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Volume 25, 2019

As we celebrate the release of this, the 25th volume of University of The Bahamas' academic journal, it is only appropriate that we look back on the history of this important, and now longstanding, venture, the only the peer-reviewed academic forum in the world focused on the study of The Bahamas and its people. What became the *International Journal of Bahamian Studies* (*IJBS*) was first published by the College of The Bahamas (COB) in 1980 as *College Forum*. That issue included an article from then COB faculty member John Holm, a linguist who later went on to become one of the most famous scholars of Creole languages around the globe. Although not published every year, *College Forum* continued its traditions of scholarly engagement through the 1980s and 1990s. Beginning in 2001, the journal rebranded itself as the *College of The Bahamas Research Journal.* Since the journal moved to a purely online format in 2008, it has consistently published every year. Acknowledging the fact that the institution would be rebranding itself and nodding to this new institution's greater international outlook, in 2010 the journal yet again changed its name— this time to the *International Journal of Bahamian Studies*.

In an unintentional nod to the history of the journal, this year's edition of *IJBS* includes articles written by three previous editors (that is, Pandora Johnson, Marie Sairsingh, and Virginia Ballance). We are also pleased to present in this edition of the journal two pieces co-authored by the journal's most prolific author over its publication history, William Fielding. *IJBS* also welcomes a new author to this year, Dr. Kristen Welsh Unwala of Chemistry, Environmental, and Life Sciences.

The effect *IJBS* has had during its publication history—in particular after its move to a purely online journal—is symbolised nicely by the impact of an article published in its inaugural online issue (written by Fielding, Ballance, Johnson, and others): the 2008 article "The Stigma of Being Haitian in the Bahamas." That article has been downloaded more than 15,000 times and has been cited at least 18 times in international academic fora. Furthermore, in the aftermath of Hurricane Dorian, the article was quoted in international newspapers such as the UK's *Guardian* and the south Florida's *Sun Sentinel.*

Indeed, in the post-Hurricane Dorian environment (as well as the hurricanes of misinformation that characterize our contemporary political environment), we are constantly reminded of the importance of verifiable, rigorous empirical study and data. That is to say, we continually reminded of the purpose of the journal.

Sincerely,

Dr. Raymond Oenbring

Managing Editor

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

Learning Gender-based Attitudes in The Bahamas

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Virginia C. F. Ballance
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Abstract

Gender-based violence continues to be a source of concern in The Bahamas. Structural inequality between the sexes is present in the law and cultural attitudes can work to circumscribe the expectations of women. Such attitudes are reinforced through messages from various sources. This paper presents the results from an Internet-based survey of 1,279 participants to examine how Bahamian citizens learn their attitudes towards women. The most important influence on Bahamians was the participant's mother. She, in turn, was influenced by the messages she received from faith-based sources. Official governmental sources of information and the opinions of politicians and school teachers appeared to be less influential. This disparity suggests that within The Bahamas, changes in attitudes towards women will require a more enlightened message to be taught and reinforced by faith-based organizations.

Introduction

Historically, women in the Caribbean, as elsewhere, have been considered vulnerable members of society (Blank, 2013). In today's society, there is continuing worldwide concern for the safety of women, and in particular, its relation to gender-based violence. For example, in Pakistan, Saeed Ali et al. (2017) point out that "patriarchal gender norms and values reinforce and sustain the low status of girls and women in society and increase the likelihood that boys and men will perpetrate violence against girls" (p. 1).

The United Nations has encouraged nations to end all forms of discrimination against women through its Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) adopted in 1979, to which The Bahamas is a signatory. Despite such initiatives, in The Bahamas women in particular are at risk of experiencing violence within their own homes (Plumridge & Fielding, 2009). The link between violence in the home and gender stereotypes (Graham-Bermann & Brescoll, 2000) is of concern.

The constitution of the Bahamas institutionalizes inequality between males and females; for example, Bahamian men and women are not equally able to pass on their nationality to their children. Two referenda on gender equality at the start of the 21st century (one in 2002 and the other in 2016, Coleby, 2016) aimed at addressing this gender-based inequality both failed at the ballot box (Boyd, 2016). This may point to a deeply ingrained attitude in the country with regard to equality of men and women under the law as well as "structural violence"—as Bethell-Bennett (2016) states, "even boys brought up in single-mother-headed households where the mother is educated are socially engineered to think that men run things" (p. 56). The gender gap is reflected in the disparity in the wages paid to men and women (despite women being better educated, Fielding & Gibson, 2015) and women holding ever more of the senior positions in the country, with the exception

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of the House of Assembly where they remain a minority (Turnquest, 2018a; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2019).

Gender-based violence has been the subject of global and regional research (Quamina-Aiyejina & Brathwaite, 2005) that has examined the phenomenon from many angles, including the determination of factors which heighten the risk of its occurrence (Abramsky et al., 2011). Physical violence between men and women is an as aspect of domestic violence (for example, Bahamas Crisis Centre, n.d.) and included in screening tools on domestic violence such as that in Sherin, Sinacore, Li, Zitter, and Shakil (1998). While no official statistics are available on the prevalence of domestic violence in The Bahamas, studies point to there being domestic violence in 20-30% of households (Fielding, Ballance, & Strachan, 2016); these figures place The Bahamas in the range seen elsewhere (WHO, 2017). National awareness of the abusive treatment of women in society has led to a strategic plan concerning gender-based violence (Bahamas National Task Force for Gender-based Violence, 2015) and Curry (2016) gives an overview of gender-based violence in The Bahamas. The national concern with regard to gender equality is shared by international groups (United Nation Human Rights, Office of the High Commissioner, 2017).

The Bahamas has a higher prevalence of rape than elsewhere in the Caribbean (Sutton & Ruprah, 2017) and North America (Statista, 2019), which is a cause of concern. It is claimed that child sexual abuse in general is underreported in The Bahamas (Aranha, 2016), and this may also be the case with rape. Attempts to outlaw marital rape have proved to be contentious, with both politicians and the Bahamian Christian Council being cautious to criminalize it (Turnquest, 2018b); an analysis of the debate concerning martial rape was given by Benjamin and LeGrand (2012). Some individual religious figures have condemned marital rape (Jones, 2018), while others have effectively justified it (Cleare, 2017). In 2017, the Ministry of Social Services was of the view marital rape was a private matter (Smith, 2017), and martial rape should not be outlawed. This attitude ignores the fact that parental conflict can negatively impact children in the home (Johnson, 2016).

It should be noted that physical violence is common in Bahamian homes, as it is commonly used to discipline children (Fielding et al., 2016). Violence is more common in Bahamian homes than those in the United States, and the person who is most likely to discipline the children is the mother (Fielding, Risley-Curtiss, & Cronin, 2015). This violence can lead to abuse of the children and help to perpetuate the cycle of violence (Brennen et al, 2010). Further, the use of corporal punishment in schools can result in children moving from one violent environment to another (Fielding et al., 2016). Therefore, violence is normative for many children.

The Bahamas has a higher tolerance than other territories in the Caribbean for accepting that a man can discipline his wife for her behaviour (Sutton & Ruprah, 2017). Nicolls, Fielding, Carroll, McCants-Miller, Adderley and Thompson (2014) demonstrated that by the time they reached high school, students had already learned that the man should be the head of the household, a woman must submit to her husband, and that a woman's place was in the home. Further, that study indicates that young, yet-to-be partnered women had already learned to expect that a future intimate partner could express love for them by hitting. The hitting of an intimate partner was admitted by a Member of Parliament

(MP) in the House of Assembly, to the amusement of its members, who appeared to condone the act (Smith 2014, Turnquest, 2014a). A female MP reminded women that they can expect to be disciplined if they do not do as their husband instructs ("MICAL MP suggests it's okay for a man to beat his wife", 2018). This seems consistent with the idea that in Bahamian society women are "soft" and men "hard" (Bethel, 2003). So, despite a legal framework which aims to protect society from violence, as seen in Domestic Violence (Protection Orders) Act of 2007, the behaviours related by lawmakers appear to suggest a tension between cultural norms and the law.

Schools and homes have been found to have important influences propagating gender stereotypes (Naffziger & Naffziger, 1974) as well as religious affiliation (Seguino & Lovinsky, 2009). Religious socialization has been linked with various behaviours and these are in turn influenced by parents' religiosity (Taggart, Gottfredson, Powell, Ennett, & Chatters, 2019). Studies on masculinities in The Bahamas, indicate that being head of the household is a male expectation and men are expected to dominate their woman (Strachan, 2013). This attitude towards domination has the potential to lead to conflict and violence in the home if the man expects his wishes to be met - because he is in charge. Research in the United States has shown that male dominance is associated with the risk of violence towards women (Karakurt & Cumbie, 2012). In the Bahamian context, where Christianity is the dominant religion, these expectations can be reinforced by ministers of religion, depending upon their interpretation of the Bible; for example, the household codes in the letters of Saint Paul are said to support the idea that rape cannot occur inside marriage (Cleare, 2018). Further, given that the majority of teachers in The Bahamas are female, women who emerge from male-dominated households, or households with domestic violence (Johnson, 2016), may unwittingly pass on to their pupils expectations of potentially violent male household dominance as normative because this reflects their home reality.

Therefore, this makes an understanding of the pathway by which stereotypes are learned important if women are to be protected from possible violence associated with gender-based attitudes. The fact that young children have learned dismissive attitudes toward women invites us to ask the question who is teaching them these opinions? While we can conjecture that they are learning them from their family or school, or religious communities, there appears to have been no attempt to identify the mechanism through which these views are learned. Once there is an understanding of how the learning might occur, it may be possible to construct a communication strategy which could challenge these discriminatory messages.

The purpose of this investigation was to obtain preliminary information as to how residents of The Bahamas learn gender stereotypes; in particular, from whom and at what age were attitudes first formed/learned. Once the sources of information have been identified, it may become possible to devise means by which messages which support the status quo can be interrupted. As such it was aimed to identify the more important information sources or influences of respondents, and when they formed their opinion of gender stereotypes.

Methodology

An internet questionnaire was devised. It consisted of demographic questions, including two to allow any survey participants who were not part of the target

group (defined as Bahamian citizens ordinarily living in The Bahamas) to be omitted during the cleaning of the data. Questions focused on acts of violence in the home of the respondents when they were growing up, as well as their sources of news in general as well as information relating to women's issues. Questions regarding attitudes towards women were drawn from Nicolls et al. (2014) and the Latin American Public Opinion Project survey (Vanderbilt University, 2014). With regard to attitudes and how much respondents paid attention to various information sources, a 10-point scale was used, from zero to nine, with zero indicating complete disagreement or not an information source. Students from a research methods class invited members in their social media and instant messaging groups to complete the survey, and these invitees were also asked to share the study link with their contacts so as to generate a snowball sample. The projected sample size was 750 participants. The data were collected during the Fall semester of 2018. The project was approved by the Institutional Review Board of University of The Bahamas. Those who entered the survey had to give specific consent to participate before they could view the survey questions.

In reporting the results, the term "the church" is used to indicate faith-based groups. However, it is recognized that the various denominations have different nuances in their teachings of the relationships between men and women and their role in the home/family unit. Of the 899 respondents who indicated the name of their faith-based community, only one indicated being associated with a faith community which was not biblically based.

Results

A total of 1,406 starts were logged on the survey. Thirteen persons who accessed the survey link declined to participate. After cleaning the data, there were 1,279 respondents who were Bahamian citizens ordinarily resident in The Bahamas. Respondents did not necessarily answer all the questions so this number gives the maximum number of respondents. Of 1,276 respondents 28.1% were male, 71.7% were female and the remainder *other*. The modal educational attainment was incomplete university degree (31.5% of 1,184 responses), which probably reflects the results of the snowball sample originating from a university student group. The modal age group was 18-24 (42%). When growing up, the family structure was most likely to include a female presence, as indicated by Table 1. Most of the respondents (89.6% of 1,009 participants) had had an intimate partner at some period of their lives.

Table 1
Prevalence of persons in participant households

Household member	%
Mother figure	82.3
Father figure	48.6
Siblings	43.8
Grandmother	25
Grandfather	10.2
Female guardian	4.2
Male guardian	1.8
Other relations	8.4

Note: Multiple were responses allowed. Mother figure includes mothers, step-mothers, the father's live-in girlfriend, female guardian etc. Similarly, father figure includes fathers, step-fathers, the mother's live-in boyfriend, male guardian etc.

Only 1.4% of 1,277 participants had never been disciplined in any way while growing up at home, 58.9% had been hit with an object, 24.7% by the hand, and 15% had been disciplined, but not by hitting. Given that hitting a child with an object puts that

child at higher risk of being abused,[1] the data show that male respondents were at greater risk than female respondents of being abused when disciplined. The Odds Ratio (OR) of males compared to females being hit with an object rather than any other means of being disciplined was OR = 1.33, 95% CL = [1.03-1.71], N = 1,272. Of 1,277 respondents, 19.7% remembered seeing their parental figures hitting each other; this percentage was similar for both male and female respondents. These behaviours were also positively correlated, in that respondents who saw their parents hit each other were more likely to have been disciplined with an object (72.1% of 251 respondents) than those who did not see their parents hit each other (55.6% of 1,024, χ^2=24.5, df = 3, N = 1275, p < .001).

Most respondents attended a religious faith community (78% of 1,275 responses). Of 955 respondents who attended a faith-based community, 39.7% had attended a church meeting/service in the last seven days, 26.2% in the last four weeks, and the remainder longer than four weeks ago.

Given that this was an Internet-based survey, the fact that 95.5% (of 1,010) respondents had a social media account might be expected and 89.6% had used their account on the day they completed the survey.

The attitudes of both the males and female respondents towards gender roles show similar rank orders (see Table 2). There was more agreement that a man/husband should be the head of the household, and less agreement that a woman's place is in the home. The majority of respondents (91.5% of 848 respondents) totally disagreed that a man shows his love to his intimate partner by hitting her. While respondents were not always sure when they learnt their attitude towards women, the median ages indicated that, in most cases, the attitudes were typically formed no later than their early teenage years.

While most respondents had learned from faith-based teachings that a man is a head of the house and that a woman should submit to their husband, most respondents reported that the family was the place they were most likely to have learnt that the place of women was in the home (Table 3). For none of these attitudes, was the school singled out as an important place where the attitude was learned.

While there was little difference between the attitudes of male and female respondents to the man being the head of the household (Mann-Witney U = 83252, Z = -1.604, p = .11), males and females differed significantly in their attitudes to "a woman's place being in the home", (Mann-Witney U = 76163, Z = -2.213, p = .027), and that "a man shows his love to his intimate partner by hitting her", (Mann-Witney U = 66517, Z = -3.208, p = .001). Attending a religious/faith community is associated with differences in attitudes towards agreeing that "a woman/wife should submit to her intimate partner/husband" (Witney U = 56485, Z = -3.659, p < .001), agreeing that "a man shows his love to his intimate partner by hitting her" (Witney U = 56644, Z = -1.981, p = .048), agreeing that "a man/husband should be the head of the household" (Witney U = 58844, Z = -3.672, p < .001), but not that "a woman's place in in the home" (Witney U = 63563, Z = -.590, p = .56).

[1] According to Brennen et al. (2010), in The Bahamian context, hitting to the extent that it is considered abuse, includes "physical injuries, which may require medical treatment" (p. 12).

Table 2
Attitudes towards gender and mean age at which they were learnt.
(Scale: 0 = *not at all*, 9 = *a great deal*).

	Attitude				Age (years) when learnt					
	Males		Females		Males			Females		
Do you agree that a:	*M*	*SEM*	*M*	*SEM*	*Mdn*	Q_1	Q_3	*Mdn*	Q_1	Q_3
Man/husband should be the head of the household?	7.5	0.15	7.3	0.09	10	7	13	11	8	14
A woman/wife must submit to her intimate partner/ husband?	5.7	0.18	5	0.12	11	8	15	13	10	16
Woman's/wife's place is at home?	2.8	0.17	2.5	0.11	11	8	15	12	9	15
Man shows his love to his intimate partner by hitting her?	0.4	0.10	0.2	0.04	9	7	13	10	7	13

Note: Some respondents rather than giving an age indicated that they learnt the attitude at “an early age”. These responses were coded as seven years. Likewise, those who responded “early teens” were coded 13 and “teenage years” coded 16 years.

Table 3
Percentage of respondents indicating where attitude had been learnt. Only where responses from males and females differed are the results disaggregated.

Place attitude learned (themed)	A man should be the head of the household	Women's place is in the home	Woman should submit to her intimate partner	
	Overall	Overall	Male	Female
Church	48.6%	19.1%	44.2%	50.9%
Family	42.3%	43.8%	28.4%	29.2%
Society	4.3%	16.3%	15.8%	7.3%
School	1.7%	3.9%	0.5%	2.4%
Other	3.1%	16.9%	11.1%	10.3%
n =	843	698	190	507
				p = .007

Of the respondents who participated in a religious/faith-based community, 92.7% (*n* = 671) were totally opposed to a man/husband hitting his intimate partner to show his love, compared with 87.9% (*n* = 174) who did not participate in a faith-based community

indicating that those who did not attend a religious/faith-based community were more likely to approve of this behaviour than those who did attend (test for a difference between two percentages, $p = .046$).

Participants thought that the actions of a women which would justify the husband/ intimate partner hitting her were in self-defense (14.2%), during sex (1.5%) and if she was disrespectful (0.5%, of 857 responses).

Mother figures (mothers or those filling that role in the life of the respondent) were the persons who were the most important voice to which respondents listened, both in general and with regard to attitudes toward women (Table 4). Intimate partners were the second most listened to voice with regard to attitudes towards women, and MPs the least important. The rank order of these sources for male and female respondents, although not identical, was similar (paired t-test, $p > .05$).

The extent to which participants paid attention to information sources, was often correlated with their attitudes towards gender roles. Therefore, to determine the influences of attitudes towards gender roles, a regression analysis involving 28 variables associated with attitudes towards women was done using a backward elimination approach. The variables which were retained were significant at the five percent level or less, are listed is Table 5. They can be viewed as falling into five groups, faith community influences, family influences, school influences, society influences, and violence in the home. When we compare the list of influences in Table 5 to the full list of influences in Table 4, we see that those influences which might considered "authority" or "relational" influences persist.

The direction of the coefficients in Table 5 is important. Unless otherwise noted, a positive coefficient indicates that increased attentiveness to, or the influence of a source results in increased support for an attitude. So, the higher the level of educational attainment, the less support there was for the attitude that a women's place is in the home. The less severe the discipline the respondent experienced as a child, the less likely they supported the attitude of a male being the head of the household. In the case of attending a faith community and having an intimate partner, a negative sign indicates that those who did not have a partner or did not attend a faith community were less supportive of an attitude. The larger the coefficient within a column, the more influential that variable. So the relatively large coefficient associated with the influence of ministers of religion indicates that their influence is more important than the level of discipline to which the respondent was subjected.

Faith community influences were consistently associated with reinforcing gender stereotypes, while both family and school were not consistent. Violence in the home also had a consistent association with gender attitudes. The factors associated with perceptions relating to biblically based issues (man as head of household, and a woman submitting to her husband) are generally different to that associated with a woman's place is in the home. Other that this source, Table 5 indicates that male and female respondents were often influenced by a differing array of sources. Only males were influenced by what MPs had to say, and this may influence may arise from the fact that almost all MPs are male (34 out of 39 in 2019 [Wells, 2019]).

Table 4
Sources of information/influence, ordered by mean, on the participant.
(Scale: 0 = *not at all*, 9 = *a great deal*).

In general:	*M*	*SEM*	*n*
Do/did you pay attention to what your female parental figure says/said?	7.3	0.07	1,007
Are/were you influenced by your female parental figure when she speaks/spoke on attitudes toward women?	6.8	0.08	1,003
When at school, did you pay attention to what your school teachers said?	6.8	0.07	1,008
Do/did you pay attention to what your intimate partner says/said?	6.4	0.08	993
Do/did you pay attention to what your male parental figure says/said?	6.1	0.09	1,000
Do/did you pay attention to what your intimate partner says/said on attitudes towards women?	6.1	0.09	996
Are/were you influenced by your male parental figure when he speaks/spoke on attitudes toward women?	5.2	0.10	1,004
Were you influenced by your school teachers when they spoke on attitudes toward women?	5.1	0.09	1,002
Do/did you pay attention to what your school peers say/said?	4.6	0.08	1,005
Do you pay attention to what minsters of religion say?	4	0.10	989
Are/were you influenced by what your school peers said on attitudes toward women?	3.9	0.08	997
Do/did you pay attention to what your university/college peers say/said?	3.9	0.09	977
Outside of General Election campaigns, do you pay attention to what Members of Parliament say?	3.9	0.09	1,000
Do/did you pay attention to what your university/college peers say/said on attitudes towards women?	3.7	0.09	972
Are you influenced by Ministers of religion when they speak on attitudes toward women?	3.4	0.10	979
Are you influenced by what you hear on the radio concerning attitudes towards women?	2.9	0.04	975
Are you influenced by what you see/hear on music videos or similar attitudes towards women?	2.7	0.04	974
Are you influenced by what you see on TV concerning attitudes towards women?	2.6	0.04	975
See/hear elsewhere on the Internet on attitudes towards women?	2.5	0.04	974
Are you influenced by Members of Parliament when they speak on attitudes toward women?	2.4	0.09	965

Table 5
Standardized regression coefficients, of variables which were significantly related ($p < .05$) to an attitude.

	Agree that a man/husband should be the head of the household		Agree that a woman/wife must submit to her intimate partner/husband		Agree that a woman's/wife's place is at home	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Attentive to what minister of religion say	0.29	0.12	0.37	0.10		
Attend a religious/faith community		-0.13		-0.09		
Attentive to what your male parental figure says/said?	0.24					
Attentive to what your male parental figure says/said on women			0.18			
Attentive to what your female parental figure says/said female parent figure						-0.12
Influenced by female parental figure on women			-0.17			0.12
Ever had an intimate partner					-0.14	
Attentive to what intimate partner says/said on women				0.12		
Attentive to what your intimate partner says		0.12				
Level of educational attainment			-0.13			
Attentive to what your school teachers said?			0.18	0.09		
Influenced by your school teachers on attitudes toward women			-0.14	0.10		0.15
Influenced by MPs when they speak on women					0.28	
When growing up, remember seeing parents hitting each other in home					-0.16	
When growing up, disciplined at home	-0.13		-0.12	-0.08		

A comparison of religious denominations, themed into Anglican, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Protestants (Baptists, non-denominational etc.), Seventh Day Adventists, which gave a minimum of 23 respondents in any group, indicated that there were significant differences ($p < .001$) between these groups with regard to the attitude of a man being the head of the and that a woman must submit to her husband; the protestant group had the highest approval of both attitudes. There was no difference between the denominations in the attitudes about the place of the women in the home ($p = .31$).

Outside of the specific sources of information listed in Table 6, the most important information source for both national and international news was social media. This suggests that social media is a

commonly used medium for the transfer of information.

Table 6
Percentage of respondents obtaining news from selected sources

Information source	National news	International news
Social media	66.6	69.2
Internet news services	35.2	44.4
Radio	51.1	38.6
TV foreign stations		37.1
TV local stations	45.6	34.3
Newspapers	40	28.8
Word of mouth	32.5	27.4

Discussion

When considering the results of this study, it should be remembered that the method used to recruit participants, while resulting in a large number of respondents, cannot necessarily be expected to obtain a sample which reflects the wider population. Biases in the respondent group are evident in the fact that the modal group was aged 18-24 and had more than a high school education, which differs from the 2010 census data. However, it is hoped that the overall picture, which this sample provides, can be useful in providing a starting point regarding our understanding of attitudes towards women.

The results indicate that there was general agreement that a man should be the head of the household. There was less agreement with the statement that a woman should submit to her husband, but the overall attitude was one of agreement. Overall, respondents disagreed that the place of women was in the home. Few respondents supported the idea that a man expresses his love to his partner by hitting her. There were differences, usually in degree, between these attitudes for male versus female participants. These results are consistent with those reported by Bahamian school children on gender roles (Nicolls et al., 2014). As in Nicolls et al. (2014), our participants confirmed that attitudes towards women are formed at an early age. The finding that respondents remembered forming these attitudes typically before they were teenagers, is consistent with the idea that these attitudes are learned within the home, and primarily from mothers (Table 3). The learning path would appear to be that the home or a faith-based teaching group (Sunday school or similar) first introduces gender-based attitudes and these attitudes are then reinforced by pastors and others as the child grows-up. Although participants listened to their father figures, many participants did not have a father figure resident with them. Most had a mother figure at home; thereby, we may surmise, making the mother the more influential parental figure. This typical pattern demonstrates the matrifocal (mother and grand-mother) nature of the Bahamian society as noted by Bethel et al. (2012), among others. The importance of family or household members, in influencing attitudes towards women was highlighted by the themed responses as to where respondents first learned these attitudes. The results in Table 5 suggest that respondents tend to be more receptive to messages from their own sex. Witnessing parents hit each other in the home was linked to gender-role attitudes, which reminds us of the long-lasting effects of the exposure of children to violence (Tsavoussis, Stawicki, Stoicea, & Papadimos, 2014). As such, violence in the home appears to play a role in forming attitudes which can in turn lead to violence. The pervasive influence of the home on school children has also been demonstrated in their academic performance (Collie-

Patterson, 2008) and this influence is echoed here.

It should be noted, that although a child spends a great deal of time at school, school seemed to play a minor role in influencing respondents' attitudes. Even though civics is a part of the school curriculum, it may be taught at an age which is too late to have much influence of the attitudes of the children. Given the apparently mixed influences which schools have on attitudes examined in this study, the efficacy of methods of teaching of gender issues in schools could also be a source of future research.

Another important influence is faith-based sources. While young children may not pay much attention to what is said from the pulpit, they may be influenced by bible study. We can conjecture, that the influence of faith communities may be greater on adults, namely parents, who then teach what is heard in church and reinforce those messages with their children.

Although messages associated with faith communities reinforced or formed traditional gender roles, the identification of the respondents with a faith community, results in an even lower acceptance of the statement that a man shows his love to his partner by hitting her. This suggests that the moral compass provided by a faith community can help to protect women from physical harm. It also suggests that while a man is expected to be the head of the household and the woman should do as he says, there are limits to his behaviour toward her. The reasons offered by respondents as to when it might be acceptable for a man to hit his partner focused on safety (e.g. self-defence), not on it being a consequence of the man being the head of the household.

Given that social media, the internet and the radio were the most common sources of news, it is noteworthy that media sources were reported as having limited influences on the attitudes of respondents. Notwithstanding this, it is clear that if messages are to be sent to support gender equality or promote respect for women, or convey information by which victims can support each other or seek support, these could be useful outlets to use because of their popularity of accessing information. However, it should be noted that the more influential sources are still essentially by direct communication, so the physical presence of the messenger would still appear to be important within the Bahamian community.

While the female parental figure was the most important source of information to which respondents paid attention, public information sources were given less attention. It was noticeable that MPs were less important information sources; this is despite the prominence given to their opinions in the media. This suggests that statements which emerge from politicians have limited influence on forming gender-based attitudes.

Of the gender-based attitudes, the view that a woman's place is in the home was more grounded in what might be considered societal influences, rather than home or church. Level of education influenced these attitudes, whereas this factor was not so important in influencing other attitudes. This may arise from education empowering women to make their own way in life, but still resulting in them making concessions to traditional gender-based norms with respect to male-female relationships.

Conclusion

Overall, the results from the study may mean that to effectively promote gender equality, faith-based groups need to be encouraged to rethink their teachings, which may actually

promote gender inequality. A first step in this direction would be to research the nature of the messages from the Bahamian pulpit, which some claim promote gender inequality (Turnquest, 2014b). Gender biased messaging occurs in various faith groups such as in evangelical churches in the United States (Gallagher, 2004) and the Reformed Church in South Africa (Wood, 2019). Given the fact that in The Bahamas 34.9% of the population identified as Baptist (Bahamas Department of Statistics, 2012), many church goers may be exposed to views which may promote gender inequality. The influence of pastors raises questions with regard to their training, what education or training do those with the title "pastor" have relevant to this role? Despite claims that "most pastors" in The Bahamas are "educated, professional, intelligent" (Burrows, 2018), no statistics were presented to support this view. It is estimated that worldwide "only 5% [of pastoral leaders] are trained for pastoral ministry" (Richard, 2015). Given the importance of the teaching role of pastors in their congregations, it is necessary that pastors are adequately trained to fulfil it, rather how school teachers are trained. As such, Richard's estimate suggests that future research could also examine the qualifications of those who teach from the pulpit.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

Do Teachers Influence High School Students' Creativity? The Experience of University Students in The Bahamas

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Abstract

This paper identifies linkages between the experiences of high school students in The Bahamas and their creativity. University students were asked to reflect on their time in high school and recall how their teachers responded to their expressions of creativity demonstrated in their responses to questions, solutions to problems and public contributions to discussions and debate. Of 640 participants, almost 90% thought that authority figures influenced their creativity, and not necessarily in a positive direction. Around 25% of the participants claimed not to have offered "bright" ideas in class for fear of being ridiculed. Students from public schools had lower self-reported creativity scores than those from private schools. Students from homes associated with domestic violence were at a higher risk of reporting negative teacher responses to their creativity ("bright ideas") than those students from other homes.

Introduction

Creativity is essential for national development. Without divergent thinking, new ideas do not arise; without new ideas, a country will not demonstrate its own independent thought and eventually it will lose its individuality, fail to diversify and grow its economy and will limit social progress. The importance of creativity in the region has been stressed by, among others, the United Nations Development Programme (2012). Further, "skills like creativity, flexibility and problems solving, [are] skills that are coming more in demand in the knowledge economy" (United Nations System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, 2015, p. 5). International observations aside, Brent Dean, a former editor of the *Nassau Guardian*, sounded the alarm for The Bahamas. Drawing attention to the relationship between creativity and the stagnation which characterizes the Bahamian economy, Dean argued, "we should recruit productive types from around the world to boost population, drive innovation" (Dean, 2018).

Text books used in support of the curriculum in teacher education programmes demonstrate the importance of nurturing the thinking skills of students. One such text, *Teaching for Thoughtfulness: Classroom Strategies to Enhance Intellectual Development* (Barell, 1995), presents strategies for teaching students about the nature of thinking, reflection and problem solving with an emphasis on creating a climate or classroom environment in which students feel invited to think productively. Research endorses the effects of positive student-teacher interactions to influence student outcomes (MacSuga-Gage & Simonsen, 2015). While school teachers are expected to encourage pupils to "think

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outside of the box" (Pearson, 2018) and engage in divergent thinking (Goodman, 2015), for this strategy to be successful, teachers who are advised to see teaching as modelling behaviour must think outside of the "teacher's box" (Darn, 2006). Teachers also have to be purposeful as to how they respond to children's creativity if they are to be successful in nurturing creativity (Geist & Hohn, 2009). In order for initiatives to be successful, school management must also be supportive of them, but where rote learning is prevalent, this becomes a barrier to success (Changwong, Sukkamart, & Sisan, 2018).

Recognition of the importance of creative thinking has led to curriculum changes in places such as Singapore (Tan, 2006). Creativity, Noddings (2013) suggested, can be undermined when teachers feel obliged to follow rigidly a standardised curriculum. A standardised curriculum is also a feature of the Bahamian education system. In light of Noddings' perspective, this characteristic may pose a further threat to the nurturing of creativity in children.

Children spend most of their time either in school or at home. Both places can provide experiences which may encourage or discourage creativity. However, the focus of this study examined how experiences at school might be linked with creativity. As outlined above, it is apparent that social norms and the education system have considerable potential to influence creativity. More recently, creativity in schools has been revisited in an attempt to update the common understanding of creativity (Perry & Collier, 2018).

In societies where children are expected to be well-behaved and/or conform to social norms, creativity and divergent thinking can be stifled by the prevailing culture (Rudowicz, 2003; Fang, Xu, Grant, Stronge, & Ward, 2016). This concern is long-standing, as seen from a study carried out in Turkey by Guncer and Oral (1993). In The Bahamas, child rearing practices often rely on the use of corporal punishment to ensure that children behave within accepted norms, both at home and in society (Carroll, Fielding, Brennen, & Hutcheson, 2016). Moreover, corporal punishment is also permitted in schools, under particular conditions (Johnson, 2016), to ensure students are compliant. According to media reports, such punishment might be considered abuse (Turnquest, 2018). Given the concern in Jamaica about the use of violence in rearing children (Smith & Mosby, 2003), it is clear that Bahamian cultural norms run the risk of curtailing creativity by discouraging divergent thought and action. Rather than managing this divergence, to actively discourage it is unlikely to be in the best interests of society as a whole.

Creativity is considered to be multidimensional resulting in various attempts to define it. Villalba (2008) provides an overview of creativity: creativity is viewed as involving the imagination as it requires some degree of originality, the result has a purpose and involves an evaluation of the idea. Villalba also notes that risk taking can also be part of a creative mind which can be appreciated by some people having an entrepreneurial mind, that is, those who are willing to action their creative idea knowing that it may not be certain of success.

For the purposes of this study, creativity is viewed as being positive engagement in activities which span the traditionally creative areas, such as the arts, to daily problem solving, this in opposition to the creativity attributed to criminals (Eisenman, 2008). While creativity may be difficult to define and measure (Boden, 1994), people

recognise it when they *see* it (Foster, 2015). For this reason, this study used self-reported perceptions of creativity rather than imposing a defined measure of creativity. While self-reporting might lead to optimistic assessments of creativity, provided the overall bias is similar across all respondents, differences in perceived creativity would be appropriately identified even if the mean scores are biased.

Methodology

An internet study was devised which combined questions from Kaufman (2012) on creativity with Sherin's HITS index (Sherin, Sinacore, Li, Zitter, & Shakil, 1998), to determine whether domestic violence occurred in the students' homes, with questions devised by a group of University of The Bahamas students. This latter group of questions related to how teachers responded to the creativity of high school students. The target population was university students aged 18-24 years. They were recruited through a snowball technique via social media groups of university students enrolled in a research methods class. Participants, current university students, were asked to recall their experiences in high school. Students in the Spring 2018 SOS 200 research class were required to solicit the participation of 25 students (23 using the online survey and two participants in person) as part of their class work. The anticipated sample size was 475.

Students were also asked to engage two students in qualitative interviews on the reactions of their teachers to their creative/divergent thinking. A selection of quotations from the interviews is used to illustrate the quantitative data. The 50 questions concerning creativity, taken from Kaufman (2012), were self-reported and scored 0 if the participant did not do an activity at all and 5 if they claimed that they were very creative with respect to the activity. Consequently, the maximum creativity score was 250.

Readers should note that respondents are university students, representing that subset of high school students who have successfully navigated the school curriculum in the sense that they have proceeded to university. Consequently, their answers may not reflect what might be found in students who did not continue their education in an academic setting. However, the responses are important in that these students will be expected to ultimately occupy influential positions in society.

Results

Demographics

Six hundred and forty students participated in the study. However, some respondents did not complete their surveys; consequently, this figure represents the maximum sample size. The majority of respondents were female (69.3% of 573), which is consistent with the composition of the student population. The majority of participants had completed most of their schooling in the public school system, 53.5% of 572 replies.

Male respondents were more likely than female respondents to have been physically disciplined at school (Odds Ratio (OR) = 1.26, 95% CL [1.13-1.42], n = 573). Students at public schools were more likely than those in private schools to have been physically disciplined (OR = 1.62, 95% CL [1.14-2.29], n = 572).

Most respondents thought of themselves as the leader in a group (74.9% of 573 responses), while 15.3% (of 570) thought of themselves as followers in a group. While 47.9% (of 568 responses) thought of themselves as being introverts, 24.5% were unsure. The majority of participants (60.7% of 573 responses) demonstrated an entrepreneurial spirit by indicating that they would invest $1 million in their own

company or a "start-up" rather than put that money in the bank. Overall, 76.4% (of 571 responses) considered themselves as "creative". There was general agreement that those in authority over students influenced their creativity (89.6% of 519 responses).

Actions of teachers

Not all students reported that their teachers encouraged them to think *outside of the box*. Teachers were also reported to have treated students in ways which may not have encouraged their participation in class or creativity. In particular, about a quarter of the participants suggested that their teachers could not manage divergent contributions given in class, Table 1.

Table 1
Actions reported by participants of student contributions to class. Percentages within actions.

Action of teacher/student	Yes	No	Cannot remember	*n*
Ever praised student publicly for a different idea (a "bright idea")	71.4	17.8	10.8	574
Wanted student to think "outside of the box"	67.9	24.4	7.6	577
Fear of embarrassment prevented student from answering questions in class	62.2	32.9	4.9	574
Publicly ridiculed for the answer student provided to an assignment	29.4	61.4	9.2	575
Student verbally put down by teacher for expressing a difference in opinion	28.1	61.2	10.7	572
Punished student for not providing the answer required by the teacher	26.8	63.2	9.9	574
Publicly ridiculed student for giving a different answer to the rest of the class	24.2	64.9	11.0	575

One participant stated:

> I would say that I was creative all through school but I was most creative when I was a child from primary school days because we were allowed to do so many things, and I didn't even realise that it was creativity at that stage. I just thought I was having fun. As I grew older, I would say that it was more restricted because you know in high school and junior school they try to control the environment more, even though they controlled in primary school but because you were a child they would allow you to play and do a lot of things. But in junior and high school they are more serious and they focus you on the real world but they don't focus on you being free and being a creative. So I would say in primary school it was much easier but in junior school and high school it wasn't so much, it was very restrictive in saying hey this is the real world and you can't do this there and you can't really have fun in the real world, that how I took it because it was really boring.

About one in four participants claimed not to have offered good ideas in class (Table 2). This suggests that these students may not have been engaged with the school curriculum and were not encouraged by the teacher to think of ideas to share with classmates. About 15% of respondents thought that their good ideas had been ignored or that they had been "put down" in

response to their idea—actions which could discourage students from engaging in class activities.

Table 2
Reaction of the teacher to a respondent's good idea.

	%
Praise you	59.8
Put you down	4.6
Ignore you	9.7
I never offered ideas in class	26
n	569

However, positive reactions to creativity can further engage students to be creative. According to one respondent, "I had very supportive teacher[s] who pushed us to be creative throughout school, while providing the right environment for that expression of creativity. If anything I was forced to be creative in the type of environment they created."

The reactions of teachers to a "good idea" from the student were associated with other actions of the teacher towards the student (Table 3). These associations suggest that some teachers' actions can reinforce each other in ways which may not always be conducive to encouraging students' "good" ideas. The reactions of teachers may also indicate that they are unwilling to encourage students to offer divergent thoughts.

Table 3
Reaction of the teacher to a student's good idea and other actions in class (Percentages within action of teacher).

						X^2
Action of teacher		Praise you	Put you down	Ignore you	I never offered ideas in class	*p*
Verbally put down for expressing a difference in opinion?	Yes	48.8%	13.1%	20%	18.1%	
	No	64.7%	0.9%	5.5%	29.0%	
	Cannot remember	58.6%	3.4%	6.9%	31%	< .001
Praised publicly for a different idea (a "bright idea")?	Yes	69.4%	3.7%	7.8%	19.1%	
	No	31%	9%	18%	42%	
	Cannot remember	41.7%	3.3%	8.3%	46.7%	< .001
Publicly ridiculed for giving a different answer to the rest of the class?	Yes	51.1%	12.2%	18.0%	18.7%	
	No	63.7%	2.2%	6.8%	27.4%	
	Cannot remember	55.7%	1.6%	8.2%	34.4%	< .001
Punished for not providing the answer required by the teacher?	Yes	50.6%	7.8%	17.5%	24%	
	No	64.6%	3.1%	5.6%	26.7%	
	Cannot remember	51.9%	5.6%	14.8%	27.8%	< .001
Publicly ridiculed for the answer you provided to an assignment?	Yes	55%	8.3%	15.4%	21.3%	
	No	62.2%	3.2%	6.3%	28.4%	
	Cannot remember	58%	2%	14%	26%	.002

In their efforts to focus on the recognised "correct" answer, teachers may stifle creativity:

> When I was in high school, my English class would have discussions about various books, politics and history. One day, we were discussing the use of the word *nigger*. I was the only one who disagreed on her view and instead of justifying why her view was right, she called me stupid.
>
> I once answered a question wrong and the teacher mocked me for it. After the class had laughed along with her, I felt a bit angry and embarrassed. I tried to stay as quiet as possible and stopped trying to answer questions. I didn't want to experience that again. Although teachers say there is no dumb question, they say otherwise after you talk.

Participants from the public school system were more likely to have been physically disciplined at school than those who attended private schools (OR = 1.62, 95% CL [1.14-2.29], n = 572). This might suggest that behaviour which disrupts learning is more of an influence in the lives of public rather than private school students. Alternatively, it may mean that teachers in public schools may have a greater focus on forcing students to conform to classroom expectations, rather than finding ways which channel disruptive actions to positive divergent outcomes. However, the behaviour of teachers in both private and public school systems was similar ($p > .05$) with respect to the items in Table 1.

Students who emerged from homes in which domestic violence occurred were more likely to suffer behaviours of concern from teachers, Table 4. Table 4 suggests that teachers may be reinforcing some of the concerning behaviours to which students in homes with domestic violence may be expected to suffer, such as being "put down*"*. From the student standpoint, students from homes with domestic violence may feel that they are moving from one negative space to another.

Table 4
Association between domestic violence in the homes of students and actions reported by participants of student contributions to class. Percentages reporting this action.

	Domestic violence:		X^2
Action of teacher/student	Absent	Present	p =
Ever praised student publicly for a different idea (a "bright idea")	80.4	79.5	.825
Wanted student to think "outside of the box"	77.2	69.4	.049
Fear of embarrassment prevented student from answering questions in class	60.4	70.2	.019
Publicly ridiculed for the answer student provided to an assignment	26.0	38.8	.002
Student verbally put down by teacher for expressing a difference in opinion	26.2	36.7	.007
Punished student for not providing the answer required by the teacher	22.8	36.1	.001
Publicly ridiculed student for giving a different answer to the rest of the class	20.6	33.0	.002

While domestic violence was not associated with the participants' views of being a leader, it was with regard to being a "follower" (Table 5).

Table 5
Association between domestic violence in the student's home and the student's perception of their leadership.

	Domestic violence		X^2
Percentage indicating this aspect:	Absent	Present	*p* =
A leader in a group	78.1	71.2	.124
Not a follower in a group	73.4	62.4	.003

However, despite the lack of statistical significance, the percentage of those who emerged from homes where domestic violence was absent and considered themselves as leaders was slightly higher than the percentage emerging from homes with domestic violence. When looking at these two questions together, the impact of domestic violence on leadership becomes apparent.

The students' perception of teachers to have an influence on their creativity was related to their creativity score (analysis of variance, $df = 3{,}476$, $p < .001$), with those students with the lowest creativity scores having the perceptions that teachers did not influence their creativity (see Table 6).

Table 6
Creativity score of participants' reaction to teacher influence on creativity.

Teachers can influence a student's creativity:	Mean	SE
Yes, positively	146.1	2.70
Yes, negatively	141.9	3.08
Not sure	130.4	2.82
No	121.9	6.92

Teachers did not necessarily respond to the "bright" ideas which students offered in ways which might have encouraged further creativity or divergent thoughts. Those who were put down or ignored when they offered a good idea were more unlikely to have been praised ($\chi^2 = 64.4$, $df = 6$, $n = 568$, $p < .001$, Table 7).

Table 7
Public praise by the teacher for a different idea and the teacher's response to what the participant thought was a good idea.

Were you ever praised publicly by a teacher for a different idea (a "bright idea")?	If you came up with what you thought was a good idea in class, how did the teacher respond?			
	Praise you	Put you down	Ignore you	I never offered ideas in class
Cannot remember	7.4%	7.7%	9.1%	18.9%
No	9.1%	34.6%	32.7%	28.4%
Yes	83.5%	57.7%	58.2%	52.7%
n =	339	26	55	148

Different opinions did not appear to be necessarily welcomed or well managed by teachers. Even students who were praised for coming up with what they thought was a

good idea could also be put down by the teacher for expressing a difference of opinion (see Table 8; $\chi^2 = 70.7$, $df = 6$, $n = 566$, $p < .001$). A difference of opinion could be a part of original thought, so some teachers may be responding in ways which fail to promote creativity.

Table 8
Association between participants' providing a good idea and teachers' reaction and verbal response to differing opinions.

Verbally put down by teacher for expressing a difference in opinion?	If you came up with what you thought was a good idea in class, how did the teacher respond?			
	Praise you	Put you down	Ignore you	I never offered ideas in class
Cannot remember	10.1%	7.7%	7.3%	12.2%
No	66.8%	11.5%	34.5%	68.2%
Yes	23.1%	80.8%	58.2%	19.6%
n	337	26	55	148

Teachers' reactions to a good idea offered by participants was associated with the entrepreneurial outlook of participants (see Table 9; $\chi^2 = 21.7$, $df = 6$, $n = 565$, $p = .001$). The encouragement offered to students with an entrepreneurial spirit indicates that teachers may have a role to play which can encourage or discourage students from engaging in creative activities with ambiguous (risky) results.

Table 9
Teacher reaction to a good idea offered by participants and *entrepreneurial* outlook of participants.

	If you came up with what you thought was a good idea in class, how did the teacher respond?				
	Praise you	Put you down	Ignore you	I never offered ideas in class	*n*
Putting it in the bank	55.4%	2.1%	9.3%	33.2%	183
By starting your own new company or investing in a "start-up"	63.8%	5.8%	9.9%	20.4%	343
No idea	37.9%	6.9%	6.9%	48.3%	29

The behaviour of teachers was associated with the type of home from which the student emerged. Table 10 indicates how students from homes in which incidents of domestic violence occurred are more at risk of having negative experiences in class than those who did not come from such homes. This suggests that teachers are providing an atmosphere in class which reinforces the negative experiences to which children from homes with domestic violence can expect to be subjected. Table 10 suggests a link between the reactions of teachers towards participants' good ideas and the participant's self-assessment of their creativity ($\chi^2 = 31.6$, $df = 3$, $n = 565$, $p < .001$). This suggests that the teacher's action may influence the creative self-confidence of respondents.

Table 10
Teacher reaction to a good idea offered by participants by participants' perception of their creativity.

I consider myself as a creative person	If you came up with what you thought was a good idea in class, how did the teacher respond?				*n*
	Praise you	Put you down	Ignore you	I never offered ideas in class	
Yes	64.5%	4.9%	10.2%	20.4%	431
No	43.3%	3.7%	8.2%	44.8%	134

Participants who emerged from homes within which incidents of domestic violence occurred, reported different experiences with their teachers than those who did not (see Table 11). Again, these experiences might be considered to offer less encouragement to those children who may need a supportive environment at school to offset the negativity of their home space.

Table 11
Percentage of participants reporting this aspect within the presence or absence of domestic violence in their homes.

	Domestic violence		χ^2
Percentage indicating this aspect:	No	Yes	p =
Were you ever praised publicly by a teacher for a different idea (a "bright idea")?	69.2	73.2	.064
Were you punished by a teacher for not providing the answer required by the teacher?	20.5	32.6	.004
Were you publicly ridiculed by a teacher for the answer you provided to an assignment?	23.6	35.2	.008
Were you publicly ridiculed by a teacher for giving a different answer to the rest of the class?	18.2	29.6	.007
Did your fear of embarrassment prevent you from answering questions in class?	56.1	68.3	.003
Do you recall being verbally put down by your teacher for expressing a difference in opinion?	23.2	33.0	.035

Factors influencing creativity

Cronbach's alpha for the creativity score was 0.928, which demonstrates good internal reliability of the scale. The overall scores of creativity associated with each item in the creativity scale are given in Table 12. There was variability in the levels of creativity. The overall mean creativity score was 2.79. In Table 12, a one sample t-test was used to identify those items of creativity which were significantly different to 2.79, or different to the overall mean. In the absence of comparative data, the assessment against the overall mean enables us to identify areas of more and less perceived creativity which allows for a discussion on those areas where the level of creativity may be considered a cause for concern. Table 12 indicates that while there are a number of creative activities at which students score over three, others such as carving, pottery, writing a computer programme, examining how a machine works, or making a machine, are areas in which students exhibit relatively limited creative engagement.

Table 12
Mean creativity score, p values indicate those significantly different to the overall creativity score.

Aspect of creativity	Mean	SE	*p* =
Writing a poem	2.81	0.06	.723
Making up rhymes	2.74	0.06	.362
Writing a nonfiction article for a newspaper, etc.	2.09	0.07	<.001
Making up lyrics for a song	2.74	0.06	.470
Writing a letter to an editor	2.32	0.07	<.001
Thinking of a good metaphor, simile or analogy	3.09	0.06	<.001
Finding something fun to do when you have no money	3.71	0.05	<.001
Composing an original song	2.17	0.07	<.001
Making up dance moves	2.45	0.07	<.001
Shooting a fun video to put on YouTube or similar	2.10	0.07	<.001
Singing in harmony	2.59	0.07	.003
Playing music in public	2.77	0.07	.784
Acting in a play	2.81	0.07	.760
Entertaining a small child	3.89	0.05	<.001
Helping others cope with a 'difficult situation'	3.92	0.05	<.001
Teaching someone how to do something	3.85	0.04	<.001
Planning a trip or event with friends that meets everyone's needs	3.41	0.06	<.001
Mediating a dispute or argument between two friends	3.48	0.05	<.001
Getting people to feel relaxed and at ease	3.67	0.05	<.001
Decorating a room	3.40	0.06	<.001
Sketching a person or object	1.91	0.07	<.001
Doodling/drawing random or geometric designs	2.33	0.07	<.001
Carving something out of wood or similar material	1.17	0.06	<.001
Making a scrapbook page (on paper or using software) out of my photographs	2.16	0.07	<.001
Making a sculpture or piece of pottery	1.16	0.06	<.001
Thinking of a new invention	2.19	0.07	<.001

Aspect of creativity	Mean	SE	*p* =
Figuring out how to fix a frozen or buggy computer	2.25	0.07	<.001
Writing a computer programme/app	1.18	0.06	<.001
Solving maths puzzles	2.66	0.06	.042
Taking apart machines and figuring out how they work	1.72	0.07	<.001
Building something mechanical like a robot	0.97	0.06	<.001
Helping to carry out or design a scientific experiment	2.02	0.07	<.001
Designing a way to test an hypothesis	2.16	0.07	<.001
Solving an algebraic or geometric proof	2.07	0.06	<.001
Analysing an argument	3.45	0.05	<.001
Researching a topic using many different types of sources	3.19	0.06	<.001
Comparing two different points of view	3.55	0.05	<.001
Debating a controversial topic from my own perspective	3.44	0.06	<.001
Gathering the best possible assortment of articles or papers to support a specific point of view	2.88	0.06	.134
Arguing a side in a debate that I do not personally agree with	2.91	0.06	.066
Figuring out how to integrate critiques and suggestions while revising work	2.89	0.06	.095
Being able to offer constructive feedback based on my own reading of a paper	3.23	0.05	<.001
Coming up with a new way to think about an old debate	2.83	0.06	.558
Thinking of new ways to help people	3.69	0.05	<.001
Choosing the best solution to a problem	3.69	0.04	<.001
Responding to an issue in a context appropriate way	3.44	0.05	<.001
Understanding how to make myself happy	3.87	0.05	<.001
Being able to work through my personal problems in a healthy way	3.56	0.05	<.001
Analysing the themes in a good book	2.95	0.06	.009
Burning a CD, or similar, to introduce a friend to new songs	2.85	0.08	.477

The students' perception as to whether or not they were creative was validated by the overall self-reported creativity score, a score which is not based on one aspect of creativity. Students thinking themselves creative had a significantly higher mean creativity score of 145.1 (SE = 1.76) compared to those who did not think of themselves as creative, 116.9 (SE = 3.20, $p < .001$). Likewise, the students' perception

of whether or not their teachers thought they were creative was validated by the students' creativity score. Those who were considered creative had a score of 149 (SE =2.10), while those who were not, 122.9 (SE = 3.02) and those who could not remember, 132.1 (SE = 3.52, $p < .001$). The reaction of the teacher as to what the student thought was a good idea was associated with significantly different creativity scores (analysis of variance, $df = 3,474$, $p < .001$). This finding may suggest that teachers may tend to focus their positive responses on the more creative students and so run the risk of not doing enough to draw out or enhance the creative ideas of those who display less creativity or less well formed creative ideas.

Table 13
Participants' creativity score and reaction of teacher to participants' good idea.

	Mean	SE
Praise you	147.7	1.97
Ignore you	135.0	4.67
Put you down	132.0	8.63
I never offered ideas in class	120.6	3.15

Table 14
Creativity scores by first reason stated for being physically punished at school.

Reason for being disciplined	Mean	SE
Supplies	100	18.93
Cursing	123.1	8.02
Other	126.9	12.79
Disobedience	135	7.14
Talking	138.2	3.62
Poor grades	139.5	7.53
Fighting	143	6.96
Being rude	143.7	8.44
Back talking	147.1	8.18
Misbehaviour, not specific	147.5	5.31
Being late	149.8	7.57

Although there was not a significant difference ($p > .05$) in the creativity scores of those students who were and were not physically punished at school (138.3 vs. 140.6), there were differences in the creativity scores with respect to the first reason stated for which the student was punished (analysis of variance $df = 10, 254$, $F = 1.881$, $p = .048$, Table 14). The fact that the most creative students were disciplined for being late suggests that even these students may not be sufficiently engaged by the school curriculum so as to make them want to get to school on time.

As anticipated from the literature, a link between creativity and entrepreneurship was found with participants who would invest a $1 million in either a start-up or their own company having a significantly higher creativity score than those who would put the money in the bank (144.5, SE= 2.11 *cf*. 131.2, SE = 2.73).

Likewise, those who considered themselves leaders in their group had a higher mean creativity score (144.7, SE = 1.83) that those who did not (118.8, SE = 6.30), with those being not sure having a creativity score in-between these groups, 123, SE = 3.51 (analysis of variance, $df = 2,478$, F = 19.4, $p < .001$). Those students who offered ideas in class were more likely to put money in the bank than those who did not (OR = 1.93, 95% CL [1.30-2.88] $n = 536$). Consequently, it can be appreciated that cultivating creativity has the potential to have an impact beyond what happens in an academic setting and an impact on the economic growth of a country.

As seen above, several factors were associated with the creativity scores. A linear regression, with a backward elimination procedure, was done to determine those factors which were significantly related to creativity. This resulted in the analysis of variance table in Table 15.

Table 15
Analysis of variance of factors having a significant effect on creativity scores.

Source	*df*	*MSS*	F	*p*.
Where most school years spent	1	4986.69	4.16	.042
Ever praised publicly by a teacher for a different idea (a "bright idea")	2	10751.81	8.96	< .001
Felt that your teachers wanted you to think "outside of the box"	2	10998.14	9.17	< .001
Residual	472	1199.93		
Total	477			

The adjusted means indicate that creativity scores in public schools are lower than for private schools (128.7, *cf* 122.2), those students who were praised for their bright idea had higher creativity scores (*Praised* = 135.9, *Not praised*, 125.0 and *Cannot remember* = 115.5), and those students who had a teacher who encouraged them to "think outside of the box" had a higher creativity score (135.5) compared those to those who could not remember (109.1), but not those who did not (131.7).

Discussion

When interpreting these results, it is important to remember that the respondents were current University of The Bahamas students who had recently left high school. They are giving an overall impression of their high school experience which should allow them to reflect on their high school experience at the start of their adult life. Further, the associations demonstrate the "average" picture. This is important to note because creativity is very individual and can be influenced in many ways. Thus, the data only present an overall picture which would not preclude many "exceptions to the rule." Moreover, the associations do not necessarily infer any causation and, in particular, which action may be the cause of another. In this regard, although praise of an idea may be associated with creativity, this study cannot necessarily indicate which comes first: the idea or the praise.

This study supports the view that incidences of violent behaviour occur more often in public schools than in private schools (Johnson, 2016) and that female students are less subjected to physical discipline than male students.[1] While there was no clear link between physical violence and creativity, how teachers responded to the "bright" ideas of students was linked with creativity. Participants also thought that those in authority could influence their creativity, although the case studies demonstrated that, in some cases, negative actions of teachers actually encouraged students to express their creativity more. What is clear is that students with teachers who encouraged them to "think outside of the box" reported higher creativity scores than those who did not. Associated with this is the need for teachers to provide an atmosphere which encourages creativity. The extended quotation of one participant therefore indicates while there is a complex matrix of forces at play, it is clear that teachers have an important role to play in nurturing student creativity.

Given that around 75% of the student population in The Bahamas attend public schools (Bahamas Information Services, 2016), the apparent lower creativity in these students compared to private school students

[1] It is important to note that violence occurs in both public and private schools and both sexes are physically disciplined by school administrators.

is of concern. However, it should be appreciated that this difference in creativity may not reflect weaknesses in the school system but rather the social-economic background of the child.

The socio-economic background has been identified as being important in the case of student performance in national examinations (Collie-Patterson, 2008). If that is the case, then teachers may need to work harder to develop the inherent creativity of students particularly when students may emerge from homes which may not promote their creativity. This matter was noted in Table 4 and would suggest the importance of individual attention for each child so that teachers know and share knowledge about the domestic situation of each child.

The finding that around 25% of study participants did not offer ideas in class might be viewed as an important concern. Although this study cannot explain why students did not offer ideas in class, those who did not offer ideas in class reported the lowest mean creativity score. What is apparent is that these students would appear not to have been particularly engaged by the school curriculum or how it was presented. Given that this percentage of 25% is being reported by those students who progressed to university, we can reasonably expect that the corresponding percentage in the wider population of school children would be higher. The association between offering ideas in class and entrepreneurial spirit suggests that failure to engage students in class may have a negative impact on the economic growth of the country. The importance of student engagement in class is well known to be critical to student success (Wang & Degol, 2014) and lack of engagement, seen in its extreme when students are expelled, is of concern with respect to crime and violence (Fielding, Ballance, & Strachan, 2016).

Lack of engagement may explain why those students who were disciplined for violent offences or for being late had higher creativity scores than other students. This reason for being disciplined contrasts with those students who were punished for lack of supplies, who reported the lowest creativity scores, and this may reflect the limited resources of their households which may in turn impact their creativity. This may be an area for the Department of Social Services to consider as it works to enhance the lives of disadvantaged members of society.

The self-reported creativity scores allow areas of creativity where university students claim to be creative to be identified relative to other aspects of creativity. As might be expected, the more academic aspects of creativity are those areas in which students claim to excel, whereas the more hands-on activities—drawing, pottery, carving—were associated with lower creativity scores. Writing a computer programme/app was not an activity in which students reported much creativity. This might be a concern given the constant use of such technology by millennials. It also implies that our university educated millennials are consumers only of such technology and may be unable to adapt or develop it to the workplace. This finding raises the question of the level of success of the "Bahamas Roadmap for Science and Technology" (Bahamas Environment, Science and Technology Commission, 2005). It does not reflect the skills in students which might have been anticipated, even though the importance of technology on national development continues to be stated as a priority (Minnis, 2013).

The potential impact on national development by enhancing creativity can be

seen from the link between creativity and risk taking associated with investing money in a start-up or one's own business (also see Macko & Tyszka, 2009), compared to a less risky investment of funds in a bank. Creativity is recognised as being an important characteristic of an entrepreneur (Schmidt, Soper, & Bernaciak, 2013) and so the education system should do all that it can to encourage creativity. This requires that school systems do not, as some have suggested, *kill* creativity (Robinson, 2006). This leads to the question as to what changes may be required to the Bahamian school system to enhance student creativity. How can the curriculum allow for risk taking associated with entrepreneurship?

This study has shed light on an area of the country's human capital which is essential for the development of not only the individual but also the nation. It suggests that teachers have an important, yet not singular, role to play in developing the creativity of students. Thus their training, class size and the curriculum need to be aligned so that the creativity of students can flourish.

Given that this study was limited to participants who have progressed to university, in order to be more instructive, there is a need to widen the scope of the research to include a wider cross-section of persons to test the robustness of the findings.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

Plagiarism Education in Science: The Effect of Instruction on Student Attitudes

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Abstract

In scientific publications, plagiarism is an ethical breach that can lead to article retractions and damage the reputations of scientists. Therefore, in academia, when students are beginning their scientific careers and learning the norms of scientific research, teaching the concepts of plagiarism is critical. However, a lack of clarity exists regarding the nuances of plagiarism, student understanding of plagiarism, and how universities should address instances of plagiarism committed by students. This study was conducted at University of The Bahamas with the objective of measuring the effectiveness of plagiarism instruction on student understanding and perceptions of plagiarism. Over five semesters, a total of 110 students participated in this study by attending a class on plagiarism, which included a lecture, an activity, and a discussion, and by completing out-of-class assignments designed to support the information learned in class. Before and after plagiarism instruction students completed questionnaires that were designed to assess their understanding, attitudes, and opinions regarding plagiarism in general and at the University. Following the class, students indicated a greater understanding of plagiarism, more agreement with stricter penalties for plagiarism, and less agreement on the acceptability of reusing past assignments. Students also reported a lack of clarity in the University policy on plagiarism. These results suggest that University of The Bahamas would benefit from providing additional learning opportunities pertaining to plagiarism, as well as a clearer definition of plagiarism in the *Policy on Plagiarism*. Strong plagiarism policies promote greater clarity and understanding of the concepts and assist university students as they embark on their scientific careers.

Introduction

To advance science, the presentation of novel ideas that are well researched and clearly communicated is critical. As the discipline of science grows more competitive and interdisciplinary, identifying and preventing misconduct become increasingly important (Antes et al., 2009; Anderson & Steneck, 2011; Pupovac & Fanelli, 2014). Plagiarism is a violation of the principles of science and a serious example of misconduct in the discipline (Anderson & Steneck, 2011). However, despite the consequences within the profession, plagiarism remains a pernicious problem in many universities (Zhang & Jia, 2012).

Plagiarism can be particularly persistent, as many believe they understand the concept, when in practice, plagiarism can be nuanced and subject to different interpretations. While the exact definition of plagiarism is not clearly defined (Anderson & Steneck, 2011; Baker-Gardner & Smart, 2017; Bennett, Behrendt & Boothby, 2011; Bouville, 2008; Pincus & Schmelkin, 2003), the generally-accepted definition is "the appropriation of another person's ideas,

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processes, results, or words without giving appropriate credit" (U.S. Office of Science and Technology Policy, 2000, "Research Misconduct Defined," para. 7). The misrepresentation includes the lack of an appropriate citation, whether intentional or not (Anderson & Steneck, 2011). Although academics and researchers often agree on the general concept of plagiarism, the above definition is recognized as being overly general and simplistic (Thomas, 2004). Furthermore, the many facets and variations of the concept mean that it can be challenging to define (Halupa & Bolliger, 2013). Therefore, a clear definition of plagiarism is essential.

The emphasis of plagiarism in most disciplines is focused on copied words. In contrast, scientific publications focus on the originality of ideas, as this discipline places a strong emphasis on who first published a finding and what the factual basis of the information is (Biagoli, 2012; Bouville, 2008). Therefore, the issues of plagiarism in science concern the origin of both words and ideas. Although plagiarism typically does not distort the scientific findings, the act of plagiarism can seriously jeopardize the authors' reputations and careers (Fanelli, 2009).

In academia, different instructors can interpret plagiarism differently (Bennett et al., 2011), and, if a university does not have a clear definition, those interpretations can vary even more greatly. Halupa and Bolliger (2013) found that in many instances university plagiarism policies were lacking, and many faculty and students did not fully understand what constitutes plagiarism. Gullifer and Tyson (2014) found that students were uncertain regarding what constitutes plagiarism and that approximately half had not read their university policy. University-level instruction pertaining to plagiarism is particularly valuable, as this ensures that students learn the concept, including the ethical expectations within the discipline, which is critical for their careers (Anderson, Louis, & Earle, 1994). Often, professors assume that students fully understand the concept plagiarism, while in truth many students and faculty are not explicitly aware of what constitutes plagiarism. In particular, students often lack clarity on how to appropriately cite material (McCabe, Treviño, & Butterfield, 2001). Students may develop their ethical norms based on their observations of how universities handle plagiarism and ethical misconduct. Therefore, including ethics instruction in scientific programs can enhance students' understanding in ways that will benefit their careers (Swazey, Anderson, & Lewis, 1993).

One particularly challenging and controversial issue pertaining to plagiarism is that of self-plagiarism, or reusing one's own words in more than one publication or work. In scientific research, self-plagiarism is widely viewed as unacceptable, as many believe that each publication should be original (Garner, 2011). Self-plagiarism therefore can lead to article retraction and penalties and can jeopardize careers (Fang, Steen, & Casadevall, 2012; Grieneisen & Zhang, 2013). In academia, the issue of self-plagiarism can be more controversial. Some believe that reusing previously submitted material can help students to build on ideas, further develop their writing, and improve their final product. However, others believe that students should always submit original assignments, without having the benefit of previous instructors' comments, edits, and grades (Halupa & Bolliger, 2013).

In recent years, the rise of plagiarism-prevention tools, such as *Turnitin*, *SafeAssign*, and *iThenticate*, has resulted in the more frequent detection of plagiarism and self-plagiarism (Halupa & Bolliger,

2013). However, relying on these tools alone is not the most effective way to combat plagiarism; instead, they should be used in concert with human readers, such as the authors, editors, and reviewers (Gasparyan et al., 2017). Consensus on how best to provide ethics instruction to prevent plagiarism prior to submission is lacking. Brown and Janssen (2017) found that a plagiarism "intervention" was successful in reducing instances of plagiarism at their university. Nonetheless, instruction often is ineffective, and few studies have examined the effectiveness of plagiarism instruction (Antes et al., 2009). Understanding how to inform students about the many facets of plagiarism is critical to effectively teach them about ethical misconduct and to provide the students with the best chances for career success.

In low- and middle-income countries, plagiarism is often a problem, but little has been done at the country-level to address the problem (Ana, Koehlmoos, Smith, & Yan, 2013). In the Caribbean, instances of plagiarism are on the rise, but information on the motivation for and understanding of plagiarism is necessary (Baker-Gardner & Smart, 2017; Walcott, 2016). The majority of universities in the Caribbean have a policy on plagiarism (Baker-Gardner & Smart, 2017), although the existence of a policy does not necessarily indicate that students are aware of the policy or understand the concepts.

In The Bahamas, information on plagiarism at the university level is not widely available. The primary degree-granting institution in the country is University of The Bahamas, chartered in 2016 and initially established as the College of The Bahamas in 1974. The University's *Policy on Plagiarism*, written in 1985, outlines the definition of plagiarism, as well as the penalties for plagiarizing at the University. The *Academic Policy Handbook* defines plagiarism as "the unacknowledged use of another person's work" (College of The Bahamas, 1985, Sect. 1.2). As stipulated in the handbook, penalties for plagiarism include a written note to the department chairperson for the first and second instance, as well as the additional following penalties for up to three instances: 1) plagiarized material will be excluded from grading; 2) a failing grade on the paper; and 3) expulsion from the University (College of The Bahamas, 1985). Despite the existence of this policy, however, the understanding of University policy varies among faculty and students, and faculty do not necessarily follow the penalties outlined by the University when instances of plagiarism arise in their classroom. The policy has not been updated since 1985, but the University is currently planning to update the policy in the 2019 academic year (M. Oriakhi, personal communication, May 31, 2019).

Anecdotal evidence from students at University of The Bahamas suggests that plagiarism is prevalent in the University environment, although limited studies have been conducted to better understand the perceptions of plagiarism and to determine the effectiveness of plagiarism instruction (Gibson, Blackwell, Greenwood, Mobley, & Blackwell, 2006). To address the issue of plagiarism in science at the university level, this study was developed to assess student understanding and opinions on plagiarism at University of The Bahamas. The goal was to determine what student perceptions of plagiarism are and whether those perceptions could change as a result of specific instruction. The objective of this study was to measure how student understanding and perceptions of plagiarism changed following instruction and discussion.

Methods

This study focused on upper-level students at University of The Bahamas enrolled in research methods classes in the School of Chemistry, Environmental, and Life Sciences. Data were collected over the course of five semesters during three academic years from fall 2016 to fall 2018. The same instructor directed the class on plagiarism in all five semesters. The first semester course was a research methods class in the Small Island Studies Department, while the four subsequent classes were in the Biology Department (see Table 1 for the number of students and surveys each semester). Over the course of the five semesters, 110 students participated in this study. The majority (79%) of students were female, and, with the exception of 6 sophomores, all students were of junior or senior standing. Due to absences, the total number of pre- and post-surveys completed may have varied slightly from the number of students enrolled in the class.

These research methods courses were designed to provide instruction on the research process and how to conduct independent research projects, as the students are preparing for a career in science. While plagiarism is traditionally discussed during orientation and taught in the first-year Student Counselling Seminar and English writing courses, this topic was specifically addressed in the Research Methods class, as this course is seen as a platform for beginning the research process, and students learn how to write for scientific publications. The lesson on plagiarism occurred as a component of an ethics module.

As part of this study, the students participated in one class per semester on plagiarism and were surveyed using a Plagiarism Attitude Survey before and after the class to assess changes in perception and understanding. The Plagiarism Attitude Survey was a written questionnaire adapted from a survey written by the Online Writing Laboratory at Purdue University (Elder, Pflugfelder, & Angeli, 2012). To gauge baseline student perceptions and understanding, the pre-survey was first disseminated to students at least one week before the class on plagiarism, before the readings or assignments were assigned to the class (See Figure 1).

Table 1
Number of students participating in this study on plagiarism in scientific research methods classes at University of The Bahamas.

Semester	Department	Number of students enrolled	Number of pre-surveys completed	Number of post-surveys completed
Fall 2016	Small Island Sustainability	11	10	8
Spring 2017	Biology	28	27	26
Fall 2017	Biology	27	22	24
Spring 2018	Biology	23	23	22
Fall 2018	Biology	21	18	18
Total Number of Students		**110**	**100**	**98**

The post-survey was administered in the following class. This survey consisted of 14 questions designed to assess students' opinions and attitudes towards plagiarism, ethics, and the University's policy on plagiarism. The answers were recorded using a Likert scale, with responses including *strongly agree*, *agree*, *neutral*, *disagree*, and *strongly disagree*.

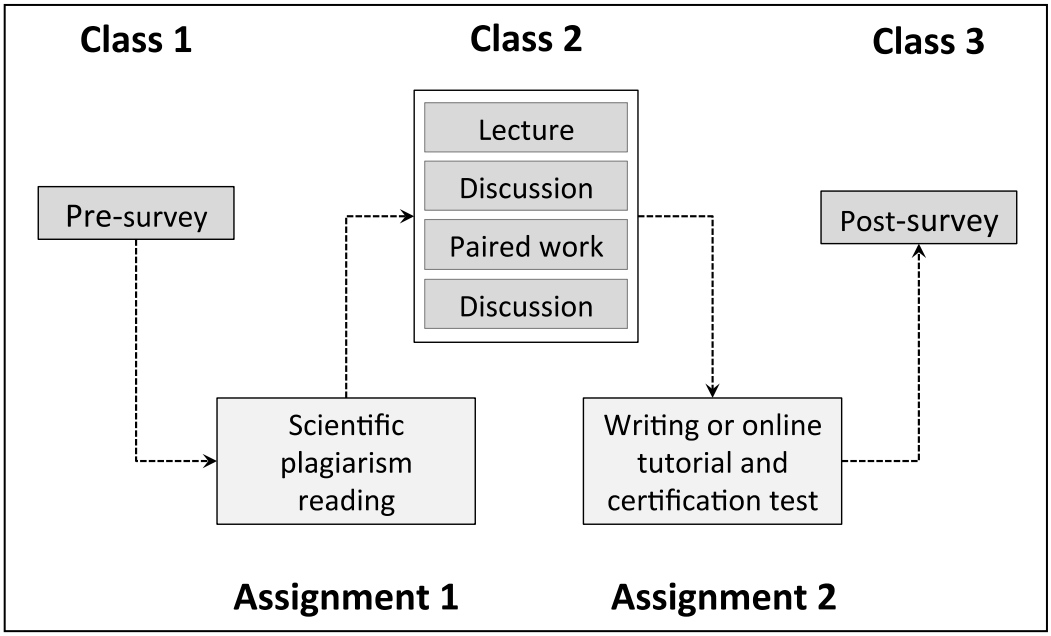

Figure 1. A depiction of all activities that were conducted as part of this study on plagiarism at University of The Bahamas.

In advance of the class on plagiarism, students were given readings on defining and avoiding plagiarism. In addition, during the first two semesters (Fall 2016, Spring 2017), students had to write a critical essay on plagiarism and its prevalence at the university level. In the last three semesters (Fall 2017, Spring 2018, Fall 2018), in lieu of the written assignment, students were required to complete an online plagiarism tutorial through Indiana University (Frick et al., 2016), which includes videos, plagiarism examples, and practice exercises. Within three days of the plagiarism class, students were required to submit a certificate indicating completion of the tutorial with a passing grade on the certification test.

During the plagiarism class, the instructor conducted a lecture for the first half of the class period, providing additional information on how to define plagiarism, how to properly cite sources, tips to avoid plagiarism, and information on the University policy on plagiarism. The second portion of class time involved a discussion, in which several scientific writing samples were given to students, who had to identify whether the samples were plagiarized and the type of plagiarism. Following this activity, student pairs independently completed a worksheet that provided examples of original scientific texts, along with examples of student writing excerpts referring to these texts, to identify whether these examples utilized proper citations. The

results of the independent paired work were discussed as a group.

To analyse results from the Plagiarism Attitude Survey, responses to the Likert scale survey questions from both pre- and post-surveys were coded, with numbers corresponding to the different responses (e.g., 1 = *strongly agree*, 3 = *neutral*, 5 = *strongly disagree*). To ensure honesty in reporting, surveys were conducted anonymously, and therefore individual responses from pre- and post-surveys could not be compared to gauge each student's change in perceptions and understanding as a result of the class. Following the entry of coded responses, an unpaired student's t-test was used to calculate the mean of the coded responses for each question, comparing pre- and post-instruction responses. Statistical analyses were performed using the statistical package R (version 1.1.453).

Results

Comparing student responses before and after the class on plagiarism, statistical analysis revealed that the students' opinions and understanding significantly changed ($p < .05$) for five of the 14 questions. In response to whether the students believed they understood what constitutes plagiarism, the average response was 2.37 (between agree and neutral, $\sigma = 0.87$) before instruction compared with 1.73 (between strongly agree and agree, $\sigma = 0.70$) after instruction ($p < .001$). Of the respondents, 60% answered positively to this question before instruction, compared with 90% after instruction (Figure 2a).

The second question covered the topic of self-plagiarism and asked whether the students felt that reusing a past writing assignment is acceptable. The majority of students agreed that this practice was acceptable before the class ($\mu = 2.50$, $\sigma = 1.12$), but afterwards, the majority shifted to disagree ($\mu = 3.35$, $\sigma = 1.19$; $p < .01$; Figure 2b). The third question that revealed a significant shift in student opinion was whether the students felt that others would be deterred from plagiarizing if the punishment were to receive a special grade on their transcript. In the pre-survey, students had agreed with this statement ($\mu = 2.03$, $\sigma = 0.94$), but after the class they agreed more strongly ($\mu = 1.76$, $\sigma = 0.85$; $p < .05$; Figure 2c).

The responses to the final two questions concerning the plagiarism policy at the University exhibited an observable shift in opinion. In the first of these questions, the students were asked whether the plagiarism policy at University of The Bahamas is clear. Before the class, the average response was 2.33 ($\sigma = 1.00$), and more students disagreed with that statement after the class on plagiarism ($\mu = 2.79$, $\sigma = 1.20$; $p < .01$; Figure 2d). The final question was whether the students agreed that the repercussions were serious at University of The Bahamas, and more students agreed with that statement after the class ($\mu = 2.51$, $\sigma = 1.06$ vs. $\mu = 2.24$, $\sigma = 0.86$, respectively; $p < .05$; Figure 2e).

In addition to these questions, of note is that two additional questions also revealed an observable shift in attitudes ($p < .1$), although not at the significance level set for this study. These questions pertained to potential punishments for plagiarism: 1) that punishments in college should not be severe since students are in the process of learning and 2) that if a student lends a paper to another student he/she should not be punished. In both instances, the student opinion shifted after the class to greater agreement with stronger penalties (see Figures 3a, b).

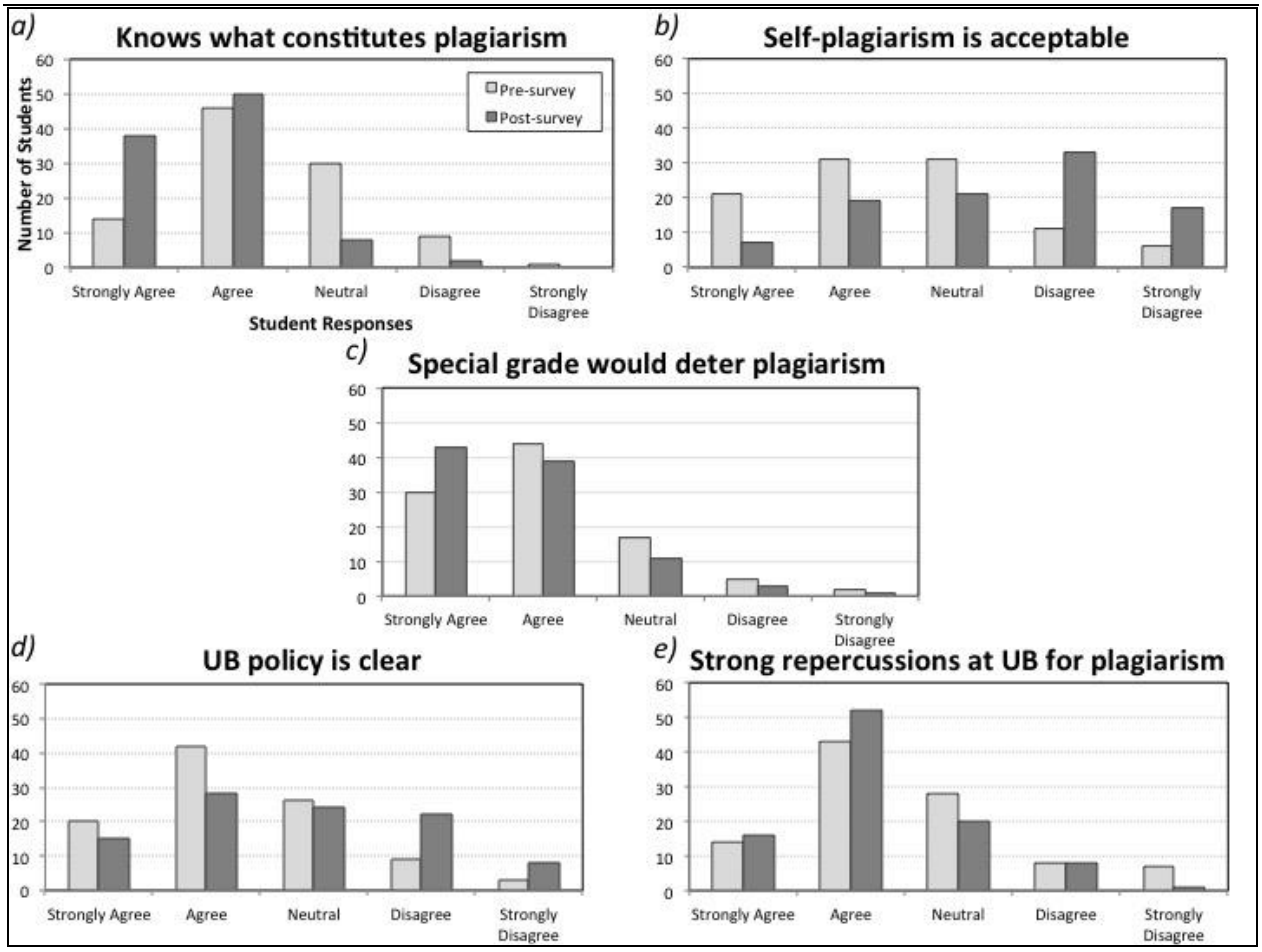

Figure 2. Survey responses to five questions on plagiarism revealed a significant shift in opinion in pre- and post-surveys ($p < .05$).

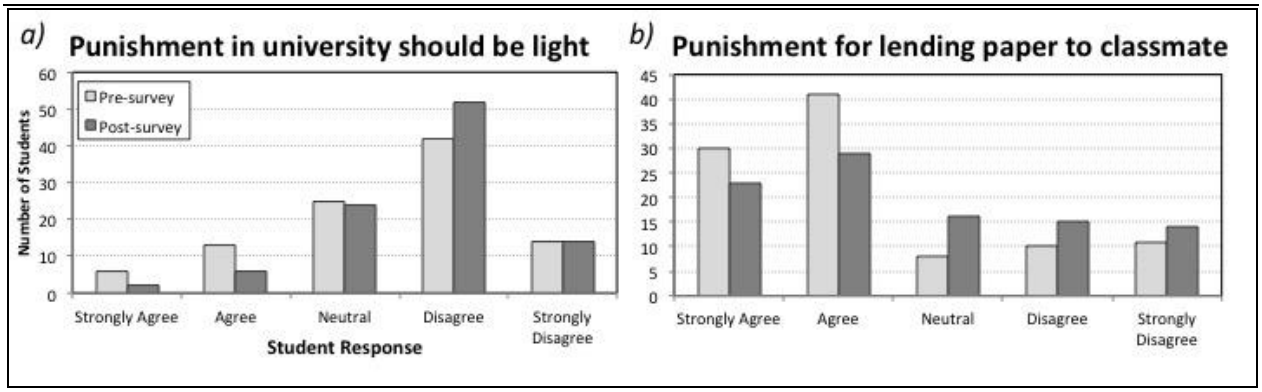

Figure 3. Survey responses to two questions on plagiarism revealed an observable shift in opinion but were above the significance level set for this study ($.5 < p < .10$).

Discussion

Based on the results of the survey administered to students before and after the class on plagiarism, overall understanding of plagiarism improved as a result of the intervention, and certain attitudes regarding plagiarism noticeably shifted. During classroom discussions, students reported that they believed plagiarism was prevalent due to heavy course loads and the feeling that they did not have the time to devote sufficient attention to each assignment. However, they still believed that this did not justify plagiarism.

The concept of self-plagiarism has been widely debated in science, and in particular has different consequences in the context of research publications and in classroom instruction. During classroom discussions, many students reported that they did not understand or agree with the concept of self-plagiarism before the class, but in general they understood the concept afterwards and felt self-plagiarism was not acceptable.

However, some students still did not agree with the concept after the class, despite understanding the concept. This viewpoint is similar to findings of previous studies conducted that show the different viewpoints among academics as to whether resubmitting assignments is considered plagiarism, as some instructors believe that using previous assignments can, in fact, improve students' understanding and should be encouraged (Bennett et al., 2011; Halupa & Bolliger, 2013; Garner, 2011). This result highlights the importance of and need for clear guidelines established by the instructor for each class at the beginning of the semester so that students are aware of what the instructor's expectations are.

Results also revealed that, with improved understanding of plagiarism, students believed that the punishments for plagiarism should be stricter in some cases. For example, after the class on plagiarism more students agreed that a special grade on their transcript would deter students from plagiarizing, perhaps due to their improved understanding of the severity of the action.

After the class, more students also disagreed with the statement that punishment in college should not be severe since they are undergoing a learning process. Finally, after the class, more students also agreed with punishing students who lend classmates papers. Therefore, a greater understanding of the concept of plagiarism could result in students understanding the gravity of these actions, thereby deterring them from committing ethical breaches and agreeing with more serious consequences.

The questions asked regarding the plagiarism policy at the University investigated the clarity of the policy and the repercussions at the University. In the first question, after the class, more students believed that the policy was unclear. During discussion, many students revealed that they had been unaware of what the policy was prior to the class, but upon reading the policy, found that the wording lacked detail, particularly in the definition of the word "plagiarism". Halupa and Bolliger (2013) previously found that university policies on plagiarism can be lacking in general. The definition of plagiarism is often disputed (Anderson & Steneck, 2011; Baker-Gardner & Smart, 2017; Bennett et al., 2011; Bouville, 2008; Pincus & Schmelkin, 2003), and even different faculty members can interpret the concept of plagiarism differently (Bennett et al., 2011). Therefore, this result underscores the importance of establishing a clear policy on plagiarism. In particular, the definition of plagiarism in University of The Bahamas' policy could benefit from clarification of what encompasses "the unacknowledged use of

another person's work" (College of The Bahamas, 1985, Section 1.2). For example, self-plagiarism is the reuse of the own student's work in another assignment, but this act is not covered under the University's current definition. Students could benefit by each instructor clearly establishing his or her policy on plagiarism at the beginning of the semester, including his or her policy on self-plagiarism.

Finally, the general question asking whether students understood plagiarism revealed a noticeable shift in self-reported understanding of the concept. In addition, discussion following the class instruction revealed that students felt they possessed a greater understanding of the concepts of plagiarism and self-plagiarism. Many students revealed that they had not been aware of the nuances and varied aspects of plagiarism prior to their instruction, similar to other studies in which students reported that they are unaware what constitutes plagiarism (Baker-Gardner & Smart, 2017; Halupa & Bolliger, 2013). Other students stated that they had not read through the specific policy, which was similar to the findings of Gullifer and Tyson (2014). Students acknowledged the value of learning the concept, as well as regret that they had not received the information earlier in their academic careers. Baker-Gardner and Smart (2017) found that students did not learn about plagiarism concepts in high school, and this lack of academic base knowledge from earlier instruction is carried forward to the university level.

With more clarification of the policy at the university level and more instruction for students on the varied aspects of plagiarism, the results suggest that incidences of plagiarism could decrease across the University. In addition, the upcoming review of the plagiarism policy (College of The Bahamas, 1985) for University of The Bahamas provides an opportunity to address the shortcomings of the policy. However, the existence of the policy does not necessarily equate to students reading and understanding the policy (Baker-Gardner & Smart, 2017). As previous studies have found that ethical instruction in scientific programs can improve students' understanding of plagiarism and benefit their careers (see Swazey et al., 1993; Brown and Janssen, 2017), this study has indicated that an opportunity exists to educate students about the various facets of plagiarism at an earlier point in their studies to benefit them throughout their academic and scientific career. Many students revealed that they were not fully aware of the concepts of plagiarism, or cognizant of the many different nuances, providing additional insight as to why plagiarism may occur in the university setting. Given the indication of increased prevalence of plagiarism within the Caribbean (Walcott, 2016), this study reveals that additional focused instruction on plagiarism for science students has the potential to combat this pernicious problem.

Conclusions

As the repercussions of plagiarism in the scientific community can be serious, students need to receive effective instruction on the concept of plagiarism during their academic careers. In this study, students revealed misunderstandings about the concept of plagiarism and felt the policy at the University was unclear. After one class period of instruction, including assigned readings before class, an online tutorial session or critical writing assignment, and an in-class lecture and discussions, students indicated a better understanding of the concepts related to plagiarism. Given the prevalence of plagiarism at the University and the effectiveness of classroom instruction after one class, this instruction could be incorporated into additional

learning opportunities during University orientation and in other classes.

Future work on this topic could evaluate the effectiveness of additional exposure to plagiarism instruction in the university setting, such as instruction over several class periods, incorporating plagiarism education in lower level classes (such as during freshman year), or including plagiarism instruction in various disciplines. Furthermore, the upcoming review of the *Policy on Plagiarism* at University of The Bahamas could benefit the University by enhancing understanding of the nuanced concepts of plagiarism across faculty and students, reducing the instances of plagiarism in classes and after students leave the University, and clarifying the expectations of the University, while strengthening its standing as a research-focused institute.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

Slave-owners' Compensation: The Bahamas Colony

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Abstract

This study uses descriptive statistics to provide an overview of the compensation received by former slave-owners who were compensated for the loss of their property in the Bahamas colony, that is, their slaves, after Emancipation. The data used for this study is from the University College London's Legacies of British Slave-ownership Centre. This paper answers four questions: What was the amount of the compensation received by former slave-owners in the Bahamas colony in 1834? What was the distribution of the compensation? What is the 2017 price equivalent of the compensation paid? What would be the investment value of the compensation in 2017 using prevailing interest rates? It is shown that 1,057 awardees received £126,848.70 for 10,087 slaves in 1834. There were six different types of awardees based on the type of ownership. The 2017 equivalent of the total compensation using prices, equates to £11,588,494.36 and in terms of investment value, equates to £342,031,365.63.

Introduction

As is the case for the West Indies/Caribbean region, the modern Bahamas originated as a slave society. The slaves were Africans extracted from Africa to the New World to advance the imperial undertakings of Europeans and their North American relatives. Slavery was an economic enterprise as much as it was a political and social instrument of power and conquest. The trade in slaves was itself a commercial enterprise, and the slaves were crucial for production, wealth, and power. In the West Indies, the leading business enterprise was sugar. Its agricultural limitations meant that for the Bahamas colony, the slavocracy was not as economically significant as, for example, Jamaica and Barbados that held huge agricultural plantations.

In the West Indies, African slaves were declared free on 1st of August 1834 when the British Parliament's Emancipation Act 1833 took effect. However, emancipation was not completed until 1st August 1838 with the ending of the period of apprenticeship during which time former slaves could be required to provide some 45 hours per week of free labour with food provided by the former slave-owner. During this period, apprentices could buy their freedom (Latimer, 1964).

Implicitly acknowledging that African slaves were property and not human, upon emancipation, the British government paid some 20 million pounds to former slave-owners in the Caribbean as compensation for their loss. This pay-out represented some 40% of Britain's annual spending (Manning, 2013) and about 5% of its total national product (Goldin, 1973). In contrast, former slaves received no form of compensation for their enslavement. This paper is an exploratory, descriptive investigation into the compensation paid to former slave-owners in 1834 for the loss of their property—that is, their slaves. The study is specific to the Bahamas colony. The calculations conducted employ the database

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produced by the University College London's Legacies of British Slave-ownership Centre. This paper reports on the amount and distribution of compensation paid to former slaveholders. The 2017 equivalencies of the compensation taking price and interest rate changes into account are calculated.

The trading and enslavement of African slaves by Europeans began in the mid-15th century by the Portuguese to supplement the population of European slaves. The enslavement of Africans for the New World is said to have begun with the Spanish in 1503, transporting them from Europe and then in 1518 directly from Africa (Adi, 2012). Slavery was (and continues to be in some parts of the world today) an economic modality of production that reduces human beings (slaves) to property. The production of sugar and its barbarous companion—the enslavement of Africans in the West Indies, was an integral component of the mercantilist economic system. Essentially, it requires economic progress to be realised only when resources are taken away from competitors (Wiles, 1974). The mercantilist economic system of the time was based on trade, conquest and accumulation of wealth (gold) for the sovereign (nation) as a means of exercising power.

The economic system of European enslavement of Africans is known as the triangular trade, as shown in Figure 1.

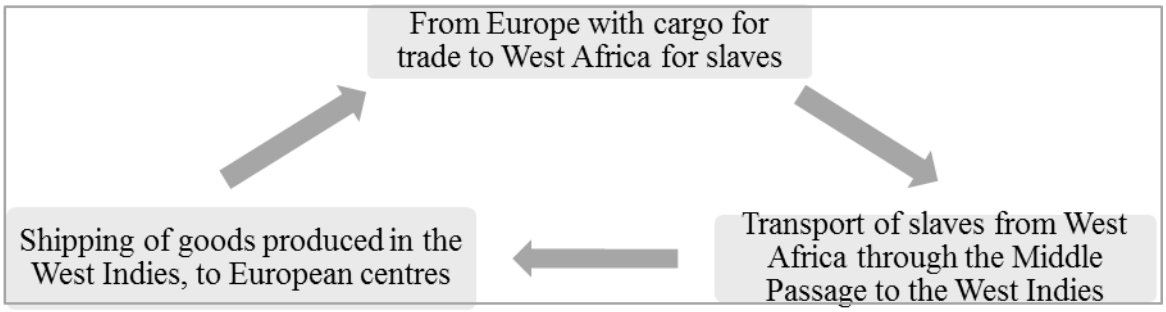


Figure 1. Triangular Trade.

Williams (1984) explained the commercial significance of the slave trade during the late 17th century. It accounted for 10% of British imports and 4% of its exports. He also portrayed the relative importance of the West Indies to Britain's international trade in 1697 (p. 141).

Providing further insight into the relative importance of slavery in the West Indies, Williams (1984) showed that Barbados' total trade with Great Britain was more than that of Virginia and Maryland; Jamaica's more than New England's; Nevis' more than New York's and Montserrat's was rated higher than Pennsylvania's.

Several reasons were given for preserving the slavocracy: the natural order of things; inferiority of slaves (Africans); the inability of slaves to care for themselves; slavery being perceived to be better than death; needs of business enterprises and need to maintain existing cultural and legal frameworks. Gerbner (2013) explained that Protestant missionaries integrated Christianity with slavery using the argument that transitioning slaves to Christianity would make them better workers—more obedient and hardworking. Christianity also justified the racialism emerging from slavery as the purported paganism of Africans had to be supplanted by the Christian Gospel.

Another moral argument was the belief that Europe must civilise the rest of the world (Dumas, 2012). The Christian Bible provided the most persuasive justification for slavery. For example, Leviticus 25:44-46 authorises slavery and Genesis 1:21 provided rationale for the fixity of species theory which places Africans just above apes and a below men (Europeans). From an economic perspective, its profitability to the slave-owners and the nation—revenues and trade, and strategic military benefits were essential arguments for justifying slavery (Drescher, 1990; Dumas, 2012).

The Bahamas Colony

The economy, legal framework and population growth and composition are critical elements in appreciating the underpinnings of the slave society in the Bahamas colony. Indeed, the vestiges of the political, social, and economic structures that supported the slave society continue to inform how the country is governed, its social relations and the allocation of resources and wealth even today.

Population

Around the time of its founding in 1670, when the Bahamas was granted to six Lords Proprietors, there were about 500 settlers, and their slaves (Craton, 1986). In 1671, a population census of the Bahamas colony recorded a total of 1,097 residents. Nine hundred and thirteen were in New Providence and 184 in Eleuthera. There were 334 males, 320 females, and 443 slaves (Craton, 1986). The makeup and size of the population of the Bahamas changed drastically. The population grew naturally, with the arrival of the Loyalists and their slaves from the United States after the 1783 American Revolution, and as a consequence of the 1807 Act abolishing the slave trade passed by the British Parliament. This 1807 Act led to Africans being liberated from slave ships by the British and settled in the Bahamas colony. As the population grew, the racial make-up of the Bahamas changed. Using data derived from Craton (1986), the population size and composition from 1726 to 1831 are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Bahamas Population 1726 – 1831

Date	Total	Whites	Negroes
1726	1,140	830	310
1731	1,378	925	453
1740	2,303	1,339	964
1783	4,058	1,722	2,336
1786	8,957	2,948	6,009
1789	11,300	3,300	8,000 (500 free)
1831	16,345	4,086	12,259 (2,991 free)

From: Craton, 1986

According to Saunders (2010), 6,000 liberated Africans were brought to the colony between 1811 and 1860. They were under the auspices of the Chief Customs Officer for placement with white masters or mistresses "to learn a trade or handicraft, for periods not exceeding fourteen years" (Saunders, 2010, p. 39). Consistent with the ethos of the time, liberated Africans were not treated much differently than slaves.

Legislation

According to Williams (2006a), the arrival of the Loyalists who came with their slaves from the United States after 1783 strongly influenced the economic, political, and social nature of the Bahamas colony. By 1794 they had wrested control of the Assembly, but prior to their arrival, legislation was already in place to govern slavery in the colony. Saunders (2006) reported that the 1729 Act "for the better regulation of Negroes and Slaves" determined slaves to be chattel, not able to own property and were discouraged from forming enduring familial relationships. They needed to be controlled with respect to associations and activities. As the African population grew, and many slaves attaining

freedom together with the influx of captured mixed-race slaves, the threat to white dominance became real. The 1756 Act defined the social hierarchy. This Act prescribed a white person as someone who was more than three degrees removed from an African ancestor but was repealed and replaced by the 1802 Act which redefined white as a person with no relation to an African ancestor (McWeeney, 2018). The need for stronger subjugation of slaves was addressed in the 1767 Act (amended 1768) for governing Negroes, Mulattoes and Indians. This Act allowed such things as public whipping of up to 100 lashes; nose slitting and execution for violence against whites; a 9 p.m. curfew, and barring slaves from planting except on their owner's land.

Legislation passed between 1784 and 1788 fortified the distinction between the races with respect to freedoms and setting up of a Negro Court to hear claims for freedom by blacks. The successful Haitian Revolution alarmed the whites, and in 1793, the Governor, "[Lord] Dunmore issued a proclamation, which prohibited French Negroes and mulattos from entering into the Bahamas" (Williams, 2006a, p. 22).

While the Consolidated Slave Act 1796 provided some protection for slaves—clothing, protection from iron collars, maiming, mutilation, and mistreatment, the House of Assembly vehemently fought against the passage of ameliorative measures to ease the conditions of slaves as directed by the British. This position is reflected in the fact that after the passing of Slave Code 1826, "the evidence shows that the masters punished their slaves as they wished and many times the punishment inflicted was excessively cruel" (Williams, 2006b, p. 33). House of Assembly members resisted further ameliorative measures because they attributed the decrease in the value of their slaves to the amelioration measures already taken, such as the restrictions on the transfer of slaves and slave registration, and because of the intensified discussions around emancipation. Further, estimates were that the cost to implement the ameliorative measures was too high.

Up to the Slave Emancipation Act, there was an increasing number of free blacks and mulattos, though not as free as whites. The self-hire system in the Bahamas colony where slaves could seek employment gave many slaves the ability to purchase their freedom (Johnson, 1991). However, as reported by Saunders (2006), restrictions were placed on non-white freemen in the Bahamas colony to limit their "upward mobility and [to] reinforce white dominance" (p. 8).

The Economy

An economic transformation took place in the Bahamas with the arrival of the Loyalists. They "introduced cotton production on a plantation basis in 1784 and extended commercial agriculture to islands in the archipelago which had been hitherto unsettled" (Johnson, 1991, p. 3). This was possible because of the 114 Crown land grants spread over 16 islands of some 42,829 acres made between 1784 and 1789 to the Loyalists (Thompson, 2008). According to Thompson (2008), inflation in the United States resulted in the doubling of food prices between 1774 and 1786, but up to 1787, there was an economic boom.

By 1800 the plantation system had collapsed. However, maritime endeavours, such as privateering and wrecking, were key to buttressing the economy during the early years of the 19th century. It perhaps spawned other industries—retail and wholesale trade, export and import sectors, along with the slaving industry and the legal profession. Additionally, there was a construction boom of public buildings,

churches, and private residences (McWeeney, 2018). At the time of emancipation, 1834, the economy was quite different. According to Saunders (2010), "there was general poverty and insecurity, even for many former slave owners" (p. 30). Pests had destroyed the cotton plantations. The salt industry was in decline and wrecking ceased.

Abolition

As can be expected, slaves throughout the West Indies revolted unceasingly against their plight. These revolts, particularly in Jamaica, contributed significantly to slavery's demise. In the Bahamas colony, there were three slave revolts between 1827 and 1832: two in Cat Island and one in Exuma (Williams, 1999). Further, as with the justification for maintaining the slavocracy, economic, and moral arguments also contributed to the eventual abolition of African enslavement by Europeans.

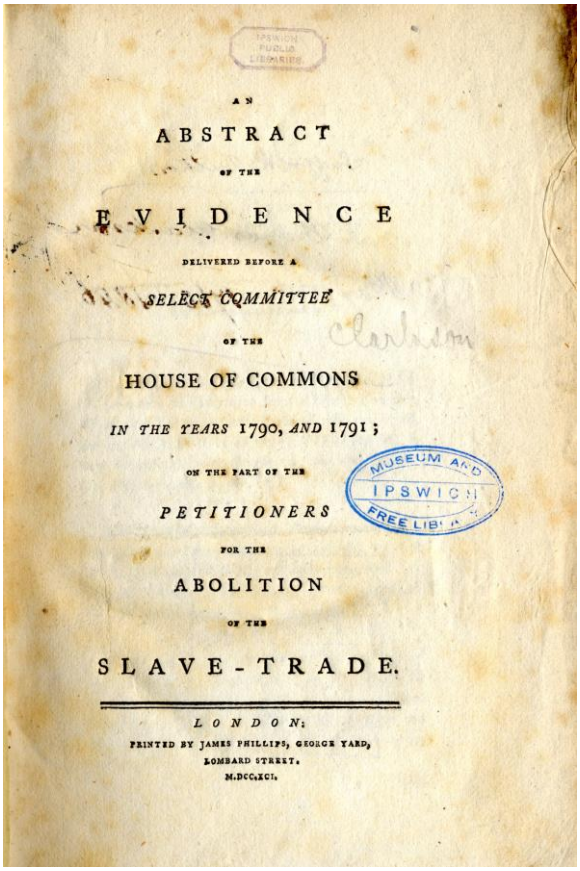
What's more, Williams (1984) cited political factors which influenced the eventual abolition of slavery. These included the clash between the industrial bourgeoisie and the landowning elite and the industrial proletariat's inclinations for democracy. International and inter-colonial rivalries were also considered factors in the eventual abolition of slavery.

Although others can be added, Dumas (2012) provided a chronology of crucial turning points leading up to the Emancipation Act, starting with William Wilberforce's 1792 bill for abolition passing in the British House of Commons to the 1801 outlawing of slavery in St. Domingo by Toussaint L'Ouverture and Haiti becoming an independent nation in 1804. Next was the slave trade becoming a felony in 1811. Then the decline of the West Indian interests' influence in Parliament and their 1833 demand for up to £30 million compensation. These events culminated with the 10 June 1833 agreement to grant £20 million in compensation to the West Indian proprietors and the August 1833 Slave Emancipation Act to emancipate Britain's 800,000 West Indian slaves of African descent effective 1st August 1834.

Drescher (1990) suggested that moral arguments outweighed economic arguments in contributing to the public's and the British Parliament's eventual turn against slavery. He argues that the petition to Parliament against the slave-trade by the religious group called the Quakers in 1783 was on moral grounds—Christianity, humanity, justice, and charity. Thomas Clarkson, a Quaker, in his publication in 1786 of *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* addressed slavery as a problem "of morality and natural jurisprudence, and the argument unfolded entirely in moral and legal categories" (Drescher, 1990, p. 565). This was followed by the Abolitionist Society's *Abstract of the Evidence*, as shown in Figure 2, which was presented to the House of Commons in 1791 which was closely aligned with Clarkson's petition and dealt with the treatment of slaves in Africa, conditions of the Middle Passage, and in the Caribbean.

Many leading economists of the time opposed slavery. Slavery was seen as generally inefficient and freeing the slaves would enhance the welfare of slave-owners and slaves. For the former slave-owner, wages would be cheaper than the expense of caring for slaves. Additionally, with more free labour, wages would be low, and production would increase (Weingast, 2016). Williams (1984) proposed three economic factors that contributed to emancipation in the West Indies. Firstly, the plantation system ceased to be profitable. Competition in sugar production, mainly

from Cuba and Brazil, reduced the importance of West Indian cane sugar. In 1832, the House of Commons allowed the importation of non-British sugar because of its lower price. Secondly, there was a decline in exports to the West Indies from Britain, and thirdly, mercantilism had given way to industrialisation and capitalism. Even the principal beneficiaries of the slave system, the city of Liverpool, for example, supported emancipation.


AN

ABSTRACT

OF THE

EVIDENCE

DELIVERED BEFORE A

SELECT COMMITTEE

OF THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN THE YEARS 1790, AND 1791;

ON THE PART OF THE

PETITIONERS

FOR THE

ABOLITION

OF THE

SLAVE-TRADE.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY JAMES PHILLIPS, GEORGE YARD,

LOMBARD STREET.

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Figure 2: An Abstract of the Evidence Delivered before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1790. *Source*: The Abolition Project http://abolition.e2bn.org/source_18.html

Even for many who favoured the abolition of slavery, the support was for a delayed, phased approach to its implementation. Two of the reasons commonly cited were that an alternative economic system should be put in place beforehand, and there was little confidence that freed slaves would fare better in an emancipation dispensation (Dumas, 2012).

As slaves were assets, emancipation meant the loss of assets for former slave-owners. Hall (1962) provided insights into the valuation of slaves. Hall notes that "slaves [were] being bought as chattels, in the same manner as horses, or other beasts" (p. 306). Slaves were categorised as stock along with cattle and mules. In determining the requirements for setting up a plantation in Jamaica, the average price of a slave was stated as being £50. The average price of a steer was around £11, and £20 was the average price of a mule. It was quite expensive to rear a slave in the British colonies. Hall (1962) reported, "bringing a slave child to the working age of fourteen years was £112 sterling, in Jamaica; £168 sterling, in Demerara; £162 sterling, in Trinidad; £109 sterling, in Barbados; and £122 sterling, in Antigua" (p. 307). When the £20,000,000 payment to planters for their property losses was made, considerations included resale value, age, sex, and abilities.

In the Bahamas colony, slavery was integral to the economic, political, and social institutions of the time. Notwithstanding the population disparity where Africans and other people of colour outnumbered whites, the power of these institutions kept them subjugated. The former slaves were subjected to a period of apprenticeship, and as reported by Thompson (2008) some 3,000 free blacks received ungranted (no title) Crown Land. Former slave-owners received tangible compensation for their loss.

Methodology

This research answers the following questions.

1. What was the amount of the compensation received by former slave-owners in the Bahamas colony in1834?
2. What was the distribution of this compensation?
3. What is the 2017 price equivalent of the compensation paid?
4. What would be the investment value of the compensation in 2017 using prevailing interest rates?

The data for this study are taken from the University College London's website, Legacies of British Slave-ownership Centre (https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/search/). The payments were converted from pounds, shillings and pence (£. s. d.) to pounds and decimals of a pound. Two adjustments were made to the data to reflect payments made to other payees. The first is claim number 587, £134.02 for one slave is assumed to be an error. The adjustment (estimate) was made to reflect 11 slaves. The second was for claim number 683, £174.54, no number of slaves was provided. The adjustment (estimate) made was to reflect 15 slaves.

For research question three, the Retail Price Index (RPI) is used. The RPI is the index of prices representing the cost of a basket of items determined by the national statistical body to reflect purchasing patterns in the economy. Changes in the RPI indicate the changes in prices of consumer (retail) goods or the inflation rate over time. The RPI is not a perfect measure of price changes as the basket of items changes over time to better represent prevailing consumer spending patterns. The RPI allows for the conversion of a money amount in one year to its equivalent nominal value in another year based on the changes in prices as it represents the general level of prices for consumer goods. The calculations for this section apply indices from Officer (2018).

For research question number four, the compound interest rate is used to calculate the future (2017) value of the lump sum payments made in 1834. It shows, given the fluctuations in interest rates over this period, the value of the compensation payments would be had they been invested at prevailing interest rates from 1834 to 2017. The FVSCHEDULE formula in Microsoft Office Excel software is used. This formula uses a series of compound interest rates to give the future value of an initial principal amount. The interest rates used are the UK Long-Term Rate: Consistent Series (Officer, 2018).

Results

The total number of pay-outs to former slave-owners was 1,057 in the amount of £126,848.70 in compensation for 10,087 slaves. The most substantial sum paid to one payee was £4,333.34 for 377 slaves. The lowest sum paid to a single payee was £2.01 for one slave. The average pay-out per successful claimant was £120.01, and the average slaveholding was 10 (9.53) slaves.

Amount and Distribution of Compensation

The largest number of pay-outs, 235, was made to former slave-owners holding one slave, followed by those holding two slaves, 138, and then by those holding three slaves, 102. Grouping slaveholdings in categories of tens, more than three-quarters of payees were in the *1>10* category, 76% or 803 pay-outs. Figure 3 shows the number of pay-outs made to former slave-owners along with the number of enslaved persons according to enslaved category.

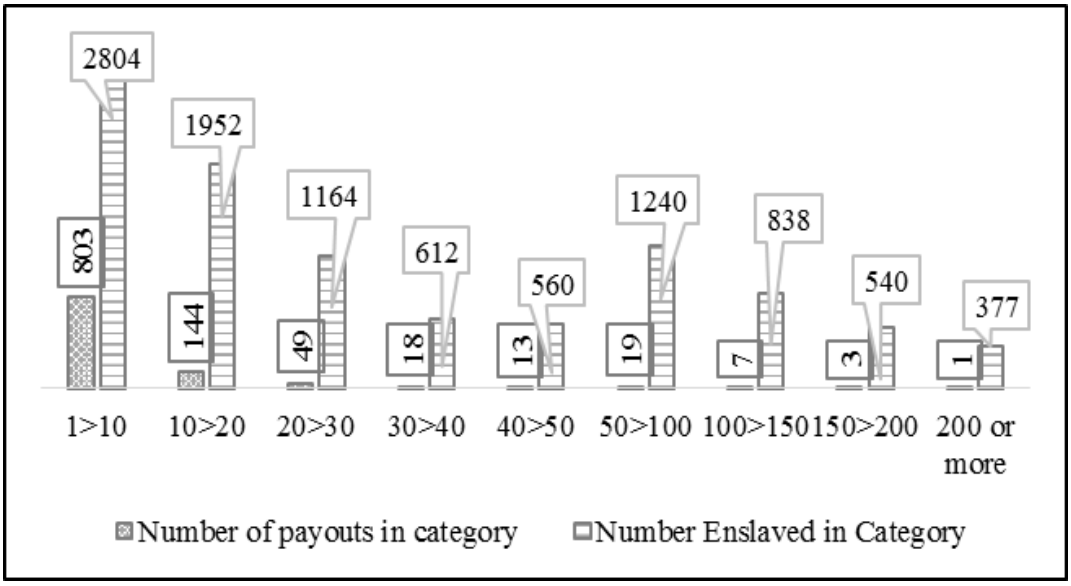

Figure 3. Number of pay-outs and distribution of enslaved persons. This chart shows the number of pay-outs made to former slave-owners along with the number of enslaved persons according to the enslaved category.

For the compensation paid, Figure 4 shows the total pay-out in respective slave-holding categories. The *1>10* category was paid the highest amount, £38,024.72, followed by the *10>20* category, £24,829.57, then by the *20>30* category, £15.058.39 and the *50>100* category, £15,051.84. Figure 5 shows the average pay-out in respective slave-holding categories.

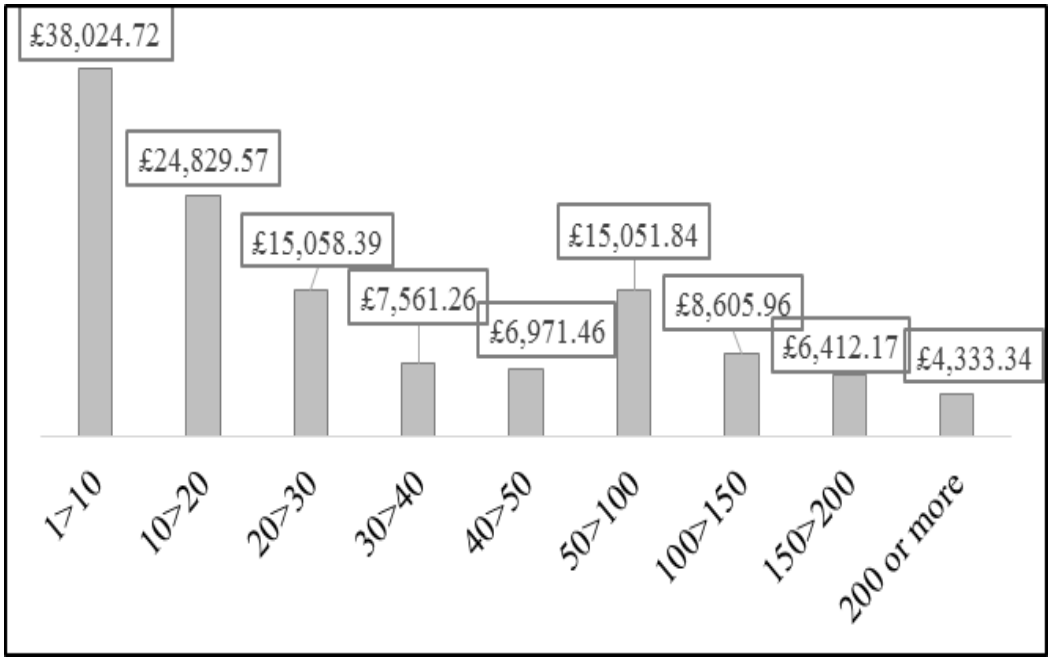

Figure 4. Total pay-out in each slaveholding category. This chart shows the number of pay-outs in the enslaved category.

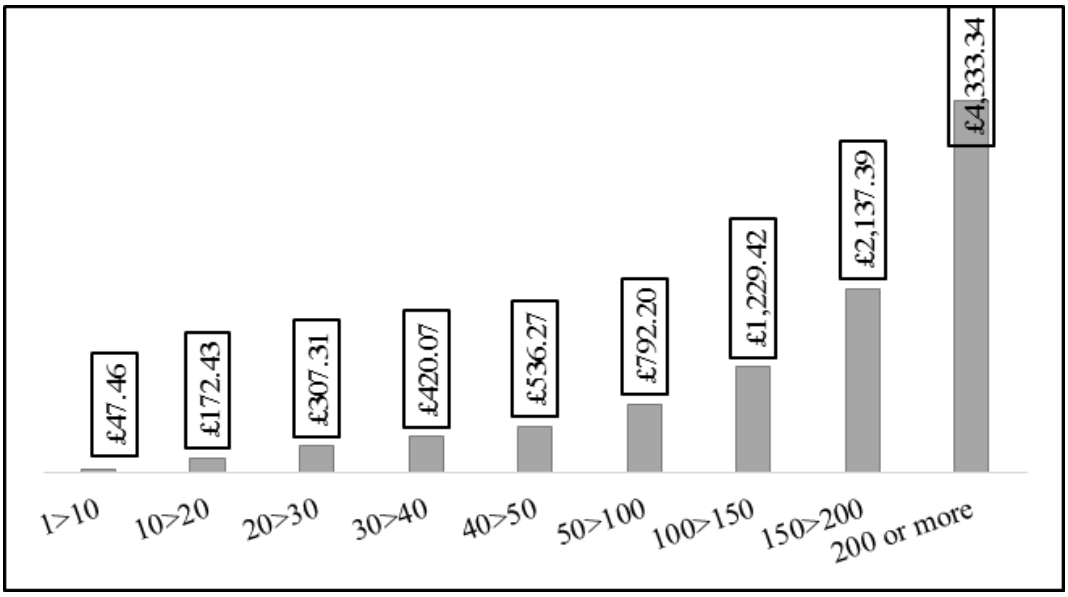

Figure 5. Average pay-out in slaveholding category. This chart shows the amount paid out on average in each slaveholding category.

The overall average paid per slave was £12.58. The highest average pay-out was in the *1>10* category at £13.56. The lowest average pay-out was £10.27 which was in the *100>150* category, followed by £11.49 in the *200 or more* category, and £11.87 in the *150>200* category. This is shown in Figure 6.

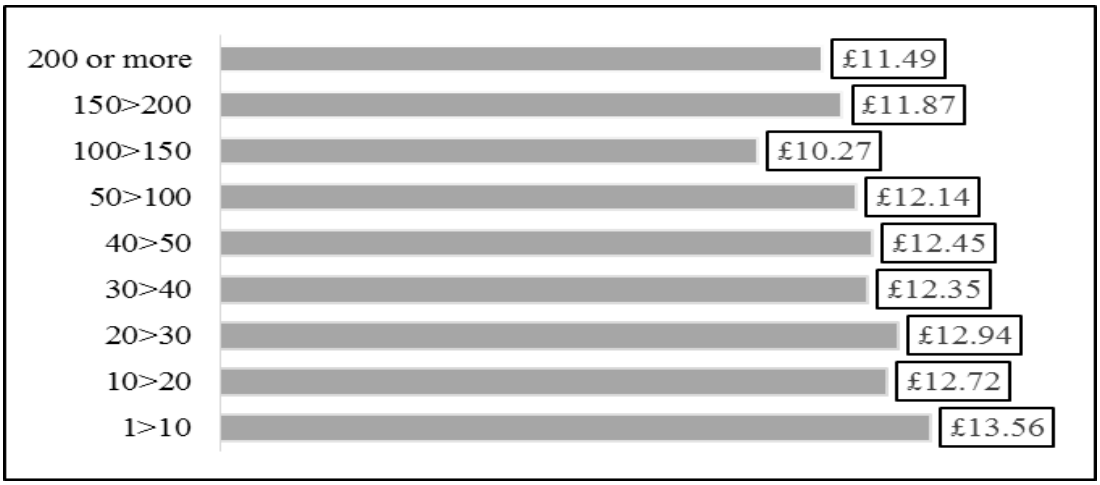

Figure 6. The average price per slave. This chart shows the average amount paid out for slaves according to the enslaved category.

Compensation was distributed to different ownership type or interest in the slave. The database did not identify ownership or interest type for all awardees. However, there were six types of claims identified in the Bahamas colony (University College London, n.d.). Table 2 shows the types of awardees, along with definitions.

Table 2
Type of Awardee and Definition

Owner-In-Fee	The unqualified beneficial owner.
Trustee	A person appointed under and to carry out the terms of a legal trust.
Judgement Creditor	A creditor who secured debt on the estate by a court judgement.
Executor Executrix	A person appointed under the terms of a will to carry out the terms of the will.
Administrator	The person granted letters of administration from the courts over a deceased person's estate where that person had died intestate.
Mortgagee	A creditor who had secured his claim on the estate and the enslaved people on it by way of a deed of mortgage with the owner.

Source: University College London, n.d.

Only two awards were reported paid to Trustees for a total of £490.57 for 37 slaves at an average rate of £13.26. One judgement creditor was paid £64.59 for seven slaves.

Seven claims were reportedly made, and £1,600.07 was paid out for 144 slaves at an average pay-out of £11.11 per slave to Administrators and Executors or Executrices. The largest pay-out was £600.10 for 52 slaves at an average of £11.54, and the lowest was £23.98 for two slaves.

As slaves were physical assets, they were used as collateral. Mortgagees reportedly made three successful claims for 30 slaves. Some £365.69 was paid out to this category of persons at an average price per slave of £12.19.

Value of Compensation in 2017 Pound Sterling (£)

This section presents the 2017 equivalent valuation of the compensation made to former slave-owners. Two methods are used. The first is based on the change in prices over time using the Retail Price Index (RPI) as the proxy, and the second is based on the change in the value of financial assets using changes in interest rates for calculating future value.

Price Changes

The total 2017 equivalent paid to former slave-owners is £11,588,494.36, and the average paid in each category is equivalent to £10,963.57. The average paid for each slave would equate to £1,148.85. Figures 7 and 8 show total and average compensation paid in each category, and Figure 9 shows the average price paid per slave in 2017 pounds.

Future value

In 1834, £126,848.70 was paid out to all successful compensation claimants for slaves held in the Bahamas colony. If this amount was invested at prevailing interest rates:

- after ten years, 1844, the value of the compensation would have increased by 36.3% to £172,888.93;
- after 20 years by 83.7% to £233,068.50;
- after 30 years by 148.9% to £315,665.42, and
- after what is often described as a generation, 40 years, the value would have increased by 238.4% to £429,237.19.

From 1834 to 2017, the value of the total compensation paid out, if invested at prevailing interest rates, would have increased by some 269,537% to £342,031,365.63. Figure 10 shows the 2017

future value of the total sum paid to slave-owners in 1834 pounds if invested at prevailing interest rates.

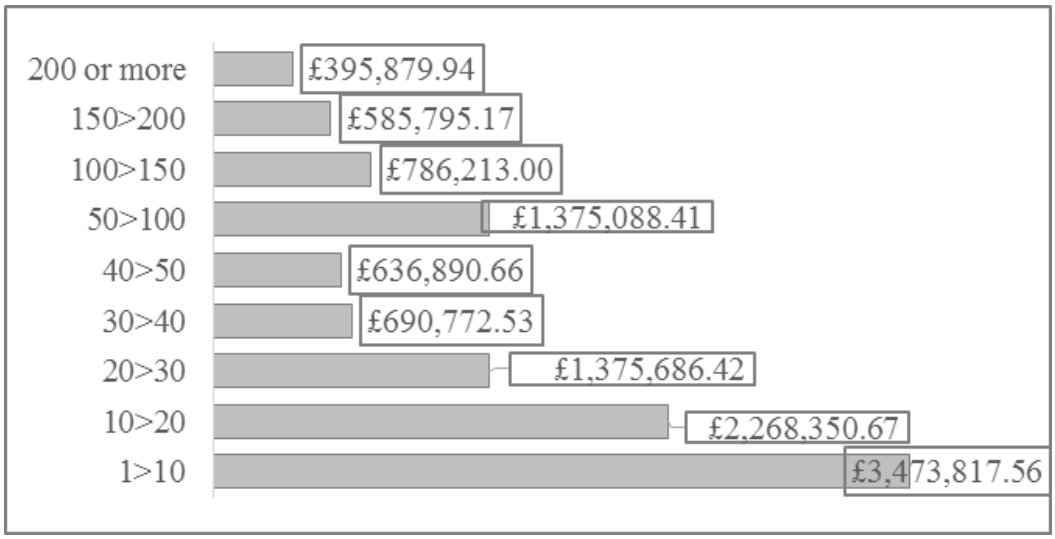

Figure 7. Total slave-owner compensation in 2017 pounds (£) based on price changes. This chart shows the slave-owner compensation adjusted by the RPI to reflect the equivalent 2017 value according to the enslaved category.

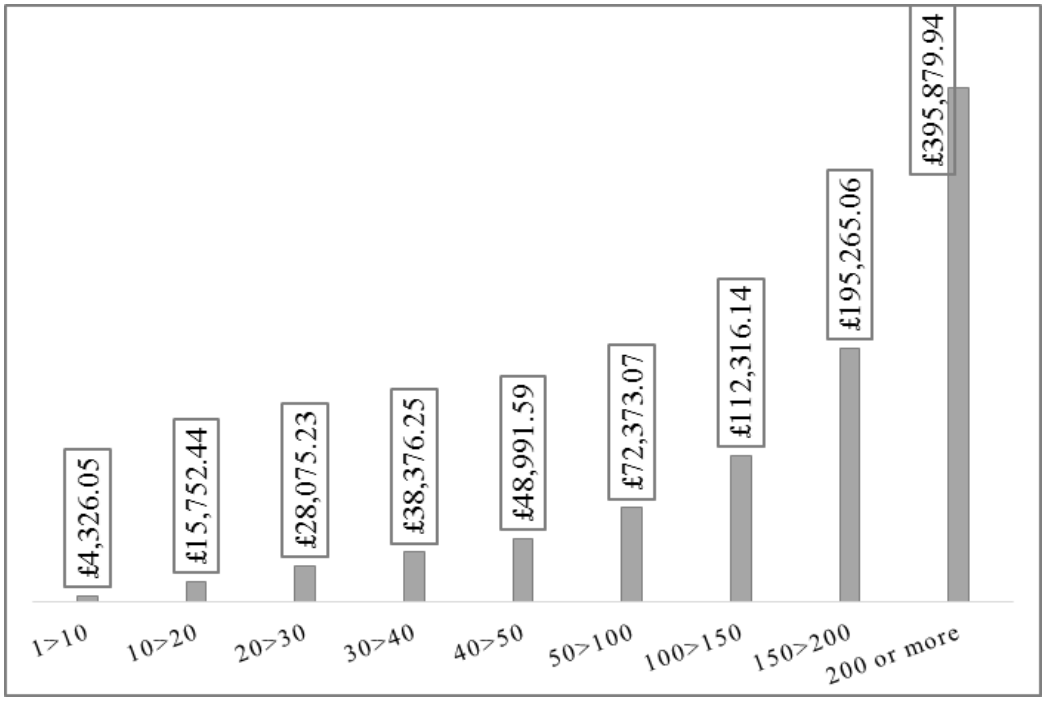

Figure 8. Average slave-owner compensation in 2017 pounds (£) based on price changes. This chart shows the average compensation paid adjusted by the RPI to reflect the equivalent 2017 value according to slaveholding category.

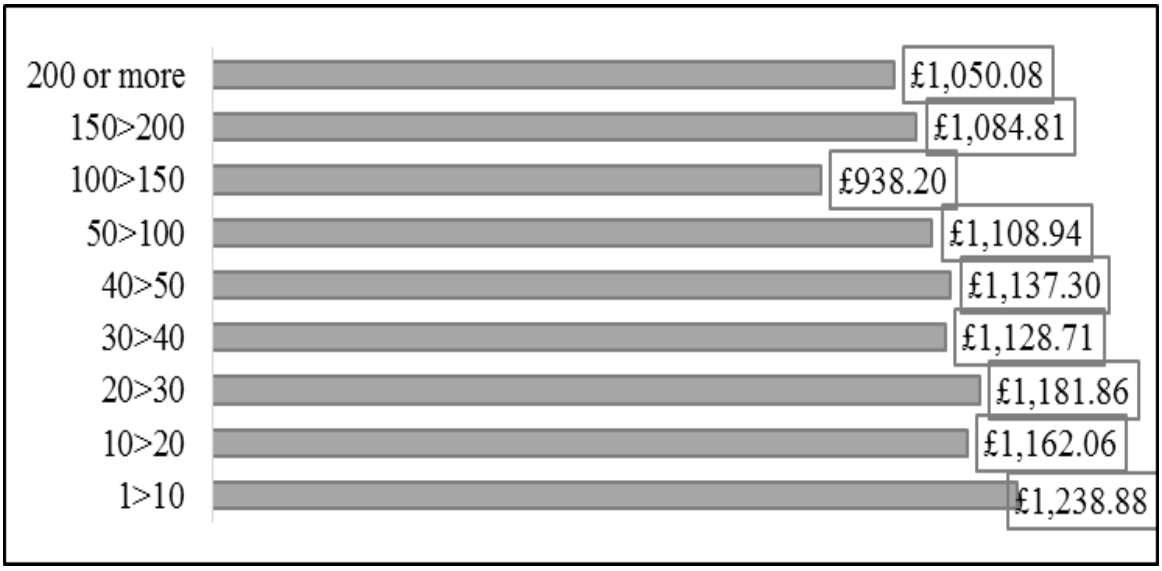

Figure 9. Average price per slave, 2017 pounds (£). This chart shows the average price paid for each slave adjusted by the RPI to reflect the equivalent 2017 value according to the enslaved category.

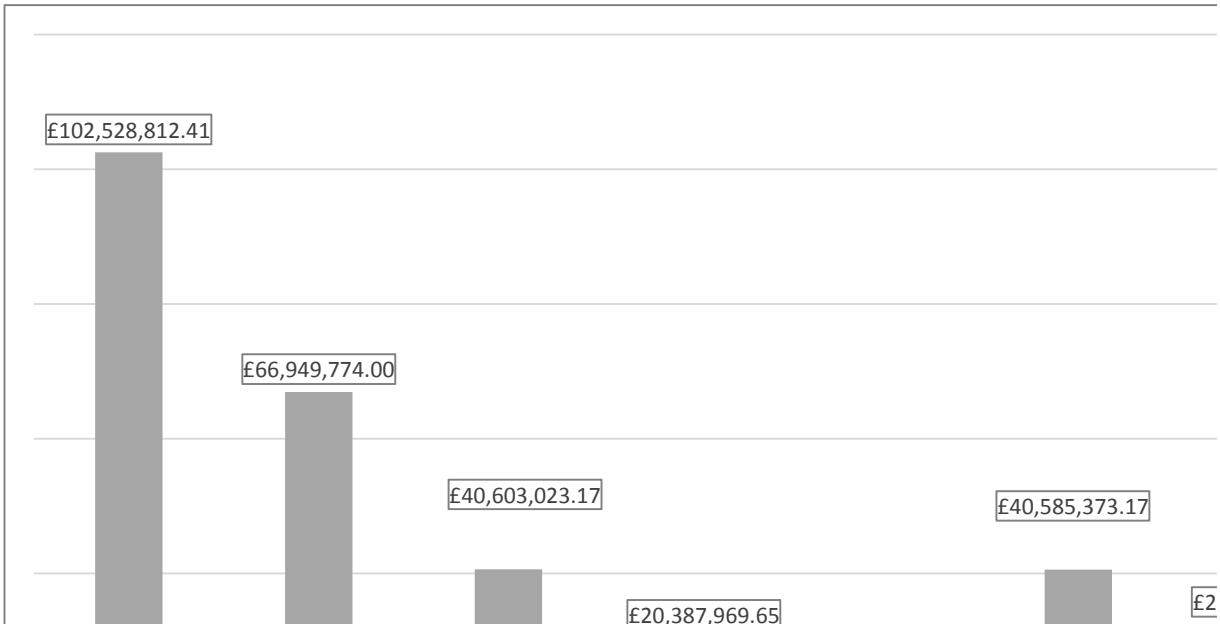

Figure 10: Future value of total compensation, 2017 pounds (£). This chart shows the 2017 future value of the total compensation paid in 1834 to each category according to the enslaved category.

The average 2017 £ equivalent amount paid out in each category of slaveholding ranges from £127,682.21 in the "1>10" category to £11,684,292.42 in the "200 or more" category. This is shown in Figure 11.

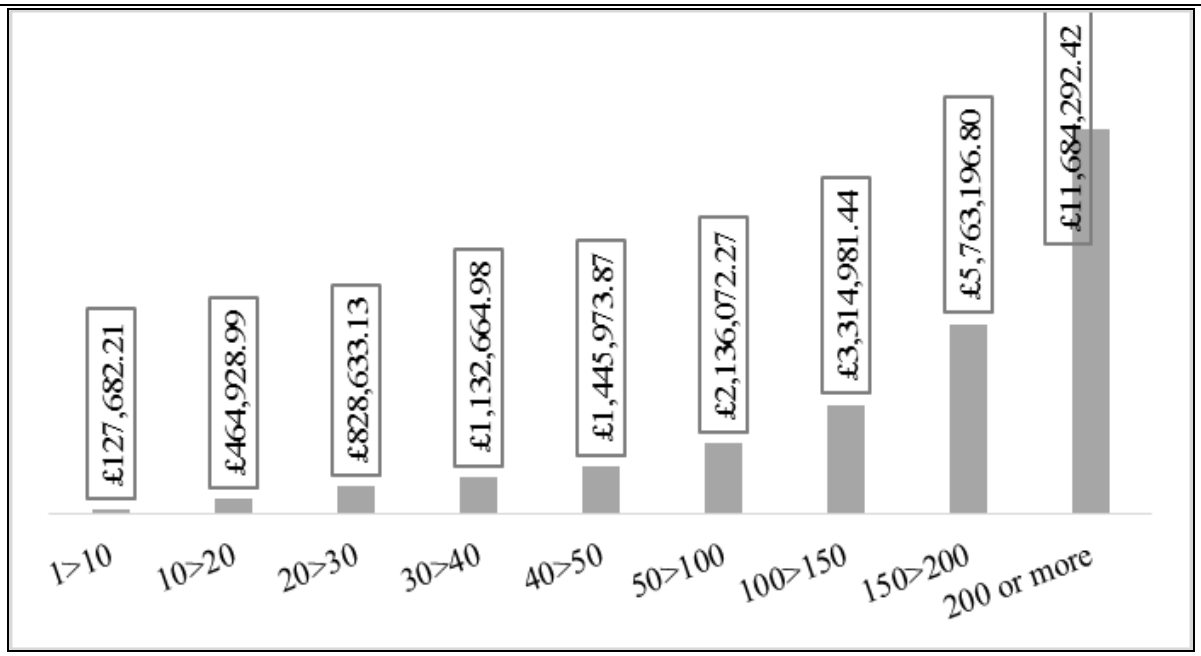

Figure 11: Future value of average compensation, 2017 pounds (£). This chart shows the future value, 2017, of the average compensation paid according to enslaved category.

The overall average payment for each slave would be £33,908.14 in 2017 £. Figure 12 shows the averages in each category based on slaveholding, ranging from £27,690.78 in the *100>150* category to £36,565.20 in the *1>10* category.

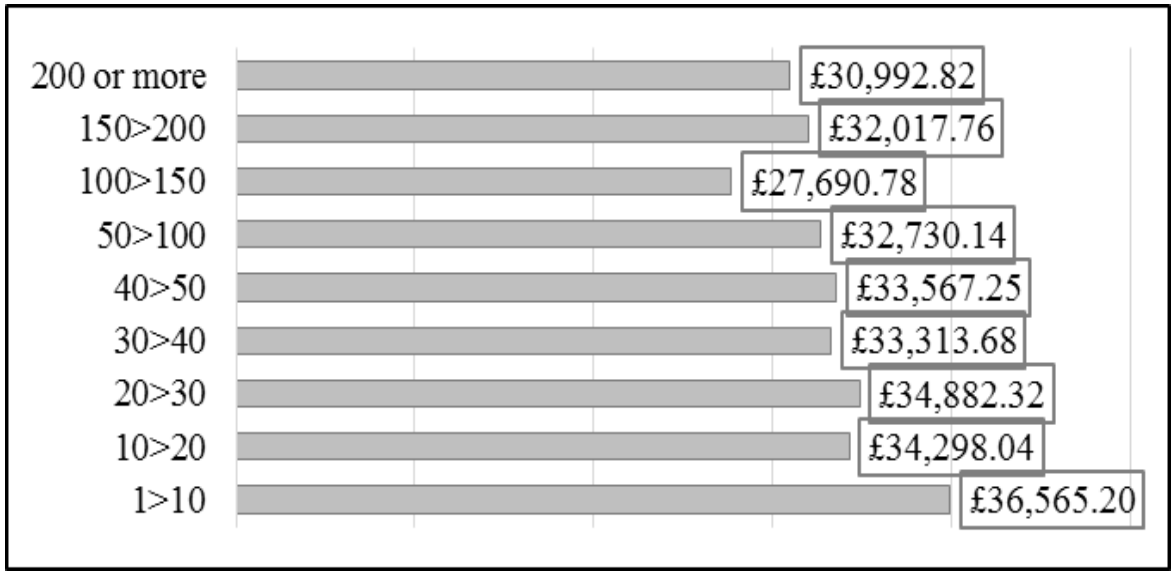

Figure 12. Average price per slave, future value, 2017. This chart shows the 2017 £ equivalent value of the average price paid in compensation for each slave according to enslaved category.

Discussion

Compared with some other Caribbean colonies, the Bahamas colony was a small economy and was therefore more beneficial to Britain from an imperial/territorial perspective rather than an economic standpoint. The complement of slaves in the Bahamas colony represented only around 1% of the emancipated slaves in the British Empire.

The findings of this research, along with the literature surrounding slavery in the Bahamas colony, reveal a hierarchically stratified society based on racialism, from highest (dominant white class) to lowest (Africans) that continued for some time. Themistocleous (2001) made a note of the "prevalent racism and political and socio-economic dominance of the former slave-owners and their descendants" (p. 10) post-emancipation and pointed to strategies used to maintain white dominance well into the 20th century.

Further, post-emancipation, labourers were subject to the credit and truck system, placing them in a debilitating dependency on the merchant class. As late as the mid-20th century when a resolution in the House of Assembly called for a Commission of Inquiry to investigate discrimination with the view to its elimination through legislation, there was no condemnation or criminalisation of racist practices. Moreover, Craton (1986) pointed out, "the families of the original landowners became prominent and indeed dominant, in the Bahamian affairs down to the 1960s. … of the 114 landowners listed, practically all of their names could be found in the 1966 list of Bay Street merchants and members of government" (p. 152).

The evidence is that the plantocracy prevalent throughout the West Indies/Caribbean did not obtain in the Bahamas colony. The low percentage of slaveholdings of 100 or more supports this statement. Further, the value of slaves in domestic settings, slaveholding of 10 or less, was on average higher than in the other categories of slaveholdings. Also, the bulk of compensation was paid to slave-owners holding fewer than ten slaves. A total of 5,920 slaves were owned by 996 slave-owners holding fewer than 30 slaves each. Only 11 slave-owners held more than 100 slaves. It is fair to conclude then, that slaves in the Bahamas colony were primarily for domestic and small agricultural purposes. This has been attributed to the poor quality of the soil and blights. Well after emancipation, in 1901, 18 of 29 members of the House were classified as merchants, and one member identified as a manufacturer and another as a planter (Themistocleous, 2000). The pre-eminence of the services sector, the dearth of manufacturing and the deficiencies of the agricultural industry obtains even today.

The regressive tax system in the country is also a part of the ethos of slavery. As the dominant white oligarchy controlled the import trade, regressive taxes place the highest burden on the mass of the population who are mostly of African descent. In 1946 Governor Haddon-Smith's appealed to the House of Assembly to implement direct taxation because of the inadequacy and onerous nature of the ~~i~~ndirect taxes, but to no avail (Saunders, 2007).

The poverty cycle and intergenerational poverty are often studied to explain and find ways to improve the economic conditions of people at the bottom of the economic ladder. Seldom do these studies examine the linkage with the wealth cycle and intergenerational wealth of those at the top of the economic ladder. This study has shown the possibility of future wealth that existed for former slave-owners and their descendants for the

wealth that could have accumulated had the funds received for compensation been invested at prevailing interest rates. Were these funds successfully invested in the emerging industries of Britain at the time, the returns no doubt, would have been much more.

The lack of compensation for former slaves upon freedom can provide some explanation for differences in the economic standing of descendants of former slave-owners and the descendants of slaves. A major evolution of the Bahamian society has taken place since 1834 as measures have been taken to protect human rights, enhance political freedom, and improve social justice. The 1973 Independence Bahamas Constitution stipulates, "No person shall be held in slavery or servitude" and article 18(2) states, "No person shall be required to perform forced labour," but with a proviso.

Conclusion

A very narrow aspect of the emancipation of Africans from enslavement by Europeans was explored. Descriptive data were used in examining the compensation made to former slave-owners which came with emancipation relative to the Bahamas colony. This paper shows the nature of slavery as a system that politically, socially, and economically converted humans to chattel to be bequeathed, mortgaged, and sold.

This paper does not examine the further compensation received by former slave-owners during the period of apprenticeship, 1834 to 1838 when former slave-owners received further compensation in the form of the free labour and in-kind remunerations obtained from the work of former slaves. This paper also leaves open the opportunity for further research into the demographic composition and geographic location of the former slave-owners and the freed slaves. To further enrich the understanding of current political, social and economic dynamics locally and in the United Kingdom, research around the lineage of former slave-owners and the compensation they received is worth undertaking. Also, research into how the legislative framework and governing institutions have evolved since emancipation would be useful. Further, a comparison of compensation to former slave-owners in the Bahamas colony and those in other Caribbean colonies would enhance the Caribbean studies literature.

Some aspects of the significance of slavery in the Bahamas colony during that period is brought out in this paper. By using descriptive statistics, this paper answered four questions: What was the amount of compensation received by former slave-owners in the Bahamas colony in 1834? What was the distribution of this compensation? What is the 2017 price equivalent of the compensation paid? What would be the value the compensation in 2017 using prevailing interest rates? It is shown that the total compensation paid to slave-owners in 1834 were distributed according to the number of slaves held and the total number of pay-outs to former slave-owners was 1,057 in the amount of some £126,848.70 in compensation for 10,087 slaves. There were six different types of awardees receiving compensation, owner-in-fee, executor/executrix, administrator, trustee, judgment creditor and mortgagees. Total compensation using prevailing RPIs up to 2017, is equivalent to £11,588,494.36. In terms of investment value, the 2017 equivalent is to £342,031,365.63.

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES

Tourism, Ecology, and Sustainability: The Poetics of Self-Making

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Abstract

This paper explores, within an ecocritical frame, the work of two Bahamian poets that focus attention on such issues as pollution, neglect, commodification of natural resources, and the eco-social concerns of sustainability. The piece engages a brief discussion of the ways in which their poems critique power relations within national, multinational, and global spaces. The essay examines their poetic discourse on transnational corporations which operate on principles similar to those of the plantation economies that preceded them, ultimately continuing the practice of exploitation of Caribbean labour for wealth accumulation and bodily pleasures. Strachan and Limerick's poetry functions to reclaim a sense of self, a sense of place as well as to recover a sense of history and forge a more sustainable relationship to the land and to environmental stewardship.

Within the broad frame of environmental humanities, this article uses an ecocritical lens to read two contemporary Bahamian poets whose work reflects their engagement with discourses of identity, cultural ethics, and environmental justice in the Bahamian context. "National Anthem" and "Cariconch Quincentennial," by Ian Strachan and Carlson Limerick, respectively, delineate the historical dimension of identity and of environmental concerns and illustrate how the oceanic and terrestrial environment continues to be impacted by a supra-capitalist tourism agenda at the local and global levels. Equally important is the way in which Caribbean peoples are objectified as part of the natural landscape, and the way the Caribbean space is in turn marketed as sexually available (Sheller, 2004, p. 31). Given this mode of apprehending the peoples of the Caribbean, which had its emergence during the pre-colonial era, and continues into the contemporary moment, it is important to examine through a corrective lens an ecology that looks not only at the destruction of land and seascapes but also at the commodification of human life.

Strachan and Limerick's poems address ways in which the colonial period and the present imperialist era have posed ecological challenges to Bahamian landscapes, seascapes, and to the forging of viable economic and social life, or sustainable Bahamian self-making both at the personal and national levels. As DeLoughrey, Gosson, and Handley (2005) have noted, "the history of globalization and imperialism is integral to understanding contemporary environmental issues" (p. 2). Hence, the concept of "ecological imperialism," which takes together all of the foregoing, has great purchase in giving "attention to narratives and lived realities of ecological violence, crisis, and transformation that are intimately tied to imperialist practices" (p. 6).

These poets' reflections turn attention to such challenges as pollution, neglect and / or

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commodification of natural resources, and to the eco-social concerns of sustainability that arise from abuse of the environment. The poets critique power relations within the national, multinational, and global environment with respect to economics, ethics, and responsibility, suggesting that the large transnational corporations, in similar fashion to the plantation economies that preceded them, continue the practice of exploitation of Caribbean labor for wealth accumulation and bodily pleasures. Additionally, "the culture of tourism" pervades the islands, and these islands maintain tourist and service sectors that are amazingly similar to exploitative plantation economies (Strachan, 2002, p. 3).

Far from being a 20th century phenomenon, as it is often referenced, Bahamian tourism had its beginnings in the 17th century and, as Saunders (2000) notes, "as early as 1740, Nassau had gained a reputation as a winter and health resort for 'invalids' and others from the United States and Canada seeking a change and warmer climate" (p. 73). Indeed, "the tropical environment became increasingly utilized as a symbolic location for the idealized landscapes and aspirations of the Western imagination" (Grove, 1995, p. 225). The growth and transformation of the tourism industry in the Bahamas from "elite tourism to mass tourism" (Saunders, 2000, p. 72) by virtue of its sheer volume has, in some ways, had unwholesome effects on the economy, social and race relations as well as on the fragile infrastructure, cultural development and the environment of the Bahamas (p. 72). Indeed, by 1996, employment within the tourism industry in the Caribbean represented over 25 percent; yet, ironically, upwards of 70 percent of foreign capital earned in the tourist industry is extracted through foreign goods and services rather than re-invested in the Caribbean itself (Strachan, 2002). This practice is pervasive across the region and has implications for perceived threats to the natural environment and signals a fragile and weakening sense of place and belonging.

Despite the history of ecological imperialism, and the crucial place that the Caribbean occupies in the development of modern environmentalism (DeLoughrey, Didur, & Carrigan, 2015), ecological concerns are surprisingly not as robustly foregrounded across the wide literary terrain as might be expected. DeLoughrey, Gosson, and Handley (2005) note that until fairly recently, the Caribbean had been bypassed in the academic discourse of environmentalism, and within literary and cultural ecocriticism, which is bewildering, given that "the roots of the current environmental crisis can be found in the age of conquest that begins in the region" (p. 27). Critics and writers of the region such as Sylvia Wynter (Plot and Plantation), Wilson Harris ("numinosity" of the landscape), Edouard Glissant (landscape as monument), Kamau Brathwaite (tidalectics), Derek Walcott (Adamic consciousness), and Antonio Benitez Rojo (super-syncretism) have engaged the environment in their imaginative and theoretical work by highlighting spatial / natural relations. They situate the land and the sea within the ongoing narrative of human endeavor and assert that the region should be comprehensively studied with a mindfulness of the ecological elements coming to the fore.

Of importance is these writers' attention to the recovery of history, given that the region was "fixed in the void of an imposed non-history" (Glissant p. 65). Moreover, the colonial and touristic views of the islands have historically been captured through a lens that renders them ahistorical, passive and idyllic landscapes. The works examined here, I argue, present a counter-discourse to

the notion of the idyll, and to the passivity that is often presumed of and ascribed to the land. Strachan and Limerick's poetry functions as a means through which to reclaim a sense of place as well as to recover a sense of history and forge a more sustainable relationship to the land and to environmental stewardship.

In his poem, ironically titled, "National Anthem," Strachan begins with the assertion: "this is the song / of my islands," in successive stanzas, he speaks about the "the wail / of my islands" which gives a sense of the poem as a lament. He critiques the way in which the island has become the "pleasure house of venal gods / stomping ground of gangsters / house of somnambulists" where the political will established in the Bahamas' post-independence era has seemingly become eroded. Strachan's reflection on his "atrophied islands" suggests a neglect so profound that those in power are seen as not merely ineffectual but downright destructive.

The poet's description of the docks where "slave blood and crab shit mingle" is poignantly drawn, and the echoes of slavery resonate in the present space. The lament is replete with images of waste, atrophy, and regression of a nation that is at once "sacred and sacrilegious". The neologism, "de-selftion" describes a process of undoing; and speaks of experiences that erode one's sense of dignity and of belonging. Strachan addresses the need for the articulation of an ontology that restores the humanity of the denuded self. The images of the "fat Bay Street bosses," "smugglers," and "picky heads" describe the range of inhabitants and the racial segregation and social hierarchy that characterize Bahamian society.

The idea that while the inhabitants try "to remake [themselves] again" the blue eyes of an aloof god look down disapprovingly, suggests the people's metaphysical disconnection from the putative Christian god of salvation and the profound sense of alienation that this dissevering engenders. In this poem, the routine images of paradise are supplanted by those of ruin. Strachan, asserting his passion for the land he inhabits and claims ownership of, voices the necessity to redress the ravages of colonial violence inflicted upon the environment and the psyche of a people. He speaks of mangrove and marsh / lake and swamp / pine forest and coppice whose state of disarray is the result of irresponsible stewardship. This environmental neglect is, he suggests, even more apparent in the wildlife that goes unchecked and degenerates into an "army of lizards / battalion of stray dogs / palace of termites" and a host of "guerilla raccoons," showing the marked indifference and an alarming unconcern for long-term ecological well-being.

Hilary Beckles suggests that the indifference shown to ecological sustainability emanates out of the "culture of plantation management which continues to prevent the majority from owning land in the country [and which] has alienated people from environmental issues" (cited in DeLoughrey, Gosson, & Handley, 2005, p. 25). Compounding the issue even more is the fact that until fairly recently, the "institutions and mechanisms that are required to best prevent the region from destroying what it needs most are absent" (Pattullo, 2006, p. 113). "Caribbean governments," Pattullo further observes, "are the worst regional environmental offenders, and even in the most liberal of democracies, the kind of participatory planning processes necessary for sustainable utilization of resources, are often absent" (p. 113).

Strachan shifts his gaze to the past—when,

in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Anglo-American landscape artist Winslow Homer painted natives, portraying them as "ebony Apollos / romantic savages" who "flexed and fished / on his canvases while darkie boys / dove for coins and / ran races for white bosses" (p. 20). Strachan here alludes to the mid 1900s when cruise ships would "[deposit] / pale discoverers / all in search of Eden / a smiling mammy or / black cockslinger" (p. 20). Strachan laments this brazen quest, this flagrant eroticization of the local population; his image of tourists as sexual marauders reflects that of earlier "discoverers," who came, sword in hand, and pierced the earth, symbolizing both conquest and sexual prowess. Strachan's suggestion here is that tourism rapes the land, pollutes the sea, subjugates the populace and promotes sexual debauchery. Strachan sums up his reflection by reiterating "the wail / of my islands / these atrophied islands" in which "god's blue eyes / [see] us struggle / [see] us trying to / remake / ourselves / again" (p. 21). This New World god observes indifferently the fervent effort of a people trying to redeem themselves, struggling to reclaim their ontology. The repetition of the word "again" suggests the continuing neglect and dis-ownership of the god whom they look to, making unrequited supplication. "A sense of belonging in the Caribbean," DeLoughrey, Gosson, & Handley (2005) observe, "is conditioned by an always-incomplete knowledge of natural and human histories and therefore necessitates recreating a sense of place in the present" (p. 20). Strachan evokes the idea of ontological reclamation– of land, psyche, spirit, and self–which connects with his lament for his "dry-lands," his "sacred islands," his "I-lands" whose ecological ill-health is cause for serious concern and redress.

If Strachan's poem, "National Anthem" is a lament for environmental erosion, loss, and psychic dislocation, Limerick's poem, "Cariconch Quincentennial," written in 1992 to commemorate the five-hundredth anniversary of Columbus' landfall in the Bahamas, reflects a multiplicity of themes around ecology, colonialism, and neocolonialism. Limerick's coinage, "Cariconch," critiques the Caribbean, which has, in his view, progressed little beyond the consumerist tourism model in which the landscape and the people are offered up for the pleasure and use of Western consumers. I am reminded of Franz Fanon's prescient observations in his now classic work, *Wretched of the Earth* (1961) where he asserts:

> The national bourgeoisie organizes centers of rest and relaxation and pleasure resorts to meet the wishes of the Western bourgeoisie. Such activity is given the name of tourism, and for the occasion will be built up as a national industry…[this class] will have nothing better to do than to take on the role of manager of Western enterprise, and it will in practice set up its country as the brothel of Europe. (cited in Kempadoo, 1999, p. 3)

In his epigraph, Limerick quotes the following line from a Bob Marley song "Pimper's Paradise" (1980) "that's all she was," clearly referencing the Bahamas as prostitute for the transnational conglomerate "big shots" of tourism who function as her pimp. This line poignantly introduces the troubling juxtaposition of sex and tourism, and the tourism worker as an embodied commodity. Limerick's tropology of the conch, captioned in different segments of the poem as "Airport Conch," "Dockside Conch," "Conch Salad," and "Conch Shell?" speaks to the presumed aphrodisiac quality of the islands. Conch, the indisputable and nationally acknowledged aphrodisiac, brings

"pale explorers" in search of sex. Under the heading, "Airport Conch", Limerick evokes visceral responses to the "pink lips outspread / the raw nakedness / of a huge conch" erected along the roadway leading from the national airport that "indecently [assaults] the eye / juicy lure / to millions of fading Ponce de Leons / from a tired new world / discharge of turgid jets ceaseless rhythm" (p. 86). The stanza with its abounding sexual images offers up the massive conch sculpture in iconized dimension, as a troubling national symbol.

In subsequent stanzas, unvarnished references to sexual exploits address the illicit exchange under the guise of service to tourism. In the segment, "Dockside Conch" the poet captures the scene of commerce, where fishermen sell their catch to customers, eager to purchase and consume the colourless, slimy part of the conch known as the "pistol," purported to be the aphrodisiacal element. In a single, compressed image, he describes at once the eating of the conch pistol and the dockside sexual exploits:

> Bare but for a single string
> slipped between moist full cheeks
> three coloured girls in the window
> serve their butts to the eager surge
> of conquistadors to the dock
> that takes with practiced ease
> the tight fit of each bulging vessel

Amid this dockside culture of wanton solicitations, and easy commercial transactions, is the eyesore of piled-up, abandoned conch shells, whose destiny is uncertain. For while some are recycled as ornaments, others remain on the dock in decomposing rancidity, an ecological blight on the environment.

In the penultimate and final stanzas, "Conch Salad" and "Conch Shell?" Limerick offers an erotic vision of insemination in which the conch "spews / its white load / seeding the lush isles / …to the throb / of goombay / soca / and dub / no warm embrace" (p. 87). He points to loveless transactions in the "calculated act of commerce / with which the quincentennial courtesan / takes daily traffic to her couch" (p. 87). The poet delivers the core question that must be answered not only by the "courtesan" herself, but also by the nation: "are we doomed by fortune to / a lifetime on our back?" If, as Nixon suggests, informal "sexual services …are encouraged and even promoted by the tourist industry and generally tolerated (even regulated in some places) by Caribbean governments" (2015, p. 168), such a question requires deep reflection and serious response, if equitable existence and environmental sustainability are to be achieved. Again, if tourism, as oft proclaimed, is the lifeblood of the Caribbean, how will the countries of the region ever escape being cast in international marketing efforts as places of enticement and sexual availability, where moral strictures are suspended to accommodate hedonistic pleasures, and where damage to the environment and fragile ecosystems causes little alarm?

Strachan and Limerick render works that reflect and indeed provoke deep contemplation of environmental sustainability and psychic health of the Bahamian and, by extension, the Caribbean people. In illuminating the continued threat to the environment and the impending eco-crisis, they urge redress to the ecological damage that has over time, become all too commonplace. As well, they suggest the need to reclaim ownership of the *self* which, like the physical environment, is objectified and diminished through psychic erosion wrought by existential hardship. These poets, like Glissant, echo the imperative "to remake oneself" (Glissant, cited in Handley,

2007, p. 53), to continuously forge a new sense of personal and cultural identity within and against the sometimes corrosive and exploitative effects of a tourist economy.

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