), 646-649.

Other Publications

Williams-Pulfer, Kim. (2013). “21st century strategic planning: design thinking as a supplemental process.” *PublicINReview* 1 (2), 77-87.

Fellowships, Grants, and Awards

Indiana University President’s Diversity Dissertation Fellowship, 2017-2018

Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy Research Department Grant 2017

Gene Tempel Fellowship, 2016-2017

Hearst Minority Fellowship, 2015-2016, 2013-2014

IUPUI Themed Learning Community Stipend for Interdisciplinary Collaboration, 2015

IUPUI Center for Service and Learning, Service Learning Assistant Grant, 2014

IUPUI Themed Learning Community Learning Grant, 2014

ARNOVA Diverse Leaders Forum (with funding from the Kresge Foundation), 2014

Park Tudor School, Toward Excellence Grant for Interdisciplinary curriculum, 2009

English Speaking Union Scholarship Summer study at Oxford University, 2009